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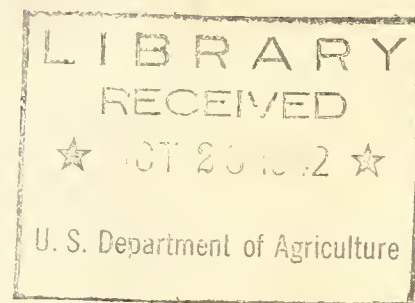


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CULTURE OF A CONTEMPORARY RURAL COMMUNITY

The Old Order Amish
of
Lancaster County, Pennsylvania

by *Walter M. Kollmorgen*



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FOREWORD

This is a report on one of six communities which were studied contemporaneously by six different participant observers or field workers during the year 1940. Each study was sufficiently independent of the other five to make separate treatment and publication desirable, but the reader will gain full understanding of the findings only when he has read the reports of the six studies as a group.

The communities selected for study -El Cerrito, N. Mex.; Sublette, Kans.; Irwin, Iowa; The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Penn.; Landaff, N. H.; and Harmony, Ga. -were not selected in an attempt to obtain a geographic sampling of contemporary rural communities in the United States, but as samples of, or points on, a continuum from high community stability to great instability. At one end of the continuum, an Amish community in Lancaster County, Penn., was selected. At the other end, a "Dust Bowl" community in Kansas was chosen. The other four communities range themselves between these extremes.

Lancaster County was selected as an area in which probably the most stable community life of America could be found. The community studied there is not geographically integral, but is exceptionally cohesive because its constituents are all members of the Old Order Amish church; many of them are "House Amish."

Walter Kollmorgen and his sister both of whom speak High German, lived in the community for 4 months and probably came as near to developing the status of participant observers as is possible without being members of the Amish church. They have deep sympathy with the viewpoints of these religious people, but have not allowed their observations to be anything less than objective.

The history of the Amish and other Plain People now living in Lancaster County, Penn., is long, interesting and easily traceable. Mr. Kollmorgen developed much historical material which the limits of space would not permit in this monograph. He will undoubtedly publish considerable material elsewhere in the future, and readers will be interested in it as a supplement to the materials presented here.

Carl C. Taylor

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CULTURE OF A CONTEMPORARY RURAL COMMUNITY

THE OLD ORDER AMISH OF LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

by

WALTER M. KOLLMORGEN

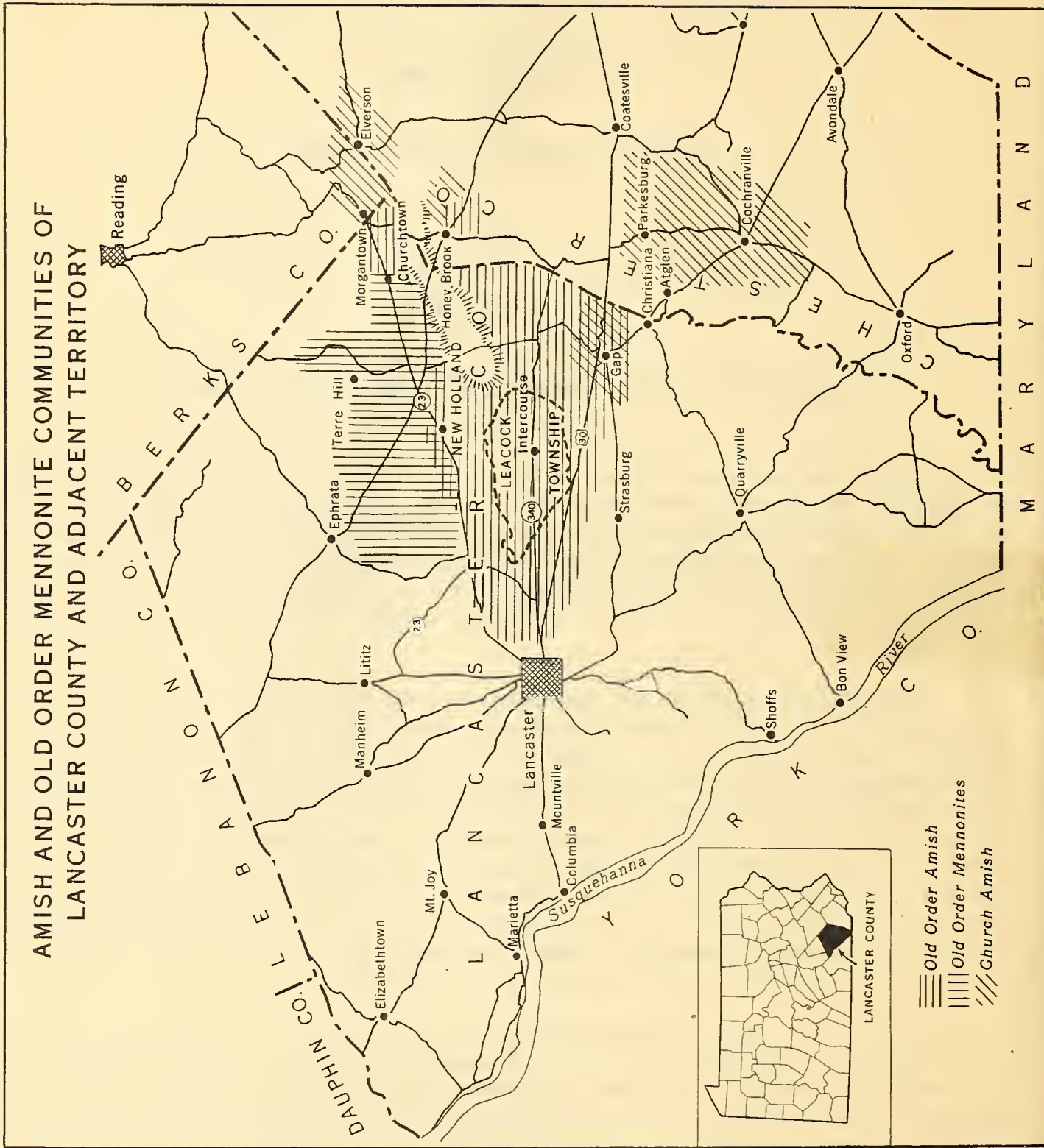
IDENTIFICATION AND CHARACTERIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

"And be not conformed to this world" is one of the cardinal religious principles observed by the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County in Pennsylvania. The community in which these people live may also be said to be nonconforming because it differs rather sharply from other communities. There are about 3,500 of the Old Order Amish in the Lancaster County area and they all belong to one community, stretching eastward from the city of Lancaster for about 25 miles and nearly 15 miles wide at its eastern terminus.

Within the triangular area occupied by the Old Order Amish there are many communities which are not contiguous like most communities, but which overlap at many points. Some of these are the schismatic groups of Plain People, mainly Mennonites, which developed from the same religious parent body and which abide in varying degrees by the principle of nonconformity (see, for example, Romans 12:2) and a second cardinal religious principle of the Plain People - separation from the world (II Cor. 6:17). In addition, the non-Plain People living in the area have multiple community focal points. The result is that in the larger area occupied by the Old Order Amish a complexity of community patterns is found; some are based strictly on church affiliation and some have their centers in villages and towns. The Old Order Amish constitute what may be called a socio-religious community which is strictly rural.

The Old Order Amish are also referred to as House Amish in contradistinction to two schismatic groups which now worship in church buildings called "meeting houses." The first split occurred in the 1870's and 1880's and the second one shortly after 1900. Both of the groups that split from the Old Order are spoken of as Church Amish or Amish-Mennonites, but they belong to separate conferences. Before these splits, all these people were designated "Amish" and such compound terms as "Old Order Amish," "House Amish," and "Church Amish" were not necessary because all of them worshipped in homes and barns and all of them were extremely conservative and steadfastly maintained the many traditional practices of the group.

AMISH AND OLD ORDER MENNONITE COMMUNITIES OF LANCASTER COUNTY AND ADJACENT TERRITORY



LOCATION

Just when the first Amish families came to this country has not been established. Like their Mennonite neighbors, however, almost all of these people who settled in Pennsylvania came to this country in the first half of the 18th century.¹

The site of the present community was not chosen when these people came from Europe. The first Amish who came to this country passed beyond Lancaster County, mainly northward, and settled on the frontier in Berks County, Penn., near the gap in the Blue Mountains. In 1757 a series of Indian raids began which brought the death of several hundred white persons, a number of them Amish so the nonresistant Amish began to retreat from the still-turbulent frontier. From the northern part of Berks County some families withdrew to the southern tip of the county and settled near the present village of Morgantown. This was the beginning of the present Old Order Amish community, which is now centered almost entirely on the Lancaster Limestone Plain eastward from the city of Lancaster in the county of Lancaster.

The Lancaster Limestone Plain, which is in part occupied by the Old Order Amish, has an east-west axis, comprises about half the area of Lancaster County, and is located largely in the northern part of the county. The soils in the plain have weathered largely from limestone and are among the better upland soils in the eastern part of the United States. Originally they were blanketed with a heavy forest. They are acid in nature and their supply of organic matter and native fertility was not so great as that of the grasslands of the middle West. Their high productivity today is the result of continued constructive farming programs, some of which were introduced during the late colonial period.

Physical and economic factors in this plain are highly favorable for agriculture. Not only is the soil relatively fertile, but much of the area has an undulating, gently rolling surface and is well adapted to machine operations. The average annual rainfall of about 45 inches is adequate for many crops. Few agricultural sections enjoy better marketing opportunities. Lancaster County is highly industrialized and the consumption of food exceeds the amount produced locally.

Agriculturally, this plain is part of the famous Pennsylvania-Germanland which includes most of the better farming sections in southeastern Pennsylvania as well as much of the good limestone land of central Maryland and the upper part of the Shenandoah Valley. In fact, the Amish, Mennonites, and other nonresistant people who now prevail on this plain may be said to epitomize the good farming practices for which the Pennsylvania Germans have long been famous. As early as the period of the American Revolution, Lancaster County (really the Limestone Plain) was known as the garden spot of Pennsylvania, and the State in turn claimed this distinction in the emerging Nation. After a few more decades the county was heralded as the garden spot of America, and now its thrifty farmers are not quite clear whether the county is the garden spot of America only or of the world. In the Lancaster Plain, the farming in its intensity and thoroughness, according to J. Russell Smith and Ogden Phillips, approaches and duplicates the standards of Europe.²

¹See C. Henry Smith *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (1929), chap. VIII and Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (1883), pp. 330-331, 343.

²Smith, J. Russell & Phillips M. Ogden *North America* (1940 ed.), N.Y., Harcourt Bruce & Co. p. 224.

Southeastern Pennsylvania has always been in the vanguard of improved agriculture in this country. In the introduction and adoption of improved farming methods the Pennsylvania-Germans, including the Amish and Mennonites, played a prominent part. Early in American history the Pennsylvania-Germans attracted attention because of their large, substantial barns. The large Swiss bank-barn, long standard in southeastern Pennsylvania and neighboring country, was apparently introduced by the Mennonites of Lancaster County. Such improved practices as diversified farming, rotation of crops, careful use of barnyard manure, use of lime, and the growing of red clover were first generally adopted in southeastern Pennsylvania.

Improvements have long characterized the farm places of Pennsylvania-Germans, and particularly the places of Amish and Mennonites. In Lancaster County it is common to erect barns costing from \$5,000 to \$10,000. In no other part of this country is better shelter so generally provided for stock. Large houses are almost equally common. In the Amish community and the surrounding country houses of 10 to 14 rooms are numerous and houses with 16 to 18 rooms are not difficult to find. Collectively, the improvements on a farm may well cost from \$20,000 to \$25,000 to duplicate, and this value is considered several times as great as the associated farm land. The average farm in the community contains only about 50 acres and from these relatively small holdings the farmers expect an annual gross income of \$4,000 to \$5,000. Most of the farm income is realized from the sale of tobacco, milk, wheat, fattened cattle, poultry, and poultry products.

The Amish farmer is wedded to the land not only by a deep and long tradition of good agricultural practices, but farming has also become one of the tenets of the Amish religion. A rural way of life is essential to these people so that their nonconformist practices may be perpetuated. Their desire to live on the land, and to live together as well as separate from the world, has been an ever-present stimulus to good farming practices. When the Amish began to invade this plain in the middle of the 18th century, it was already occupied by communities of Pennsylvania-German Lutherans and German Reformed as well as communities of English Quakers, English and Welsh Episcopalians, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Today the churches of these people stand as monuments to former communities that have disappeared. The Amish and, in part, the Mennonites now occupy these lands.³

THE PEOPLE

The garb and mode of life of the Amish differentiate them sharply from other people. The Amish consider themselves a "peculiar" people who lead a "peculiar" life

³On the better farm lands of southeastern Pennsylvania and particularly on the limestone lands, English-speaking communities, including Scotch-Irish, English, and Welsh people, were generally displaced by Pennsylvania-German farmers. See, for instance, John Stewart "Scotch Irish Occupancy and Exodus," *Papers, The Kittochtinny Historical Society* (1899), pp. 14-28, and Sylvanus Stall, "The Relation of the Lutheran Church in the United States to the Lime Stone Districts," *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (1883), pp. 509-515; Kollmorgen, Walter M., "The Pennsylvania German Farmer," and Shryock, Richard H., "The Pennsylvania German as Seen by the Historian," in Wood, Ralph (Ed.), *The Pennsylvania Germans* (1942). However, among the Pennsylvania-German the sectarians (such as the Amish, Mennonites and certain other groups) have in many places displaced the church groups, which were almost exclusively Lutherans and German Reformed. The high degree of rural stability of the sectarians is definitely related to their teachings of non-conformity and separation.

because the Bible says that God's people are peculiar and are not conformed to the world (see Tit. 2:11-14; Romans 12:2). Because of these principles many interesting practices and customs prevail. The Amish men all have long hair, banged across the forehead and at the back of the head. All men part their hair in the middle. Unmarried men shave, but married men must wear a beard though they may not grow a mustache. The outer articles of clothing for men, women, and children are made at home and are cut along the same patterns for each group. The men and boys wear broadfall trousers, secured with plain, home-made suspenders. The dress coats have no lapels and no outer pockets and are secured with hooks and eyes (work coats and jackets may have buttons and even zippers). All male members wear broad, flat, black hats in winter and broad, flat straw hats in summer.

Women of the same age groups wear outer clothing of identical pattern and none of it is made of printed goods. Only solid colors are worn but some variation in color is permitted. Black, blue, purple, and grey are popular. Married women wear aprons which match the color of their dresses, whereas young, unmarried girls wear white aprons. No woman is permitted to cut or curl her hair and all comb their hair exactly alike. Young girls braid their hair but older ones do not. Owning or wearing jewelry is forbidden by the church. Girls and women wear white devotional head covering and identical home-made bonnets. Church regulations forbid the wearing of all "store hats."

The ownership of automobiles, telephones, radios, musical instruments, and non-Biblical story books is forbidden by the church. Tractors may be owned and operated for belt power, but they may not be used to operate implements in the field. Buggies and wagons are built alike and painted alike. Young, unmarried men nearly always use an open or topless buggy painted black, while older men and married men use a square, box-like wagon, the body of which is painted grey and the carriage black. Dashboards and whip sockets are prohibited.

It is a remarkable fact that the nonconformity practices of the Old Order Amish, which differentiate them sharply from other people, have been maintained for centuries and are still being maintained in a compact agricultural-industrial area. The tenacious way in which the old order has been maintained probably comes chiefly from their history of misunderstanding, persecution, and death. A strong sense of martyrdom is seared into the memory of the Amish, and this sense does much to tie them together and to make them look with apprehension and disapproval at "the world."

Before 1693 there was no socio religious group known as the Amish. The people who later were so designated were still part of a religious group known as the Swiss Brethren, who came into existence in Switzerland during the Zwinglian Reformation shortly after 1520. Because of their religious beliefs, these people were constantly in danger of death or imprisonment, or of being dispossessed and driven from one section to another. The Swiss Brethren were also known as Anabaptists (French) and Wiedertaufer (German) because they rejected infant baptism and held that the church is composed of only those baptized on confession of faith. The belief in adult baptism differentiated this group sharply from the then prevailing churches - Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed - which practiced infant baptism. The prevailing churches were largely state churches and were not inclined to tolerate groups which dissented in belief or practice so some of them employed ruthless practices to exterminate these "heretics."

The Swiss Brethren were a nonresistant people, refusing to bear arms or go to war. This refusal brought them into conflict with the state because wars were almost constant on the continent of Europe. If a particular king, duke, or nobleman was not engaged in a war of his own, he would frequently hire out mercenary soldiers recruited in his domain. Swiss soldiers were nearly always represented in various continental armies at this time; not infrequently they were hired to opposing armies by some mercenary nobleman seeking funds. The result of these programs on a nonresistant people may be surmised. On the one hand stood the state church, carrying out its program of coercion, persuasion, and persecution; on the other hand stood the legal authorities, prepared to imprison and destroy the so-called "enemies of the state." For a time the Swiss authorities were more ruthless in their attempt to destroy the Brethren than other provincial governments, and for this reason many of the Brethren moved to the Rhineland of Germany.⁴

As the movement of the Swiss Brethren spread in the Upper Rhineland, a similar religious (Anabaptist) movement started in the Netherlands. There, in 1536 or shortly thereafter, a leader by the name of Menno Simons arose, and the followers of his statements of doctrine became known as Mennonites. After 1536, therefore, there were two geographically separated religious groups that had grown out of the Anabaptist movement and held similar church doctrines - the Swiss Brethren of the upper Rhineland and the Mennonites of the lower Rhineland. Gradually they merged their interests and problems. By the close of the 17th century they were cooperating in several ways and had met in conferences to establish greater unity.

After the Swiss Brethren came to America, they were almost invariably referred to as Mennonites. The fact that they passed through Holland on their way to America helped to establish the designation in that the Mennonites of that country extended much aid to the Brethren in their migration to the New World. The Mennonites and the Amish of Lancaster County, it should be remembered, are not of Dutch extraction, but of German-Swiss and German extraction.

There was considerable uniformity among the Dutch Mennonites and Swiss Brethren in beliefs and practices, but some differences persisted, particularly with regard to the ban or the practice of shunning. Both groups believed that members who had committed grievous sins should be excommunicated or banned from the church in accordance with I Cor. 5:11, Romans 16:17, and II Thess. 3:14. Individuals who were banned became religious and social outcasts. This method of discipline was (and is) a potent social device to maintain conformity to cherished principles, but there was no full agreement as to what constituted grievous sins and how promptly the ban was to be applied.

Toward the close of the 17th century an aggressive, able leader among the Swiss Brethren named Jacob Ammann took an uncompromising stand on the prompt and rigid application of the ban. As a result of the controversy over the ban and some other principles and practices, a cleavage developed and after 1693 the more conservative faction which sided with Jacob Ammann became known as the Amish. These followers were largely centered in Alsace and the upper Rhineland area. To this day the House Amish in this country are the most conservative and rigid element in the Mennonite church body, but their neighbors in Lancaster County, the Old Order Mennonites, are almost as rigid and "non-worldly" as the conservative Amish.

⁴See Smith, C. Henry *op cit.*, chap. II.

In tracing the history of the Mennonite church body beyond the Swiss Brethren, one school of historians holds that "Those who founded the body to which present Mennonite bodies trace their origin came out from the Roman Catholic Church."⁵ Other writers, especially those of Mennonite persuasion, trace the church back to apostolic times, as the title of a popular history of the Mennonites prepared by Daniel Kauffman, shows *Mennonite History Including a Brief Sketch of the Church from the Time of Christ* (1927). This history says that the forerunners, if not the ancestors, of the Anabaptists were the Waldenses, who "claimed to be able to trace their lineage back to the time of the apostles, standing in the direct line of the succession from the apostolic church."⁶

The Amish and Mennonites also have a compiled record of martyrdom which goes back to the time of Christ. This record, whose accounts of barbarity are exceeded only by the history of the Inquisition, is entitled *The Bloody Theatre or Martyrs' Mirror, of the Defenceless Christians Who Suffered and Were Put to Death for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Savior, from the Time of Christ until the Year A.D. 1660*. This ponderous martyrology of more than 1 000 pages begins with a brief history of Christ and his crucifixion, then tells of John the Baptist beheaded, Stephen, stoned to death, James, slain with the sword, etc. Then follows a century-by-century account of the Christian martyrs until the 17th century. The Waldenses are described, and the cruel deaths of hundreds of them are recorded in varying detail. Following this section the accounts deal with the trials, sufferings, and deaths of many scores of Mennonites.

A copy of the *Bloody Theatre of Martyrs' Mirror* is to be found in nearly every Amish and Mennonite home. The People are well acquainted with their history of persecution and suffering the Amish and the Mennonites are confident that their people are the chosen people, for the Bible repeatedly says that the righteous shall suffer. *The Ausbund* the hymnal used by the conservative Amish and the only Protestant hymnal collected in the 16th century that is still in use, also reminds the Amish of their martyr's history.⁷ Many of the hymns in the first part describe in detail the capture, trial, condemnation, and execution of some martyr. This kind of consciousness inclines these people to view with suspicion and disapproval the "world," its machinations, its acts, and its "learning."

A keen awareness of a tragic past together with an observance of the several religious principles already pointed out is not the only consideration which conditions the basic characteristics of the socio religious community of Old Order Amish. The Swiss Brethren, the forbears of the Amish, were determined to break completely with the social order of the day and to readopt the social order of the early Christians as it was described in the Bible more particularly in the Sermon on the Mount and the New

⁵See *Mennonite Bodies, Census of Religious Bodies 1936*, p. 1, "General Statement, History."

⁶Kauffman, Daniel, *Mennonite History, Including a Brief Sketch of the Church from the Time of Christ*, 1927, p. 33.

⁷For a good description of this hymnal see John Umble, "The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn Tunes," *Journal of American Folk Lore* Vol. 52 (Jan.-March, 1939), pp. 82-95.

Testament in general. In the 16th century this meant the creation of a new social order. In this order or voluntary association of Christians nothing was to be accepted or approved on the basis of custom or law, but all activities and practices were to be based on "the Bible standard."⁸

The socio-religious program of the Amish and the Mennonites hinges to a remarkable degree on several Bible standards. It represents an attempt to give literal interpretation to Biblical injunctions concerning, for example, nonresistance, adult baptism, humility, nonconformity to the world, the unequal yoke with unbelievers, and discipline and unity.

The Old Order Amish are one of numerous nonresistant church groups, including the Quakers. They refuse to bear arms or go to war, in accordance with the Savior's command: "Resist not evil." Other Biblical admonitions cited in this connection are Matt. 5:38-45; Rom. 12:17-21; II Cor. 10:4; II Tim. 2:24; Heb. 12:14. This principle also disinclines these people from going to court.

Infant baptism is opposed because of interpretations placed on Acts 8:37, Acts 2:38, and other citations.

Pride is a cardinal sin among the Old Order Amish. Departures from the prescribed order in dress, arrangement of hair, wagons, buggies, or other established customs are censored, in part, under the heading of pride, warned against in Luke 9:23; Phil. 2:5-11, I Pet. 5:5,6.

The Amish hold that the church and the world are separate and distinct bodies, the first operating under the leadership of Christ and the second under the leadership of the "god of this world, the author of all iniquity." Nonconformity, it is held, is obligatory in everything in which standards of the world conflict with standards of the Gospel and is maintained particularly with reference to amusements, dress, personal appointments, and home and farm conveniences. References cited are John 17:14, 16; II Cor. 6:14-18; Jas. 1:27, 4:4; I Pet. 2:9; I Jno. 2:15.

Nonconformity in apparel is one of the most conspicuous features that sets the Old Order Amish apart. This nonconformity is based on Rom. 12:1,2 and I Pet. 1:14. Standards insisted upon in Christian apparel are that it must be (1) substantial, Gen. 3:7,21; (2) modest, I Tim. 2:9,10; I Pet. 3:3,4; and (3) economical, I Tim. 2:9; I Pet. 3:3. There should be sex distinction in clothing (Deut. 22:5). The wearing of jewelry and expensive ornamentation is prohibited (Isa. 3:16-24). Women must wear a devotional head covering (I Cor. 11:1-16). Fashionable clothes are definitely worldly and sinful.

Avoidance of organizations outside the church group is based on II Cor. 6:14, which reads: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what fellowship hath light with darkness?" This admonition has served to prevent the Amish from joining formal

⁸See Ernst H. Correll, *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (1925), chap. I, and J. Winfield Fretz, "Mennonites and Their Economic Problems," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV (1940), pp. 201-203.

organizations other than their church organizations, such as life insurance companies, political organizations, secret societies, and even farm organizations. Marriage and business partnerships with outsiders are similarly forbidden because of this principle. Fear that participation in nonchurch organizations may in one way or another lead to court action also serves to condemn such involvements. Closely associated with and supplementing the admonition against the unequal yoke with unbelievers is the principle of separation from the world. Together these two principles serve to set the Old Order Amish apart from the larger society which envelopes them, although economically they are closely associated with the outside world.

For the sake of maintaining uniformity in observing separation from the world, avoiding the unequal yoke and maintaining other church practices, the Old Order Amish have adopted church disciplines which prescribe the manner in which the men cut and part their hair, the way the buggies are painted, and regulate in considerable detail the lives and activities of all members in the community. These disciplines are defended on the basis of Christian unity. See Eph. 4:2, Col. 3:14, I Jno. 1:7.

There are many more general and specific provisions in the bible which are observed literally by the Old Order Amish. Bishops, ministers, and deacons, for instance, are selected by lot in accordance with Acts 1:24-26. Foot-washing is observed as prescribed in John 13:1-17. Women do not braid their hair because of the interpretation placed on I. Tim. 2:3,9. Pictures and photographs are prohibited because of Exodus 20:4, which reads "Thou shalt not make unto the any graven image . . ."

Although "Bible standards" explain many of the customs of the Amish, they do not explain all of them. A heritage from the past has left its mark. Some of the practices observed because of the principle of nonconformity are merely a perpetuation of historical customs. Married men, for example, are required to grow a beard but must shave the upper lip. The beard was formerly grown because of "naturalness" but now represents a feature of nonconformity. But why shave the upper lip? In Europe the mustache was for some time the distinctive badge of the soldier. It was quite natural, therefore, for a nonresistant people to discard this symbol of militarism. Buttons, too, were at one time prominently displayed on soldiers uniforms and everything that smacked of the military was renounced. Once a ban has been placed on something it is easier to maintain "the old order" than to change the custom.

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

The community pattern of the Old Order Amish in Lancaster County is amorphous. Churches do not provide focal points for community relations because these people do not have church buildings, schools do not bring about close ties with non-Amish because they are secular institutions and the principle of separation from the world serves to create cleavages in the school districts, villages and towns do not tie trading areas together because of the same principle of separation from the world. Religious, kinship, ethnic, and linguistic ties on the other hand, serve to make one large, sprawling community out of the entire settlement of Old Order Amish which covers an area of about 150 square miles.

The Old Order Amish community is divided into church districts, which in the summer of 1940 numbered 18. Each district ordinarily includes as many families as can be accommodated conveniently in the fortnightly house services. Most of the districts have about 100 church members. As church membership is attained through baptism, which ordinarily takes place early in the adolescent period, the number of people to be accommodated in the services is about twice the church membership.

The districts also serve as church administrative units. In each unit there are several lay ministers (untrained) and a deacon. Ordinarily there is one bishop for every two districts. It is the responsibility of the deacon to administer the poor fund, which is sustained by the district. The church operates on the congregational pattern and technically each district can maintain its own regulations with reference to nonconformity and other cherished principles. Actually, however, uniformity in disciplines and customs is maintained throughout the whole community because departure from the "old order" leads to a feeling of nonfellowship which immediately translates itself into social and religious barriers and problems.

As commercial forms of entertainment are prohibited by the church, social activities and recreation are practically synonymous. In social activities church districts are practically ignored. Friends and kinfolks visit back and forth, regardless of location. Moreover, for the "singings" of the young people every Sunday evening, there are no cellular divisions in the community. The young men from all corners of the community may participate in any singing.

Although there are no fixed focal points in the Old Order Amish community, the community does have a central point of concentration: When church officials from the whole community want to meet they frequently select a home in Leacock Township, which for many years has been considered the heart of the community. Farm places in this general area can be reached most conveniently from all parts of the community. The village of Intercourse in Leacock Township is also a popular meeting place and a "pairing-off" place on Sunday evenings for boys and girls who go to the singings.

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT AND MALADJUSTMENT

Community values and patterns in the Old Order Amish community have been remarkably resilient to impacts from the outside world. But while the old order has been largely maintained, changes do occur and problems do arise. The principles of nonconformity, separation from the world, and the unequal yoke give rise to serious problems in a world in which the adequacy of primary group relations is rapidly disappearing. The application of these principles becomes increasingly difficult in a society which is becoming increasingly standardized by State and National legislation and which is becoming attuned to formal organizations operating on a large scope, frequently regional and even national in character. Problems growing out of these changes are numerous and some are critical.

To maintain their cultural stability, the Old Order Amish do not want their children to attend consolidated schools or schools of higher education, beginning with high school. Up to this time they have largely succeeded in resisting the encroachment of consolidated schools, although it has now become necessary to maintain several

one-room parochial schools. In places where the Amish are in the minority, they consider the establishment of consolidated schools an ever-present danger. Up to this time the State has permitted the withdrawal of children from school at the age of 14 or after they had finished the elementary grades but educational standards are changing and it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain legislation which does not require attendance in high school. High-school attendance, the Old Order Amish feel, would be disastrous to a program designed to maintain the old order, the peculiar way of life they cherish.

The principle of the unequal yoke makes it difficult for the Amish to participate in various agricultural programs of the Government, such as the Agricultural Conservation Program and the Soil Conservation Program. Some Old Order Amish participate in the Agricultural Conservation Program but the relationship is not satisfactory to the church as a whole. If the agricultural programs of the Government are continued for some time and are perhaps intensified, some modification in church practices or in the application of the programs by the Government may have to be made.

Bartering agencies and cooperatives are increasingly popular in present-day commercialized agriculture. In southeastern Pennsylvania, for instance, the Interstate Milk Producer's Cooperative, poultry cooperatives, and cooperative ventures backed by the Farm Bureau are serving more and more farmers. To date, the Old Order Amish have participated in these programs only to a very limited degree and under a strained interpretation of the principles of separation from the world and the unequal yoke.

Military training of young men clashes sharply with the nonresistant principles of the Old Order Amish. Nonresistance has always been one of the cardinal principles of the church in spite of the fact that adherence to this principle has resulted in some of the most serious abuses that these people have experienced. During the World War the young men in the community were exempted from service under the "agricultural clause." During previous wars in this country, exemption could be realized by paying special taxes. In the present emergency no exemption is provided for, but special non-military camps have been established for nonresistant people. Even this program is not considered entirely satisfactory by the Old Order Amish or their neighbors, the Old Order Mennonites. It is interesting that the opposition to these nonmilitary camps is based in part on the realization that boys who once leave the community and become adjusted to a different way of life are frequently lost to the church.

The Old Order Amish community is also confronted by internal difficulties. As all of these people engage in farming or closely associated occupations, there is constant need for increased land holdings. Up to rather recently it has not been difficult to obtain land in the West or to obtain farms from nonPlain People in the Lancaster County area. Industrial opportunities, before the depression, usually accommodated people who left the farm. This situation has now changed and it is reported that there are scores of young Amish men who cannot be married because they cannot find farms.

The difficulty of securing desired farms is aggravated by the remarkable structure of land values in the Old Order Amish and the adjoining Old Order Mennonite communities. In a general way this structure is pyramidal, approaching values based on productivity on the periphery of the communities and being easily twice as high in the center of the combined communities. These values range from about \$125 per acre to \$400 and even \$500 an acre. The ascending values toward the center of the communities are not based on physical factors and economic considerations, as students of land use

understand these terms, but result from centripetal pressure on the land. The latter, in turn, results from a desire to perpetuate the old order of nonconformity and separation from the world. The high land values are also related to an emerging problem of farm financing.

The Old Order Amish are not so self-sufficient today in their financial program as they once were. Because the church has discouraged the buying of stocks and bonds and the investment of money in outside agencies (unequal-yoke principle), these people have conserved their financial strength to a remarkable degree and until recently have been able to finance much of their agricultural expansion. Even nonrelatives were sustained in this program which had in it many elements of a mutual-aid program. At present, however, there is a shortage of money in the community and outside agencies are being called on to help finance farm operations. A loss of financial independence may well be accompanied by a loss of other forms of independence.

The lives of the Old Order Amish are thoroughly regimented by a multiplicity of church regulations and disciplines. Some of these regulations are giving rise to increasing irritation and dissatisfaction. There is a good deal of evidence that the ban on automobiles, telephones, and tractors (for field work) is creating trouble and dissension in the community. The dispatch with which field tasks are performed with tractors is making it possible for some non-Old Order Amish farmers in Lancaster County and elsewhere to operate two farms. This innovation is not at all welcome to the Amish because there is already a shortage of farms there. The ban on tractors may have to be modified to prevent a crisis in the community.

The Old Order Amish farmers of the county are thus facing many problems. Some assert that their problems are more serious now than heretofore, whereas others are confident that a people that has weathered many critical periods in the past will adjust itself to present difficulties. The history of these people reveals that they have made numerous adjustments to emerging problems and so it may be taken for granted that even now modifications will take place within the framework of the "the old order."

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF THE SETTLEMENT

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY

The Amish came to America in search of religious freedom. For many, their coming to this country was a second migration in search of religious and even economic toleration, for the forbears of the Amish, the Swiss Brethren, left Switzerland and located in the upper central part of the Rhineland in Germany. In the petty provinces of the Rhineland, changing times and changing rulers brought more persecution for the group. Although capital punishment and other severe forms of abuses were meted out with less abandon, or even disappeared entirely, other forms of abuses persisted or recurred too frequently.⁹

The migration of the Swiss Brethren to America early in the 18th century was part of a mass migration from the Palatinate to this country following one of the most destructive periods of history in central Europe—the Thirty-Years' War. So far as the Rhineland farmers were concerned, this war, which began shortly after 1600, may as well be called a Hundred Years' War. It inaugurated a period of ruthlessness, destruction, want, pestilence, famine, and death which converted the Rhineland gardens into a wilderness. Roots, grasses, and leaves were consumed to sustain life. In fact, gallows and graveyards had to be guarded because cannibalism was not unknown.¹⁰

Recurrent periods of oppression and plunder extended into the early years of the 18th century and this situation prepared the Rhineland for a mass migration to the New World. Most of the emigrants came to Pennsylvania and later became known as the Pennsylvania-Germans. William Penn, largely because of his tolerant views regarding religion, took a prominent part in bringing these people to his colony. Among these, the Amish represented a small minority.¹¹

That the Amish did not establish themselves in the Lancaster County area when they first came to this country apparently was because the better lands in this county had already been appropriated by other settlers. The first white settlers in what is

⁹For a more detailed discussion of these regulations, see C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (1929), chaps. I. II.

¹⁰Gustav Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Vol. IV (1924), chaps. III, XII.

¹¹It is estimated that only a few hundred Amish settled in Pennsylvania during colonial times. Smith, C. Henry *op. cit.*, p. 240. At the time of the Revolutionary War, there were somewhat more than 100 000 people in Pennsylvania who spoke the German language. These people and their descendants are spoken of as Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania German. At that time they composed about one-third of the population of the commonwealth; somewhat more than a third were English and somewhat less than a third were Scotch-Irish. See Wayland Fuller Dunaway, "The English Settlers in Colonial Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. III (1928), pp. 340-341. Among the Pennsylvania Germans, the Lutherans and the German Reformed were in a great majority. Very few Catholics settled in Pennsylvania during Colonial years.

now Lancaster County were a small band of Mennonites, who reached this frontier in 1710. Additional Mennonites came in the following year, and as early as 1717 some of these people established a community northwest of the present town of New Holland, a community which is still noted for its conservatism and the perpetuation of the old order. Shortly after the Mennonites came to the county, English Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, English Episcopalians, Welsh Episcopalians, German Lutherans, German Reformed, and some other religious-ethnic groups established themselves in the large triangular area which is now largely occupied by the Old Order Amish. These groups the Amish have replaced in their program of community expansion.

The Amish community in the Lancaster County area began and has remained chiefly in the eastern half of the Lancaster County Limestone Plain. When the Amish began the occupation of this plain, they obtained by accident or design some of the most productive upland agricultural land east of the Appalachian Mountains.

The soils in this plain belong largely to the Hagerstown series. They are residual and have developed mainly from massive limestone formations. Much of the land in the plain is undulating and gently rolling, although in some parts it is strongly rolling or hilly. Drainage is generally well established through perennial streams; but some of the more level areas have been tilled to facilitate drainage. The texture of the soil is fine, mostly silt loam and clay loam. Because of the depth of the mantle rock, varying from 3 to 12 feet, its water-absorbing qualities, and the prevailing mild slopes, the dangers of erosion and drought are minimized. According to the *Yearbook of Agriculture* for 1938 (p. 1037) these soils "contain a fair amount of organic matter and mineral plant nutrients and are medium to strongly acid in reaction." The land was originally forested with hardwoods, such as oak, hickory, ash, elm, tulip, sycamore, walnut, maple, beech, birch, buckeye, and locust.

A number of low, finger-like ridges composed of more resistant rock formations project into the plain. Very little farming is done on them although some orchards are maintained on them. They are almost covered with forests.

Lancaster County enjoys a highly favorable climate. Its location is not so far northward that it experiences sieges of confining cold weather; it is not so far southward that it experiences prolonged spells of enervating hot weather. Its proximity to the Atlantic precludes the extremes of continental weather, while its leeward position with reference to this body of water precludes an unmodified marine climate. Temperatures as high as 100° F. are rarely recorded in Lancaster County, but temperatures exceeding 90° F. are oppressive because of the relatively high humidity. The winters are generally mild. Usually there are less than 100 days with minimum temperatures below freezing and zero temperatures may be reached only once or twice a year. The average annual temperature in the county is slightly above 50° F. and the growing season (at Ephrata, just north of the Old Order Amish community) approaches 170 days a year.

The average annual rainfall is slightly above 40 inches and precipitation is well distributed throughout the year. Informants do not recall a single complete crop failure brought on by drought or excessive moisture.

Although the soils in Lancaster County, especially in the limestone plain, are exceedingly productive, this productivity is not the result of an inherent, inexhaustible

fertility. They are forest soils, leached and acid in nature. During pioneer days they did yield abundantly, but this productivity soon declined and constructive farming practices became necessary. Improved practices became common in southeastern Pennsylvania at an earlier time than in other colonies.

The history of agricultural practices in Lancaster County may be divided into three periods: (1) the colonial period, (2) the post-colonial-pre-Civil-War period, (3) the post-Civil-War or modern period. During the colonial period agricultural practices in Lancaster County and southeastern Pennsylvania changed from predatory forms of land use, particularly on the frontier, to a semi-constructive form of land use which included elementary forms of crop rotation. During the early period, land was plentiful and fertile, labor was scarce, the function of gypsum and lime was not understood, and clover had not been introduced. The result was that crops were confined chiefly to corn and small grain, planted in rather monotonous succession on cleared fields. Wheat soon became the most important commercial crop, and most of the cultivated land was devoted to wheat and corn. Rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, and spelt were also grown in small quantities, especially by the Pennsylvania-Germans who early distinguished themselves by the diversity of their crops. Since land was still plentiful, stock foraged at large. Little manure was applied to the land. When the cultivated fields became exhausted, they were fallowed and newly cleared land was used.

Toward the close of the colonial period, land became less plentiful and fallowing proved inadequate to maintain productivity. Some elementary forms of rotation were being experimented with and were used in combination with fallowing and grass to maintain or restore fertility of the fields. Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, who has left the best detailed description of the Pennsylvania Germans and their farming practices, wrote (in 1789) "From an attention to the cultivation of grass, they often double the value of an old farm in a few years, and grow rich on farms on which their predecessors of whom they purchased them, had nearly starved."¹² Although grass is not so good as a legume in a soil-improvement program, it does improve the structure and good cultivating qualities of soil. It also became common to spread compost over the meadow and in this way soil was rehabilitated. In some parts of southeastern Pennsylvania and particularly among the Mennonites of Lancaster County streams were diverted to irrigate the meadows.¹³

After the Revolutionary War, agricultural practices were rapidly revolutionized in southeastern Pennsylvania. During the war, it had been learned that gypsum improves soil, and in a few years large quantities of this substance were hauled from the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore to the farm lands of southeastern Pennsylvania in large Conestoga wagons. After a few more years it was learned that burnt lime served the same purpose and the use of this substance soon became common, particularly after 1800. In the meantime, red clover and timothy had been introduced and in a few decades they played a definite part in 3-, 4-, and 5-year rotation programs. The most common rotation program covered a 4-year period and included corn, oats, wheat, and hay (clover and timothy mixed). It is noteworthy that this program, introduced more than 100 years ago, is still common in southeastern Pennsylvania.

¹²*An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (1875), pp. 13-14.

¹³See Joseph Scott, *A Geographical Description of Pennsylvania* (1806), p. 24; Joshua Gilpin, "Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia Through the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Months of September and October, 1809," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. L (1926), pp. 71-72.

During the colonial period the use of manure had been rather limited because stock roamed around a good deal and there seemed to be some disinclination to go to the trouble of applying manure to the land. In the post-colonial period, however, a determined effort was made to utilize as much barnyard manure as could be obtained. The use of manure became an inviolable principle of good farming, and the selling of feed crops became the mark of the unregenerated farmer or land-skinner. Shortly after 1800, drovers brought thousands of western cattle through southeastern Pennsylvania, where many of them were fattened. The wish to obtain as much manure as possible helped to popularize cattle feeding among the better farmers.

Although the 4-year rotation program continued to prevail in southeastern Pennsylvania after the Civil War, the land-use program in Lancaster County became more intensive, largely because of high land values and pressure on the land. Before that war little tobacco was grown in the county. In the 1870's and 1880's this crop rapidly increased in popularity and today the county produces more than 90 percent of the tobacco grown in the State. The commercial production of potatoes also increased in popularity during the 80's and after. By 1900, the production of oats was definitely on the way out. The land formerly devoted to this crop in the 4-year rotation system was planted to tobacco and potatoes. Toward the close of the 19th century the use of commercial fertilizer became common but did not replace barnyard manure; it was merely supplementary.

During the last two decades the production of fluid milk has made great headway in southeastern Pennsylvania. On most dairy farms feeding of beef cattle has been discontinued. Either dairying or cattle feeding, however, is nearly always carried on because feed crops are rarely sold. The production of poultry and eggs has been greatly expanded and intensified in recent decades. Specialized truck crops, such as tomatoes and peas, are being grown by more and more farmers. In some communities tomatoes are replacing tobacco because of religious scruples.

BACKGROUND OF PRESENT POPULATION

To understand the Old Order Amishman of today the Amishman of yesterday must be understood. In no other outstanding agricultural community in this country has so much of the "old order" been retained. Although the old order applies more particularly to religious and social values than to agricultural programs, there is a close tie between religion and agriculture among the Amish. It is doubtful that any other socio-religious body has so consistently distinguished itself in agricultural enterprise as the Mennonites, of which larger religious body the Amish are a part. A popular history of Lancaster County says of these people "They are the most patient farmers on the face of the earth and as a community the best."¹⁴ Similar references to these people appear again and again in literature that refers to or describes their agricultural activities in this and other countries.¹⁵ These Mennonites from the Rhineland of Europe (German,

¹⁴Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (1883), p. 335.

¹⁵See, for instance, Ernst H. Correll, *Das schweizerische Taufmennonitentum* (1925), chap. VI, Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (1931) p. 29, Robert Dallinger, *Geschichte der Mennoniten in Schleswig-Holstein* (1930); Ferdinand P. Schultz, *A History of the Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota* (1938), Guy Franklin Hershberger, "Nonresistance and Industrial Conflict," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIII, p. 151, C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonites of North America* (1909) pp. 407-408; Orvie O. Miller, "The Present Mennonite Migration," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. I (1927), p. 16; John Umble, "Race Prejudice an Obstacle to Evangelism in the Mennonite Church," *The College Record, Review Supplement* (1926), p. 32.

German-Swiss, and Dutch) have created and maintained garden spots in other parts of Germany, in Russia, in Mexico, and in several States of this country. These garden spots persisted so long as group solidarity and community integrity prevailed and so long as the old order was not modified too drastically. Herein lies an extremely interesting field of study.

For centuries the forbears of the Amish, the Swiss Brethren, were a refugee group, and for this reason their ethnic and nationality background is somewhat complicated. The Swiss Brethren who became a social-religious entity shortly after 1520 were all or nearly all German-Swiss. Intolerance and persecution eventually drove most of them into the Rhineland of Germany. Although regulations usually forbade the Swiss Brethren to proselyte, to accept outsiders in the church, or to marry outsiders, at least some Germans undoubtedly joined the group. In both Switzerland and Germany some of the Swiss Brethren lived among or near Frenchmen or former Frenchmen. At least one Amish name, Plank is of French origin (de la Planch).

In their homes and in their religious services the Old Order Amish still use the language of the Rhineland from which they came about 200 years ago. Their religious books, particularly the Bible, are in High German. Their spoken language is Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania-Dutch, an old dialectic German predating the literary German standardized in Luther's time which in America became somewhat blended with English. Even the sermons are delivered in Pennsylvania-German. In this dialect, English words are used in their English form or adapted to fit into the German sentence structure. German prefixes and suffixes are commonly attached to English Verbs to form the desired tense, as for example, "hat gedo" for "did" or "has done"; "gemixte pickles" for "mixed pickles." The mixture of English and German words has become so natural that a Pennsylvania-German ordinarily is not aware of their indiscriminate use, as the following quotation illustrates: "Sel sind privileges, oder, wie man uf English sawgt, opportunities."

Although the dialectic German and High German have been preserved for use in the home and community and in services, the Amish also speak an easy, non-guttural English. But this English, like that of the Pennsylvania-Germans generally, is marked by many peculiar colloquialisms, for example: "it wonders me"; "lasty basket"; "he was wonderful sick"; "run the stairs up and shut the window down, still"; "red up (ready up) the room"; "turn the road around" or "turn the courthouse around and then turn over" (that is, go around it and then turn).

The rather consistent agricultural enterprise of the Amish and Mennonites both in Europe and in this country suggests that their cultural-agricultural background contains certain patterns or experiences which have served to set them apart from other people, not only in the religious-social realm but in the agricultural realm. Their enterprise results from a total situation or complex in which all parts are inter-related. In this complex there are obviously factors that are either unknown or cannot be adequately described in a brief survey of the past. Nevertheless, certain situations and developments provide revealing clues.

The Swiss Brethren were probably mostly tenants in the Rhineland area before they came to America.¹⁶ This high rate of tenancy had several causes. Land pressure

¹⁶Correll, E. H. *op. cit.*, p. 142.

was intense. Once lost, ownership of land was difficult to re-attain because there was little or no land for sale. A refugee group which was insecure in its life and property and which was displaced from time to time naturally became a tenant group. After the more serious persecution had passed, nuisance regulations perpetuated their tenant status. Laws prevented them from owning land in certain places or prevented them from buying additional land for children or for larger operations. Under the law known as '*jus retractus*' Members of the recognized churches could reclaim land sold to the Brethren by returning the sum for which the land was originally sold, regardless of improvements that had been effected.

During the more troubled earlier period, the Brethren found it difficult to engage in productive enterprise anywhere. In Switzerland they were displaced almost completely from the more productive lands. Some fled into Germany and others sought remote retreats in the mountains where they eked out a precarious existence on small plots of poor ground. Here adversity was a relentless taskmaster. To survive on these poor soils required unceasing application of labor and demanded that the best available talents be used to devise programs of farming that built up poor land and maintained fertility. Here the iron hand of tradition had to be case loose, and new and better programs of farming had to be devised. As a result the Brethren were among the first in central Europe to experiment with new methods of fertilizing the land, of feeding cattle, and of planting new crops. After a while seclusion was no longer necessary for these people and many moved to better farming sections, where they applied with remarkable results what they had learned in the poorer farming sections. Their diligence and their improved techniques of farming were soon noted. In time they gained a reputation all over central Europe as good farmers, and they were much sought after as tenants.

Not all of the Brethren were first conditioned to improved farming practices in mountain retreats but stern necessity required them to excel. At first a prejudice against them existed almost everywhere. Somehow the Brethren had to ingratiate themselves. Whenever they were given an opportunity to work they worked with unsurpassed diligence. Moreover, they were absolutely honest and reliable, and these qualities endeared them to landowners, particularly owners of large estates. Some owners were not averse to taking advantage of the plight of these people and so charged them higher rents than other tenants. So the Brethren had to work harder and produce more than the other peasants, and they were prepared to adopt new methods

As tenants on large estates, the Brethren had more opportunity to experiment with new farming methods than other peasants. Most of the peasants in the Rhineland lived in agricultural villages, surrounded by their farm land. They still carried on the *Dreifelderwirtschaft* which was many centuries old. Spring crops, fall crops, and fallowing followed each other as regularly as the seasons. Each peasant had his little plot in the larger fields, and all the plots in the same field had to be planted to the same crop. Thus the agricultural program of all the peasants in the village was regimented. There was no room for experimentation because the system which was deeply ingrained in the folkways had to run its course, and this course allowed no deviation on the part of individual members, although yields were decreasing and cattle were deteriorating because of lack of feed.

The Swiss Brethren were singularly free from the agricultural regimentation which village life entailed. Because of their religion they were largely excluded from the villages and lived on separate farm units, many of which were estates. On these

estates they had the opportunity to farm as well as they knew how, and most of them knew more about farming than the more provincial peasants in the villages.

The agricultural superiority of the Brethren thus resulted partly from the fact that adverse circumstances forced them to diligence and agricultural inventiveness. Perhaps equally important was the fact that the scattered groups of this large socio-religious brotherhood kept in touch with each other and visited each other frequently. Through visiting and correspondence between settlements up and down the Rhineland and in other parts of Europe these people learned how farming was carried on in different places. New improved practices were noted, discussed, and perhaps adopted. It follows that the Brethren had a greater farming horizon and a clearer idea of what was going on in the agricultural world than the more provincial peasant who rarely if ever got far away from his home and acres.

The socio-religious brotherhood among the Brethren made for an exclusiveness which was maintained from within the groups as well as from without. The principle of separation from the world served to discourage free association with outsiders and prohibited marriages with them just as regulations forbade outsiders to associate freely or intermarry with the Brethren. Visits were frequently made to distant communities with the rather clear intention of finding a mate. In this way the brotherhood helped to disseminate knowledge of better ways of farming.

Biblical injunctions concerning love and mutual aid were given practical application, and this gave them strength and integrity. The poor were helped as a matter of course, but the help that was extended enabled the poor to become productive and to help themselves. Begging was not tolerated. Members who met with reverses but were not poor were given work aid and even financial aid to rehabilitate them or to help them over difficult periods of adjustments. Moreover, the Brethren created what may be termed one of the first credit unions for farmers in Europe. This aid movement grew out of a feeling of responsibility in the brotherhood and was for some time free of commercial motives. Investments in outside organizations were forbidden, and for a long time money was loaned without interest. Other religious groups were not so closely tied together and it is doubtful that most peasants enjoyed similar credit opportunities.

Other activities strengthened the economy of the Brethren. The rule of love, which was translated into everyday life, prohibited unnecessary competition and rivalry. The congregation prohibited the overbidding of a tenant when the lease on his land expired. The congregation was also closely welded together in advice relationships. No big or ambitious undertaking in agriculture or related activities was begun without the approval of fellow members. Rash undertakings were usually precluded and individual members and the congregation were saved from failures. Even debts could not be contracted without approval by the group. In these advice relations the leaders enjoyed unusual prestige, based on both secular and religious grounds. All were lay leaders unencumbered with ideologies which might have removed them from practical problems. Apparently most of them were successful and so were in a position to give practical advice. Biblical injunction also required that they be respected.

An analysis of the success of the Brethren must not overlook the fact that they were again and again credited with unusual diligence and thrift. They worked with a steadfastness and a devotion matched by few others. Recreation, as the term is now

understood, was prohibited. Even church holidays were more restricted than in some of the other churches. In their material needs they were highly self-sufficient. Their earnings were well conserved and used only for essentials and productive enterprises.

Force of circumstances modified the economy of the Brethren from one of self-sufficiency to a rationalized form of commercial agriculture. The religious brotherhood of several centuries ago was based on a form of localism and naturalism with strong religious orientation. The profit motive was either absent or declared unbiblical. There was recognized no religious precedent which sanctioned or permitted deliberate accumulation of wealth. The hope and plan was to provide for daily bodily needs and no one was permitted to set his heart on accumulating material objects. Wealth, it was held, would disturb religious preoccupation.

In the course of time, however, the Brethren not only became strong economically, but they became the leaders in commercialized agriculture in the Rhineland. Diligence is prescribed in the Bible, but leisure and many common forms of pleasurable activities are proscribed, at least by implication. Hard work was therefore sanctioned, and hard work when intelligently applied, produces goods. Moreover, circumstances induced the Brethren to be flexible and inventive in their agriculture and provided the opportunity of applying better known methods on their individual estates or holdings. The result was a rationalized, commercial form of agriculture, adapted to the family-sized farm. Large holdings, large operations, and large gains have never been common among the descendant sectarian groups, including the Amish. Their communities have always been characterized by a high level of economic well-being by the absence of conspicuous wealth on the one hand and dire poverty on the other.

The Brethren in the Rhineland helped to make some important innovations in agriculture. Throughout most of the 18th century, under the traditional *Dreifelderwirtschaft* crop yields were declining and stock was badly underfed. A shortage of feed resulted in a shortage of cattle, which in turn resulted in a shortage of manure. Clover largely solved this problem. Although clover had been grown in Holland since the 16th century, it was not introduced nor widely adopted in the Palatinate until about the middle of the 18th century. According to available reports, the Brethren were among the first to adopt this crop in the middle Rhineland. After a few decades they were noted as excellent clover farmers.¹⁷ Clover improved the productivity of the soil and yielded more feed for stock. More stock yielded more manure and this helped to build up worn-out soil.

More and better feed crops led to stallfeeding. Stallfeeding made more acres available for non-pasture crops and accumulated the much-needed manure. Well-fed cattle yielded more meat and more milk. Greater quantities of milk made possible the production of greater quantities of cheese, a product which could readily be marketed. The Brethren became noted for their excellent methods of stallfeeding.

Other farming practices in which the Brethren distinguished themselves at a relatively early time were meadow culture including the irrigation of meadows, the utilization of properly prepared manure liquids, the use of mash byproducts of distillers in feeding cattle, and the use of gypsum and lime. In several places these people also introduced beet and potato culture.¹⁸

¹⁷*Ibid.* pp. 114-115.

¹⁸*Ibid.* pp. 117-120.

Most of these agricultural changes and improvements took place in the 18th century, and many took place after most of the Amish and Mennonites had come to Pennsylvania. The Plain People in this country, however, were not unaware of what was going on in Europe. Some immigrants continued to come to this country throughout the century and later, and in several ways these people kept in touch with each other. Southeastern Pennsylvania generally and Lancaster County in particular played an active part in the introduction of meadows, clover culture, cattle feeding, and the use of gypsum and lime.

VALUES AND PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR THAT HAVE SURVIVED

Cultural patterns are longer preserved in the Old Order Amish community than among most other groups because it is a definite church policy to preserve the old order. It should be understood, however, that the "old order" applies particularly to social and religious practices and does not imply a congealed agricultural pattern. In fact, in agriculture the old order really means the new order, insofar as changes and improvements do not clash with definitely established principles of faith.

The religious program and the social organization of the Old Order Amish have changed less since they came to America than perhaps those of any other group. The distinctive dress serves to illustrate and substantiate this point. The relatively static position of the social patterns results directly from the fact that they are based on definite religious principles.

The principle of separation from the world is still vigorously maintained by the Old Order Amish. Although in Europe the program of compulsory separation was frequently a bilateral arrangement, between the Brethren and "the world," in this country it has been unilateral. Because of this principle and the associated concept of brotherhood within the church, the various Old Order Amish communities in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and elsewhere, disassociate themselves sharply from the larger society or community which immediately surrounds them, but all are closely tied together in a religious and social brotherhood. Protracted visits are common between these widely separated communities, sometimes prompted by religious considerations and frequently by the desire of young men and young women to extend their circle of acquaintances. Marriage with persons outside the church is forbidden and trips are not infrequently made with the definite purpose of finding a suitable mate.

In Europe, the widespread visiting of the Brethren had distinct agricultural repercussions. This same practice of traveling has given the Amish farmer in this country - at least until recently - a somewhat wider concept of farming practices than was common to many or most farmers who traveled little but it is difficult to say to what extent this travel is responsible for any superior farming practices today.

Various restrictions helped to confine the Brethren almost exclusively to farming before they came to America. (This does not hold for the Dutch Mennonites). This, together with their excellence as farmers has given them a deep seated farming tradition. This tradition plus their desire to perpetuate themselves as a peculiar people has now resulted in a church regulation prohibiting residence in towns and cities, and the pursuit of occupations that are not closely related to farming. The community has therefore maintained a strictly rural way of life.

The program of brotherly love and mutual aid, founded on definite scriptural injunctions, is still maintained but with some variations. The Amish take care of their own poor, and none of them is now on relief. Members in distress still receive aid from fellow members, particularly if reverses result from "acts of God." Investments in outside organizations are discouraged and earned capital is kept in the community through loans to children or other members. During Colonial times no interest was charged for these loans, as was the custom in Europe, but now modest interest is usually charged.

Advice relationships are still influential in maintaining economic integrity. Respect for the advice of parents, church leaders, and other leading members tempers overly-ambitious programs. Rash undertakings are therefore uncommon and so are disastrous failures.

The principle of non-conformity has been rigidly maintained. It largely explains the peculiar clothes these people wear, their peculiar haircut, and their taboo against electric lights, telephones, and automobiles. Shunning is still a powerful weapon, used to maintain conformity with approved practices.

Non-resistance also remains one of the cardinal principles of the church. It is because of this principle, maintained by the Old Order Amish and certain other churches, that special non-military camps are now being provided for conscientious objectors.

MAKING A LIVING

It is extremely difficult for a group to remain peculiar in the crowded life of cities. The influences of urban centers on their chosen way of life are well realized by the Old Order Amish, and so the occupation of farming or some closely associated activity in rural or semi rural areas is now a test of church membership. This regulation is designed for self-protection and the survival of the social organism.

LAND USE

The Old World experiences of the Amish naturally did much to develop a close attachment to the land. At present the Amishman explains his rural way of life in various ways, but he likes most of all to refer to certain Biblical passages which indicate that the agriculturists enjoy special blessings and that the simple, Christian life can best be maintained away from cities. One of them recalled that after God had created Adam and Eve he blessed them and told them to "replenish the earth, and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." (Gen. 1:28) This, he added, could not well be done in cities. Another pointed out that during Biblical times, sin, lust, and wickedness were associated much more frequently with cities than with rural, pastoral people and that many of the Biblical leaders were recruited from rural people.

Moreover, the Amish and Mennonites have generally prospered on the land, prospered more than their neighbors. The reasons for this success have a rather sound social and material basis, but the Amish and Mennonites think that their success comes from a form of divine blessing. Their literature says again and again that wherever you find Plain People you find superior farmers. The truth of this claim makes it a potent appeal and a challenge to maintain the old way of life.

From colonial times forward, the Amish, Mennonites, and Pennsylvania-German farmers in general with but few exceptions, have occupied family-sized farms, on which the operator was largely self sufficient in his work program. Servants and tenants were not unknown among them, but they were used to supplement the family labor temporarily and not to support a landed gentry.

The acreage of these family sized farms has decreased considerably. During early colonial days, farm units ranging from 100 to 400 acres were not uncommon. Most farms contained some woodland and woodland pastures, some cropland, and some fallowland, while leaving plenty of space for the farmstead, an orchard, and a garden. The "garden spot" type of agriculture, however, which distinguished Lancaster County at an early time, was a fairly intensive kind of farming on relatively small holdings. After the Revolutionary War, the average farm unit rapidly approached about 100 acres. The census of 1850, which is the first to provide data on size of farm units, gives the average size of farm in the county as 92.1 acres. Succeeding census records show a

constant decline until 1920, when the average farm in the county contained 49.1 acres. The census of 1930 and of 1935 recorded increases in farm units to averages of 53.3 and 58.6 acres.

The decline in acreage in the average-sized farm served to squeeze the water out of the farmer's land-capital. Production had to be accomplished in a more efficient way. Accordingly, fallowing worn-out land was discontinued at an early date. In the course of time, woodland on none-too-steep slope-land disappeared; so did woodlots and shelterbelts, large meadows, large pastures, and even many of the family orchards. Farming activities became much intensified.

For the sake of presenting a reasonably precise picture of the farming practices of the Old Order Amish, data were gathered from the agricultural schedules of the census of 1930 for all Old Order Amish farmers living in Leacock Township in 1930. This township, it may be recalled, is located in the heart of the Amish community and, although land values in this minor civil division are somewhat higher than they are southeastward and northeastward, the data presented seem as representative as any other data that might be based on a partial survey.

The census of 1930 listed 300 farmers in Leacock Township and of these 168 or 55 percent were Old Order Amish. Of the remaining farmers, 52 were Mennonites, 23 were Amish-Mennonites or Church Amish, 2 were Dunkers, and 55 were non-Plain People. Although Amish-Mennonites or Church Amish are a schismatic group which has split from the Old Order Amish and although their agricultural program is very similar to that of the Old Order Amish, they were excluded in the compilation of data from the agricultural schedules.

The average-sized farm for all tenure groups among the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township in 1930 was about 48 acres (table 1). Croppers operated an average of only about 3-1/2 acres, which were devoted almost entirely to tobacco. As will be pointed out later, the cropper in Lancaster County departs sharply from the prevailing pattern of farming in this area in that he does not engage in diversified farming. He has a much higher level of living than his counterpart in the South because of high returns from the sale of tobacco and because he works for wages off his farm most of the time (table 5).

During the first World War land prices boomed in the Corn Belt as they had never boomed before and many a farm in the Middle West sold for \$400 or \$500 an acre. During this same period land prices boomed very little in Lancaster County or even in much of the farming area in the northeastern part of the United States. (See fig. 2) Following the war boom, land prices plummeted in the Corn Belt as they had never plummeted before; but they decreased relatively much less in Lancaster County and many other eastern farming sections. As much of the distress in some agricultural sections today is the result of the great fluctuations in land prices in the post-World-War period - plus an associated mortgage structure - it seems important to discover why farmers in Lancaster County escaped this experience.

Farmers in this county dip much deeper into American agricultural experience than do the farmers in the Middle West. In the Middle West the period of growth, development, expansion, and speculation reached its first major climax at the time of the first World War; in the East such climaxes had been reached before and were nearly

AVERAGE VALUE PER ACRE OF FARM LAND IN LANCASTER COUNTY, PA.,
AND SHELBY COUNTY, IOWA, CENSUS YEARS, 1860-1935

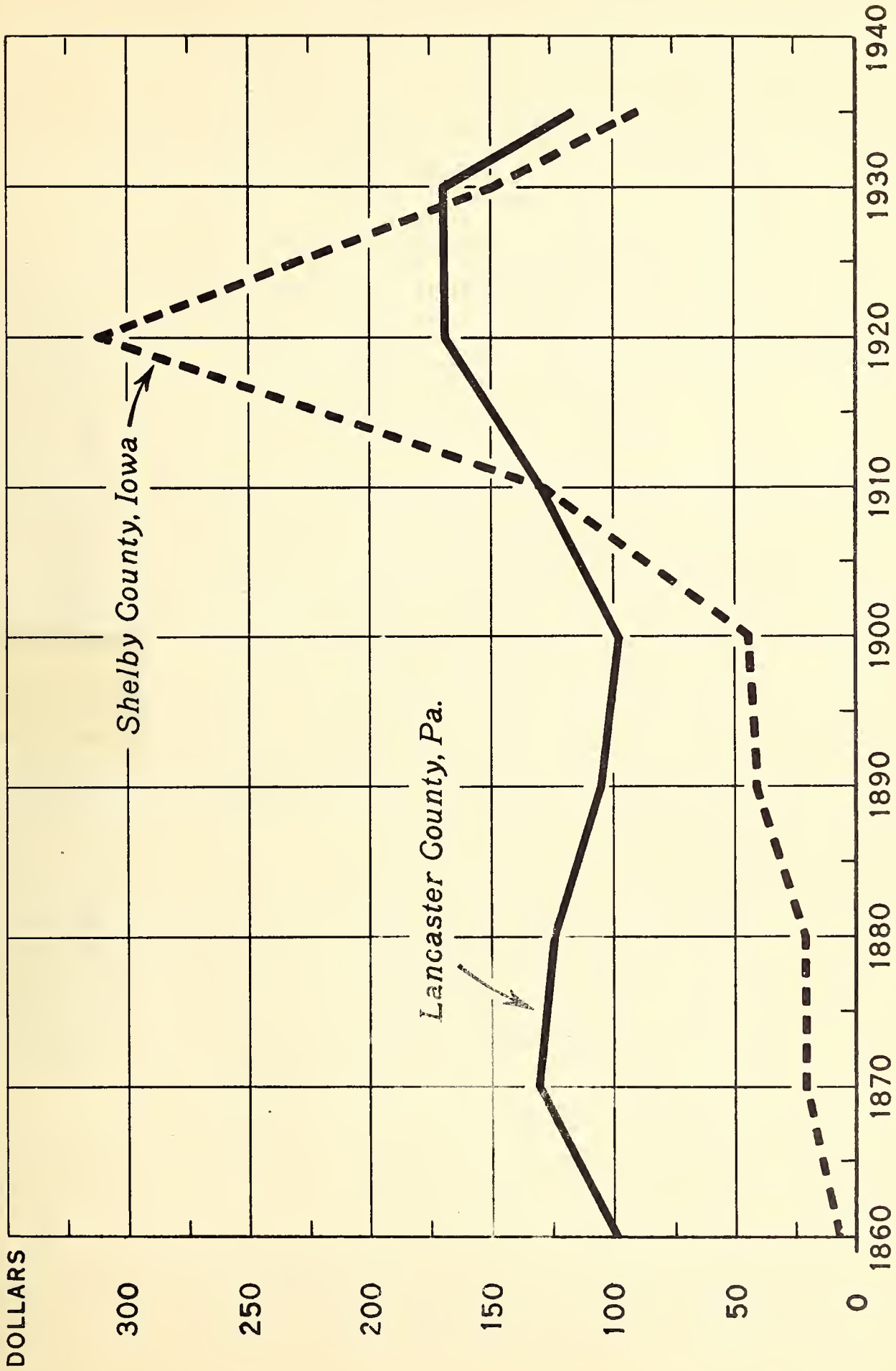


Figure 2.

always followed by anticlimaxes and great distress. These experiences seem to have tempered the thinking and action of the eastern farmers so that speculative land crazes elsewhere do not disturb them much.

The aged farmers in the Amish and Mennonite communities in Lancaster County are a rich depository of the lore of agricultural experience which reaches back to early colonial days. Many of them particularly in the Mennonite community, occupy farms that have been in the family for more than 200 years and were acquired directly from William Penn or his land agents. Buildings may have been built, at least partly, shortly before or after the Revolutionary War. As the farm place was handed down from father to son, so were many experiences handed down from generation to generation and with them a good deal of wisdom. Many an old-timer remembers the recurrent depressions in the latter half of the 19th century which were occasioned by financial instability and the severe competition with the emerging granary of the Middle West. Moreover, the old timer remembers hearing his father tell about the hard times during the days of Andrew Jackson and before. The family farm place and many of the family heirlooms focus attention on the activities and experiences of the forefathers. These experiences were not all speculative. As early as 1809, land in the beautiful valley of the Pequea in Lancaster County, which is now in part the heart of the Amish settlement, was selling for \$100 an acre.¹⁹ By 1814, 40 banks were chartered in the State, 5 of them in Lancaster County. Money became cheap, and soon land was selling for \$200 per acre. In a few more years, many of the banks went broke, many of the farmers were bankrupt, and land dropped to \$50 an acre.²⁰ This adventure with cheap money and high land prices more than 100 years ago left its imprint on the farms and farmers of the county. The farmers learned long ago that if they wanted to have money, it had to be made in constructive farming and not in skimming off unearned increment.

There are those in the county who hold that the misfits and speculators left "the garden spot" and sought their fortunes in the unfolding frontier of the West. The implications are that the conservative farmers remained behind and finally prevailed in the county. The assumption follows that the remaining conservative farmers do not indulge in speculative booms and debacles. This is an interesting theory but cannot be demonstrated as a fact.

Sudden booms in land prices bespeak a considerable turn-over in real estate, which is irreconcilable with the tenacious bond which connects the conservative Amish and Mennonites to their land. These people represent a substantial part of the farm population on the limestone plain east of the city of Lancaster, and farms not held by them are held by the liberal Amish and Mennonites who have almost an equal attachment to the land. Surrounding and adjacent to these people live the Yorkers, Dunkers (both Plain People groups), and other Pennsylvania-Germans, almost all farmers by tradition, all conservative and not inclined to speculate with the family homestead.

The relative absence of booms in real estate prices in Lancaster County may seem irreconcilable with the high land prices which now prevail in the center of the conservative Amish and conservative Mennonite communities. As was pointed out, land

¹⁹See Joshua Gilpin, "Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia through the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Month of September and October, 1809," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. L (1926), p. 73.

²⁰H. H. Klein, ed. *Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, A History* (4 vols., 1924), Vol. I, p. 660.

prices in the center of the combined Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite communities range between \$300 and \$400 an acre. In fact one farm of slightly more than 30 acres was sold for \$500 an acre in 1938. Nowhere else in the county are equally high prices paid for general farming land. Outward from the center of these combined communities land prices decrease to more nearly an economic level. Toward the margin of the communities good limestone land with mild slopes sells for about \$200 an acre and limestone land with more pronounced slopes sells for somewhat more than \$100 an acre.

Fifteen and more miles from the Limestone Plain in Lancaster County, in which Hagerstown soils prevail, are other limestone valleys in which this same type of soil is common. Some of these soils are on rather shallow mantle rock, are somewhat droughty, and so have a somewhat lower intrinsic value than the deeper Hagerstown soils in Lancaster County. Some of the limestone soils in the adjacent valleys, however, are comparable to those in Lancaster County and farms with these better soils are selling for \$75 to \$125 an acre. Marketing opportunities are in all instances equally good. Why this marked discrepancy in prices?

It seems that up to the period of the Civil War, there was no great discrepancy in the prices of well-developed farms on good limestone land in southeastern Pennsylvania. The farmers followed a 4- or 5-year rotation which included the production of wheat, oats, corn, and hay (largely timothy and clover). Outside of Lancaster County this program, associated with stock farming, has largely persisted up to the present or the rotation cycle has been reduced to 3 years by omitting oats. But within this county, particularly on the Lancaster limestone plain, the agriculture was intensified by the introduction of tobacco and potatoes. This intensification cannot be dissociated from the present high land values, but other considerations have had a part in creating and maintaining high land values. Equally important are the facts that (1) the frontiers of the West are now closed, and it is difficult to establish church or socio-religious communities elsewhere; (2) the Plain People are determined to live together and like to live near the centers of their communities, so they can better maintain the principles of separation from the world and nonconformity with the world; (3) their horse-and-buggy mode of travel circumscribes the distance they can move away from their own people; (4) their mode of life enables them to save somewhat more of their gross income than do non-Plain People; (5) they are prepared to set a pace in work and production which others are not inclined to imitate for long periods of time; (6) farm youth have increased more rapidly than available farms; (7) the depression has backed up young, non-Plain People on the farms so they are somewhat difficult to displace; (8) the Plain People have become so prevalent on the limestone land of the county that there remain relatively few non-Plain People to displace.

Intensification of agriculture and the expansion of several communities of Plain People, whose members are determined to live together, however, are not the only explanations of the high land values in the center of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite communities. The improvements on these farms are partly responsible for these values. The average farm values and values of farm buildings shown in table 1 are really understated, like assessed values in tax books. It seems that the selling values of these farms were about 25 percent higher than the values listed in table 1. But the table does show that the buildings on the Amish farms are several times as valuable as the associated farm land. Many farms containing between 50 and 60 acres have buildings which cannot be replaced for less than \$20,000 and even \$25,000. Large

Table 1. - Sizes of farms and farm values of Old Order Amish in Leacock Township, 1930¹

Farm Group	Number farms	Av. No. of acres per farm reporting	Av. value of farms reported	Av. value of farm buildings reported	Av. value of farm dwellings reported	Av. value of farm machinery reported	Av. value per acre of farm-land	Farm buildings, percent of total farm value
All	168	47.60	\$12,160	\$9,162	\$3,854	\$1,136	\$255.46	75.3
Full Owners	90	50.22	13,496	8,712	3,829	1,067	268.74	64.6
Part Owners	7	48.14	13,646	9,000	3,714	914	283.46	66.0
Cash tenants	18	59.44	15,005	9,882	4,118	1,548	252.44	65.9
Croppers	29	3.48	748	(2)	(2)	(2)	225.29	
Other tenants	24	82.04	18,325	10,656	3,875	1,188	223.37	58.2

¹Compiled from agricultural schedules, census of 1930, Bureau of the Census.

²Only one farmer reported.

barns and large houses are taken for granted by these people. The barns are of the well-known bank-barn type probably introduced during early colonial years by the Mennonites of Lancaster County.²¹ Many of the barns in the Amish and Mennonite communities are 80 and more feet long, from 50 to 60 feet wide, and 50 feet high. Barns which cost \$10,000 to build are not a novelty. Houses, too, are usually large, especially among the Old Order Amish who conduct religious services in their homes or barns. Several of the rooms may constitute the "Grossdawdy House." Besides the barn and the house, a farm place usually has a large tobacco barn, silo, chicken house, milk house, and perhaps, a machine shed.

Many of the barns and houses in the community contain portions built in early post-colonial days. These buildings were expanded by one or several additions, apparently to accommodate more stock and farm products and to house the family more comfortably. In spite of the decline in the size of farm units during the last 100 years, farm buildings have not declined in size. Barns have not been reduced because farming here has become highly commercialized, it is based largely on feeding and milk production, and much feed and stock are imported.

The part that building costs play in maintaining high farm prices must not be exaggerated. Pennsylvania-German farmers in southeastern Pennsylvania and adjacent areas generally have large barns and large houses and these improvements do not give rise to land values comparable with those in the Amish-Mennonite communities. This fact is well illustrated by the invasion of Old Order Amish into the southern part of Lebanon County and the Church Amish into the Oley Valley in Berks County. In these places they are now buying farms with good limestone soils and with large farm buildings (built by Pennsylvania-Germans, mainly Lutherans and German Reformed) at prices ranging from \$75 to \$125 an acre.

Land prices in the center of the Amish and Mennonite communities have risen to inordinately high levels. According to the local representative of the Federal Land Bank most of the good limestone land in this part of the State has a maximum value of about \$100 an acre. Only infrequently are appraised values set as high as \$125 and \$150 an acre. But, as one appraiser said, "that kind of land is something besides general farming land."

²¹See Emil Meynen, "Das pennsylvaniendeutsche Bauernland," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, Vol. 2 (July 1939), p. 273.

The conservative Amish and Mennonites, especially those who need to buy several farms, are worried about their high farm prices. As one informant said, "Things are top-heavy and overdeveloped. We need to expand." Another informant expressed his concern by pointing out that "there are several hundred of our young people who ought to get married and start farming, but they haven't got the farms." Some expansion has been accomplished by the removal of a small number of Old Order Amish families to Saint Marys County, Md., and to Lebanon County, Penn. Informants in the Amish community believe that if these settlements are successful "a hundred more Amish families are ready to move."

The tenancy rate is higher in Lancaster County than in the State as a whole and is also higher among the Old Order Amish of Leacock Township than for all of the county. In Pennsylvania as a whole, 82.5 percent of the farmers were full owners or part owners in 1930, and for Lancaster County and the Old Order Amish in Leacock Township the comparable percentages were 68.5 percent and 57.8 percent. Possibly there is a relation between this higher percentage of tenancy and the fact that commercialized farming is older in southeastern Pennsylvania than in the rest of the State and is also more intensive.

The high rate of tenancy among the Old Order Amish in Leacock Township in 1930 is misleading. Nearly half of these tenants rented from relatives. It is common for young men in this community to rent from parents a few years before they become owners. Full owners, part owners, and tenants renting from relatives actually comprised 77 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers in the township. It follows that about four out of five of these farmers were rather stable in their farming activities. Moreover, all of these people are required to live in rural areas where it is possible to raise a few acres of tobacco on shares while many or most working days are devoted to earning an income elsewhere. A considerable number of Amishmen, for instance, do carpenter work and painting, but also raise a few acres of tobacco, as owners or tenants. Because of the high returns from the sale of tobacco they are classified in the census as farmers even when the tobacco was cared for in spare time. This also holds for young men who spent most of their time as hired hands. This is well illustrated by the Old Order Amish croppers in Leacock Township. Of the 29 croppers in this township in 1930, 24 worked "off the farm" an average of 177 days during 1929, earning an average of about \$2.50 a day. In addition, the average gross income from the sale of farm products for all the croppers amounted to \$745.41. These croppers obviously differ greatly from croppers in the South:

The tenancy ratio is kept higher among the Old Order Amish farmers than in Lancaster County in general, because the people are required to live in rural areas. Church regulations forbid them to engage in industrial activities which remove them from the soil, so these people constantly need to expand their land holdings. While the Old Order Amish and Mennonites buy nearly every farm that is sold in their respective communities, they are having greater and greater difficulty in procuring as many farms as they would like to have for their children.

A local official who has lived in Leacock Township nearly all his life and has observed the Amish closely for nearly a quarter of a century says that during this time the Amish have bought every farm that was sold but one, and that was sold on a Sunday, when an Amishman will not do business. It is safe to presume that if all non-Amish farms in the township were for sale now, even at the prevailing high prices, most of

them would fall into Amish hands with a consequent rise in the percentage of owner-operated farms and farms rented from relatives.

A young Amishman who climbs the agricultural ladder rung by rung in this county (1) begins as laborer, (2) becomes a one-third share tenant, (3) then a one-half share tenant, (4) next a cash tenant, (5) and finally an owner. As Old Order Amish boys do not go to high school, they may begin as day laborers early in their lives. As full-time day-laborers they may earn from \$200 to \$400 a year. When they become more mature, the able and enterprising boys will combine day labor and cropping tobacco and so realize an annual income of \$600 to \$1,000 a year. The accumulated money may be invested in some stock and machinery, so that renting may then be done on a half-and-half basis or for cash, preliminary to buying a farm. Since Amish boys begin to earn money early in life and usually receive considerable assistance from parents, many of them manage to get farms not many years after they are married, although before their marriage, or until they become of age, their earnings are usually retained, spent, or invested by the head of the household.

The prevailing high real estate values in the center of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite communities naturally make for a steep and tall agricultural ladder. Certain special practices, however, make climbing of the ladder a real possibility and not merely a remote dream. In few other communities are family and community resources pooled more effectively to make the economic ladder to land ownership a reality.

The main and primary objective of the farming of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites is to accumulate sufficient means to buy enough land to keep all the children on farms. To this end they work hard, produce abundantly, and save extensively. Moreover, the socio-religious exclusiveness of these people is projected into the economic field in the conservation and application of money. Their money is not invested and perhaps lost in stocks and bonds, but is used to buy land or to add to the farm improvements. Money not needed to aid children is loaned to other members in the community at modest interest rates to aid them in their farming. Loans of this kind are a great aid to young men who are climbing the ladder to ownership.

Aids other than money are also frequently given to young men who are struggling to establish themselves as farmers. For instance, one informant in rather prosperous circumstances recalled the aid he had extended to a neighbor at a critical time. The neighbor had lost his parents as a child and received no family inheritance to help him get started in farming, so he began farming on a shoestring. Then his wife's sickness burdened him with debt. When the heavy work season began in the spring, he lost one of his two work horses and his only cow. Much discouraged, he seriously considered selling out and working as a day laborer. When he came to the informant for advice, he was promptly taken to the barn and told to select the best horse and cow for his own use, and was told not to think about the cost of the animals at the time. The young man continued his farming, and eventually prospered. Today he is one of the substantial farmers in the community. The informant related this experience with tears in his eyes, and pointed out that it is the duty of Christians to help one another. Extending aid to promising young farmers is considered one of the greatest virtues.

In climbing the ladder the children may progress rapidly from laborer to owner, with liberal assistance from the parents. As many children rent from parents and relatives, aids are readily extended in many forms. The son may receive various kinds of

livestock upon marriage. The daughter may receive full household equipment, and perhaps several dozen chickens. Following the marriage the son may rent from his parents for a share or for cash, but in either case he is almost certain to have a good bargain. Cash-rent payments may be low and if land is rented for a share the chances are that the father will supply somewhat more of the seed or fertilizer than he is required to furnish.

The Amishman's attachment to his land is perhaps exceeded only by his attachment to his religion. It follows that there is little or no inducement to relinquish his land as long as his socio-religious life is agreeable. Like the Pennsylvania-Germans generally, at least until recently, these people set great value upon patrimonial property.

When intolerable infringements are imposed from without, however, the Amish, like the Mennonites generally, are prepared to make great sacrifices. Such infringements have resulted in numerous major migrations of nonresistant people during the last few centuries. Religious abuses were largely responsible for the migration of the Amish and Mennonites from Switzerland to the Rhineland of Germany and from the Rhineland to Pennsylvania. Other nonresistant brethren from Central Europe migrated to other sections of Europe, principally to the Volga area of Russia. There they prospered greatly but infringements in the latter part of the 19th century and early in the 20th century drove many of these people to Canada, the United States, and South America. These and other migrations were made because they considered that religious rights were more important than property rights.

In a socio-religious group in which the lives of the adherents are as minutely regulated as among the Old Order Amish, dissension is almost inevitable. Dissenters may align themselves with the more liberal Amish or Mennonite group in the larger Lancaster community, or they may move to some other Amish or Amish-Mennonite community where church regulations are somewhat different. Not infrequently, Amish farmers in the Lancaster County community have moved to some other Amish or Amish-Mennonite communities whose views and practices were more acceptable to them. However, this tendency to move on religious grounds works both ways; many an Amish farmer has joined the Amish community in Lancaster County because other communities were getting too worldly. Such movements, of course, result in the alienation of property. The recent migration to St. Marys County in Maryland resulted in part from a school controversy and in part from other social-religious-economic problems.

The inheritance practices of the Amish do not differ particularly from those of other people. Land is nearly always kept in the family when there are children. A son is more likely to inherit the home place than a daughter and a younger son is more likely to get the family farm than an older son. Older sons naturally have become established in other farms by the time the home place is deeded to the youngest son. Since Amish parents do not retire and move to the city or village, the aging parents do not relinquish full right to the farm until their death. The right of domicile and perhaps certain other rights are carefully protected by deeds and wills.

Diversified farming has been practiced in southeastern Pennsylvania since early colonial years, especially by the Pennsylvania-Germans. At the time of the Revolutionary War, Pennsylvania was already known as the granary of the colonies. It exported not only small grains and corn but also considerable quantities of pork and beef.

With the passing of time, diversified farming has been intensified, particularly in the area occupied by the Amish and Mennonites in Lancaster County.

Land utilization and crop patterns illustrate not only that diversification and rotation are practiced to a high degree, but that crop potentialities are varied and many, from the standpoint of both favorable physical factors and marketing opportunities. Various degrees of intensification are possible. By growing tobacco and truck crops, a family can make a good living on 10 acres. On farms of the prevailing size, 50 acres, emphasis can be given to one or several of many crop or livestock programs, all of which yield substantial returns. To all the varied agricultural programs and particularly to the intensive land-use programs, the Amish and Mennonite farmers are well adapted by a long and deep agricultural tradition.

Table 2 presents a general break-down of the farm acreages reported by the Old Order Amish in Leacock Township in 1930. The rather intensive farming is shown by the fact that crops were harvested from an average of about 40 acres on each farm, while the total number of acres per farm averaged somewhat less than 48 acres. Land classified under "crop failure," "idle land" or "summer fallow," was negligible. About two out of five farmers reported small acreages of plowable pasture (4.95 acres), but it is doubtful that much of this land is really suitable for tilled crops. Most of the good pastures lie along creek beds and are too heavy and wet for cropland. Pasture acreages are small in view of the large dairy herds and other forms of stock common on most of the farms in the county. Some stock is stable-fed on many of the farms the year 'round.

None of the Old Order Amish croppers in Leacock Township (29 in number) raised any corn in 1929, according to the agricultural schedules of 1930. Of the remaining Old Order Amish farmers in the township (139 in number), 83 percent reported an average of 14.68 acres of corn per farm. Of those who reported corn, 82 percent reported an average of 6.48 acres of corn cut for silage. Corn harvested for grain yielded an average of 58.2 bushels per acre - considered a low yield, for good farmers in good seasons expect average yields of 70 to 100 bushels per acre. Hybrid corn is now generally grown and is expected to produce from 80 to 100 bushels per acre in good years.

Compared with those in the Middle West, corn fields in this county appear very small but a full outfit of farm machinery is kept to plant and cultivate this crop. Seedbed preparation is better in Lancaster County than in the Middle West and the corn is cultivated more frequently. Before corn is planted the field is well fertilized with manure, then plowed and rolled. It is not uncommon to cultivate the corn four or five times, and the field may be gone over with a hoe. Mature corn is usually shocked and shucked in the field. The cornstalks are then hauled into the barn where they are shredded and used for feed and litter.

Wheat was the main cash crop in southeastern Pennsylvania before the Civil War and is still raised on most of the farms. In Lancaster County, however, tobacco has replaced wheat as the main cash crop and wheat is used as a feed crop by many farmers when its market value is low. In recent years barley has replaced wheat on some farms.

None of the Old Order Amish croppers in Leacock Township reported a wheat acreage for the crop year of 1929. Of the remaining Old Order Amish farmers in the township, 84 percent reported an average of 17.23 acres. The average yield per acre was 28.4 bushels.

Table 2. - Average farm acreages reported by the Old Order Amish
of Leacock Township, April 1, 1930¹

	Percent of farmers reporting	Average acreage reported	Percent of total acreage re- ported by all farmers
Total acres in farms	100	47.50	100.00
Land from which crops were harvested in 1929	98	40.58	82.71
Land from which no crop was harvested in 1929 because of crop failure	1	1.00	--
Crop land lying idle or land in summer fallow in 1929	1	5.00	0.15
Plowable pasture, 1929	41	5.82	4.95
Woodland used for pasture in 1929	2	4.67	0.18
All other land used for pasture in 1929	43	7.44	6.79
Woodland not used for pasture, 1929	2	4.67	0.18
All other land now in this farm	82	2.93	5.03

¹Computed from agricultural schedules, census of 1930, Bureau of the Census.

During the Civil War and the World War periods, prices of wheat shot rapidly upward, and later they declined. In each instance the decline in price created a serious problem for the farmers in Lancaster County, particularly the Amish and Mennonites on high-priced land. It is interesting that both of these critical periods led to an intensification of land use. The first critical period led to the production of tobacco and the second led to increased production of fluid milk, potatoes, poultry, and some other products. With land values ranging between \$300 and \$400 an acre in the heart of the conservative Amish and Mennonite communities, the question arises why these people persist in their production of wheat. How, for instance, can they compete with the wheat farmers on the Great Plains who produce their grain on land which may sell for \$10 to \$20 an acre?

Wheat is raised on the high-priced land for three reasons: (1) to provide a nurse crop for clover, (2) to provide straw for bedding, and (3) as a cash crop or feed crop. The need of straw for bedding was emphasized by nearly all informants and was nearly always the first reason given for raising wheat. Prices for straw in the community are high (they ranged between \$10 and \$15 per ton in recent years) whereas in many other sections of the country surplus straw is burned.

Before the commercial production of tobacco, an oat crop was generally grown in a 4-year rotation program, but now oats are seldom found in the county generally and in the Amish community in particular. Barley on the other hand is becoming more popular because it yields more per acre than wheat and because of its qualities as a feed.

Timothy and red clover are nearly always raised together in this county and are listed together in the census of 1930 as "timothy or timothy and clover mixed cut for hay." None of the Old Order Amish croppers of Leacock Township reported any timothy, clover, or alfalfa. Of the remaining Old Order Amish farmers in the township,

84 percent reported timothy and clover cut for hay and 18 percent reported alfalfa cut for hay. The average number of acres reported for these crops respectively was 13 and 5 which produced a total of 23 and 11 tons of hay during the year. All of this hay is stored in the spacious bank-barns. Clover and alfalfa are not only excellent hay crops, but they also help to maintain the high fertility of the land.

Lancaster County produces more than 90 percent of the tobacco grown in Pennsylvania. In 1929, the county produced 46,854,695 pounds of tobacco and most of this was grown on the relatively fertile limestone lands in the northern part of the county on which most of the Amish and Mennonite farmers are located.

Twenty-seven of the 29 Old Order Amish croppers in Leacock Township reported the production of tobacco in the 1929 crop year and it was mainly because of this crop that they were classified as farmers. These croppers reported an average of 2.72 acres in tobacco and a total average yield of 4,367.63 pounds. This tobacco enabled them to realize an average income of about \$750 from crops sold.

Eighty-five percent of all the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township reported growing tobacco in 1929. The average acreage reported was 3.86 and the average yield per farm was 5,829 pounds. As the average price per pound for this tobacco on December 1, 1929, was 18 cents,²² it may be assumed that the average gross income realized from the sale was about \$1050.

The interest and attention centered on the tobacco crop in the county has given rise to the popular observation that "the Lancaster County farmer raises more tobacco so that he can buy more steers so that he can produce more manure with which to raise more tobacco." Tobacco has helped to maintain the high land values. In recent years tomatoes and fluid milk have supplemented and even replaced tobacco in some instances as the main source of cash income.

As the production of tobacco in Pennsylvania is found chiefly in Lancaster County and as land values are exceedingly high in the county, particularly in the Amish and Mennonite communities, it is frequently assumed that physical and economic considerations are solely responsible for the high land values in that they limit the tobacco-producing area. A recent report of a study of the Pennsylvania-German farmers in Pennsylvania, however, points out that there is a striking correlation between the areas occupied by the sect people (Amish, Mennonite, Yorkers, Dunkers, and others) and the areas devoted to the production of tobacco.²³ The opinion is added that other farmers generally recoil from the winter work of stripping tobacco. This observation cannot be dismissed as fanciful or as having no foundation. More than one informant among the Amish said that tobacco is a good crop to raise because it keeps boys from being idle in the winter. Amish and Mennonite farmers discovered long ago that busy children are usually good children.

The soil, crop and tobacco experts consulted by the writer doubted that the physical environment of the county offers any particular advantage for the production of tobacco over surrounding counties. Minor differences in soil and climate may be

²²*Crop and Livestock Report 1929*, General Bulletin No. 491 (Vol. 13, No. 6), Penn. Dept. of Agr., Harrisburg, Penn. June 1, 1930. Table 9, p. 24.

²³Meynen, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

noted, but the assumption seems warranted that tobacco production could well be extended beyond the boundaries of the county, especially to nearby tracts that have good limestone soils. A considerable number of former tobacco farmers of Lancaster County are raising it successfully in adjacent sections.

The fact that the production of tobacco has become widespread among the sectarians in Lancaster County strikes observers as rather strange, for the conservative Amish and Mennonites forbid their members to smoke pipes or cigarettes. In fact, Mennonites carry on a constant crusade against the use of tobacco in all forms. The use of cigars and chewing tobacco by the conservative Amish is not unknown, but many of them do not use tobacco in any form. The adoption of the tobacco culture by the Amish farmers and other sectarians did occasion a crisis among these people. But income had to be increased on their high-priced farms and tobacco ordinarily brought substantial returns from limited acreages. Attractive prices for tobacco silenced the objectors.

In recent years it has been possible to replace tobacco by dairying and by growing tomatoes on a commercial scale, a tendency which has made greatest progress among the Church-Amish or liberal Amish. Because of religious scruples only a few of these farmers still raise tobacco. At least in this respect these otherwise more liberal groups are more conservative than the Old Order Amish.

Like tobacco and wheat, potatoes are an important cash crop to the Amish farmers in the county. Potatoes and tobacco, both intensive crops, replaced oats decades ago in the 4-year rotation program common in this farming area.

In 1929, 94 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township produced an average of 633.81 bushels of potatoes per farm. The average number of acres devoted to this crop was 3.64. Of the 29 Old Order Amish croppers in Leacock Township 13 reported an average of 1.59 acres and an average yield of 268.31 bushels. These croppers devoted almost their entire acreage (3.48 average) to the growing of tobacco and potatoes, and their farm income was derived almost entirely from the sale of these two products.

Tomato culture is expanding in Lancaster County. The Old Order Amish have not adopted this crop as generally as the Church-Amish, but low prices for tobacco, conscientious scruples, and a desire for further intensification may serve at any time to increase the tomato acreage. Several canners are prepared to buy all the tomatoes these farmers can grow. Farmers who adopt this crop not infrequently plant from 5 to 15 acres so that picking and trucking can be done economically.

The commercial production of peas is increasing in the county. Up to this time only a few Amish and other farmers are raising peas, but the soil is favorable, and hullers and markets are available. If farming is further intensified, pea culture may well become more general.

Livestock is taken for granted on the good farms of the county. A farmer who sells feed crops violates what is considered the most fundamental principle of good farming - that feed crops must be returned to the soil in the form of manure if productivity is to be maintained. Tenants also recognize this principle. Even in the absence of a written lease, it is assumed that no feed crops are to be sold unless the matter is mutually agreed upon by tenant and landlord.

Before about 1800, farms were still large enough in the Lancaster County area to raise the stock needed or wanted on the farms. Shortly after 1800, cattle by the thousands, destined for the markets in Philadelphia, began to pass through the county, at first herded by drovers and later hauled by the railroads. Thousands of these cattle were fattened in Chester and Lancaster Counties before they were sold in Philadelphia. To this day, Lancaster County is an outstanding cattle-feeding center in southeastern Pennsylvania. As dairying has become increasingly popular, somewhat less feeding is done. This feeding is carried on as much for the sake of obtaining manure as for the sake of immediate financial gain. In fact, in recent years the gain has been nominal for much feed has to be bought.

Only 1 of the 29 Old Order Amish croppers in Leacock Township reported milk cows to the census enumerator in 1930 and he reported only 1 cow. In the remaining Old Order Amish tenure groups, 84 percent reported milk cows and the average number of animals reported was 7.8. Of all the Old Order Amish farmers excepting the croppers, 86 percent reported cattle (all kinds), and the average number of head reported was 16.71. Sixty-six farmers bought and sold, respectively, an average of 11.91 and 11.92 head of cattle in 1929. These farmers, apparently, gave considerable emphasis to feeding cattle and many engaged in this practice to the exclusion of commercial dairying. Standards for dairying are rather high here, and it is not convenient or possible for most farmers to provide proper stables for both dairy cattle and feeders.

As the Old Order Amish do not own automobiles and do not use tractors for field work, horses and mules are still numerous in the community. Heavy horses and mules are used for field work and lighter horses are kept for traveling on the road.

Excepting the cropper group, 96 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township reported horses in 1930 and the average number of animals reported was 3.24. Also, 54 percent of the noncropper farmers reported an average of 2.55 mules per farm.

The first census of agriculture, in 1840, credits Lancaster County with 75,026 hogs; in 1930 the farmers in the county reported only 34,825 hogs, and in 1935 only 28,775. Up to rather recent times, hogs have been a byproduct of the steer-feeding lot. Fewer hogs are now raised because (1) increased emphasis is given to dairying, (2) there is a tendency to buy more and more feeds, (3) cattle now receive ground, prepared feeds and little or no waste remains for hogs, and (4) prices for hogs have been rather low during recent depression years.

Excepting the cropper group, 44 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township reported hogs in 1930, and the average number reported was 9.41 head. Hogs are now raised mainly for domestic and local consumption. More and more farmers are buying hogs to kill for home use. This practice suggests how commercialized and specialized farming has become in Lancaster County. Dairy farmers in particular are disinclined to keep hogs because of the sanitation that must be maintained in and near the barn.

In 1840 the farmers in this county reported 41,567 sheep; in 1930 they reported 7.27. Outside the cropper group, only 21 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township, reported sheep in 1930 and the average number reported per farm was 17.34. Up to the middle of the 19th century, sheep were kept in part to supply wool, to be spun and woven in the homes. Now small pastures and the absence of fences on

most fields discourage the raising of sheep. Only permanent pastures are always fenced and the available grass is needed by the cattle, particularly dairy cows. There are few other fields for sheep to glean.

In 1880 the farmers of the county reported a total of 347,779 units of all poultry; in 1930 the farmers in this county reported a total of 1,234,142 chickens over 3 months old. Poultry raising has increased greatly in importance. It has become intensified and specialized. Large commercial poultry farms are found in the Amish community as well as in the county generally. Outside the cropper group, 99 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township reported chickens 3 months old or over in 1930 and the average flock consisted of 159 units. These same farmers produced an average of 1,510 dozen eggs per farm, and sold an average of 1,450 dozen eggs.

Land use in the Amish community is exceedingly intensive from the standpoint of general, diversified farming. Nearly all available farm land is under cultivation. The finger-like ridges projecting into the Lancaster plain are largely unsuited for cultivation and are covered with timber. Some of the Amish farms include ridge-timber land. Large trees, when available, are cut into lumber and may be used by the owner or by a neighbor for building. The owner of the wood tract also reaps other benefits from it. He may cut enough firewood to supply his own fuel needs or he may even have a surplus for sale, depending on the size of his holdings. Some fence-posts may be cut from small timber. Income from these sources, however, is small. Many of the Amish farmers do not live along the ridges and do not realize a direct gain from the timber tracts. Most of them use coal for heating. None of the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township reported an income from the sale of forest products in 1929.

A recent study (1939) of the Pennsylvania-German farmers reports that these people take a family garden and family orchard for granted.²⁴ Up to a decade or two ago this statement was as true of the Amish farmers in Lancaster County as it was for the Pennsylvania-German farmers in general. In the last several decades many of the family orchards in the Amish community and in the county generally have disappeared, whereas formerly all of these people produced great quantities of fruit, especially apples for *schnitz* and apple butter. Pests and blights are said to account for this change. Commercial orchards now supply much of the fruit, a large commercial apple and peach orchard owned by a Church Amish member in Leacock Township is patronized by many of these people. This change is part of the general drift to more complete commercialization of all farming activities.

In this county and in southeastern Pennsylvania generally, farmers have applied lime to the soil since early post-colonial days. Until about 1900, each farmer or each neighborhood had a limestone quarry and, during the fall and winter, stone was quarried and burned, so the farmers were largely self-sufficient in regard to lime. Since about 1900, commercial quarries have replaced the domestic or neighborhood quarries almost entirely. Several commercial quarries are owned and operated by Amish people. Full time is generally devoted to them; they supply part-time and full-time work to extra hands. As this is a rural activity closely associated with farming, the Amish people may engage in it.

²⁴*Ibid.* p. 272.

The techniques of agriculture practiced by the Amish farmers are generally advanced. They need to be if stability and security are to be realized on the valuable farms occupied. All experiments with new crops and programs are watched intently. Observation leads to discussion and evaluation. If innovations prove successful, imitation is not long delayed. Innovators are not necessarily outsiders.

The most conspicuous feature on the better farm places in the county is the large Swiss barn or bank-barn, sometimes 80 to 100 feet long and 50 to 60 feet wide. Some barns in the Amish community were built in recent years at a cost ranging between \$7,000 and \$10,000.

The bank-barn is a 2-story and sometimes a 3-story structure which accommodates all the stock in the first story and provides ample storage space for hay, straw, grain and even implements in the upper story or stories. An earth bank, usually on the north or west side of the building, leads from the ground level to the second story. This bank makes it possible to drive into the upper story of the barn with a hayrack, or any other kind of implement, to unload products or to carry on such operations as threshing. The barns nearly always face in a southerly or easterly direction. The "overshot" (overhanging part), if it is still retained, is on the sunny side. On the sunny side there is frequently a yard with a stone foundation and surrounded by a stone wall which is called the manure pen.

Two separate and distinct kinds of alteration - the straw shed and dairy barn arrangements - have largely done away with the long-popular overshot and manure pen in the Amish community. Both features were peculiar to the famous bank barn, a type apparently introduced in this country during colonial days, by the Mennonites of the county.

More than any other group in the county, the Amish farmers seemed to realize decades ago that open storage of manure was wasteful. Many built an addition to the barn covering the manure pen called a straw shed; this eliminated both the overshot and the manure pen. Moreover, the barn was no longer rectangular, but became almost square. Straw is stored in the second story of the straw shed and steers are kept loose in the first story. The animals are well bedded with straw and litter, and the accumulated manure is hauled directly to the field when weather and time permit.

Many non-Amish informants said that a straw shed addition on a barn is the sign of an Amish farmer. General observation indicates that this is usually true. The Amishman does not want to be merely a good farmer, but likes to think of himself as a superior farmer. Good farming, he is convinced, can be accomplished only with plenty of manure. The straw shed grew out of these convictions. Many other farmers, no doubt, have had the same conviction, but failed to act on it. Much of the Amish farmer's success results from the fact that he farms as well as he knows how to farm; many other farmers do not.

The rapid spread of dairying in the county has also been responsible for substantial alterations in the bank barns, with or without the straw shed. In the absence of a straw shed, the traditional overshot was removed and replaced by a wall flush with the second story in which there are numerous windows. Farmers who had straw sheds and went into dairying also needed to make substantial changes, so famed bank barn in unmodified form is difficult to find in the Amish community. Like most farmers, the Amishman did not welcome the barn alterations that were necessary to meet approved dairy standards.



Figure 3.- The "overshot" (projection of the upper story over the lower) and the associated manure pen are retained in this Swiss or bank-barn.



Figure 4.- The Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites living near streams still use water power to provide running water on the farm. In the concrete box is a water wheel which initiates alternating movements to the wires attached to the triangular-shaped devices. The movements of the wires operate short-stroke pumps located on 7 nearby farms, some $3/4$ miles away. Water delivered by the pumps is circulated from the house

The early Pennsylvania-German farmers -- including the Amish -- were among the first American colonists to provide their stock with warm winter quarters. Even today, it is doubtful that stock anywhere in this country is given better shelter than in southeastern Pennsylvania. Observers from other sections of the country frequently express doubt about the need of the large and expensive barns common in Pennsylvania Germanland. Much stock in the Middle West is sheltered in open sheds or is not sheltered at all. The various practices are not to be appraised here. However, to the farmer in Lancaster County in general and to the Amish farmers in particular, the shelter given to stock in the Middle West seems particularly bad. Several Amish farmers who had visited Amish communities in the West in winter said they were constantly concerned about the 'cold, suffering cattle' and other stock. One said he could hardly sleep during his first few nights in Indiana because of worry about the "cold, freezing stock." He is convinced that farming practices in eastern Pennsylvania are highly superior to those elsewhere.

With the exception of tobacco, yields of crops on farms in Lancaster County are as large as they have ever been, or even larger. It is possible that on the newly-broken ground in pioneer days, yields matched or exceeded present yields for a very short time, but this seems doubtful. Grass culture and other farming practices, many believe, have brought the soil to higher productive capacity than it ever had before. At present, good yields of wheat approach 40 bushels an acre, good yields of corn approach 100 bushels an acre, and several tons of hay may be expected from each acre of timothy-clover or alfalfa. Tobacco yields of 2,000 pounds to the acre have not been uncommon, although present yields are somewhat less, potato yields between 250 and 400 bushels to the acre are not uncommon. Constructive practices of farming maintain these high levels of soil productivity.

The relatively high standards of farming in the county are reflected in the terms under which land is rented. These terms, whether written or oral, discussed or not discussed, take it for granted that no feed crops leave the farm. Only under rare circumstances are feed crops sold, and then with the express approval of the landlord. Even wheat is more and more considered a feed crop by Amish and Mennonite farmers and they are pleased if a tenant feeds much or most of it so there will be more manure for the land. One informant said that a jury of Lancaster County farmers would certainly convict a tenant of malfeasance if he sold a feed crop even in the absence of any agreement. Considerable quantities of corn and other feeds are brought into the county, some from adjoining counties, but the farmers who sell these crops don't know how to farm.

Although barnyard manure, legumes, and commercial fertilizer all help to maintain soil fertility, the most cherished fertilizer is barnyard manure. A young man beginning to farm is counseled to "make plenty of manure" and to apply it to as many fields as possible. On several trips through the community an elderly informant pointed with confidence or misgiving to this and that young farmer, with the remarks, "He keeps plenty of cattle and makes plenty of manure, he'll succeed. X here doesn't have enough cattle, he'll have a hard time of it."

Not only the amount, but also the quality of manure is important. Hence manure from horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and chickens is valued differently and may be used discriminately on different fields and for different crops. Moreover, the nature of feed used has much to do with the quality of manure, and recognition of this fact is

related to the feeding program followed. The silo was adopted by the Plain People of Lancaster County shortly after 1900 only after they were assured by agricultural specialists that the use of ensilage did not bring about a deterioration of manure.²⁵

The effective use the Amish and Mennonite farmers make of barnyard manure and legumes is well exemplified on the numerous farms they are buying on the margin of their larger combined community. When bought, many of these farms are in a run-down condition. The new owner usually feeds again as many steers as he ordinarily expects to keep and he plants a much larger acreage to legumes than is common in the 4-year rotation program. After one or several years the fertility of the land is greatly increased. In addition, all improvements on the place are thoroughly renovated.

Although the Old Order Amish and Mennonite farmers maintain their cropland in a high state of fertility, they have so far resisted such soil conservation practices as contour plowing and strip farming. A crisis in the erosion problem has been delayed because (1) slopes in general are mild and (2) the mantle rock is deep and the soil absorbs moisture rather readily. Nevertheless, sheet erosion and finger erosion have taken a heavy toll of good top soil from the more elevated fields. In the northeastern part of the Amish community, where steep slope lands are common, a rather serious erosion situation has developed. In the summer of 1940 only one Old Order Amish farmer in this area was experimenting with what was termed a modest program of strip farming.

Dairy stock standards vary a great deal in the Amish community. While feeding practices are advanced and much commercial feed is used, not all dairy herds are high producers. The more progressive farmers have participated in cow testing work for years and by proper culling have built up good herds. Others have just recently begun testing and culling, and a good many are still relying on rule of thumb methods of buying and culling cows. Many still rely on their own professed shrewdness in buying and selling cows and do business at the numerous local sales pavilions where cattle dealers hawk their stock, much of which is shipped on and not tested. In these places it is not uncommon to find a farmer buying a cow because her ears are thin and slender and have no conspicuous hair on the inside, because her hide is sleek and not too firm, because she wears a silk dress, and because of the pleasing conformation of her body, udder, and teats. Few of the farmers, even those with better herds, use tested bulls. The general practice is to keep a young bull until he develops a bad temper and to sell the animal long before it has demonstrated its qualities as a dairy sire. But these practices are changing. More and more farmers are participating in cow testing and the value of proved bulls is becoming recognized. Even artificial insemination is being adopted by a few of the better dairy farmers.

In their work the Amish and Mennonites of the county set a high standard, because of both economic and religious considerations. Exceedingly high land values make necessary an intensive form of agriculture that brings returns per acre of farm land, and although agriculture is very intensive in these communities, it is highly diversified. In few other farming communities is diversified agriculture as specialized as in this county. Much farm machinery is used, but this machinery was adopted not to gain leisure, but to aid in the intensification of crops. Leisure, as the word is generally understood, is not approved by these people because it is considered anti-Biblical. The Amish and Mennonites may not work harder than many other farmers at any given time, but they do maintain a rather heavy work program throughout the year.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 271.

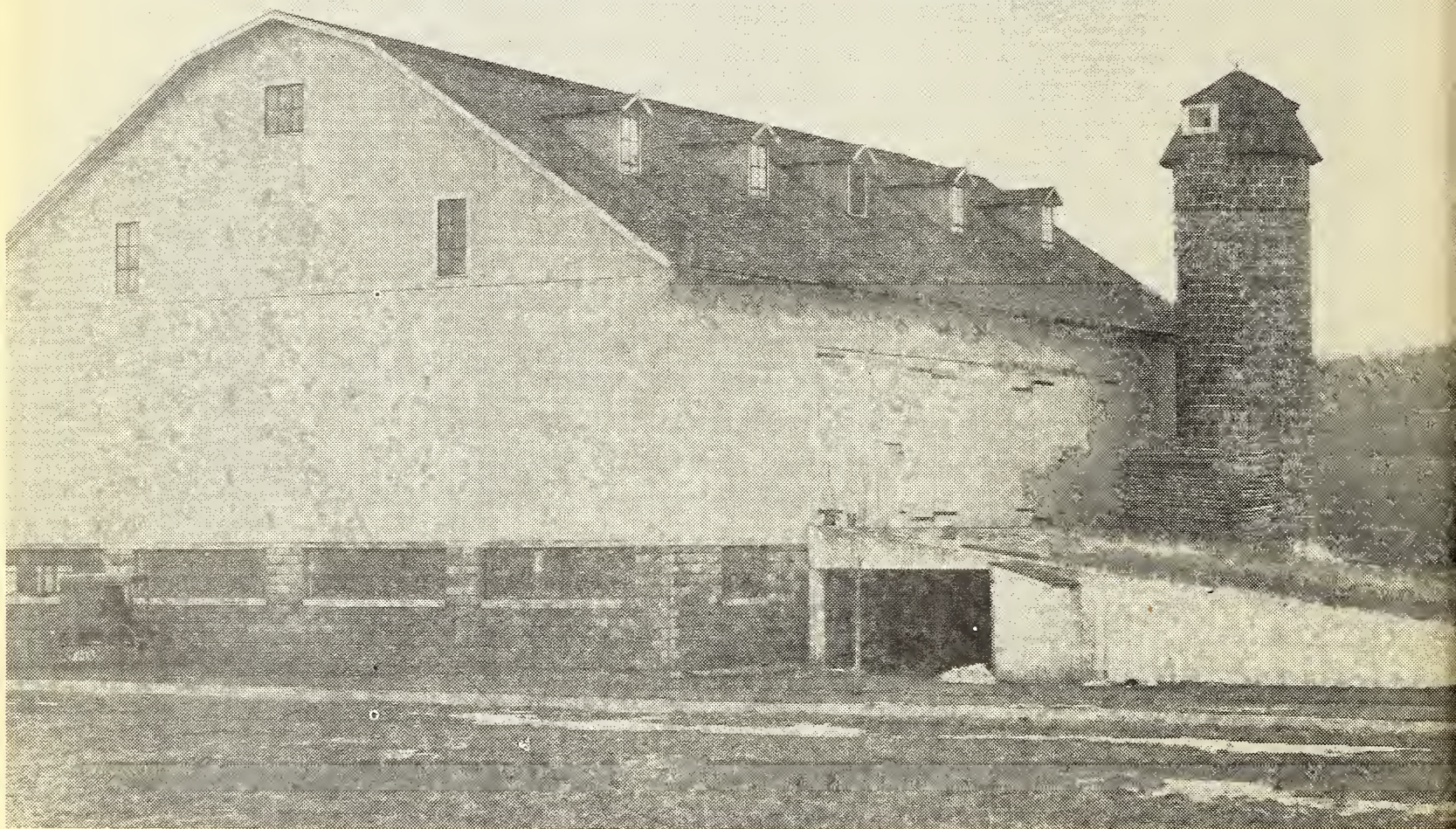
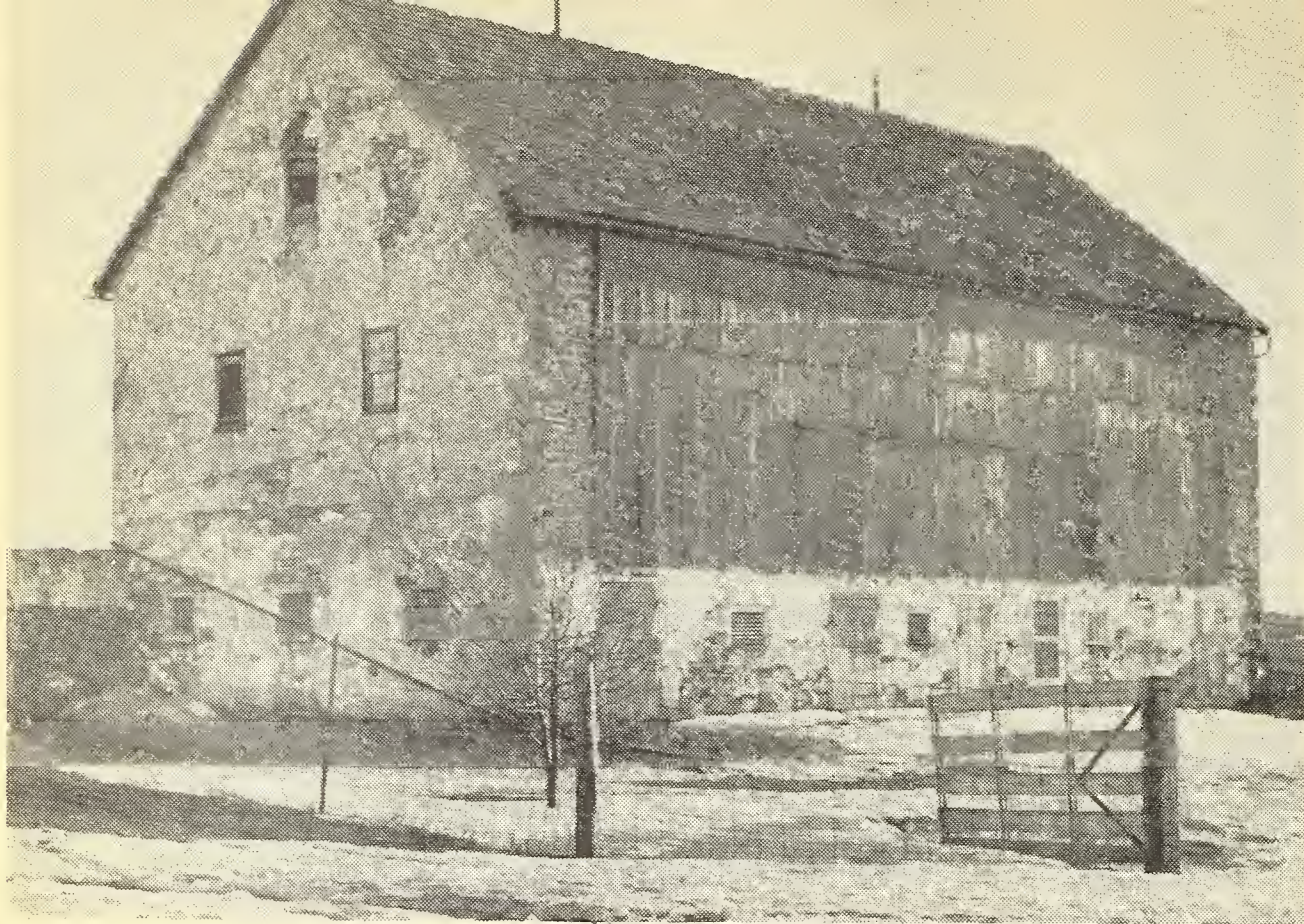


Figure 5.- Before and after. Top picture shows a barn on a farm near Honey Brook (Chester County) bought by an Old Order Amish farmer a few years ago. The condition of the barn reflects the condition of the farm and neighborhood. Lower picture shows barn erected by Amish farmer shortly after farm was bought.

That the Amish and Mennonites set a high standard in their work is also reflected in their experience with hired help. Hired hands from the city are entirely unacceptable to them because city people do not want to work long hours and do not work as well as these people wish. Nor do they find farm boys from other sections adequately prepared to do all the work as well as they like to have it done. Opposition to high school is partly based on the wish to train children in long hours of work as well as to familiarize them with techniques of doing things. Farming, these people hold, is no simple matter. We can't hire outsiders and make a go of things because they do not know enough and they don't work hard enough. If our boys have to go to camp and we have to hire outsiders, who want to work short hours and do things in a slipshod way, we'll all go broke.

The Old Order Amish in the county do all their field work with horses and mules. A few have tractors, but these, according to church regulations based on the principle of nonconformity, must be used for belt purposes only, such as threshing, cutting ensilage, filling the silo, shredding corn, and sawing wood. Nearly all feed is ground by local feed mills or by portable mills.

Also because of the principle of nonconformity, the Amish and the conservative Mennonites are forbidden to have electric plants of their own or to obtain electricity from a power line for either power or light. Partly as a result of this regulation, small gasoline engines are found on nearly all the farms and are used for several purposes - to pump water, to run the washing machine, or to run the milking machine.

Many of the conservative Amish utilize water power for pumping water on the farm. A dam and a water wheel are placed in a small stream that may be as much as half a mile removed from the farm place. The water wheel is harnessed to a wire cable which makes short back and forth movements as the wheel turns and these movements operate a short-stroke pump on the farm place. The pump is usually near the house and running water is generally circulated through the house as well as various sections of the barn and the chicken house. This method of providing running water seems to be unique to the Lancaster County area. (Fig. 4, p. 39.)

Farmers in the community are well supplied with farm machinery. Although the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township in 1929 reported an average of only 48 acres, they reported farm machinery valued at \$1,136 per farm. As tractors are few, this reported average value of farm machinery is high. Most of the farmers have at least one of each of the following implements: plow, manure spreader, harrow, packer, seeder, cultivator, mower, rake, binder, potato planter, hayrack, hay loader, tobacco planter, tobacco rack.

A great deal of milking is done in the community but the milking machines are rather few; many of the dairy herds are not yet large enough to warrant their use. Moreover, families are usually large and youngsters learn to milk at an early age.

Franklin's maxim about early to bed and early to rise is well observed by the Amish farmer. All members of the family except the smallest children arise between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning. Milking and other chores require from 1 to 2 hours, depending on the number of cows that are to be milked and the number of hands available. Between 5:30 and 6 o'clock, breakfast is served. If milk is sold, it is hauled to the station just before or after breakfast. Shortly after 6 o'clock the day's operations

are begun. Field work receives most attention in spring and summer, and stripping tobacco and hauling manure are the important tasks in the winter.

Work in the barns or fields continues until 11 o'clock, which is dinner time. If the weather is not too disagreeably hot, field work is resumed shortly after 12 o'clock. On hot days, a rest of 30 minutes to an hour may be taken. Supper on the Amish farm is served between 4 and 5 o'clock, usually about 4:30. Chores come immediately after supper. During the rush season, one or several men may again work in the field after supper until dark. Between 8:30 and 9 o'clock, most of these people go to bed.

Sunday is a day of rest, only essential tasks are done. No milk is hauled to the station for sale. Business transactions of all kinds are prohibited. Nevertheless, the day is filled with activity and the family arises at about the usual time. House services are held fortnightly in each district and they begin at 9 o'clock in the morning. Many of the participating members arrive as early as 8:30. By this hour they have finished the usual chores, have had breakfast, changed their clothes, and driven some distance with horse and buggy.

House services are staggered between adjoining districts so that when not held in the local district, it is possible to attend services in the neighboring district. Usually, however, the free Sunday is spent in visiting, which is the one form of social indulgence and pleasure not denied to the Amishman. He visits with a zest and appreciation few other people can appreciate. Relatives are so plentiful that they are lost count of and social rounds are never completed.

Other Christian duties are tended to on Sundays. Searching the Scriptures is an obligation. Bishops, preachers, and deacons find it essential to read the Bible so that they may perform their duties properly. As these officers are selected from among the lay members by lot, constant study of the Bible is essential.

The conservative Amish still conduct their services in the German language. German Bibles, prayer books, and hymn books are used. This means that children must be taught to read German and this responsibility rests on the parents. Much time is devoted to this task on Sundays.

Sunday evenings the young people gather for singings - the only social activity in which they can participate regularly in large groups. Formerly there were folk dances and games but these became too rowdy.

The daily routine, as set forth, includes all children of school age. Nearly all youngsters who report in the school at 9 o'clock in the mornings have already helped to do the morning chores. In the evening they carry out tasks that have been assigned to them.

Although there is a sharp difference in activities between week days and Sundays, there is no definite cycle of work during the week. The only difference in day-to-day work the informants could think of was that the barn is well cleaned on Friday and Saturday so that little of this work needs to be done on Sundays. On Mondays it is again necessary to do a little more work to get the barn in good order.

Unlike some other rural sections, Wednesday and Saturday evenings are not shopping nights in the Amish community. Purchases are made on any week day, although rarely after dark. Many go shopping on Friday or Saturday in preparation for Sunday. Usually the head of the household drives to the crossroads store or a nearby village to buy for the family.

In describing the yearly work cycle, it is convenient to begin with the calendar year. In January the few farmers who have not finished stripping tobacco finish this work. If steers are being fed, they receive considerable attention at this time so they will be ready for market whenever prices seem favorable. January, like December, is a popular month for the killing of meat animals. If the winter is mild, apple trees may be "trimmed." Frequent visiting is done during this month.

In February, if there is little frost in the ground, the farmer begins to plow his sod. Young chickens are bought from the hatchery and placed in brooders. Harnesses are mended and greased. During February and March, when the curtain for the new farming season is about to rise, farmers who wish to refire or to restrict their operations hold farm sales. Items offered for sale are usually confined to farm machinery, stock, harnesses, household items, and stored grains and feeds, but the farm itself also may be sold. These sales are not only business occasions but are important social events, giving to men, women, and children an excellent chance for visiting. No Amish farmer misses a sale if he can help it. School teachers find it expedient to dismiss youngsters when sales take place in the neighborhood.

Many sales are attended during March even if there is no need of buying. Manure is hauled during the winter months when the ground is frozen and dry. When the ground is in the right condition, the fields are plowed. Grass fields are rolled to correct the condition of heaving, resulting from frost. Clover or alfalfa is sown in the wheat field. Laming and farrowing require the attention of some farmers during this month. Tobacco beds are sterilized with steam, and some vegetables are planted in the garden.

Potatoes are planted as early in April as possible. Tobacco seed is sown in the sterilized tobacco bed. The few farmers who still raise oats plant the crop during this month. Ground is well prepared for corn planting. The home garden receives much attention.

Corn is generally planted during the first or second week of May. Toward the end of this month, the young tobacco plants are transplanted into the field. Some more vegetables are planted in the garden. If the growing season began early, the cultivation of corn and potatoes is begun in the last part of the month.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants continues until sometime in early June. These plants are transplanted at intervals so that the crop matures over a period of time and can be harvested properly at critical times. Corn and potato cultivation begins or continues and the operation is repeated from 4 to 6 times. In addition, tobacco is cultivated about once a week. The potatoes also need to be sprayed about once a week, but this task is frequently assigned to a commercial potato sprayer on a custom basis.

By the tenth of June, alfalfa should be ready for the first cutting. A week or two later, the clover-timothy also is ready to be cut. This latter crop is generally

cut only once, whereas alfalfa is usually cut three times in the season. As soon as the hay is dry it is loaded with a hay loader and stored in the barn. None of it is stacked outside. Barley is generally ready to be harvested by the middle of June. Wheat, if it matures early, is ready to be harvested late in June. The grain is shocked in the field after it is cut so that it will dry out thoroughly. After 3 or 4 days it is generally hauled into the barn where it is stored until it is threshed. Some shocked grain is threshed out of the field. The straw, however, is nearly always stored in the barn, baled or unbaled.

In July, the cultivation of corn and potatoes continues. The whole tobacco patch is thoroughly hoed early in the month. Wheat is generally cut between the first and tenth of July. Threshing of small grain begins in the middle of July and continues until the end of August but the threshing crew is largely self-sufficient and there is little need to exchange work with the neighbors in threshing.

August is a rather slack month. Early in August the tobacco is topped and the alfalfa is ready to be cut the second time. Some early potatoes are dug in the latter part of this month.

September is a very busy time. During the early part the silos are filled and tobacco is cut so that it will not be injured by an early frost. During the latter half of the month the potatoes are dug and the corn is cut and shocked. Each of these tasks generally requires several days of work. Farmers begin to buy steers for winter feeding.

Potato digging and marketing may well last until the middle of October. The shocked corn is picked in the field and both the cornstalks and the corn are hauled off the field.

Corn picking may continue until sometime in November. Generally the corn stalks are shredded during this month to be used as feed. Stripping of tobacco is begun. During this month the farmer likes to pick loose stones off his field. Some meat animals are killed.

December is the month for stripping tobacco, and feeding steers receives much attention. A good deal of butchering is done. Visiting is frequent and perhaps prolonged.

COMMERCIALIZATION AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Until recently, the Pennsylvania-German farmers combined commercial farming with a program of self-sufficiency in an unusually effective way. Commercial farming was not carried on for its own sake, but as a means whereby the farmer sustained himself and his children on the land. Farming was not practiced to make money, but money was made to support the farm.²⁶ Large-scale commercial farming has never become common in Pennsylvania-German communities.

Wheat has been an important cash crop for these farmers since colonial days. In Lancaster County, since the Civil War, tobacco has supplemented wheat as a cash crop. More recently, potatoes, tomatoes, and even peas have supplemented the cash income of the farmers of the county.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Cash income is also realized from the sale of animals and animal products. During the colonial period many cattle and hogs were raised and marketed. Since about 1800, the feeding and fattening of cattle has persisted, although dairy cows are now replacing feeder cattle. Hog and sheep raising has declined, but poultry production has increased greatly. All these activities are part of a highly diversified form of commercialized farming.

As commercialization was extended and intensified, self-sufficiency declined. Today the Amish farmers' production and consumption are closely tied up with the market economy. During colonial years, the farmers here produced the clothes they wore from flax, wool, and hides, they were fully self-sufficient in fruits and vegetables, and were more than self-sufficient in the production of flour and meat. Today they buy some ready-made clothes they buy most of the fruit and some of the vegetables they eat. If the housewife still bakes bread, she buys flour made from western wheat. Local wheat, when sold, is used as a pastry flour. Many farmers buy the pigs they later kill for meat as well as the animals later slaughtered for beef. Not infrequently a professional butcher kills these animals for the farmer.

Self-sufficiency is in retreat. In the summer of 1939, five commercial bakers had bread routes running through the Amish community to serve an increasing number of patrons. Grocery trucks and even meat trucks pass through the community to serve numerous customers. During the apple and peach seasons, fruit vendors come up to the Amish houses confident of making sales. The grocer is selling the Amish farmers more and more canned vegetables. Some of these farmers buy the butter for their tables. This practice would be even more common if the Sunday's milk supply could be sold, but as it is, this milk is usually skimmed and the cream is then churned.

It should not be assumed that the Amish farmers have forgotten their vegetable gardens. Most of them still have good gardens which are fairly well maintained by replantings throughout the summer. However, the older generation is more devoted to the garden than the younger generation. Young housewives are beginning to "figure on" all the costs of raising and canning peas, corn, tomatoes, and other items. The next step is simple and may not be long delayed.

Many Amish housewives still can and preserve great quantities as well as a great variety of food. To can from 500 to 700 quarts of fruits and vegetables is not uncommon. In addition many still prepare many gallons of apple and pear butter, can and preserve much meat, prepare great quantities of jellies, and store away impressive quantities of dried apples, beans, and corn. Fruits and berries for canning however, are nearly all purchased. The fact that these items are bought, centers increasing attention on the cost differential between products canned at home and products bought in cans. Housewives are not overlooking the fact that, for home canning the fruit, glasses, rubber, sugar, and other items may have to be bought, and they are also talking about the value of their time. More and more of them are becoming convinced that the finished product can be bought at a saving - and they act accordingly.

It is doubtful that rural women anywhere in this country do more needlework and sewing than the women and girls of the Amish families. Only underclothes are bought ready-made. Because of the principle of nonconformity, these people do not buy ready-made dresses, overalls, shirts, men's suits, or even dress overcoats. Men's overcoats

and men's suits are frequently made by women in the community who have special competence in this work, but most of these outer clothes are made by the housewives and grown daughters.

The making of outer clothes at home means a considerable saving in the cost of the finished product, particularly if the time spent in making them is not appraised too highly. As there are no style changes, clothes are never discarded until worn out, and this practice, of course, makes for economy.

Commercially made carpets, except rag carpets, are prohibited under the principle of nonconformity. Congoleum and linoleum of simple design are permitted. Rag carpets are now prepared on a loom by a professional carpet maker, but the rags used in their manufacture are saved in the homes and are sewn into strips, preparatory to weaving. The result is a relatively cheap but durable carpet.

Amish women spend much time over embroidery work, quilting, and making carpets and pillow cases. Each daughter begins to fill her dower chest with things of this kind at an early age. She accumulates embroidered pillow cases, several pieced, embroidered, and stitched quilts, hooked rugs, and other household items.

Religious taboos play a part in the self-sufficiency of the conservative Amish. No money is spent for jewelry, non-Biblical story books, commercial entertainments, musical instruments, men's haircuts, and beauty-parlor work.

The Amish farmer's present way of life urges him toward a more rapid pace of commercialized agriculture. This increasing tempo of commercialization follows naturally from his determination to remain on the land. To remain on the land, he must replace other farmers and intensify his agriculture; to secure socio-religious isolation, many of them gravitate toward the center of the community. The result is inflated land values which must be met by increased agricultural activity.

Despite their diversified farming and the relatively small farm units, the income of the Amish farmers in Lancaster County is large. The average gross income reported by the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township for 1929 was \$4,493. This figure includes the average income of \$745 reported by the 29 croppers who reported an average acreage of only 3.48 acres. The average gross income of all groups, except the croppers, approached and exceeded \$5,000.

The high diversification of farming among the Amish is indicated by the breakdown of the gross income shown in table 3. The income falls into three important categories: crops sold or traded, livestock sold or traded, and livestock products sold or traded. The income in each of these either approaches or exceeds somewhat one-third of the total gross income.

Table 4 shows the high average gross returns realized by the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township in 1929 for each acre of farmland and each acre of cropland. The most striking figures in this table are the high returns for the croppers. The average gross income per acre of farmland and per acre of cropland for this group was more than again as high as that realized by the other farmers. This high per-acre gross income resulted from the fact that the acreages were very small and were devoted almost entirely to raising tobacco and potatoes, mostly the former.

As table 5 shows from 94 to 100 percent of the noncropper farmers reported vegetables grown for home use in 1929, whereas only 3 percent of the croppers reported vegetables. Many of the croppers either live with their parents and do not have gardens of their own, or they receive garden products from the landlord, who may or may not be a relative.

Of all the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township, 9 percent harvested vegetables for sale in 1929. The average income realized from this is small in the light of the total gross income reported. None of the croppers and "other tenants" reported income from selling vegetables.

The expenditure for commercial fertilizer is high in the Amish community. For the groups reporting, the average amounts spent ranged between \$2.70 and \$5 per acre of cropland, in addition, most of these farmers spread barnyard manure on it.

Excluding the cropper group, from 89 to 100 percent of the Old Order Amish farmers reported average expenditures for feed ranging between \$615 and \$914. This purchased feed of course supplements feed grown on the farm and makes it possible for the relatively small farm units to maintain a good deal of livestock including poultry.

The majority of the Old Order Amish farmers in Leacock Township spent rather substantial amounts for farm labor in 1929. (table 5). Self sufficiency in agricultural labor has not been the rule for most Amish farmers in recent generations, according to various informants in the community but these informants believe that the practice of hiring farm labor has been somewhat less common in recent years.

In a memorial addressed to William Penn in 1718 the Amish in Pennsylvania said, "As we cannot contract debts, we require no law for their recovery."²⁷ This statement must be properly understood. Brotherly love and mutual aid have always been practiced by these people. A brother who was in distress did not need to borrow money from outsiders but would receive from other church members whatever assistance was considered essential. Such loans were usually repaid - except in cases of disaster - but the whole transaction took place outside the law. So these people did not need a law to recover debt.

The financial activities of the Amish farmer have changed greatly since Colonial days. Like many of his other activities, however, they do not conform fully with the more general practices of farmers elsewhere. The Amish farmer still does not need a law to recover debts because he rarely loans money to outsiders and he does not go into court. The principle of the unequal yoke and the practice of not going to court prevent the Amish farmer from investing money in stocks, bonds and business enterprises generally. His money remains in the community and is used either to buy land or to finance farming operations. If the Amish farmer does not need the money himself, he loans it to a church brother, usually at a moderate rate of interest. In case of disaster, money may be advanced without interest or may even be granted outright in small sums. Many of the person to person loans are made at interest charges ranging from 3 to 4 percent. Among relatives, the interest charge may be only 2 percent. Such a low rate of interest may also be charged of a particularly worthy church brother who is in difficulty through no fault of his own.

²⁷Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans *History of Lancaster County Pennsylvania* (1883) pp. 330 331

Table 3. - Average value of products sold, traded, or used by the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township in 1929¹

Farm Group	Aver. value of crops sold or traded		Aver. value of live-stock sold or traded		Aver. value of live-stock products sold or traded		Aver. value of forest products sold		Aver. value of products produced and consumed on farms		Aver. value all products sold, traded, or consumed
	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Aver. amt. reported
Full owners	91	\$1799	78	\$1663	99	\$1669	--	--	99	\$333	\$4966
Part owners	100	2210	100	1265	100	1410	--	--	100	413	5299
Cash tenants	100	1555	94	1730	89	1218	--	--	100	371	4997
Croppers	100	725	--	--	--	--	--	--	7	291	745
Other tenants	100	2870	88	1681	92	2123	--	--	100	366	6652
All	95	1755	69	1652	80	1730	--	--	83	347	4493

¹Computed from agricultural schedules, census of 1930, Bureau of the Census.

Table 4. - Average value of products sold, traded, or used per acre of farmland and per acre of cropland as reported by the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township in 1929¹

Farm Group	Value per acre of farmland	Value per acre of cropland
Full owners	\$98.88	\$113.28
Part owners	110.07	135.39
Cash tenants	84.07	102.57
Croppers	214.08	219.12
Other tenants	81.08	97.41
All	94.39	110.72

¹Computed from agricultural schedules, census of 1930, Bureau of the Census

Table 5. - Average value of vegetables grown for home consumption, average value of vegetables harvested for sale, and average amounts spent for commercial fertilizer, feed, and farm labor by the Old Order Amish of Leacock Township in 1929¹

Farm Group	Aver. value of vegetables grown for home consumption		Aver. value of vegetables harvested for sale		Aver. amount spent for commercial fertilizer		Aver. amount spent for feed		Aver. amount spent (cash) for farm labor	
	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.	Pct. rep.	Aver. amt. rep.
Full owners	94	\$48	11	\$96	84	\$183	90	\$753	64	\$232
Part owners	100	71	43	124	100	198	100	914	57	198
Cash tenants	94	51	11	73	89	201	89	615	67	331
Croppers	3	25	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Other tenants	100	52	--	--	38	274	92	707	86	265
All	80	50	9	99	64	194	75	736	57	250

¹Computed from agricultural schedules, census of 1930, Bureau of the Census.

The practice of eschewing investments outside of the community and loaning available money at low interest rates to members of the church has served to give these people a rural credit system enjoyed by few farmers elsewhere. The significance of this practice cannot be overestimated. The salutary features of the program are obvious (1) no money is borrowed unless it is necessary. (2) when money is borrowed the interest rate is low. (3) there are no foreclosures, (4) bank failures and business failures do not disturb the community greatly. (5) investment sharks cannot plunder these people, and (6) interest earnings remain in the community.

For some time now the Amish have not been self sufficient financially. Considerable amounts of money are borrowed from local banks on personal notes but this money supplements the community money and does not replace it. In general, the Amish and Mennonites are considered very good risks by local bankers. One banker stated with a great deal of pride that 90 percent of his loans to these people were one signature notes.

Many people have the impression that the Amish are practically debt free but that is not true. In 1930 (as of April 1), 57 percent of the Old Order Amish owner and part-owner farmers of Leacock Township reported real estate mortgages, and the average amount reported was \$6,529. As the average total value of the farms was reported as \$12,160, the debt burden was substantial. It is to be remembered however, that the total value reported to the census enumerator is usually considerably less than the actual sales value.

The Federal Land Bank and insurance companies have few, if any, farm mortgages on the high priced land in the Amish and Mennonite communities. They consider the land values entirely too high but this opinion would not prevent them from placing reasonable mortgages on these farms. Other considerations serve to keep outside mortgaging concerns and the Amish and Mennonite farmers apart. For instance, to obtain money from the Federal Land Bank, a farmer essentially joins an organization and the principle of the unequal yoke expressly forbids this. Then these people are determined to remain on the land, and any obligation that would prejudice their security would naturally be avoided - at least so long as possible.

It has been possible for farmers since 1933 to obtain loans from either the Farm Security Administration or production credit associations. Both agencies are represented in Lancaster County the latter under the name of the Lancaster County Production Credit Association. F.S.A. loans are available only to farmers whose credit rating is very poor and who cannot obtain money from any other credit agency, governmental or private. Up to July 1940, no F.S.A. loan had been made to an Amish farmer in this county. In fact, relatively few such loans had been made in the county as a whole and those that were made were mostly concentrated in the southern part of the county. The Lancaster County Production Credit Association, on the other hand was rapidly gaining in popularity in all parts of the county and more and more Amish farmers were patronizing it. As it makes loans on crops and chattel property at an interest rate of about 4 percent, which is considerably less than rates charged by banks - at least until recently - the association provides attractive credit opportunities to farmers.

Employees of the Lancaster County Production Credit Association estimated in the summer of 1940 that the local office had made several dozen loans to Old Order Amish farmers. To get one of these loans, a farmer must make an application listing all his

standing obligations. Employees of the Association said that the Old Order Amish farmers who made application for loans were more heavily indebted than most other farmers in the county but recognized that certain selective factors brought about this situation.

The finances of the individual Amish farmer are partly, but not completely, separated from the mutual-aid program of the church group as a whole. In the event of disasters which may be construed as "acts of God," the church gives aid when necessary, including outright gifts of money. Reverses due to such disasters, therefore, do not necessarily result in a heavy debt burden on the individuals. Hospital and doctor bills and burial expenses are always paid for needy individuals. Needy widows and children are always taken care of. But the church does not stand behind obligations incurred for regular farming or business activities. If these obligations cannot be met the borrower and creditor take the consequences.

In their financial activities, the Amish farmers are becoming less and less self-sufficient. During the early colonial period, farmers here apparently never borrowed money from non-Amish people or agencies. In time, they borrowed money from banks, on personal loans. In recent years they have also begun to borrow from the production credit association. Moreover, it appears that money is not so plentiful in the community as it used to be. A number of non-Amish informants in Lancaster County have been approached, in recent years, by young Amishmen for personal loans that would enable them to begin farming. The informants had lived in the county a long time but had never before been asked by an Amishman for a loan. The request surprised them and prompted conclusion that money is not plentiful in the Amish community now.

Bookkeeping in this community is rather elementary, though perhaps no more elementary than on most farms. "A farmer can't keep books and farm too." The practice, it seems, suggests book-farming too much, and few farmers are more disdained among the Amish than a book-farmer. "Any farmer who is a farmer knows at the end of a year if he is getting ahead or behind. If he doesn't, he will soon find out."

Many Amish farmers do record transactions, especially important ones but a mere recording of a few expenditures and income, is not very revealing with reference to net income. Nor does it show which activities result in a gain and which in a loss. These Amish farmers realize that there is an interrelation between farming activities that makes separate entries on the balance sheets difficult, if not well-nigh impossible. For instance, those who feed steers do so largely for the sake of the manure that the animals provide. What, then, is the value of the manure? Similar problems arise concerning the value of legume crops. Many of these farmers think that it would be a waste of time to record supposed or apparent values. It is sufficient, they hold, to recognize the sum of them which they think can be done without keeping books.

In its farm labor, the Amish community as a whole is largely self-sufficient, but individual farmers are not self-sufficient. (table 5.) There is no rule against hiring non-Amish workers, but most of the farm laborers hired do come from Amish families in the community. Workers hired by the day were paid \$2 to \$3 a day in 1940; those working by the month got about \$30 a month plus room and board.

The Amish farmer feels that his labor needs or standards are such that few laborers coming from outside the community are able or willing to meet them. He is

convinced that laborers from cities lack every qualification of strength, training, and perseverance to fill the role of a hired hand. He is convinced that no farmer trains his boys better for farm work than the Amish farmer. This training must begin early in life and must not be disturbed or undone by higher education. This conviction, together with the fact that Amish families are large and surplus boys are becoming more plentiful, tends to exclude the outsider as a hired hand, although a few, including migrant workers, are hired during the potato harvest.

Although church regulations prohibit the Amish farmers from having telephones in their homes and owning automobiles and trucks, they are not denied these conveniences. Telephone booths are scattered throughout the community mainly for their convenience. For everyday transportation, the Amishman uses either an open buggy (before marriage) or a gray-topped buggy (after marriage). The vehicles must be alike in construction and color, and without dashboards and whip sockets. In case of an emergency, an Amishman may hire a car and driver. For long trips by a group, one or several cars are usually hired. Street cars, buses, and trains may be used to make trips but none of these may be used merely for the pleasure of the ride.

Amish farmers use trucks constantly in their farming operations. Commercial truckers are numerous and readily available. Practically all bulky products needed on the farm or marketed from the farm are conveyed by trucks.

The tendency is to exaggerate the saving from not owning automobiles and trucks. The road horses used are of good stock and most of them are bought in other parts of this country. It is not uncommon to pay \$150 for one and on the hard-surfaced roads they do not last long. The Amish community is large and it is not unusual for an Amishman to travel from 30 to 50 miles in a period of 24 hours. Young unmarried men are particularly hard on horses. A fine pacer may be "reduced to dog feed" in 18 months. Moreover, the young man must be supplied with an open buggy, a good harness, and blankets. A complete road outfit for the young man costs between \$350 and \$400. A fairly good car could be bought for a similar amount.

After the young Amishman marries, his horse usually fares better and its work life is lengthened considerably. A special gray-topped carriage replaces the open buggy at this time and this vehicle lasts many years. However, full self-sufficiency in transportation is rarely ever realized for even part of the feed used by the work horse and other work-stock is bought.

Although the Old Order Amish are required to live in rural areas, they are not invariably farmers, particularly not full-time farmers. Some are part-time or full-time blacksmiths, carpenters, painters, wagon builders, furniture makers, watch repairers, or harness makers or repairers. Some operate limestone quarries and lime kilns.

Table 6 shows the extent to which the Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township supplemented their cash incomes by working off the farm in 1929. Data on the croppers are arresting. Eighty-three percent of these operators worked an average of 177 days off their farms. These croppers, it may be recalled, reported farm units of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres in size and an average gross income of \$745 from the sale of farm products. The money earned by "working off the farm" supplemented the income realized from the sale and use of farm products.

Table 6. *Number of days worked for pay off farm reported by Old Order Amish farmers of Leacock Township in 1929*¹

	Percent reporting	Average number of days reported
Full owners	28	80
Part owners	43	55
Cash tenants	44	100
Croppers	83	177
Other tenants	13	32
All	38	116

¹Computed from agricultural schedules, census of 1930, Bureau of the Census.

Job opportunities for the Old Order Amish farmers would be very much greater if they could accept nonrural jobs. Lancaster County is highly industrialized and many persons living in rural areas work in factories. As many of the young Amish people are without land and the means to start farming, at least some are strongly tempted to accept factory jobs in spite of the prohibitions. The elders want the children not only to remain in rural areas, but they also want them to become farmers if possible. So long as the present attitude prevails, the tendency to combine farming with industry will be limited to certain strictly rural activities.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS TO AID AGRICULTURE

The recent governmental programs designed partly or wholly to aid agriculture are the Agricultural Conservation Program and the programs of the Farm Security Administration, Soil Conservation Service, Federal Crop Insurance, Rural Electrification Administration, Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and perhaps, National Youth Administration.

None of these programs has really been accepted by the Old Order Amish farmers. Since their children do not go to high school, they are not eligible for N Y A funds. Unemployment is unknown among these people and so they do not participate in the W P. A. and the C C C programs. Few, if any Amish farmers are in serious enough difficulty to receive attention from the F S A. The Old Order Amish do not use electricity - except in flashlights and buggy lights - and so the R. E. A. cannot offer them anything. Crop insurance is opposed because insurance as such is considered anti-Biblical. Even if the principle of insurance should be fully acceptable, the admonitions concerning the unequal yoke would prevent insurance of crops in an organization dominated by non-Amish people.

Up to the summer of 1940, no Old Order Amish farmer participated - at least not officially - in the Soil Conservation Service. The reasons are varied. The first soil conservation district established in the county was, for obvious reasons, established in the southern part of the county, which is rugged, has much slope land in farms, and has a serious erosion problem. Moreover, in this part of the county there are large

communities that are not Pennsylvania-German and they are more inclined to cooperate in a Government program designed to improve agricultural conditions. The Soil Conservation Service has established demonstration farms in other parts of the county, including a few in the area occupied by the Old Order Amish people, though none is owned or operated by them. On these demonstration farms, the value of strip farming and other practices is demonstrated. It is assumed that once the value of conservation practices is demonstrated, the farmers in the area, including the Old Order Amish, will adopt them. A few Old Order Amish farmers who owned eroded slopes did actually experiment with some strip farming in 1940 and this encouraged the Conservation Service. Farmers who occupy land with mild slopes and who have lost considerable fertile soil by sheet erosion, a less obvious form of land waste, still show little concern about new ways of plowing and strip farming.

The Agricultural Conservation Program (successor to the A.A.A.) presents a real problem to the Old Order Amish farmer. The church leaders and the great majority of the church members are opposed to this program for several reasons. To participate in the program, a farmer signs a farm plan showing his intention to cooperate. Many of these people feel that by signing what they consider a pledge or contract they violate the principle of the unequal yoke. Then they are concerned about the wider implications of such participation. To the local committeemen they frequently express the fear that if they participate and accept benefit payments, they will also be required to go to military camps and to war. This relationship may seem remote or even nonexistent, but that is beside the point. To their way of thinking, the relationship exists and so plays a part in governing their actions. Of course, they also use other arguments in opposition, arguments advanced by other critics of the program. Basically, however, their opposition grows out of a fear that the program will undermine group solidarity and independence of action.

Other considerations confuse or negate their opposition to the Agricultural Conservation Program. As a group they pride themselves on being law-abiding citizens. Nor do they want to be looked upon as shirkers in a program that may be sound or essential. Accusations on this score are frequently directed at them. To demonstrate that they are not shirkers, most of them did reduce their acreage of tobacco and certain other crops voluntarily. This, in turn, raised the question, If you comply with the program, why not get paid for it as other farmers do? So a few of the Old Order Amish farmers do participate in this program. In the summer of 1940, in Leacock Township, 15 Old Order Amish farmers signed up for it.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND VALUES

PATTERNS OF INFORMAL ASSOCIATION

Mutual aid and cooperation are cardinal principles in the life of Amishmen, who are expected to translate them into everyday action. Informal associations incidental to exchanging help, however, have been decidedly restricted by increased commercialization of many farming activities. Aid programs still survive, but they are limited more and more to occasions of distress.

In former years, the Amish, like their neighbors, had threshing bees, corn-husking and log raising bees, bees for the preparation of cider and schnitz and butchering and quilting bees. The job of moving was also a neighborhood affair. Only a few of these activities survive, and in modified form. Threshing is now done by an almost self-sufficient crew and requires no exchange of labor; corn-husking bees are a distant memory; log raising bees, now changed into barn raising bees, are still popular; cider is no longer prepared on most farms and only a little schnitz is dried, usually from purchased fruit, some cooperation still takes place in regard to meat, but the commercial butcher is more and more used; quilting bees still take place; moving now gives a commercial trucker a chance to earn a few more dollars.

There is a good deal of cooperation in harvesting grain, filling silos, and making hay. These operations require much manpower, and high priced machinery can be used to advantage. To pool both manpower and machinery is mutually advantageous. Neighborhood rings to perform these tasks are common, but they are frequently confined to brothers and near relatives. Among non-relatives, cash settlements are usually made if participants contribute unequal amounts of work.

A few unusual activities still provide neighborhood bees. One of the Old Order Amish told of a pipe laying bee he had several years ago. He had provided an excellent system of running water on the place by tapping a spring on a ridge about a mile away. To help dig the trench for the pipe, he extended an invitation to friends and neighbors and so many came that the pipe was laid between breakfast and dinner. Such bees are essentially social gatherings at which rather elaborate meals are served. Similar bees may be staged to cut wood or saw lumber for home use.

The barn raisings which survive in the county seem to be a modernized version of the early log raising bees. The rapidity with which a barn is erected by this cooperative method is amazing to outsiders. First, several carpenters are hired to prepare the foundation for the barn and to pre-cut all the required pieces of lumber. When these preliminaries are done, word is sent out that the barn-raising is to take place on a certain day. Farmers come from all directions early in the morning, and the work of setting up the barn begins immediately under the direction of a foreman or boss. By evening, a \$5,000 to \$10,000 barn stands erected, although the shingles may not all be in place. It is not unusual for 200 and 300 farmers including both Amish and non-Amish

to take part. Frequently there are complaints that the presence of so many men hinders rather than helps construction. All get a big dinner.

In times of distress, cooperation and mutual aid spring to life quickly and minister to the needy. In the event of sickness or death, neighbors promptly assume the responsibility for all necessary farm or household functions. In cases of protracted illness, the necessary work will not be interrupted, even though the sick person may not be able to afford hired help. Such aid is taken for granted.

Worldly amusements, particularly in commercialized form, are completely taboo. An Amishman cannot attend shows, dances, worldly parties, fairs, card games, or any pleasurable activity sponsored by "the world." So these people look to each other to satisfy their social propensities, and visiting is carried on with an enthusiasm that is rarely matched in other groups.

Sunday, a day of rest and worship, provides a splendid opportunity for visiting. The fortnightly services are the important events of their days, and give people a chance to hear what is going on elsewhere and more particularly in the community. It is possible to arrive at the place of worship some time before services begin at 9 o'clock and it is unusual to leave right after the Sunday meal has been served at the end of the services. Men, women, and children find plenty of company at these gatherings for conversation and play.

Between 2 and 4 o'clock when most of the members return home, the young people have learned at whose place "singing" is to take place in the evening; frequently it is to be held in the same house. After the chores are done, preparation to go to the singing begins. The young man grooms himself, his horse, and his open buggy. The horse's tail, mane, and hair are trimmed if they need it. The harness and wagon are cleaned, polished, or washed if that seems necessary. The young man puts on his best attire and so does his sister. Usually they go to a designated place where young people assemble to pair off. The village of Intercourse, centrally located in the large Old Order community, is the place where the young people usually gather from all directions at early hours. By 8 o'clock most of them are again on the road, headed for the singing with their chosen partners. In the house of the host, they gather around a table to sing church hymns, "einstimmig." Singing is often interspersed with riddles or conundrums. Refreshments are always served. Everyone is expected to leave for home before midnight.

On Sundays when there are no services there is even more time for visiting. All the Amish have a wide Freundschaft—many relatives—and it is taken for granted that at least the near kinfolks must be visited as often as possible. Parents and grandparents make it a point to visit all children and grandchildren at least several times a year. As only every second Sunday is really available for family visits and as children and grandchildren are usually numerous, most of these people are behind in what they consider an ideal visiting schedule.

A few secular and several church holidays also give chances for visiting. New Year's Day is not a church holiday, but many Amish spend the day on visits. Good Friday is observed by fasting in the forenoon and visiting in the afternoon. Easter Sunday is largely given to religious services, but Easter Monday is a day of visiting. Ascension Day and Pentecost are religious holidays and the Monday following Pentecost is observed by all in visiting. Thanksgiving, Christmas, and second Christmas Day are

observed by all, and friends are seen in number. During February and particularly during March many sales are attended.

Protracted winter visits were common in the land of the Pennsylvania-Germans before the advent of the automobiles. When the automobiles came, these long visits declined in popularity. Among the Old Order Amish, however, who still drive with horses, visits that last several days and even several weeks are still common. Staying overnight with a friend is fairly usual in the winter. Houses are usually large, beds are numerous, and food is plentiful. While carrying on field work in the community, the writer was frequently invited to stay overnight.

Long visits to distant Old Order Amish communities are common. There are such communities near Norfolk, Va.; Dover, Del.; in central Pennsylvania, chiefly in the Kishacoquillas Valley; in western Pennsylvania; in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and some other States. There are likely to be relatives in one or several of them and there is much visiting back and forth, principally in the winter, or in August when work is somewhat slack. These visits usually cover several weeks and may include several homes.

Bishops and preachers visit distant communities partly out of a feeling of duty, and there they deliver many sermons. One informant pointed out that St. Paul and other early church leaders also traveled and preached to the scattered Christians.

These protracted visits have several noteworthy byproducts. Young, unmarried persons often find their life mates in this way and the Amish farmers become familiar with farm practices prevailing in other places, some of which he may find useful and profitable.

PATTERNS OF FORMAL ASSOCIATION

Family and community integrity is essential for the survival of the Amish people as a group. Outside influences that weaken family ties or appropriate for themselves activities formerly kept in the family tend to weaken the community. Amish parents do not want to relinquish any of their old responsibilities or duties to schools or other public agencies. But encroachments from the outside are persistent and cause more or less continuous resistance and opposition.

The Amish family, like the Amish community, is closely-knit, socially and economically. The frequent visits paid to near relatives certainly are an expression of close family ties as is the aid extended by parents to children to start them farming, responsibility of aiding those in need rests, first of all, upon the family. Only when family aid fails to meet the needs of distressed individuals does the community take over the assistance.

It is largely the responsibility of the parents to teach values and to create attitudes in the children which will incline them to follow in the footsteps of their forefathers. This task is not a small one for a peculiar people that practices nonconformity. Children must be told why they cannot have clothes, bicycles, and many toys like those of other children; why the family cannot have electric lights, a car, a radio. The total impression of the children must be one of separateness, difference,

and one of strong disapproval of the world and all its doings. That the children may understand the religious services and read available religious books, including the Bible, they must be taught to speak and read German.

Amish parents cooperate with the public school to the end that they want their children well-trained in the 3 R's. Adequate competence in the 3 R's is attained in the elementary grades, they feel, and public education beyond the eighth grade or beyond the age of 14 is opposed. Moreover, they believe it is their responsibility to train the children to become competent farmers and housewives with experience as a good assistant teacher.

As all Amish children are required to become farmers or to engage in some closely associated work in rural areas, the question arises whether many of these youngsters are not thwarted in ambitions. That some children experience disillusionment on this score may well be granted but most parents do remarkably well in cultivating a sense of values in their children which centers their interests and plans on farming.

When informants were asked about varied ambitions on the part of their children, they replied that farming offers adequate opportunity to give expression to these differences. Even in a specialized form of farming, variations are possible in approach and execution. The opportunity to exercise special talents in farming was also stressed. Soil, stock, crop, and marketing problems are cited in abundance to demonstrate this point. "Why, a good farmer does not even treat two cows, two horses, or even two pigs alike."

The success of the Amish in training their children to be enterprising and satisfied farmers has arrested the interest of agricultural specialists in the county. This program, one of them pointed out, stands in marked contrast to what is taking place in several non-Amish, non-Pennsylvania-German communities in the southern part of the county, where children do relatively little farm work during their grade-school years and not a great deal when attending high school. In part, this results from the parents' attempt to shelter children from "hard work" and to imitate urban practices. Moreover, during the formative school years, the parents constantly direct their children's attention to opportunities in non-farm activities and "practically tell them that they will be failures if they have to work as hard as their parents on a farm. These communities are gradually disappearing because there are no children to take over the family farms. Pennsylvania-Germans, mainly sectarians, are taking over the land.

The Amish train children differently. All family discussions take it for granted that the children will farm some day. Failure to farm or engage in some closely related activity is spoken of as failure and perhaps even a disgrace to the family and the community. Youngsters are assigned definite tasks at an early age. Boys and girls 8 and 9 years old are already a great help in the house and in doing chores and field work. Nearly all of them milk cows at this age and the boys begin to do field work with horses and implements. Frequently these youngsters are given a calf, pig, sheep, or some chickens to raise and market, or they may be given a small plot of tobacco to tend and sell. Good work is encouraged and commended. In this training there is no time for high school. The Amish boy is a well-trained farmer, who usually wants to farm, by the time most children graduate from high school.

As the training of the young in the Amish home is designed to perpetuate the accustomed way of life, the young people become baptized and join the church shortly after they have finished the elementary grades in school. It is partly the responsibility of the parents to encourage this step but most of the young people join the church without any particular encouragement. However, there are exceptions, and boys tend to be more recalcitrant or hesitant than girls.

Persuasion to join the church takes many forms. Economic threats may be made, but apparently they are not so prevalent as more subtle appeals, such as invoking the good name and reputation of the family. One informant, whose people had come to the county in 1848 from central Pennsylvania, pointed out with tears in his eyes that all his hundreds of relatives in the community except one were in good standing in the church; he added the prayer and hope that this good record might continue. The background of the family and of the church may be discussed with the hesitant child. Experiences of the forefathers provide innumerable examples of hardship and suffering endured so that the church might survive, failure of the son or daughter to join the church would demonstrate a lack of reverence for these elders and forefathers. Women, it is reported, sometimes sob and cry in the presence of recalcitrant young people and this helps to overcome resistance.

Responsibility extends beyond bringing children into the church. The many church regulations and principles must be upheld. Church taboos are numerous and require an unusually well-disciplined life. In a moment of weakness, a member may go to a movie or commit some other indiscretion. Unless proper and immediate amends are made, the violator may be read out of the church and be shunned. When this dreaded punishment is invoked, no member of the family or the church may speak with the shunned individual although every act of kindness is shown him. The shunned member cannot eat with the family, but is served separately at a small table. Shunning is a real burden to the family involved but the purpose is to persuade the sinner to make proper amends and again enter into full fellowship with the church.

The family cycle of the Old Order Amish differs somewhat from that of other people, even in courting and the wedding ceremony. The baptismal ceremony inducts the young fully into the fellowship of the church. From this period (ages 14 to 18 generally) up to the age of about 20, the young people attend singings regularly. This is the courting period. Between the ages of 16 and 18, a boy receives his driving horse, open buggy, harness, and several blankets. With this equipment he is prepared to take his chosen girl home from the singings, and on these trips the serious plans are laid. By the time the girl approaches the age of 20 and the boy is in his early 20's, plans are usually made for marriage. Many preparations have already been made during the preceding years. The girl will have spent much time filling a hope or dower chest. By the time of the marriage the chest is usually more than filled and the accumulation is usually enough for the first housekeeping. The girl will also have earned as much cash as possible. To do this she may have worked as a house servant in the home of a friend or she may have gathered potatoes or picked fruit in a nearby commercial orchard. She may also have raised a calf or some chickens and turned them into cash.

The prospective bridegroom also accumulates as much cash as possible, by working as a hired hand or by raising tobacco or potatoes on a plot of ground assigned to him. Usually the young people have accumulated a considerable amount of cash and necessities by the time they are ready to marry.



Figure 6.- *Young, unmarried men and women generally use open buggies.*



Figure 7.- *A large group of gray-topped buggies at a Sunday house service. Not shown is another large group of open buggies in which young, unmarried members came to the services.*

Weddings in the Old Order Amish community always take place after the harvest season, and custom decrees that the wedding day fall on a Tuesday or Thursday. Some time before the wedding, a Schteckleimann - a deacon or minister acting in the capacity of solicitor, like Abraham's servant - is selected to learn the attitude of the girl's parents concerning the marriage. In the past, the Schteckleimann also carried the young man's proposal to the girl. The function of this intermediary has become quite nominal in that the young man now is fully aware of the attitude of the girl and her parents toward the contemplated wedding. Custom decrees that the selection of a Schteckleimann and his mission be performed in strict secrecy.

Secrecy shrouds most of the preliminary preparations for the wedding, including the courting. During the courting period, for instance, the young man calls on the girl after she (apparently) and the family (actually) have retired. The young man drives up to the house, and with the aid of a flashlight or buggy light makes his presence known. If the girl is interested, she quietly descends the stairs to meet the caller.

Weddings are the most important social events known to the Amish. From 100 to 300 guests may be invited and a king's feast is prepared for them. The newly wedded couple later makes special visits to all families who participated in the wedding and at this time they receive the wedding gifts. Several weeks may be spent in this round of visiting during which time the young couple may spend a night or several nights as honored guests in the homes of numerous hosts. This represents the Amish equivalent of the customary honeymoon trip.

After marriage, the young couple no longer attend singings. The man must now grow a beard and he definitely associates himself with the mature members of the community. The bride discards the white apron she wore before her wedding day. As soon as means permit, they buy a gray topped buggy and the open buggy may be sold.

Separation and divorce are unknown in the Amish community. Marriage can take place only between members who are in full fellowship with the church, and the church recognizes separation only on grounds of adultery. Individuals would not be permitted to remarry upon separation. Informants in Lancaster County could not recall that any separation had ever taken place in the Amish community.

Marriage of young couples often brings considerable relief to parents and elders in the community. During the singing period, the young frequently cause the older people a great deal of concern by promoting, abetting, or participating in so-called questionable activities. Marriage nearly always ends this problem.

After marriage, family problems begin. There are usually several children - 6 to 10 in a family are not uncommon. Many of the more liberal Church Amish, who have adopted the automobile and other conveniences, have also adopted the use of some contraceptives. Their families are smaller than those of the Old Order Amish and family increases occur at longer intervals.

The aged Amishman and his wife can not leave the farm in their declining years because of the church regulations. They may move to a crossroads village, but this is uncommon. The Amish farmer is rooted to the soil and that is where he wants to remain. When the time comes to retire from active farming - usually when the youngest son or

daughter marries -- the aging parents move to a separate part of the house known as "Grossdawdy house." Sometimes this is an addition to the main house and sometimes it is a separate unit. Even if it is merely an addition, it may contain from 1 to 3 rooms downstairs and an equal number upstairs. House services and Grossdawdy additions help to explain why the Old Order Amish cherish large houses.

Grossdawdy does not retire from all work when he retires to his part of the house. He finds as much work outside as he cares to do. Grossmutter sews during the day for children and grandchildren. This work keeps both of them healthily occupied as long as they are active. If they need attention younger members of the family are near. It is doubtful that old people anywhere are more contented than the occupants of the Grossdawdy house who can associate daily with their children and grandchildren and yet can be separate.

Although the practice of remaining on the farm is not based on economic considerations, it does have economic implications. The old people do not need many of the world's goods. Most of their food is grown right on the farm. There is no rent to pay and no house to buy, and this means that the family assets are conserved in the community.

Even in their funeral services the Old Order Amish are nonconformant. Upon death, the body receives the attention of a licensed embalmer, as the law requires. The body of a man is dressed as usual, but that of a woman or girl is dressed in white as the death of a Christian should not give rise to unenlightened sorrow. The simple walnut coffin, made by a local carpenter, is covered with cloth on the inside and is varnished on the outside. Flowers are prohibited. Most Amish funerals cost less than \$75.

Funeral services are held in the house or barn, like regular Sunday services. Afterward, the coffin is placed on a simple horse-drawn wagon which leads the procession of buggies to the cemetery where a simple and brief service is used.

In the plain, neat cemeteries of the Old Order Amish there are no large monuments. The graves are marked by small stone slabs on which are recorded the name of the deceased, and the dates of his birth and death.

Until a generation or two ago, a funeral was an outstanding social event throughout Pennsylvania-German land. With the Old Order Amish it has remained so. Several hundred relatives and friends usually come. Food is prepared for all, and after the funeral, the guests are fed again before they return home. The immediate family, however, is almost completely relieved of responsibility regarding the food. Neighbors run the household and, when necessary, do the chores and other farm tasks.

Early in 1937 several Amish farmers from Lancaster County called on the President of the United States to protest against a proposed P.W.A. grant of \$52,000 for the construction of a consolidated grade school in East Lampeter Township, where many of these Plain People live. The Amish farmers wanted none of the money, nor did they want the proposed consolidated schoolhouse. As the usual experience in Washington is to receive innumerable requests for "bigger and better" grants and appropriations, the mission of the Amish received wide publicity and the controversy connected with this incident has continued to keep them in the public prints.

Although the school-consolidation movement of recent years has focused attention on the "school controversy" of the Plain People of Lancaster County, this movement in the schools is not the first one they have resisted. The whole program of public education in the State of Pennsylvania, which took definite form in 1840, has been met with a degree of resistance not only by the Amish and Mennonites, but by Pennsylvania-German farmers in general. In some places litigation was considered to prevent the establishment of public schools.²⁸ This does not mean that these people were opposed to all forms of education. Church schools were maintained in practically every community. It was considered essential that children be taught the rudiments. Children must learn to read so they could search the Scriptures. The association of school and church was particularly deep-seated in the culture of the Germans and they wished to maintain this association.

The establishment of public schools was rather generally opposed by Pennsylvania-German farmers for several reasons. These schools, the people feared, were only part of a conspiracy to destroy the German language and, indirectly, were a threat to their community integrity and their rural way of living. They felt that experience was a far more valuable teacher than the pedagogue. Too much school attendance, they thought, would make children lazy, and to be lazy was to them an opprobrious criticism. These fears and attitudes in somewhat modified form are still discernible in much of Pennsylvania-German land in southeastern Pennsylvania.²⁹

The Amish farmers in time did reconcile themselves to the one-room public school: it is not preferred to a church school, but it is there and is used. At least some of the Plain People of the county would still prefer to support church rather than public schools, if it came to a choice.

The school controversy that began several years ago and is not settled yet seemed to be always uppermost in the minds of the people when the field work for this study was made. This controversy deals with some fundamental questions concerning the role of the family versus that of the State. In general, the State has appropriated to itself greater and greater responsibility for the training of children. The Plain People wish to arrest this tendency.

A consolidated grade school was built in East Lampeter Township over the vigorous protest of the Amish both at the polls and in unprecedented court action. The Amish then bought three obsolete one-room school buildings and established parochial schools. Thus they now support their own schools and also contribute to the support of the consolidated public school.

Completion of the consolidated school in East Lampeter Township in 1939 did not terminate school controversies. Lengthening the annual school term and raising the compulsory school age have been seriously considered in recent years, and some laws and amendments designed to raise the educational standards in the State have been adopted. These changes are opposed not only by the Old Order Amish but also by the Old Order Mennonites and some other Plain People.

²⁸See "Pennsylvania Dutch," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXIV (1869) p. 486; see also James Pyle Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher* (1886), Chaps. VII and VIII.

²⁹See R. W. Kerns, *The Ecology of Rural Social Agencies in Pennsylvania*, Ph.D. Thesis, Graduate School, Cornell Univ. (June 1940), pp. 239-241, 247, and Fig. 100.

Figure 8.- Little Red School House near Churchtown (Penn.). For about a decade, apparently, from 95 to 100 percent of the pupils in it have had one Amish family name -Stoltzfus. In recent years the teacher has also had the name, (She is a Church Amish member).



Figure 9.- Inside the Little Red School House. Girls in the fourth row attempt to escape the camera. With the exception of 2 boys' sweaters, all the outer clothes were made at home and there is identical hairdress for the younger girls and identical haircuts for the boys. Hair may be parted only in the middle. The older girl in the fourth row may no longer braid her hair.

What the conservative Plain People want in school legislation is set forth in a petition dated January 2, 1941 addressed "To the Esteemed Members of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," which states part:

Throughout time past we have chosen and do yet choose, to be a farming people. Farming is one of the tenets of our Religion. We wish to have our children educated by the best available means including Scripture in the home and church three R's in school and actual experienced training under Parental supervision at home and on the farm.

To this end we the Plain Churches petition you to give our petition serious consideration to the end, that children in rural districts be not compelled to attend school beyond a 160-day term, (which term after this present school year, automatically changes to 180 days, unless action is taken by your body in this next Legislative session) we also petition that the children of Plain People be granted exemption from school attendance upon request of Parent or Guardian and upon completing primary studies of the elementary grades or after attaining the age of fourteen years we further would desire to have sufficient privileges to establish independent schools where the public school districts determine upon consolidation and transportation

The will to survive is the most fundamental consideration involved in the school controversy. Survival of a peculiar people is best realized when a considerable degree of uniformity and isolation is maintained. In many of the one room schools in the Old Order Amish community, the children of these people form a substantial part of the attendance and in some schools they constitute almost the entire student body. In one school district all families but one are Old Order Amish, and this situation approaches very nearly the ideal from their viewpoint. Although all of the one room schools do not enjoy such a favorable situation, they do keep the children near home in strictly rural areas thus helping to perpetuate old values and ideals. Consolidated schools, on the other hand tend to create a minority group of the Old Order Amish children and bring about association with nonfarm children which threatens the life of nonconformity.

Consolidated schools tend to bring about rather sharp departures from the accustomed ways of the Old Order Amish among whom so many modern improvements and forms of recreation are prohibited. Consolidated schools provide most if not all of these conveniences and activities and there is real likelihood that children who become accustomed to them may find it difficult to practice nonconformity in the way the church has decreed. School bus transportation for instance, necessary in connection with the consolidated school would provide daily transportation to the children of the Old Order Amish. After their grade school years, the children would take rapid and convenient motor transportation for granted, and this would place an added strain on the regulation forbidding the ownership of cars. A number of informants expressed strong opposition to school bus transportation. Almost all of these people hold that it is good for children to walk to a neighborhood school: "It makes them healthy and strong."

High school education is generally considered a part of higher education by the Old Order Amish. They oppose compulsory high school education for their children even more vigorously, it seems, than school consolidation. This education, they believe, represents a real danger to their community integrity and their nonconforming way of life. They would not deny high school education to the children of others, but they feel that it should be optional with the parents. To date, work permits have been available in Pennsylvania for children 14 years old, and these have always been obtained by the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites to keep children of this age and older out of high school.

This opposition is based on a number of reasons prominent among which are the realization that this schooling creates bridges which lead away from the farm, and the deep-seated conviction that the training they give their children on the farms at high-school age does more to make good farmers out of them than does the high school. In fact, they hold that high-school courses are a genuine liability to a future farmer in that they make youngsters weak and lazy or fail to strengthen or harden them properly. The same reasons are advanced against college courses.

The conviction that higher education - both high school and college - creates bridges leading away from the farm is based on observations in their own neighborhood and in Lancaster and Chester Counties generally. It does seem evident that higher education among non-Plain People has been an influential factor in the remarkable displacement of these farmers in the larger Amish community. As the non-Plain People went to high schools and colleges and entered nonfarm occupations, the Plain People bought the farms. Throughout the Amish community there are defunct churches of former Quaker, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Lutheran, German Reformed, and other faiths. Since Amish, Mennonites, and other Plain People who leave the farm usually also lose the kind of religion their forefathers followed, the determination of the remaining people to stay on the land is understandable.³⁰

Higher education may also inculcate certain standards and ideals which depart from those cherished and practiced by the Amish. Education creates an appreciation for leisure, but leisure as generally understood is anathema to the Old Order Amish, as is a work day of only 8 or 9 hours on the farm. Education might teach the value of farm cooperatives, life insurance, lightning rods, electric lights and power, and tractor-farming - all of which are prohibited by the church.

Book-farming is ridiculed. At least a dozen informants repeated the following story about a college-graduate farmer. The young man had attended an agricultural college and "learned all there was to know about farming" - out of books. Afterward he returned to his community and began to farm. Once when he was hauling hay to the barn, his hayrack upset. He ran to the house and consulted his book, which pointed out that in an emergency of this kind the rack should be unloaded and replaced on the wagon bed, and then it could be reloaded and the hay hauled to the barn.

A similar story, alleged to be true, illustrates the Amish farmer's conviction that college has nothing to offer him. Several Lancaster County farmers (meaning Plain People) visited the Agricultural Experiment Station at State College. A professor took the visitors to a field which was cut into small plots on which many kinds of commercial fertilizers were being tested. When the group had seen the last of the plots, one of the farmers asked that they be shown a plot fertilized "the way we fertilize our fields in Lancaster County, by using lots of manure, some commercial fertilizer, and by growing legumes." The professor is said to have replied, "We don't run this Experiment Station to show Lancaster County farmers how to farm."

³⁰See J. Winfield Fretz, "Mennonites and Their Economic Problems," and G. F. Hershberger, "Maintaining the Mennonite Rural Community," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV (1940), pp. 195-213 and 214-223 respectively.

Apostles of better farming would have a difficult time trying to get the Old Order Amish and the Old Order Mennonites to endorse a program of higher education. This is the Garden Spot of the United States, maybe of the world, they will be told. The Plain People, who have lived in the very heart of this garden spot since colonial days, will not let the advocates of higher education forget this fact. Moreover they have no unemployment among their people, nor is any member on public relief. The community takes care of its own needy. Where else do farmers have a record like this? Probably only where there are other Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite farmers.

The Old Order Amish also oppose higher education because of moral considerations. The high-school age level, they feel, is an extremely critical period in the lives of boys and girls, a period when parental supervision and vigilance are essential. They seriously question the competence of teachers or school authorities adequately to supervise and discipline the students in high school. In fact, their rigid code of behavior strongly disapproves of many activities and arrangements that seem satisfactory or normal to teachers generally.

It should not be assumed that the Old Order Amish are opposed to all forms of higher education for all people. They admit that there is a place in the world for specially-trained individuals - doctors, engineers, nurses. On the whole, they limit their approval to professions that deal with concrete, material things. For the social sciences or disciplines they see little or no need. In any event they feel that higher schooling should be obtained at the individual's own initiative and expense. Moreover, if they were to formulate a course of training, they would confine it principally to experience. Specialized training is approved only for non-Old Order Amish. "We are a farming people, farming is one of the tenets of our religion."

All teachers in the Amish community come from non Old Order Amish homes. Most of them come from families who live in or near the Amish settlement and are familiar with the ways of these Plain People. Several come from Mennonite families of the more liberal groups and some from Church Amish homes. It seems that teachers from the homes of Plain People are popular with the Old Order Amish for they also observe some nonconformist practices with reference to clothes. Other things being equal, country girls are favored over town or city girls. "A country girl is more practical and knows how to build a fire, clean the school, and knows how to take care of children."

The teacher in a local one room school confines her activities to teaching. Social activities sponsored by the teacher are not approved for Amish children, with the possible exception of a simple Christmas program. The attitude of the Amish toward Christmas programs varies from place to place and seems to be growing somewhat more liberal. Formerly, such programs, if undertaken at all, were simple, and confined to the pupils only. In recent years, some teachers have invited parents to the day-time Christmas program; some attended and, it is claimed, greatly enjoyed it. The Old Order Amish do not join parent-teacher associations or any other association or group carrying on activities connected with the school.

In general these people are discouraged and in some instances even prohibited, from holding public office. There is a tendency to discourage voting. Formerly these taboos prevented the Amish from voting for school-board members as well as from serving on school boards. In recent years, however, more and more Old Order Amish farmers are

servicing on school boards and more of them vote for school-board members. These changes are caused partly by the fact that general school problems have become intensified. Other public offices cannot be accepted nor do many of these people vote for public officials on the county level or above.

The Old Order Amish people form a church body and a church community, but they do not have church buildings. Opposition to church structures has become a matter of nonconformity, although in earlier years, in Europe, services in churches were often either inexpedient or prohibited. The determination to perpetuate the old customs is one reason for maintaining the practice of holding services either in the house or in the barn. Moreover, the early Christians, whom these people try to emulate, apparently did not worship in churches.

The several thousand members in the Old Order Amish community, cannot all worship in one house or one barn. The community is divided into districts and the number of districts increases with the size of the community. Older informants remember the time when there were only 9 or 10 districts in the Lancaster County area; now there are 18. In most of the districts there are approximately 100 church members. As membership is confined to baptized individuals, and baptism generally takes place between the ages of 15 and 20, and because whole families attend, the attendance at services is often twice as large as the membership in the district.

Services in a district are held every 2 weeks. Farmers with large houses are expected to accommodate the group in winter, whereas those with smaller houses but large barns accommodate the group during the summer. As might be expected, a certain prestige attaches to the ownership or occupancy of a house large enough to provide accommodations for services at any time; some houses have as many as 16 or 18 rooms.

Large houses with ordinary interior arrangements would have difficulty in accommodating 150 to 200 people or more, for a religious service but the large homes of the Old Order Amish farmers are especially arranged to take care of huge groups. Toward the center of the house large, double doors are usually installed; when these are opened or removed, a speaker standing in an appropriate place can be seen or at least heard in nearly every part of the house. As many of the Old Order Amish live in houses built by non-Amish people, they have become very ingenious in altering houses to conform to their own standards.

Great preparations are made to entertain the fortnightly meetings. The host and hostess, realizing that their efficiency will be appraised by friends and neighbors on the coming Sunday, overlook no detail in setting the place in order. Most of the work falls on the women although much is done outdoors as well. The house is cleaned and set in order from garret to cellar. All the floors are scrubbed and rag carpets cleaned. Furniture is dusted or washed. Walls may be freshly painted or washed and cellar walls may be whitewashed. Pots, kettles, pans, and tubs are cleaned. The kitchen range and heating stoves are polished. Clean paper is placed on kitchen shelves and all dishes and kitchenware are arranged neatly. The yard may be raked and the fence whitewashed. Everything in the farmyard is put in its place. In the barn the lower-story wall may be whitewashed and the cement floor swept. Manure is either hauled into the field or is neatly stacked and covered with straw. The stock is well-bedded with straw.

Two or three days before the meeting the host gets the meeting benches from the place where the previous meeting was held. These simple sturdy benches without back-rests are placed in the various rooms. In the meantime the hostess buys or bakes many loaves of bread and a great many schnitz pies. Other food served after the service, such as pickles and spiced beets, are usually already stored in ample quantities in the cellar. Formerly big meals were served after the services, but as they became more elaborate they were a real burden for the housewives. Church regulations now prescribe the items to be served - bread, butter, apple butter, pickled beets, other pickles, apple or schnitz pies, and coffee.

Religious services usually last from 9 o'clock until about noon. Many gray-top carriages and open buggies begin to come as early as 8 o'clock. They are received by several young hostlers who take charge of the horses and conveyances. The 50 or 60 horses are stabled if the weather is inclement.

In the house the host seats his guests in the appropriate way. Men and women are seated in separate rooms, and boys and girls are so seated near their elders that they are under surveillance all the time. In the large central room the men are divided into two groups facing each other. Between these groups stand about four, or five chairs which are used by the bishop (if present), the ministers and the deacon. The men wear their hats until a few minutes before the services begin even after they are seated. The women and girls wear the required head covering.

During the first hymn, the church leaders retire to a separate room to plan the services and to discuss any cases of discipline that need attention. Not until this consultation is it decided who is to deliver the opening sermon and the long sermon. However, the task of preaching is generally rotated and ministers and bishops can usually tell when they will be called upon to speak. During the second hymn, which is always a song of praise entitled "O Gott Vater, wir loben Dich" the church leaders usually reappear.

The Old Order Amish have the distinction of using what appears to be the oldest hymn book in use in America.³¹ Known as the *Ausbund*, formerly spelled *Aus-Bundt*, this hymnal appeared in its present form as early as 1560. Many of the hymns were composed by martyrs shortly before they were burned or put to death in some other way.

Musical instruments are prohibited among the Old Order Amish and there are no musical notations for the hymns. According to one student of these people, the Amish of the present day do not know one written note from another.³² All the tunes for the many hymns are handed down from generation to generation in true folkway, ballad fashion. Sunday evening singings are therefore essential because there the young people learn to sing the hymns.

Old Order Amish singing must be heard to be appreciated. All the songs are sung very slowly and dolefully. The song leader (who announces the song) sets the pitch and begins the hymn. The leader really leads in that he begins each line in the

³¹See C. Henry Smith *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (1929), p. 255.

³²See John Umble, *The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn Tunes*, *Journal of American Folklore* Vol. 52 (1939) p. 91.

verse alone and usually covers a number of notes before others join. So that he may maintain his lead, he frequently begins a new stanza before the members have finished the preceding one. Part-singing is prohibited by the church for it is considered worldly.

Shortly after the church leaders have returned from the "Abroth," (council), singing is discontinued and one of the preachers delivers the opening or "short" sermon usually lasting a half-hour or more. It is against the custom of the church to use notes in a sermon because these interfere with the proper functioning of the spirit. After the opening sermon the congregation kneels in silent prayer. The deacon then reads a chapter from the New Testament. Next comes the sermon of the day which usually lasts an hour, and sermons lasting from 15 to 30 minutes longer are not uncommon. When the long sermon is about half-finished, the speaker usually observes that in view of the fine words already spoken he does not intend to keep the assemblage much longer,³³ but the listeners know that the sermon will last at least another 30 minutes.

The sermons consist mainly of Bible stories with an explanation of their application to immediate problems and events. The principles or regulations of the church are stressed and the members are urged to observe them properly. The world and its shortcomings receive much attention, and the need of living a life of separation and nonconformity is emphasized. Problems of the youth, in and outside the community, are reviewed. When speaking about young people the minister or bishop frequently breaks into tears. The good life or good deed or recently-departed friends may be referred to as examples of proper Christian conduct, particularly for the young people.

After the main discourse a few witnesses are called upon to give testimony concerning the truth of the sermon, because the Bible says, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established." The witnesses are usually the bishops, ministers, and deacons who are present, but other members may also be called upon. The witness may limit his testimony to a mere "Yea and Amen" or he may deliver a short sermon in which the words "schöne Lehre" (fine teachings) are frequently repeated. In these statements encouragement is usually given to young ministers.

Following the testimonies, the minister gives a brief talk in which he professes his weakness, but expresses his pleasure over the confirmations given by the witnesses. The congregation then kneels while the preacher reads from a prayerbook. Oral or spontaneous prayers are never given; they would be a dangerous departure from the old order. After this second prayer, the congregation stands while the minister pronounces benediction, which closes with the words: "durch Jesum Christum, Amen," (through Jesus Christ, Amen). When the word Jesus is spoken all the members bend knees. This genuflection is based on the verse: "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow."³⁴

After the benediction the deacon announces where the next meeting is to take place, the names of those who intend to get married, and other information relating to church activity. If disciplinary problems are to be considered the deacon requests all members to remain seated after the singing of the closing hymn. All non-members,

³³See Melvin Gingerich, *The Mennonites of Iowa* (1939), p. 191. Gingerich noted this practice among the Amish of Iowa. When one of the bishops in Lancaster County was asked about it, he admitted with some apologies that most ministers and bishops follow this practice but he, himself, considers it dishonest to tell the listeners that the sermon is shortly to be concluded when it will really last much longer.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 192.

including the young people who have not yet been baptized leave the meeting and the person whose case is to be considered is also asked to leave the group. The violator and his alleged misdeeds are discussed and a course of action is usually agreed upon. For a minor violation an immediate apology is sufficient. "Wild and reckless" youths seem to come in for most attention in these closed meetings. Reports may have reached the elders that some youngster smoked a cigarette or a pipe, or that he patronized a "hotel" (liquor store) or movie; for these acts it is relatively simple to make amends immediately.

After the service, preparations are begun at once to serve the noon meal. The young unmarried women usually help the hostess prepare and serve the food. The host, with the help of the older boys, removes most of the benches from the large rooms and two long tables are set up. One table is used by the men and boys and the other by women and girls. The older people eat first. No plates are provided - only cups, knives, forks, and spoons, which remain unchanged for the various guests who succeed each other at the table. Several bowls or plates of each food are placed on the table so it is unnecessary to pass the dishes. Before beginning to eat, all heads are bowed in silent prayer; no audible grace is ever spoken.

After the dinner comes an hour or two of the much-enjoyed visiting; then the guests start for home. Close friends and relatives may stay and have a full evening meal before they leave.

The Old Order Amish do not practice infant baptism. Those who give evidence of "true conversion" are baptized and received as members. Usually boys and girls become baptized some time after they have finished elementary school. They are always encouraged to become baptized before they reach the age of 20 years.

Young people are not subjected to a long, formal program of indoctrination and training before they join the church. During their grade-school years they are taught by their parents to read German and they are required to read the Bible. This reading at home and the regular Sunday services provide most of the training they receive, before they join the church. When they decide to join, a bishop instructs them in the principles of the church in a separate room during the early part of the Sunday services; 6 or 7 meetings of this kind take place before baptism by the bishop.

The principles of separation from the world and the unequal yoke have served to place a barrier between the Old Order Amish and outside farm organizations and cooperatives. Moreover, these people believe that the New Testament sets forth in sufficient detail the regulations and solutions for all problems. As the church interprets and applies these regulations, it is by inference an all-in-one organization - except for the Federal and State Governments with their police powers - designed to cope with all difficulties and problems. Consequently there is no need for social studies, social planners, or social doctors. "The Bible tells us what to do in every problem that comes before us," says a popular Mennonite church publication. In a society motivated by true Christian principles they see no need for insurance or farm organizations of any kind. Outside farm organizations have been almost entirely excluded from the Old Order Amish community but these people do participate in some organized farm activities of their own and their stand on separation, or aloofness from outside organization, is being modified.

Although the Amish now have a form of property insurance, it is spoken of as an aid program and not as property insurance. Life insurance is still prohibited in all forms. Insurance in general is held to be anti-Biblical and a member who insured his life would be excommunicated. A report dealing with the mutual-aid program of the Mennonites generally (including the Amish) says: "To many, insuring oneself against death indicates a lack of trust in God; they feel that it is a way of 'getting ahead' of God. Since God is the giver of life and the One to take it away, He might take away life as a punishment for sin, and if people insured their lives against death and then received money to lighten the loss of a widow or a family of children, it seemed like lessening God's punishment."³⁵ These reasons and others against insurance were expressed in some form by informants among the Old Order Amish.

But the Old Order Amish farmers enjoy many of the benefits of insurance programs. Their plan of helping the needy and sick and of burying poor members certainly approximates sickness and burial insurance. Then most of them are members of an Amish-Aid-Insurance plan which is sponsored by members of the Amish Brotherhood. As this Brotherhood is limited to the Old Order Amish of Lancaster and Mifflin Counties and to members of the church near Dover, Del., and near Norfolk, Va., the principle of the "unequal yoke" is not violated. This aid-plan provides for varying amounts of compensation when barns, homes, and improvements are destroyed by fire or storm. Members participating in this program may themselves determine the value of the improvements, within reason, which are to be covered under the plan. Usually the valuation listed approximates or equals the assessed valuation. Each church district has a director who keeps the books. In the event of a loss, the total compensation is prorated among the other members on the basis of the valuation listed by each member. This aid-plan has become rather formal, in that books are kept and assessments and collections are made in a thoroughly business-like way.

In the late 1920's dairy inspection and regulations were particularly annoying to the Old Order Amish as well as other farmers in the county. Farmers who wanted to sell milk to dealers in the larger cities had to have their cows tested for tuberculosis and their barns had to meet certain minimum standards in construction. Both programs met with opposition. To meet the requirements in dairy-barn construction, many farmers had to spend from \$500 to \$1,000. To avoid this expense, the Lancaster Swiss Cheese Company was formed, it is frequently referred to as the Amish Cheese Plant or as a cooperative cheese plant but it is organized on a basis different from most cooperative cheese plants in this country.

Between 70 and 80 farmers support the Lancaster County Swiss Cheese Company and all except 3 or 4 are Old Order Amish. No shares of stock were issued by the company at its inception or later. The building in which the cheese is made is owned by an Old Order Amishman, who borrowed money from a bank on a personal note to buy the necessary cheese-making equipment. The note was co-signed by other Amishmen and so was well secured.

The participating members in the company supply the milk which is converted into cheese. Out of the gross returns, 4½ percent is paid to the Amishman who owns the building. Another 10 percent is paid to a manager (non-Amish) who is in charge of making the cheese and selling it. With this money the manager pays whatever help he

³⁵J. Winfield Fretz, "Mutual Aid Among Mennonites. I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIII (1939), p. 56.

hires and he must pay for the electricity used in the plant. The remaining 85½ percent is prorated among the farmers according to the quantity of milk each supplies. With the exception of the bank note, the contractual obligations and agreements are oral. Even the manager has no written agreement with the members but this fact does not worry him. The Amishman likes to do things in an informal way and what he agrees to do he does, if he can. Relations between the manager and the participating farmers are most cordial.

Three important milksheds overlap in Lancaster County - those of Lancaster city, Philadelphia, and New York City. Fluid-milk prices have been relatively attractive, and dairying is growing more and more popular in the county.

In 1917 the Inter-State Milk Producers' Cooperative was organized with headquarters in Philadelphia. It was chartered with broad powers, but it confines its activities largely to price bargaining in southeastern Pennsylvania and in contiguous areas of nearby States. Upwards of 7,000 farmers are members and field men are constantly trying to increase this membership. Much attention is given to the Amish and Mennonites in attempts to wear down their resistance to outside organizations, but so far this work has been successful only in a very limited way. It has sought some way of circumventing the barrier of the principle of the unequal yoke. Ordinarily members are required to sign membership marketing agreements, but from the Amish, who do not go to court or take an oath, the cooperative has been willing to accept an oral consent given in the presence of two witnesses. Even this method apparently does not satisfy most of those in the community since few seem to approve of joining up."

Local activities which can be carried out in a highly informal way meet with less resistance from the Plain People. An ever-increasing number, for instance, participate in the cow-testing association sponsored by the county agent. As long as participation in a program seems highly advantageous to farming, and does not require signing up," these people do take part in some common endeavors.

In southeastern Pennsylvania poultry and egg production has increased sharply during recent decades. The increased production has served to direct more attention to profitable ways of marketing and cooperatives have been developed to provide better marketing opportunities. A Cooperative Egg and Poultry Auction Association was organized several years ago in Coatesville, Penn. A membership fee of \$5 is charged participating farmers to join but no signature is required. At first there was some reluctance among the Plain People to become members but when the auction program became better understood and its advantages were realized (particularly the fact that participation brought greater returns) Old Order Amish farmers paid the fee. At present there seems to be little or no opposition to this cooperative but participation by the Amish is possible by merely paying a fee and permitting a truck to come to the place to get eggs or poultry.

The Lancaster County Farm Bureau was organized in 1920. It helps to support the county agricultural agent and it maintains a large consumer-cooperative business in the city of Lancaster. It sells a great variety of products, including gasoline, oil, feeds, and fertilizer. To join the Farm Bureau it is necessary to sign up," and to take part in the many activities of the organization means active participation in meeting with farmers belonging to various religious denominations. Such participation is construed as an express violation of the principles of the unequal yoke and separation from the world. Old Order Amish farmers have so far refused to join the Farm Bureau.

Attitudes and practices among these farmers vary somewhat with regard to participation in Government and politics. Principles and expediency frequently clash. The principle of nonresistance tends to exclude nonresistant people from many public offices because a public official may need to go to court or use force in the execution of his duties. Since the years of their martyrdom in Europe, the Plain People have associated Governments closely with force, persecution, and war, and this makes them disinclined to participate freely in governmental activities.

In 1718, the Amish of Pennsylvania said in a letter to William Penn: "We do not attend elections, we enter not your Courts of Justice, we hold no office either civil or military."³⁶ This refusal to take part in governmental activities was consistent with their earlier stand in Europe where they had refused to hold public office. One elderly informant said that he had rarely voted in his life because he likes to think of himself as a citizen of the kingdom of heaven and not as a citizen of the world. He pointed out that he voted for a congressman only once and then because the man had shown him a great favor by running a postal route past his place.

There is no special church discipline, at present, which regulates voting among the Old Order Amish. The degree to which they participate in an election depends largely on local or township issues. Great interest is taken in local school boards and any issues that may relate to the schools. A school controversy usually brings out a bigger Amish vote than any other issue or problem. As local issues rise and decline in popularity or seriousness, participation in local elections by the Old Order Amish varies considerably from one election to another. Ordinarily only some of the men vote but when the advocates of consolidated schools force a vote, the Old Order Amish farmers bring their wives to the polls. Usually county, State, and national candidates receive little attention from these people.

Although the Old Order Amish may vote, they are strictly limited in the kind of public office they may hold. They may hold township offices dealing with local schools and roads, but they may not hold offices which may require the use of force, particularly an office like Justice of the Peace. County, State, and national offices have never been held by the Amish of this county, and it is doubtful that the church would permit members to accept any offices on or above the county level.

LEADERSHIP AND CLASS STRUCTURE

Leadership is a highly important function in a socio-religious group which practices separation from the world, and nonconformity. It becomes increasingly difficult and complicated in a community that seeks stability in a highly competitive agricultural and industrial environment. Class structure seems to inhere in every community and is discernible in the Old Order Amish community. The basis of this structure, however, has features which differentiate it from most other communities.

Because of the principle of separation from the world, this community is made up of fellow church members only. As an agricultural way of life is one of the tenets of the church, the people are all engaged in farming or very closely associated occupations. Class differentiation can therefore not well be based on religious or vocational

³⁶Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (1931), pp. 17-18.

differences. Even the church leaders - the bishops, ministers, and deacons - are farmers and are not paid for their religious work. There are no differences resulting from school attendance for no member in the community has had more than an elementary schooling.

The community is completely uniform in ethnic composition, for all the ancestors of these people came from the Rhineland of Europe during colonial times. There are thus no "old families" who occupy or claim to occupy preferred niches in the community. Moreover, there are only about 30 family names in the community and the great majority of the Amish families today have one of only about a dozen family names. During the course of the last two centuries these few families have intermarried constantly, so that the community now is one large "Freundschaft," a term used loosely to designate kinfolk. If a member of the community is asked how many second-cousins he has, the chances are he will throw up his hands and say "Can't count them" or "Hundreds of them."

There is therefore very little hereditary class-structure in the community. It is true that, for a generation or two, certain families may enjoy the prestige that goes with large farms and buildings, but in the course of several generations family fortunes vary and thus prestige shifts.

Church regulations and disciplines serve to eliminate some differences that might otherwise express themselves in a class structure. The facilities these people may possess and the garb they wear are subject to church approval and help to maintain equality among the members.

Not all forms of inequality are eliminated by church regulations, however, and in the forms of inequality that do exist a kind of class structure expresses itself. As these people have a deep agricultural tradition, their values lie largely in this field. Items in the material culture that enhance prestige and standing in the community are land ownership and good farm improvements, particularly barn and house, good stock, and good farm machinery. A member who owns a good farm is looked up to, particularly if he has a large barn and house. Some farmers are admired because they have large herds of dairy cows, others for their successful feeding operations. A farmer who maintains his farm in a high state of fertility is respected and farmers who put a great deal of manure on the land usually have prestige.

The farmer who "gets ahead" (pays off debts and buys farms) is much admired. Farmers who succeed in expanding their operations and have desirable social qualities generally are leaders in the community. It is these people whose advice is sought in agricultural matters and it is they who are generally considered for positions of leadership in the church. This is particularly true of men who, in addition to their successful farming, show certain spiritual qualities and an interest in church matters.

The Amish own good horses. Young men usually try to buy the best and fastest road horses they can afford. The fellow who can pass others on the road enjoys a prestige of a kind. The bolder boys go as far as they dare in attaching fancy buttons and buckles on their harnesses. In one way or another, individuals whether young or old try to distinguish themselves.

The functions of each office - bishop, minister, and deacons - are carefully prescribed. Only the bishop may administer the rites of the church, such as baptism, marriage, and communion, and only he may ordain new ministers and discipline members;

one bishop usually serves two districts. Ministers carry the main burden of preaching; there are usually several preachers in each district. The deacon administers the poor fund, attempts to resolve difficulties between members of the community, initiates the disciplining of members who have violated church regulations, reads the Scripture lesson in the Sunday services, and assists the bishop in baptismal and communion services.

The Old Order Amish do not believe in an educated ministry. They point to the example of Christ who selected his disciples from lay members. With but few exceptions the church officials are selected by the congregation by lot (Acts 1:24-26). It is believed that in this form of selection a divine choice is indicated, and so the church leaders are of more than mundane stature. The selection ceremony is solemn, formal, and traditional in every detail. Church officials chosen by this procedure are expected to accept the positions on pain of divine disapproval.

Election to the ministry may be actually feared by potential officials. It means that much time must be spent in studying the Bible and much material must be committed to memory. As some of the men read with difficulty, this study presents a real challenge to these tillers of the soil. But the Amish have a deep faith in the system and they believe that the candidate will have divine aid in fulfilling the functions of his office.

Fear of being selected for the ministry may be based in part on the fact that sermons must be delivered without notes and without obvious preparation. The impression prevails that "the spirit" will place appropriate words into the mouth of the bishop or minister, but experience has demonstrated that some are very poor speakers and do not improve. Ministers, especially young ones, realize that dependence on the spirit does not obviate the need for preparation. The best form of preparation seems to be the memorizing of Biblical verses and events. Memorized items are told and retold with little variation. Some ministers and bishops, develop several forceful talks on worldliness and devote their sermons mainly to that theme. Church officials are not considered infallible servants or interpreters of the Bible.

Issues and problems which arise in the district can be settled only in meetings in which all members may and usually do participate. Important decisions require unanimous approval and this makes it difficult to change old customs and practices. Old members whose memories and thoughts are steeped in the past rarely see the need of change. A proposed innovation need only be branded with the stereotype "worldly" to settle the issue.

Church officials nevertheless take a leading part in directing the activities of the community. As the deacon is required to investigate problems when they arise, judgment and predilection come into play. He, in turn, reports to the bishop and this official also uses his judgment in dealing with the problem, and as only the bishop disciplines members, he may well use some discretionary power.

The leadership of church officials in the community naturally follows from the fact that church regulations regiment the lives of these people more completely than regulations in most other churches. Moreover, as most of the church officials are relatively successful farmers, they exert much influence in agricultural matters.

Outside leadership is not excluded entirely. Separation from the world does not prohibit business with outsiders nor discourage consulting doctors and some other specialists. Doctors are patronized regularly and a banker may be consulted concerning

money problems. Local feed and fertilizer experts are consulted, but this is a rather recent development which intrudes directly into a realm formerly taken care of completely by in-group folk wisdom. It follows that leadership within the community is no longer as inclusive as it once was.

The man is distinctly the head of the household and in most cases directs the affairs of the family. Neither on the family level nor on the community level does the wife initiate or direct important activities. Parent-children relationships are compounded out of a combination of kindness and sternness. Parents want the children to follow in their footsteps and they realize that this end is gained more easily by cultivating affection and trust than by creating a feeling of fear and distrust. Several of them said they train their children to work diligently by encouraging them wherever possible and by complimenting them on good acts and performances. They pointed out that in training children great patience is essential. In general, parent-children relationships are cordial.

Parent-children relationships remain rather intimate as long as the parents live. As the old folks do not retire from the farm, they are present and ready to give advice to the family there. They realize that some discretion must be used in their relation with grown children so a mature son who has taken over the home farm is encouraged to make his own decisions. A number of elderly retired informants said that although they are willing to make suggestions to their sons, they do not care to render important decisions. "We won't always be here," they say so the son must develop initiative and self-confidence.

Parental and community leadership among the Old Order Amish seems to be somewhat on the decline. Parents could maintain a high degree of leadership as long as they could provide farms, and thus economic security, for their children. Similarly, community leaders could practically exclude outside leaders as long as the economy within the community was flourishing. But at present there is much pressure on the land and real estate values are exceptionally high. Young men have difficulty in getting money and farms. Outside individuals and agencies are being called upon for assistance. As this tendency becomes more general, outside leadership will naturally increase.

YOUTH, THE CRITICAL AGE GROUP

No one realizes more than the Amish people themselves that it is no simple matter to perpetuate an old order and a peculiar way of life in a densely populated agricultural area criss-crossed by numerous highways leading to villages, towns, factories and large industrial centers. Although informants in the community freely admitted that they have a youth problem, it is against church policy to discuss these problems in detail with outsiders. Non-Amish informants living among them, however, pointed out the nature of some of these problems and in some instances were very familiar with problem cases.

The most critical age period for the young in the Old Order Amish community, as in other communities, usually reaches its peak in the post-adolescent-pre-marriage years. An early marriage, at about 20 years of age, is much desired by the elders as marriage usually checks or dissipates the "wildness" of the youngsters. "When they marry we can usually stop worrying about them."

The problem of youth in this community must be described in terms of local folkways and cultural patterns which, in many ways are distinct from the more-or-less common patterns in our society at large. Moreover, patterns of approved behavior are elaborate. Church disciplines govern in great detail what can be done and how things must be done. This high degree of regimentation results in numerous taboos that set the stage for many of the problems of youth. Violations of the following prohibitions constitute forms of delinquency: ownership of an automobile; driving an automobile; riding in an automobile for pleasure; patronizing a liquor store; attending a movie; smoking cigarettes; smoking a pipe; attending a carnival or county fair; playing baseball; owning a radio or musical instrument; owning or riding a bicycle; playing cards; gambling in any form; cutting hair too short (men); parting hair on side (men and women); curling hair; reading non-Biblical storybooks; placing in the harness of horses decorative devices which engender pride; cursing or telling bad stories; having one's picture taken. This list is only a partial one, but it sets forth the regulations that result in delinquency more frequently than others.

The ban against owning and driving automobiles is one of the vexing regulations. Young people particularly feel the hardship of this discipline. Neighbors of the Amish believe that if the young men in the community were allowed to list the things they want most, the automobile would certainly come first, but ownership is very nearly impossible for the purchase price is considerable and the machine cannot well be used without detection. In at least one instance the determination to own and drive a car led to a bold decision and plan. Several boys pooled their money and bought a cheap second-hand car, which they hid behind a business establishment in one of the villages, but used enough to get the much-desired experience of driving a machine. Most boys, of course, would find it impossible or inexpedient to duplicate this venture, but a few, have procured drivers' licenses and occasionally find it possible to get behind the wheel of a friend's car. Such behavior is strictly against regulations, and when these infractions are reported in council, appropriate action is taken.

The wish to own an automobile is so strong in some of the young men that it makes them disinclined to join the church. Strictly speaking, the church group is made up only of members who become baptized at an age of discretion. Before baptism children need not necessarily, at least theoretically, abide by any of the customs of the church. A boy who is determined to own an automobile will be very likely to delay joining the church if he is able to resist pressures and appeals. By working diligently a few years he may accumulate enough money to buy a car. Cases of this kind are not yet very common in the community, but there is much concern about what may happen. Owning a car under these circumstances is not a church offense, but it is a part of the problem of youth. Once young people have a car they seek associates among non-church people, and this association usually induces them to discard the garb of the group and other tell-tale evidences of the Plain People's life. They are not likely to return to the fold later. Young people who pass through this experience in many instances join the Church-Amish, who also call themselves Amish-Mennonites. This group permits the ownership of automobiles and at present requires little by way of special garb.

Young men and women usually intend to observe church regulations, particularly at some future time, but they feel a strong temptation in their youth to take a fling at some experiences concerning which they naturally have much curiosity. For instance, a boy or girl who has never been inside a theater would like to see a movie at least

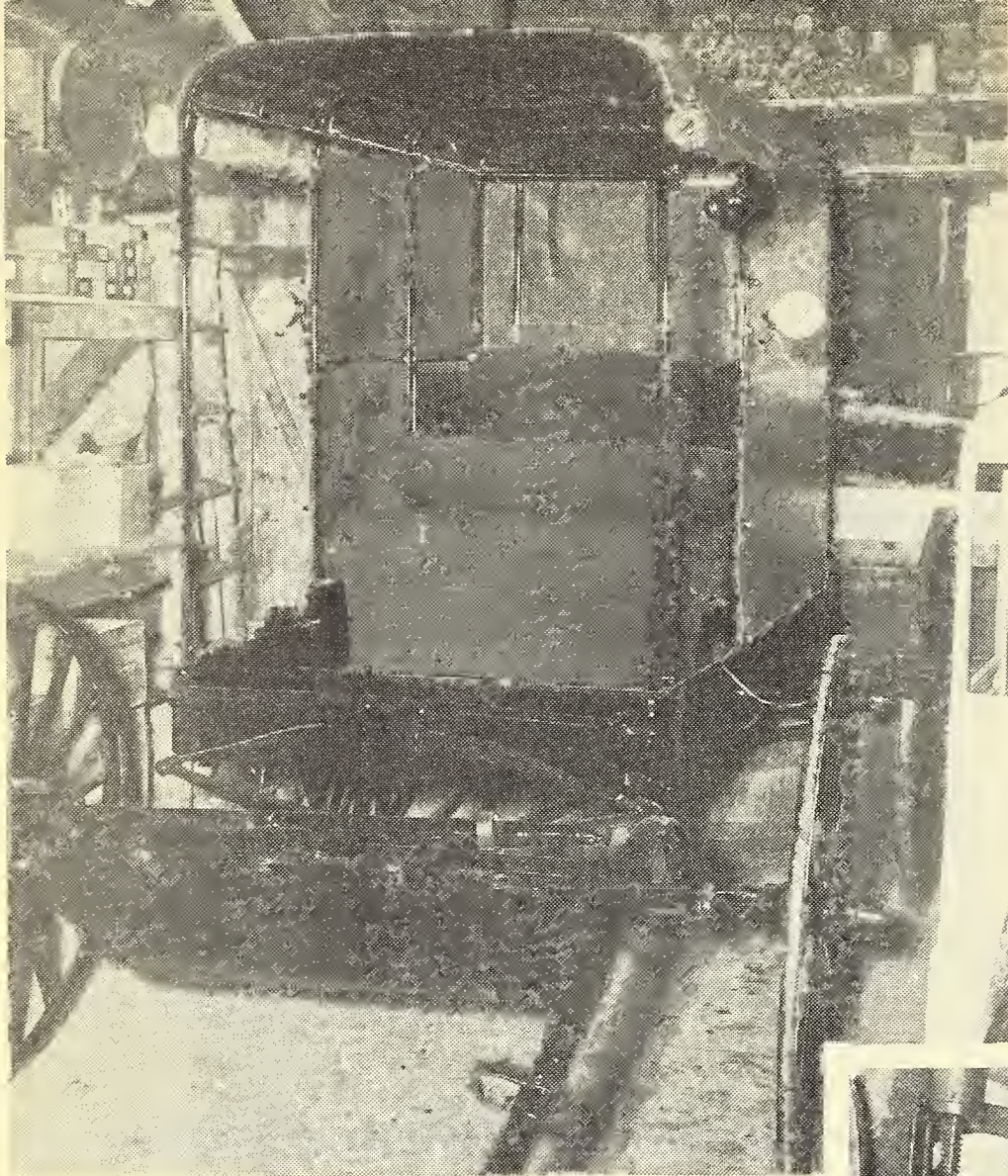


Figure 10.- Gray-topped wagon in local wagon shop. Church regulations proscribe dashboard and whip-socket; a shield serving essentially the same purpose is suspended between the front axle and crossbar of the shafts. Electric-light fixtures are common on wagons, but may not be used in the house.



Figure 11.- Well-equipped machine-repair shops are common on Amish farms. The clothing worn by this farmer was made at home.

once. Reliable informants in the city of Lancaster and Ephrata say that now and then some of the Amish, especially young men, may be seen entering a theater quickly and furtively. Now and then they are seen smoking a cigarette in the city but with considerable caution.

Although musical instruments are prohibited by church regulations, not all young Amishmen are without radios. A few of the more daring boys have small portable radios which they take with them on their longer buggy trips on Sunday nights. This transgression of church regulations must be surreptitious for discovery means disciplinary action by church officials.

Amish parents, like other parents, find it a real problem to keep liquor completely out of the hands of young people. The nature of this problem, and an interesting attempt of the elders to cope with it, are illustrated by what is referred to as the "hotel deal" in Intercourse. At this town, where the young people usually gather on Sunday evenings before they go to the singings, there was a "hotel" until about 3 years ago; that is, an establishment in which liquor was sold. Against repeated instructions and admonitions, some horses and topless buggies continued to gather there and young men and their companions refreshed themselves before going to the singings. The Amish parents met several times to discuss the problem, and when a man was found who was willing to convert the "hotel" into a feed mill but lacked the required capital, they subsidized him. No accurate figure on the subsidy could be obtained, but one informant said that it amounted to about \$1,500. This attempt to control the drinking problem, like the establishment of parochial schools, shows that when approved patterns are threatened, the Amish are willing to spend considerable sums to assure the perpetuation of the old order.

The conversion of the "hotel" into a feed mill did not fully remedy the problem. Anti-drinking regulations are still violated for it is impossible to keep liquor completely away from young men. In the summer of 1940, it is known that violations were effected with the cooperation of non-Amish youths who transported liquor in cars. Surreptitious meetings were arranged and at certain designated places the young Amishmen had a chance to quench their thirst. It should be pointed out, however, that only a few of the young people are problem cases.

By holding the purse strings Amish parents exercise a rather effective control over the activities of the children up to the time of their marriage. Few parents give their children much spending money. This form of control evidently led to some petty crimes a few years ago and it is interesting to see how the resultant problems were solved.

Several young men, who wanted spending money, secretly took a few chickens from their families' chicken barns and sold them. This was repeated several times until a loss was noted by the parents and was reported to legal authorities. The nature of the theft was discovered, but the findings were given to the parents only. The report is that an understanding was then reached between a local official and the parents concerning corrective procedure. The local official gave the boys a strong lecture and declared that each was fined \$50. to be produced immediately. As was expected, the boys had to go to their fathers, explain the situation, and ask for the money. The local official, according to the report, secretly returned the fines to the fathers. This procedure proved very effective for it required the boys to make amends with the township official, the parents, and the church.

A study of delinquency, vice, and crime in the Old Order Amish community is difficult because these people rarely go to court. Problems between members, as far as could be established, have never been taken to court and problems that are settled within the church are not discussed with outsiders. Even the rare cases in which the Amish find themselves defendants usually do not reach trial and defense action. The Amishman would rather pay a fine than go to court.

Problems growing out of ill-advised relations between the sexes are promptly and effectively settled by the church. Divorces are unknown in the community. Whether moral problems are more frequent or more serious today than formerly is difficult to know. Non-Old Order Amish informants are generally of the opinion that the Plain People find it harder now than formerly to control their young people. Opportunities to engage in unapproved activities, they hold, are now more numerous than in the past.

Several outside informants are of the opinion that the Old Order Amish do not provide adequate recreation for their young people. They think that is why Old Order Amish boys spend a good deal of time on the road and engage in rowdyism. Some of these informants think that the Church Amish have less trouble with their young people because they maintain Sunday schools. This observation touches on a rather delicate issue on which the Old Order Amish differ from the Church Amish. The latter, more liberal Amish, have Sunday schools and Bible classes, and they believe that these regular, institutionalized forms of social activity preoccupy the leisure of the young. The Old Order Amish, however, hold that the adoption of Sunday schools would be a departure from the old order and a confession of weakness; moreover, the adoption of Sunday schools is looked upon as a step toward becoming worldly.

VALUE SYSTEM AND ITS SUPPORTING SANCTIONS AND ATTITUDES

The basic virtues in the community consist largely in maintaining the old order in social and religious life and exhibiting stability and success in a rural way of life, preferably farming. The old order in the spheres of religious and social life bespeaks adherence to the cardinal principles of the church—nonresistance, separation from the world, nonconformity to the world, avoidance of the unequal yoke, and avoidance of manifestations of pride. For the sake of maintaining uniformity and harmony in carrying these principles into effect, the church has to enforce numerous disciplines (such as proscription of the ownership of many worldly improvements and prescription of the type of clothes to be worn by each sex and all age groups) and those who fully abide by them naturally exemplify the cherished virtues of the community.

As it is recognized that the survival of the social organism depends on maintaining a rural life the successful farmer enjoys much prestige, gains stability and security for himself, and seeks and at least partly attains stability and security for his children. Those who have few children or who fare exceedingly well in their farming are expected to help immediate relatives and others to gain security in farming or some other closely-allied activity.

Expansion of the Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County would have been impossible without hard work and thrift. Those who do hard work and make it count exemplify a basic virtue in the community. Idlers, loiterers, and those who spend time

reading nonreligious books and publications run the danger of losing caste. Visiting at appropriate times is the only approved leisure activity.

A good Amish farmer enhances his standing in the community by demonstrating qualities of church leadership. This means that he must familiarize himself with the Scriptures and show that he is in sympathy with church regulations and practices. An exemplary life which places the individual in line for a church office is highly esteemed.

Compliance with church regulations and the approved methods is attained in various ways. Children learn early that they are a separate, chosen people. They are taught to look askance at the world and all its works. The fact that they are different from other children is impressed on them at an early age by the clothes they wear and the way their hair is cut.

The approved school program of these people is also designed to maintain the old order, as has been seen. Shortly after the young people have finished the grade school, they are encouraged to be baptized and become full members in the church, which requires abiding by all the church regulations. These practices place a formidable barrier between the Old Order Amish and other people. The garb is in all places an open and conspicuous declaration of church membership and individuals so distinguished would naturally have some difficulty in mixing socially with other people and they inevitably feel they would be conspicuous if they tried to mix freely with other people.

The social barrier which the garb and other differences place between the Old Order Amish and other groups is indicated by the complete absence of intermarriage with outsiders. No informants knew of such intermarriage by an Amish person who had joined the church and adopted the appropriate clothes. No young man outside the group was found who had "dated" an Amish girl and apparently few if any young Amishmen had ever courted other than Old Order Amish women for the difficulties involved in courting between members of the in-group and the out-group are apparent. Differences in equipment and garb are not the only barriers. Church regulations prohibit marriage with non-members and parents exercise careful surveillance over the social programs and courting of the children.

The strict discipline exercised over members of the church has a two-fold purpose - to keep the church pure from "spots and blemishes" and to convince the offender of the error of his ways. The nature of the offense determines the kind of disciplinary action taken. For minor offenses, such as having a picture taken or attending a movie, the transgressor is required to make a "confession of fault" during the executive session following house services, he pleads for forgiveness, and solemnly promises not to repeat the offense. A more serious offense, like cursing, may result in being refused participation in the Lord's Supper and full fellowship of the church unless or until he makes amends; if he fails to do this, he may be excommunicated and shunned.

Members who are persistent in their offenses or break what is recognized as a moral law are subjected to that drastic form of discipline known as shunning. Immorality, for instance, is looked upon as the breaking of a moral law. Dying and driving an automobile would also lead to excommunication and shunning.

Non-church members are excluded from meetings at which disciplinary problems are considered or acted upon. All children and family members who have not joined the

church leave the room during an executive meeting. An account of a meeting in Union County, Penn., in which several members were excommunicated, suggests the seriousness of these occasions:

The excommunication of members was an awful and a solemn procedure. The members to be expelled had been notified in advance and were absent. An air of tenseness filled the house. Sad faced women wept quietly; stern men sat with faces drawn. The bishop arose; with trembling voice and with tears on his cheek he announced that the guilty parties had confessed their sin, that they were cast off from the fellowship of the church and committed to the devil and all his angels.³⁷

An Old Order Amishman who is excommunicated must be shunned; he is truly an outcast. Unless he makes amends and rejoins the church, he is considered lost in the world to come. So effective is this device of social control that individuals who do not promptly join other churches soon seek to reestablish themselves in the church from which they have been separated. If they join other churches they are no longer shunned, but as they have become part of the world, social relations become strained and difficult.

INTEGRATION AND CONFLICTS

Conflict patterns common to other communities are few in the community of the Old Order Amish. Ethnic, language, vocational, and religious homogeneity naturally obviates many potential cleavages that might give rise to friction and conflict. Moreover, there are no extreme differences in planes of living or in educational standards. The Old Order Amish do, however, have conflict problems, both within the community and with outside groups.

The most serious conflicts in the community naturally relate to church regulations and the perpetuation of the old order. Many of the people are not in complete sympathy with the interpretation which has heretofore been placed on the principle of the unequal yoke. Some have joined the Agricultural Conservation Program and a few have joined the Inter-State Milk Producers' Cooperative. This form of participation is still largely unapproved and so involves serious problems of conflict in the community.

The recent school fight in the county has created some rather bitter feelings in the community and has pitted one faction against another. For centuries the Amish and other non-resistant groups have considered it wrong to go to court, even to defend themselves, but the school problem brought into existence a somewhat belligerent faction, which went to court in an endeavor to stop the construction of the consolidated school in East Lampeter Township. A good many members in the community feel that a fundamental principle of the church was violated when this controversy was taken to court.

As most of the serious conflict problems in the community grow out of church regulations, the question arises why these regulations are not changed so that difficulties may be resolved. The Old Order Amish church districts operate on the

³⁷See John Umble, "The Amish Mennonites of Union County, Pennsylvania," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. VII (1933), p. 92. Severe disciplinary programs were of course also exercised by other church groups in the past.

congregational pattern and, strictly speaking, each district may adopt its own church regulations and each member of the church, including the women has a voice in determining church policy. However, important church problems cannot be resolved merely by majority vote because most questions are charged with religious values and significance, and questions of this kind do not lend themselves well to majority vote.

The church regulation prohibiting the ownership of automobiles, for instance, rests on a complex of reasons, but is partly defended on the basis of pride. Owning an automobile, some say, engenders pride and pride is sinful. Conceivably a majority of members in a district may hold that owning an automobile does not engender pride and for that reason may favor a change in that regulation but other members will continue to insist that pride and the automobile go together and even a majority vote to the contrary will not change this conviction. There can be no compromise with sin. The result is a stalemate or a split in the church.

Splits in the Amish and Mennonite churches are not uncommon because so many activities are charged with moral values. In Lancaster County two schismatic groups have broken away from the Old Order Amish since about 1880, and in the Kishacoquillas Valley of central Pennsylvania there are five distinct conservative Amish groups and several schismatic groups of a more liberal nature.

At present, there are three Amish groups in the Lancaster County area the Old Order Amish, the Amish Mennonite Conservatives, and the Amish Mennonites.³⁸ The last group is the most liberal wing of the Amish church group as a whole. Both of the last two groups, known also as Church Amish, permit the ownership of automobiles, the use of tractors for all purposes, telephone, and electric lights, the most liberal among them even have radios. The garb worn by these more liberal groups is less standardized and less extreme than that worn by the Old Order Amish. Some features of nonconformity are still retained by most members, such as a lapel-less coat and the absence of neckties, but some members wear ordinary store clothes.

The more liberal groups serve an important function in the adjustment problem which faces the members of the Old Order Amish church who cannot reconcile their differences with their own group. For instance, a member who is determined to own an automobile or install a telephone can acquire these conveniences and join one of the Church-Amish groups. To date, there have not been many shifts of this kind, but they do take place, and in this way maladjustments are kept at a minimum.

The way in which the two more liberal Amish groups came into existence in Lancaster County illustrates the nature of the more serious conflict problems arising in the Old Order group. The first split in the Old Order Amish church in Lancaster County occurred in the late 1870s and early 1880s. It is reported that an Amish bishop from Ohio visited his friends in Lancaster County. It is the custom to request a visiting bishop to preach, but the district from which the bishop came had built a church, discontinued house services, and adopted the Sunday school. These innovations were considered worldly by some of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County who refused to permit the visiting bishop to preach; they said they were not in full fellowship with him. Certain other members approved his changes and wanted to hear him preach. A serious

³⁸In 1940 the Amish Mennonite Conservatives (1 church) reported 150 members; the Amish-Mennonites (3 churches) 975 members. Most of these members originally split from the Old Order group and its offspring.

conflict developed, the more liberal members separated from the Old Order and organized their own church. Like the liberal Amish in Ohio, this schismatic group built churches and organized Sunday schools.

Another small group separated from the Old Order Amish shortly after 1900. One of the bishops operated a flour mill for which his son was salesman, necessitating some travel. Apparently he found the Amish garb somewhat of a problem and adopted variations. The most serious departures, it is reported, were the outside pockets in the coat and his rather short hair cut. At intervals when he returned and worshipped with his people, these changes were noted. Some members declared they were not in full fellowship with him and wanted prompt disciplinary action. When he failed to reappear in the community for some time, a few members and officials became impatient to take corrective measures. For some reason the father failed to give full cooperation and so, it is reported, other church officials took the matter in hand; the father became enraged. One incident followed another and the end-product was a schismatic group, the Amish-Mennonite Conservatives.

Other splits have occurred for a variety of reasons. For instance, in "Rosanna of the Amish," the author reports a separation in the Amish church in Kishacoquillas Valley because a liberal group demanded the privileges of (1) wearing colored shirts instead of white shirts on work days, (2) wearing plain purchased straw hats, (3) using yellow oilcloth instead of white muslin on their carriages, and (4) making slight changes in the devotional head-covering worn by women.³⁹ In Lancaster County an important split, which gave rise to a group known as the Old Order Mennonites, came after the installation of a pulpit in the meeting house by a liberal faction. Later the conservative faction split and split again, largely over the issue of adopting the automobile.

To outsiders the issues and problems over which the Amish (and Mennonites) split may seem trivial. That new church organizations were formed shows that these people did not consider the issues to be trivial. To some of them a change from the old order means conformity with the world, which is considered definitely anti-Biblical and sinful. It must be remembered, too, that simple issues usually become complex before actual separation occurs.

The principle of separation from the world serves to restrict the relationships of the Old Order Amish with outsiders except in business activities. In religious activities complete separation from outsiders is maintained and in social activities the separation is almost complete. They do go to sales, which are partly social and partly commercial, they participate in barn-raising bees on non-Amish farms, and, in some instances, they attend the Christmas programs in the local schools.

The almost complete absence of social relationship between the Old Order Amish and other church groups gives rise to a rather serious social problem for groups which have become a minority in the area occupied by the Amish. Some of these minority people must go 10 miles or more to find others of their social and religious group. This remoteness from close friends and the fact that their land can be sold at high prices incline them to retreat to other parts of Lancaster County or to nearby counties.

³⁹Joseph W. Yoder *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940), pp. 207-208.

The non-resistant Old Order Amish do have their conflicts with outsiders. Perhaps their sharpest relates to the school program. As non-Amish people living near the Amish naturally believe in "bigger and better" schools for their children, many advocate consolidated schools. Plans arranged to create them are fought and obstructed in various ways by the Old Order Amish.

The principle of the unequal yoke gives rise to some conflict problems with outsiders. Various farmer cooperatives would like to gain the support of the Old Order Amish who are not allowed to participate freely in any organization not sponsored by the church. Outsiders who have tried to break down this non-cooperation have made little headway. Sponsors of the Agricultural Conservation Program, although they have spent much time trying to gain the participation of the Amish in their program, have not been very successful so far. These activities on the part of outsiders are not likely to be appreciated, and bellicose feelings on both sides are sometimes aroused.

The church regulations forbidding the ownership of certain improvements give rise to some conflict situations with outsiders. A well-to-do Amish Farmer, for instance, may ask a neighbor who has an automobile to take him somewhere, or he may ask to use the telephone, and some Amish have asked their neighbors to do plowing for them with tractors. Some non-Amish farmers are naturally inclined to be critical of such requests. They hold that a church group which condemns the automobile, telephone, and tractor (for field work) should be consistent and refuse to use these conveniences.

The Old Order Amish pay high prices for the land they buy but their consistent displacement of other religious and ethnic groups has created a somewhat hostile feeling among some of the remaining non-Amish farmers. Several of these said that they haven't sold their farms simply because the Old Order Amish want so much to buy them; they make a virtue out of their refusal to surrender "every last acre" to the Amish. This feeling is not general on the part of non-Amish farmers, most of whom realize that their farms would be worth much less if there were no Amish in the county.

THE FARMERS' EXPANDING WORLD

AGRICULTURAL ASPECTS

Although the Amish farmers believe in separation from the world in social and religious matters they have long been intimately associated with the expanding world of commercialized agriculture. Even before coming to America, many of their forefathers were in the vanguard of improved and commercialized agriculture in the Rhineland but this commercialization was not the result of a deliberate planning to amass great wealth. It resulted from eschewing leisure time, from diligence, and from the need to survive in an unfriendly and even hostile world.

In this country the experience of the Amish farmers runs the gamut from a frontier existence in which economic life was largely self-sufficient to intensive commercialized farming in a highly competitive agricultural world. It was logical and reasonable for these people to be absorbed in a commercialized form of agriculture at a relatively early time, for the community in Lancaster County is located on relatively good soil near the city of Lancaster (at one time the largest inland city in this country), it is only about 60 miles from the city of Philadelphia, and it has long been served by roads and transportation systems connecting Philadelphia with the West.⁴⁰

Amish farmers have long ceased to register nostalgia for a self-sufficient form of farming. As long as they can remain secure on the land, and increasing tempo of commercialization does not seem to disturb them. The establishment of other Amish communities in recent decades (for example, near Norfolk, Va., and Dover, Del., and most recently in St. Mary's County, Md.) indicates clearly that Amish farmers do not seek to escape commercial agriculture, but definitely want to participate in it. If Amish informants expressed any concern over commercialization they accepted it as inevitable. "It has come to stay and there is nothing that can be done about it," summarizes the prevailing attitude on this and many other developments. But they are much more concerned over the high price of land in their community and over the school problem.

Except for tractors for field work, they use the latest and best farm machinery. They consider good farm machinery essential, saying, "We wouldn't last long if we didn't have it." The more usual kinds of farm implements are adopted as soon as they prove to be practical. Devices that save work are usually as popular in this community as in other farming sections. Tobacco planters and hay loaders have long been used, although these devices are not so usual in all other sections where they might be used.

⁴⁰Airplanes traveling west from Philadelphia fly overhead at short intervals. The Pennsylvania Railroad (electrified) and Lincoln Highway pass through a compact settlement of Amish farmers. The Old Philadelphia Road, laid out here in 1730, was for many decades one of the most important inland roads in this country. In 1794 a hard-surfaced turnpike between Columbia (on the western boundary of the county) and Philadelphia replaced the former dirt road, and in 1834 the first railroad was completed between these two cities. See Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-320.

Milking machines are not so commonly used as in some other dairying sections. Their infrequency was explained by (1) the presence of numerous children and "milking hands," (2) the absence of electricity on Amish farms, and (3) the fact that many Amish farmers have only recently engaged in commercial dairying and dairy herds are still too small to warrant use of the machines. Some Old Order Amish farmers do have milking machines powered with small gas engines, and they think that other dairymen in the community will adopt milking machines eventually.

The church regulation prohibiting use of the tractor for field work, was adopted decades ago when tractors were rather large and cumbersome for use in small fields. At that time it was easy to implement the principle of nonconformity to the world with a reasoning which set forth the bad features of the tractor for field work. It was argued that a tractor packs the ground, does not get into the corners of the field, wastes land on the margins of the field, is very expensive, has limited use, and entails heavier depreciation losses than do horses. The improved tractor of today renders many of these arguments obsolete.

Restriction of the use of the tractor for belt power is giving rise to a serious problem. Many farmers in the county - including Old Order Mennonites - have tractors for field work. This compact, efficient machine is popular because many field operations which need to be performed hurriedly at rather critical times make the tractor particularly useful. Moreover, farmers who buy horses and buy feed may really not be ahead financially by using horses. Many Old Order Amish farmers, particularly younger men, are aware of the advantages the tractor offers and, apparently, would like to own and operate one.

In the last few years some farmers who use tractors have rented and operated additional farm places. This practice, which is already common in the Corn Belt, really alarms the tractorless Amishman. To remain on the land the Amish need more and more farms, and so they cannot well afford to let the tractor-farmer take over much land in Lancaster County.

One Old Order Amish farmer apparently had found a way of circumventing the church rule concerning the use of the tractor. He had rented his tenant house to a tenant who owned a tractor and the neighbors alleged that this tractor was used to perform much of the work on the land farmed by the Amishman. This same plan has been used by some Amish farmers with reference to the telephone.

The Old Order Amish prohibition of the use of electric lights and electric motors was adopted years ago when rural power lines were unknown and when the prospect of having electric light and power on the farms seemed remote. But now the area is criss-crossed by rural power lines and non-Old Order Amish farmers use electricity in numerous ways. Electricity is particularly useful in large poultry barns and in milk houses, both of which are common in the Old Order Amish Community.

Bulbs and batteries are used in certain limited ways. Flashlights are approved and so are electric lights on their vehicles. Some are adopting electric fences operated with batteries. The use of an electric motor on the farm is prohibited, but a few operate small generators with wind power to charge batteries. Some batteries are

connected with light sockets in hidden places. but this is really not approved. One member was operating a rather large generator with water power and this generator supplied electricity for several bulbs. These practices suggest some of the difficulties which grow out of a program of nonconformity.

The regulations concerning the use of electricity, too, are giving rise to serious problems in the Old Order Amish community. Some of the young farmers believe that the use of electricity in additional ways should be permitted but it is difficult to say how many of the people disapprove of the present regulations concerning electricity.

The regulation prohibiting the ownership and operation of automobiles naturally applies also to farm trucks. Farmers in general find small farm trucks very handy for delivering milk to milk stations and hauling small feed orders. The Old Order Amish must use horses for these tasks or hire trucks. Probably many of them would soon acquire small trucks if permitted to do so.

Mechanization in some form is influencing also the household practices in the Old Order Amish community. The regulation against the use of electricity precludes the adoption of many common modern household devices, but this does not mean a pre-machine-age type of household. Small gasoline engines run washing machines, churns, and water pumps. Sewing machines are found in nearly every household. Electrical refrigerators are forbidden but large ice boxes are not. Some of these ice boxes are very modern and provide good refrigeration. rural ice trucks bring the ice. Regular truck service brings bakers, bread and cakes to the farms. Meat and grocery trucks have many patrons in the community. In fact, the Old Order Amish family enjoys many of the conveniences that the machine age makes possible.

The Old Order Amish buy factory-made thread and cloth and some ready-made underclothes and hose but they do not buy many ready-made outer clothes. The Amish housewives still make these outer clothes, including men's suits, shirts, and overcoats, except for a few suits and overcoats-made by seamstresses in the community. Just what the Old Order Amish housewife thinks about this required task cannot be said, for matters like this are not discussed freely with outsiders.

One of the byproducts of mechanization has been a shift in the allocation of tasks between the sexes. In colonial times the Pennsylvania-German women did considerable field work and other work outside the house. With mechanization, this work became more and more restricted. In addition to household activities, however, the women continued to take care of the garden and the chickens, assisted with milking, and took care of dairy products. Gardens are still chiefly their responsibility. As specialization and commercialization of poultry activities and dairying increased, this work is more and more taken over by male members of the family. Girls and women still do some field work. They may operate the rake in haying, they may help in planting tobacco, potatoes, and tomatoes. They usually help in harvesting potatoes and tomatoes. "Bone work," as one member put it, is now largely done by men.

Critical problems in agriculture have given rise to legislation which tends to narrow the laissez-faire program of the individual farmer. Such legislation naturally clashes rather sharply with the ideals and practices of a small minority group which believes in separation from the world and tries to uphold the principle of the unequal yoke. Moreover, the Old Order Amish and related groups believe in the adequacy of "the Bible standard" and its corollary, the adequacy of the church group to deal with its own social and economic problem. At least, these are the traditional beliefs.

As already pointed out, only a small number of Old Order Amish farmers are taking part in the Agricultural Conservation Program, and none is participating in the programs of the Soil Conservation Service and the Farm Security Administration. While the unequal yoke is the fundamental reason for this fact, other considerations also disincline these people to take part. Some of these reasons are obviously rationalizations which mask deep-seated fears and attitudes. "It isn't right for farmers to accept benefit payments because they haven't earned the money." "If we accept money from the Government we may also be required to go to war and we don't believe in war." "The payments do not help the farmer any because he will have to pay it all back in taxes some day." "How can we have a surplus when lots of people go hungry or do not have enough to eat?"

In general there seems to be a rather basic disagreement between most of the Amish farmers and students of agriculture concerning agricultural problems and the depression. Many of the latter closely relate the agricultural depression to the decline in exports of agricultural products; the Amish farmer places most of the blame for the depression on the middlemen. Like many other farmers, the Amishman wants to know why he gets perhaps 4 or 5 cents per quart of milk when the retailer gets from 12 to 14 cents. He raises similar questions about wheat, tobacco, and beef. "If the Department of Agriculture wants to help us, why doesn't it get after the middlemen?"

In part, the indifference of the Old Order Amish farmers in this county to Government agricultural programs may be explained by the fact that they, more than many other farmers, have escaped continuous low agricultural prices and have not experienced complete crop failures. Prices for fluid milk in southeastern Pennsylvania have been fairly good compared with prices for farm products produced in the South and Middle West. The tobacco produced in this county is consumed almost entirely in this country, and so export problems have not much influenced its price, which has been about as good in very recent years as before. Prices for good beef have held up better than those of many other products. Prices for wheat, poultry, and eggs have been low but these products bring in only a part of the income realized by the Amish farmers, who carry on highly diversified farming. In late depression years, the income of the Amish farmer, according to a number of informants among them, has been just about as good as it was in the late 1920's. It is not surprising, therefore, that these people are more concerned about high farm values than about the prices of agricultural products.

The Old Order Amish farmer also maintains a critical attitude toward governmental aid programs which do not relate specifically to agriculture. "None of our people are on WPA or in CCC camps." "There is plenty of work around here for anybody who wants to work." Rightly or wrongly, these people conclude that as they can get along without these aid programs, others could also "if only the people would be willing to work."

The Amishmen from hearsay or experience, cite "slow motion" relief workers. Specific projects in the neighborhood are cited, particularly road projects, which they say were undertaken with much manpower but were completed slowly and inefficiently. The fact that relief workers enjoy a short work day and get better pay than farm laborers who work long hours is seriously criticized. Moreover, it is alleged that relief workers do much loafing and smoking on the job. Stories are told about relief

workers who turned down jobs offered them by Amish farmers. These jobs were declined, it is said, because of long work hours or because the farmer's wage offer was lower than the amount offered or paid by the Government. "We have to work long hours. Why can't they?"

NONAGRICULTURAL ASPECTS

Amish farmers still drive horses but they also ride in automobiles occasionally, and travel by bus and train. They see more of the city than formerly although the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County have long been rather closely associated with cities in economic activities. The older men remember the Conestoga wagons owned and used by their fathers. From early colonial days until some time after the railroads came (about 1850) these wagons made numerous trips to haul surplus products to markets in Philadelphia and to bring back home and neighborhood needs or cargo for merchants in or near the City of Lancaster. During and after the years of the Conestoga wagons, many of these people made weekly trips to the market at Lancaster or some other place. Some of them still do. Moreover, sickness and shopping bring these people to Lancaster at intervals. When the Old Order Amish visit other communities of Amish farmers they enjoy seeing the sights in cities.

Although the Amishmen do not hesitate to visit the city when it is necessary, they have not reconciled themselves to many of the things that take place in it. The city, to them, still epitomizes all the bad things of the world. It is in the cities that movie houses, dance halls, drinking places, fashion shops, and beauty parlors - which they consider evil inventions - flourish. And it is from the cities that these institutions spread into the rural areas.

City life is looked upon as decadent and wrong. It is mainly in the cities that youngsters get more and more education and where workers do less and less work. Higher education, they hold, is essential for some people and some professions but most young people learn little that is practical in high school or college and many become lazy in them. They hold that few girls who have passed through high school can cook, sew, or keep house properly. Morals, it is believed, are injured by higher education, and divorces are therefore becoming more common, especially in cities. Labor unions, which thrive in cities, call strikes and demand wages which seem outrageous to the Amishmen. Cities of today, like many of those in Biblical times, are still considered to be centers of evil and iniquity.

The conceptions and attitudes of outsiders toward the Old Order Amish community vary greatly and are naturally conditioned by personal ambitions and experiences. A local banker boasted that 90 percent of his loans to the Amish and Mennonites were made on one signature papers because they are honest, work hard, and pay their debts." A feed mill operator however, insisted that the Amish are no better than other farmers: "Some pay their debts promptly and others do not. Some try to do you for all they can."

An advocate of higher education criticized the Amish severely for standing in the way of science and progress. "Every time someone wants to improve a schoolhouse we've got a Supreme Court fight on our hands. Lancaster County should be ashamed of its many out-of-date, one room school houses." A non-Amish citizen living in the township in which the school fight took place deplored the obstructionist school attitude of the

Old Order Amish. He spoke with strong feeling about this fight and the fact that some of his children formerly had to attend an old, ill-equipped one-room school with outside toilets.

A young man living in a trade center which is much patronized by the Amish insisted that Amish boys and girls are not better than other boys and girls, saying that he had seen Amish boys smoke cigarettes and drink liquor and had seen them in a local theater.

Some of the non Amish farmers in the larger community are not well disposed toward these peculiar people. They want to buy all the land. I could have sold this farm for much more than it is really worth, but I won't sell. Many resent the widespread opinion that the Amish and Mennonites are better farmers than they are. "I could make lots of money too if I worked day and night and worked my children the way they do." A Mennonite affiliated with one of the more liberal branches of the church found himself definitely isolated in the midst of the Old Order Amish community. "Most of my friends are from 10 to 20 miles away from here. I used to have close friends around here but they sold out and bought cheaper land on the other side of the city of Lancaster. About the only place I see the Old Order Amish is on the road; we don't visit together.

One farmer criticized both the Amish and the Mennonites for not participating more generally in Government agricultural programs. "The rest of us join to improve prices and they can plant as much as they want to and still get the same prices we do." Some farmers were rather critical of the fact that the Old Order Amish do not own automobiles, telephones, and tractors (for field work), but nevertheless feel free to ask their neighbors for a ride to town, for the use of the telephone, or to plow fields with a tractor.

Businessmen in the city of Lancaster and other nearby trade centers frequently see in the Old Order Amish an opportunity to increase the tourist trade of Lancaster County. These rather unique people with their peculiar garb, big farms, and big houses naturally lend themselves well to advertising; and advertised they are. Post cards, leaflets, and booklets, and even dolls featuring the Amish have been designed to catch the traveler's eye.

Most of the Old Order Amish farmers receive daily newspapers, farm journals, and one or two church periodicals. Non professional, cultural magazines and non-Biblical story books are not approved by the church. Few Government bulletins or publications are found in their homes.

Two daily newspapers are published in the city of Lancaster. Most of the Amish subscribe to one of these and follow rather closely the local events. News items relating to the depression and the war are generally read. Amish children, like other children, enjoy the comic strips and many mature members also read "the funnies."

Several Amish informants pointed out that although the two daily papers printed in Lancaster are published by the same company, one is Democratic and the other is Republican. The sincerity of the publisher and the editorials in these matters is therefore questioned, and the incongruity seems to confirm their low opinion of city people in general.

The most popular farm papers in the community are the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, *Rural New Yorker*, *Country Gentleman*, and *Hoard's Dairyman*. Apparently few of the farmers

receive more than one or two of these magazines the thoroughness with which they are read varies. Some said they did not have much time to read whereas some claimed to read the magazines throughout, including the stories. Many thought they could get along very well in their farming without farm magazines. Individuals who spend much time reading magazines are considered lazy.

A church periodical found in the homes of many Old Order Amish families is a German and English publication entitled *Herold der Wahrheit* published by the Amish-Mennonite Publishing Association at Scottdale, Penn. This is a semi-monthly publication which presents short religious articles and personal news items.

The ban on the home use of telephones is rationalized. One Amish informant, for example said that the telephones induce women to waste time talking to neighbors and friends. They talk about what they are going to wear, what parties they went to, and stuff like that. Ain't that worldly? The ban on the telephone and the radio has its practical side in that it maintains a degree of separation with outsiders and this is helpful if not essential, in maintaining a life of nonconformity.

The church regulation concerning the telephone gives rise to some interesting problem cases. An Old Order Amish tenant may occupy a farm owned by non Plain People; if there is a telephone he may ask to have it removed and this is usually done. But suppose the owner insists that it stay so that the tenant can be called? One non-Amish informant told of an Old Order Amish tenant renting the farm of a non-Plain People owner. Two months before he took over the place, the owner put a telephone in it. The opinion is widespread that the Old Order Amish tenant requested the installation of the telephone so he could use it after he moved on the farm.

Old Order Amish members engaged in certain kinds of commercial enterprises find the prohibition of the telephone a real problem - those who have feed mills and limestone quarries, for instance. Various arrangements have been resorted to. A member, it is reported had a telephone installed in an outside toilet near his feed mill, but disciplinary action ended this experiment. One who operates a large limestone quarry for some time had a telephone that was listed under the name of one of the helpers and was installed in a separate little shack near the main office. Recently the telephone has been listed under the member's name and this is said to have created a serious disciplinary problem; so far he has not been excommunicated. The above cases are exceptions. Public telephone stations are numerous in the community and they may be used by church members.

The church ban on the radio, like that on the telephone, is designed chiefly to retain the greatest possible separation from the world. The ban on musical instruments in general also serves to condemn the radio. So far the ban on the radio has not created a serious problem. Certain young men who have owned portable radios which they used on the road at night have been corrected. One young farmer apparently had a small radio in the house which was connected to an aerial concealed in a drain pipe but this arrangement which may have been attempted at other times and in other places, also has been terminated.

Church regulations prohibiting the Old Order Amish from owning and operating automobiles do not forbid hiring automobiles and drivers for special trips or in emergencies although pleasure trips in automobiles are prohibited. Open buggies and gray box like carriages are still used for most local travel.

Figure 12.- One of the numerous public telephone stations in the Old Order Amish community.



Figure 13.- Not all enclosed buggies seen in Lancaster County are "gray-tops." Several Old Order Mennonite groups also proscribe automobiles, and each non-conforming group has a distinctive type of wagon.

Automobiles were banned when they first appeared on the market and were expensive, unreliable, and were bought mostly as a luxury. Now that automobiles have been greatly improved, ownership has become widespread everywhere among farmers with good incomes, who look upon an automobile as an absolute necessity.

As times have changed, so has the defense of this ban. "What will happen to our young people if we get machines?" This query implies a deep concern which many of the Amish feel. Travel by horse and buggy confines the young people pretty much to the community. It does not prevent wild or "hickory" youngsters from visiting a drinking place, pool hall, or movie now and then but these visits cannot go on long without being detected because the bishops, ministers, deacons, and parents generally also travel back and forth on the road. Detection would not be nearly so easy if the young people had automobiles.

These problems seem to become more distressing. The Old Order Amish community is expanding rather rapidly and the distance between friends and relatives is more and more difficult to negotiate with a horse and buggy. Relatives living at opposite ends of the community may have to travel from 20 to 25 miles to visit each other. With a horse and buggy much time has to be spent on the road. This community has not only expanded in Lancaster County but its people are now invading the adjacent counties of Chester and Lebanon as well as Delaware, Virginia, and Maryland. In each of these instances, relatives have been separated by distances which can readily be covered with automobiles, but which exclude the use of horse and buggy, so cars and trucks are frequently hired for visiting. This costs money and is sometimes very inconvenient.

The network of hard-surfaced roads means that "horses pound themselves to pieces" on them. Even resilient shoes for the horses, which are generally used, do not overcome this difficulty. Young men who do a good deal of traveling may ruin a fast road horse in 12 to 18 months, and these horses, brought in from another section, generally cost from \$100 to \$200 each. Is this cheaper than using automobiles?

Speeding cars on the good roads have brought a number of tragic accidents in which buggies have been demolished and one or several Amish occupants have been killed or maimed.

The extent to which the church regulation prohibiting the ownership of automobiles has general approval is difficult to determine because this issue like many other, is charged with emotional and religious interests and is not discussed freely with outsiders. Several adjacent conservative Mennonite groups have split repeatedly on this and related issues. Moreover, two groups of Church Amish have adopted automobiles.

The evolution of the stand on the automobile in several Old Order Mennonite groups in Lancaster County is an interesting example of the gradually increasing liberalization of regulations once such a movement has begun. Since the first World War these groups have split several times over the question. Ownership and operation, it must be remembered, had to be reconciled with the long established principles forbidding pride and worldly pleasure and maintaining nonconformity. The sequence of development varied somewhat among the various groups but in general it was as follows: (1) adoption of open cars without any ornamentation and forbidding the use of the machine for mere pleasure; (2) adoption of the closed car but requiring that all polished nickel be painted black and forbidding the use of the machine for pleasure,

(3) failure to stress that nickel parts be painted black and a more indulgent attitude toward using cars for pleasure. Most of the groups that have adopted the automobile now use it in the same ways as other people and this is also true of the Church Amish. Among other things, these people now like to take long trips and vacations. As the Old Order Amish also like to travel, not for pleasure *per se*, but to visit relatives and other communities, the prohibition on automobiles is felt keenly by many.

The part that the automobile and the horse and buggy play in community structure and, indirectly, in land values is of interest. Use of the horse and buggy by the old Order groups tends to intensify the centripetal pressure on the land, and it is this pressure which accounts for the pyramided land values in the center of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite communities. The converse is generally true of individuals and groups that have adopted the automobile. These individuals and groups are inclined to sell their high-priced land and to move to the margin or beyond the margin of the old communities because with their cars they can readily retain established associations with friends, relatives, and church groups. Even if the family homestead is not sold, additional holdings by these people are usually bought at some distance. The tendency for the liberal elements to move outward serves to compensate to some degree the tendency of the conservative groups to remain where they are, or to move inward. As the Old Order Amish have so far remained predominantly conservative, they have demonstrated the most marked stability of place and have progressively eliminated other church groups.

The expanding world of the farmers serves to link the individual agriculturists more and more closely to the larger society. Individual and community autonomy are in many respects giving way to sectional, regional, and even national programs, particularly along professional lines and in group interests. Thus, we have farmers' organizations, labor organizations, and a multiplicity of other organizations promoting programs and legislation which impinge upon the individual and the community. This widespread tendency naturally clashes sharply with the living of small minority groups which believe in separation from the world and nonconformity, and which forbid the unequal yoke.

Many farm organizations are created for the purpose of bettering the social and economic conditions of rural people. Some legislative programs have the same objectives. These organizations and programs are not approved by the Old Order Amish and some closely related religious groups, who believe in the Bible standard and the adequacy of the church to meet ordinary social and economic problems. They believe that the Bible recommends courses of action for every problem which may confront the individual and the community, and it is the function of the church, they hold, to translate into practice the recommendations of the Bible. All problems (including agricultural and labor problems, child labor, and international problems) result from non-Christian practices, they believe, and will not be remedied by legislation or formal organization without recourse to the Bible. Social and economic studies, as usually conducted, seem foolish to these people because the Bible makes it clear to them what is wrong with the world or what needs to be done to correct conditions.

It was impossible to find a definite or consistent pattern of thought among the Old Order Amish with reference to foreign trade, trade agreements, and related problems. None of them expressed concern over the loss of the foreign market for agricultural or industrial products. Like farmers in other parts of the country, some of the Old Order Amish informants were more concerned over the imports of "all that beef from South America" than they were alarmed over the decline in exports generally.

The indifference of these people toward the question of foreign trade may come partly from the fact that their market economy is more immediately tied up with nearby urban centers than with foreign countries. Many deny that there is a surplus of any agricultural product, since many people in this country are inadequately fed and clothed.

For at least 400 years the Amish and their forefathers have been consistent in their stand against war and bloodshed. Because of this stand they are called "non-resistant," as are the Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren, and certain other sectarians. The stand against war, violence, and the use of force is based on numerous Biblical passages. Sermons are frequently devoted to this subject and the members are reminded of various admonishments in the Bible: "Love your enemies," "Do good to them that hate you," "Resist not evil," "Avenge not yourselves," "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink," "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal."⁴¹

Throughout their stay in Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish have not compromised their attitude toward war. All wars are held as anti-Christian. They would rather suffer persecution and abuse than serve in these conflicts. It was in the critical days before the Revolutionary War that the first edition of the *Martyr's Mirror* was published in Ephrata (Lancaster County) for the rather specific purpose of preparing the young people for the impending war. In later wars the book has served a similar purpose.

During the past wars of this country, the nonresistant people escaped military service in one way or another. During the Revolutionary War and the Civil War it was possible to escape military service by paying special taxes or fines. Church funds were made available to gain exemption for all members who were in line for service. During the World War young Amishmen gained exemption through special farm furloughs. Local committees in Lancaster County were of course familiar with the nonresistance principles of the sects and at least some of them cooperated with the Amish, Mennonites, and other groups in gaining exemption.

Not all conscientious objectors gained exemption immediately during the first World War, particularly nonfarm people, and so a number of sectarian groups, including the Quakers and Mennonites, formed special cooperating committees to seek special legislation exempting members of these church groups from military training and service in the event of another national emergency. These representatives immediately called upon Members of Congress when the Burke-Wadsworth Bill was formulated and succeeded in incorporating a section (Sec. 5(g)) which exempts conscientious objectors from "combatant training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States." The bill requires, however, "that if the objector is inducted into the land or naval forces under this Act, he shall be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President." As a result of this last provision, nonmilitary camps have been established in which the conscientious objectors carry on conservation work under nonmilitary leaders. When not working, the young men are under the supervision of church leaders chosen by the respective church groups.

⁴¹For more detailed consideration of the principle of nonresistance see Harold S. Bender, "Church and State in Mennonite History," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIII (1939), pp. 83-103; John Horsch, "An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Nonresistance," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. I (1937), pp. 5-22; Edward Yoder, "The Christian's Relation to the State in Time of War," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. IX (1935), pp. 5-19.

As the nonmilitary camps were organized after the field work for this study was completed, the prevailing feeling toward these camps has not been learned but it is known that the Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County definitely feel that these non-military camps are not a satisfactory answer to their problem. Members of this church visited high military officials in Washington to see whether further concessions could be gained. They prepared a petition which briefly reviews the historic stand of the church concerning "defense by force":

. . . according to the example, life, and doctrine of Christ, we are not to do wrong or occasion grief or vexation to any one. . . . also, if necessity should require it, to flee, for the Lord's sake, from one city or county to another, and suffer the 'spoiling of our goods,' rather than give occasion of grief to any one; and if we are struck on our 'right cheek rather turn the other also,' than revenge ourselves, or return the blow. . . . We advocate and ask and recommend that the members of our church stay on farms and live in districts or colonies where enough of our church people live and worship, in order that they can associate and stay with our faith, as it has been our experience that members who leave our districts and farms have gotten away from the faith. We desire our members to live and worship as near like our forefathers have been accustomed to as possible.

It may safely be said that the Old Order Amish subscribe to all the statements of this petition. These people are fully aware of the fact that their way of life can be maintained only so long as they are able to maintain group solidarity and a considerable degree of separation from the world.

The Old Order Amish do not identify themselves with either of the two major political parties of this country. They feel that to engage actively and consistently in political activities would bring disunity into the group and that would be intolerable. Moreover, as one informant said, "We are children of the Kingdom of Heaven, and not of the world." For this and other reasons, these people take small part in elections on the county, State, and national levels. In township elections, however, they frequently participate for here issues arise which they consider to be vital to their immediate welfare.

Although few of the Old Order Amish identify themselves as Democrats or Republicans, they seem to share the political sentiments of the county at large. They do not look with favor upon the far-reaching legislation that has been passed in an attempt to gain certain social and economic ends; this legislation impinges too much upon the community, they believe. These people fear it leads toward totalitarianism, socialism, and communism, all of which are abhorred.

The fear these people have of communism is in part based upon the liquidation and absolutism to which the Mennonites of Russia were subjected after the first World War. Many thousands of them left Russia to escape military service and the collectivization of farms, and to maintain their religious principles. The Amish and Mennonites of Lancaster County contributed freely to help finance the migration of the Russian Mennonites to Canada and South America.

The experience of the Mennonite church in general may be suggestive of the course of development which characterized individual schismatic nonconformist groups. Scores of these groups are scattered in various parts of the Western Hemisphere and in Europe. Internal difficulties and external pressures in a great many instances have completely erased external nonconformist practices. In Europe, the original home of these groups,

apparently few if any communities survive that are still outstanding in their program of nonresistance and nonconformity. External pressures are partly responsible for this development. In the Americas, various degrees of nonconformity still characterize a considerable number of communities.

The Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County is today the largest community of extremely conservative people belonging to the Mennonite church body, although it is not officially connected with that body. Some equally conservative Amish communities are found in other parts of Pennsylvania and in Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and some other States. Liberal Amish-Mennonites and Mennonites, however, greatly outnumber the conservative members in the country as a whole. All of these groups, liberal and conservative, sprang from an original Swiss Brethren movement. The tendency, therefore, has been to break up into subgroups and among these the liberal groups are predominant in membership today. But in Lancaster County, although the liberal Mennonites greatly outnumber the conservative Mennonites, the Old Order Amish still outnumber the two groups known as Church-Amish and Amish-Mennonites.

INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION IN COMMUNITY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIFE

Integration of the Old Order Amish community springs chiefly from a common, and in certain ways a distinct, background, religion, language, and vocation, and from a devotion to the old order. Disintegration occurs when old symbols become less precise and less meaningful, difficult to maintain, and less imperious in their demands. As conflict problems arise because of technological, economic, governmental and other changes, the old order is called into question and at times is subjected to modification. Community stability may be impaired by sustained conflicts as well as by rather sharp changes in the old order.

Education, transportation, and communication are today much less tolerant of cultural differences than was the more provincial world of yesterday. It is more difficult for the Old Order Amish to practice nonconformity to and separation from the world now, than it was for their forefathers. Even in compromise measures, with reference to certain cherished principles, there may lurk seeds of disintegration.

The German language has become an integral part of the old order of the Amish and its perpetuation has become one of the essentials in their program of nonconformity. This is well indicated by the fact that liberal Amish and Mennonite groups who have adopted the English language for their religious services have also abandoned some other practices of nonconformity. The power of tradition and of the feeling of separateness are greatly weakened by the recasting of words, phrases, concepts, and books into another language. For instance, to the Old Order Amish the term *die Welt* does not refer to a planet and its occupants but, instead, connotes everything that is evil. For centuries this association was seared into the memory of the people. Translated into *the world*, it becomes a term never used in the religious services of the Old Order Amish but used much in the elementary schools and used in an entirely different sense and with entirely different connotations. The implications of such a change should be apparent.

It is a remarkable fact that these people have perpetuated the language of their former homeland for about 200 years. It will be more remarkable, however, if this language is perpetuated for several more generations under modern conditions — under these war conditions — and the present ease of communication and transportation. A good deal of evidence suggests that it is becoming increasingly difficult to continue the use of the language at this time. Many of the young ministers find it a real hardship to use it in their sermons and more and more English words and phrases creep in. Increasingly the children find it hard to understand the sermons. These same difficulties prompted the adoption of the English language by other Amish and Mennonite bodies, as well as other churches, in Lancaster County and elsewhere.

Because of the principle of nonconformity to the world in both a material and a nonmaterial sense, the term "peculiar people" assumes special significance; nonconforming is translated into a special garb and other exterior manifestations which set these

people apart from "the world." This material nonconformity facilitates indoctrination of the young who are carefully and painstakingly trained and conditioned to remain separate and distinct from the world and most of its activities.

The material expression which is given to the principle of nonconformity promotes increasing difficulties in the highly industrialized world. The things which satisfy our daily needs flow from the factory door and are standardized. A group which refuses to adopt these factory products becomes conspicuous and the object of curiosity. The resulting notice and publicity can be disturbing and demoralizing.

It is when an established practice of nonconformity threatens the security and stability of these people that the "old order" creates conflicts. The ban on the tractor, for instance, concerns them seriously because this machine enables some Amish neighbors to operate several farms, and if this custom spreads, the Amishmen's security on the land is threatened. Realization of this fact leads to a questioning attitude toward the old order, which is not conducive to tranquility and stability. The correctness of the central belief and associated practices must not be questioned if the integrity of the group is to be maintained.

Technological changes are creating numerous problems as has been explained in connection with hard roads that rapidly ruin fine horses, fast-moving automobiles that cause serious accidents to buggies and wagons, emergencies that require rapid transportation, specialized industries that are now handicapped without electricity. Most non-Amish farmers in Lancaster County find a pick-up truck essential on their farms but the Old Order Amish are denied its use by the church. Regulations of this kind give rise to irritating difficulties in the community.

The principle of the unequal yoke has some similar results. Individual and community activity is becoming relatively less successful in coping with an economy that is nationwide and world-wide in its ramifications and that is in many ways out of joint. Cooperatives and other organizations are springing into existence and may be developing rapidly, some under the auspices of the Government, to meet these problems. Campaigns designed to get the Old Order Amish to "sign up" recur with increasing frequency, and a few of them are having some success. This situation may create a need to redefine the position of the church, and such redefinitions usually involve strategic retreats from the old order.

Strategic retreats have occurred in the past and will take place in the future. Old disciplines of the church, actively followed during the colonial period, which forbade these people to borrow money from outside agencies and to participate in elections are now nullified. Buttons are now used on numerous items, especially work clothes.

These retreats vary in implications and significance. Changes in regulations concerning voting and the borrowing of money did not materially affect the general program of nonconformity and separation from the world. But how about the regulations concerning automobiles and telephones? Here are devices which seriously threaten a program of separation from the world and, indirectly, nonconformity.

The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County realize that changes in programs of nonconformity are made at some peril. They see this in the difficulties other nonconformity groups are having after modifying their conduct with reference to certain

"worldly" practices or conveniences. For instance, after some branches of the Mennonite and Amish churches made concessions regarding the automobile the tractor for field work, and the English language for religious services, it was difficult to maintain certain other long-established practices. Men cut their hair shorter and shorter and eventually some adopted the prevailing haircut, beards became shorter and in time were discarded by some; suits became less extreme in appearance, and some men even bought store suits. Women departed from old standards in that printed goods were used in dresses, devotional head coverings became smaller, and some of the women curled their hair. In services, part-singing was introduced by stages. One change has led to another, until most of the outstanding nonconformity practices have become things of the past. So the prospect of making concessions among Old Order Amish disturbs this group greatly.

It is difficult for any outsider to say whether the old order is approaching a serious crisis which may disrupt the social bonds in the community and give rise to more schismatic groups. Nor is there a unanimity of opinion on this matter by non-Amish informants in the county. The fact that there are already two liberal Church-Amish groups in the county has served to prevent serious splits in the Old Order Amish church; members who find the regulations intolerable can join more liberal groups and adopt almost anything they wish. So far no marked shifts in membership have taken place, but when shifts do occur, they nearly always bring additions to the liberal groups—not to the conservative group.

Common religious ideals and kinships create a close bond among the Amish as does the awareness of a common tragic past. It is during periods of abuses and persecution that they are most thoroughly integrated and willing to make the greatest sacrifices for the common good. Conversely, during long periods of tranquility and prosperity there is disintegration of solidarity and group integrity. Some informants point out that many Amish and Mennonite communities have partly or largely broken up because they fared too well.

Although martyrdom and suffering imposed from without consolidate and strengthen minority groups such as the Amish and Mennonites, military measures of a compromising nature can serve to undermine their solidarity and strength. For instance, in Germany these people were exempted from military service in certain wars, but the young men who were required to render noncombatant services away from home rarely returned to their respective communities as satisfactory members of the church. A similarly undermining influence is currently threatening in this country in the noncombatant training camps provided for conscientious objectors. This is well realized by the Amish and Mennonites and is specifically mentioned in the petition prepared by the Old Order Mennonites which requests exemption for draftees even from noncombatant services.

Urban influences are of course undermining the Amish way of life. The city and the country are no longer quite distinct; life in one can no longer run its course independently of the other. Automobiles speed over country roads and Amish boys and girls see how town and city boys spend money and enjoy themselves and evidently many of them are also seeking more money for spending and for pleasure. Increased demands for spending money create a serious problem. If more money is granted for spending, some of it may be spent in ways that are not approved. On the other hand, if these demands are denied, youngsters may try to get money in ways that are not approved or they may become less loyal to the group.

If community integrity is to be maintained among the Amish, the training that is believed proper for the young must remain the full responsibility of the family and the primary group. But this is increasingly difficult in a society that is shifting greater and greater responsibility on the schools in the training of children and is raising the age limit for compulsory school attendance. Should the responsibility for the training of youth be shifted largely to outside agencies, including the schools, persistence in nonconformity stands in danger.

To assure their survival, the Amish seem to find it necessary to insist on a rural way of life for all members. This has been demonstrated by the experience of the Mennonite church in Lancaster County and elsewhere. Regarding this experience one writer says: "The urban soil is not the kind of soil in which the Mennonite Church can grow. It is literally true that the city soil is too hard, stony and shallow for Mennonite ideals to take root. The corrupting influences of the city have choked out much of the seed there sown."⁴²

Recognition of the fact that a rural life is essential for the survival of the church does not solve the problems that result from the regulation limiting members to rural occupations. To remain on the land bespeaks an expansion of land holdings, and such expansion brings problems in its wake. The pressure on the land in Lancaster County and resultant high prices for land have led to the establishment of new communities from time to time. It is possible that available land for new communities may be increasingly difficult to find. If and when appropriate land for community expansion or for new communities cannot be found, the resistance to urban opportunities may weaken. Once factory and urban jobs are accepted, the peculiar and rural ways of life are seriously threatened.

Continued stability in the Old Order Amish community bespeaks at least a reasonable degree of continued success in farming and in resolving all critical problems, including economic problems, within the primary group. The very nature of some of the deep-seated convictions of these people seems to make this success imperative. Partly because of their outstanding success in farming in the past, the Amish and the Mennonites feel that their way of life is the correct one. What would happen to their convictions if serious problems should develop and it should seem necessary to solicit or accept outside aid? What would happen to the principle of separation from the world or the unequal yoke? The difficulty is that economic problems, including those of agriculture, are increasingly complex and less easy to cope with locally.

Further commercialization of agriculture may serve to intensify the financial problems and undermine the community stability in that expenses may outrun income. Commercial agriculture is usually associated with hazards that do not badger the self-sufficient or nearly self-sufficient tiller of the soil. The commercial farmer is, on the one hand, subject to constant and insistent financial demands and must, on the other hand, take his chances in a mercurial market, a market that is governed by forces and factors that are at best obscure, uncertain, and extremely complicated. The result may be serious financial difficulties and decreased security and stability on the land. The Amish are not so self-sufficient financially as they once were.

⁴²See J. Winfield Fretz, "Mennonites and Their Economic Problems," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV (1940), p. 201.



The fact that some of the ideals and practices of the Old Order Amish are being subjected to considerable strain and that some modifications have taken place in their program of nonconformity must not lead to the quick assumption that their community faces immediate and steep decline. A group that has survived centuries of persecution in Europe and has so far resisted many of the onslaughts of factories, with their standardized products, and the appeals of higher education must have qualities that make for survival. Important among these qualities are a tradition of hard work, a willingness to make sacrifices for the good of others, and an enviable tradition of constructive diversified agriculture.

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