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The Old Order Amish Community of Arthur, Illinois

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OLD ORDER AMISH COMMUNITY OF ARTHUR, ILLINOIS

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OF
ARTHUR, ILLINOIS

by

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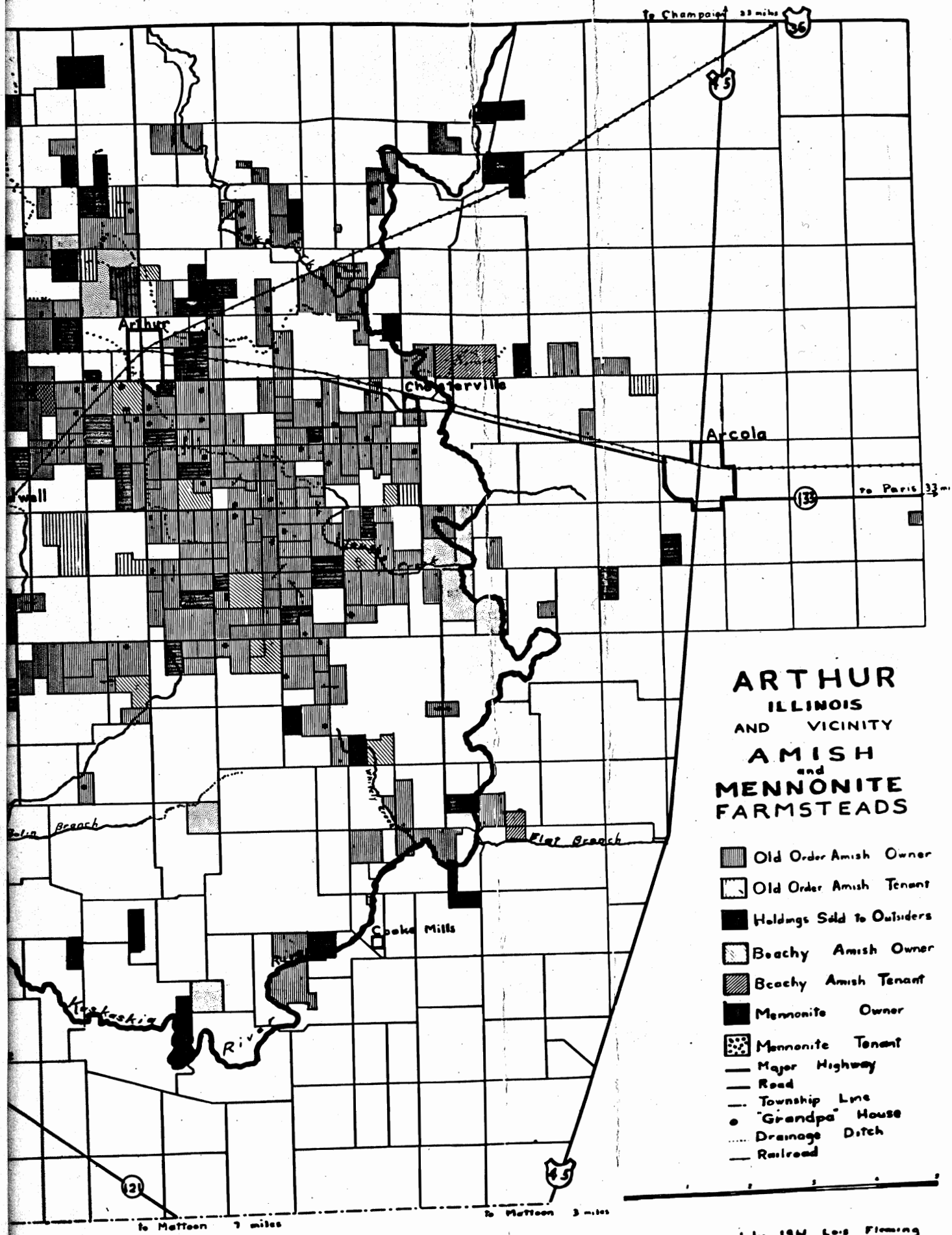
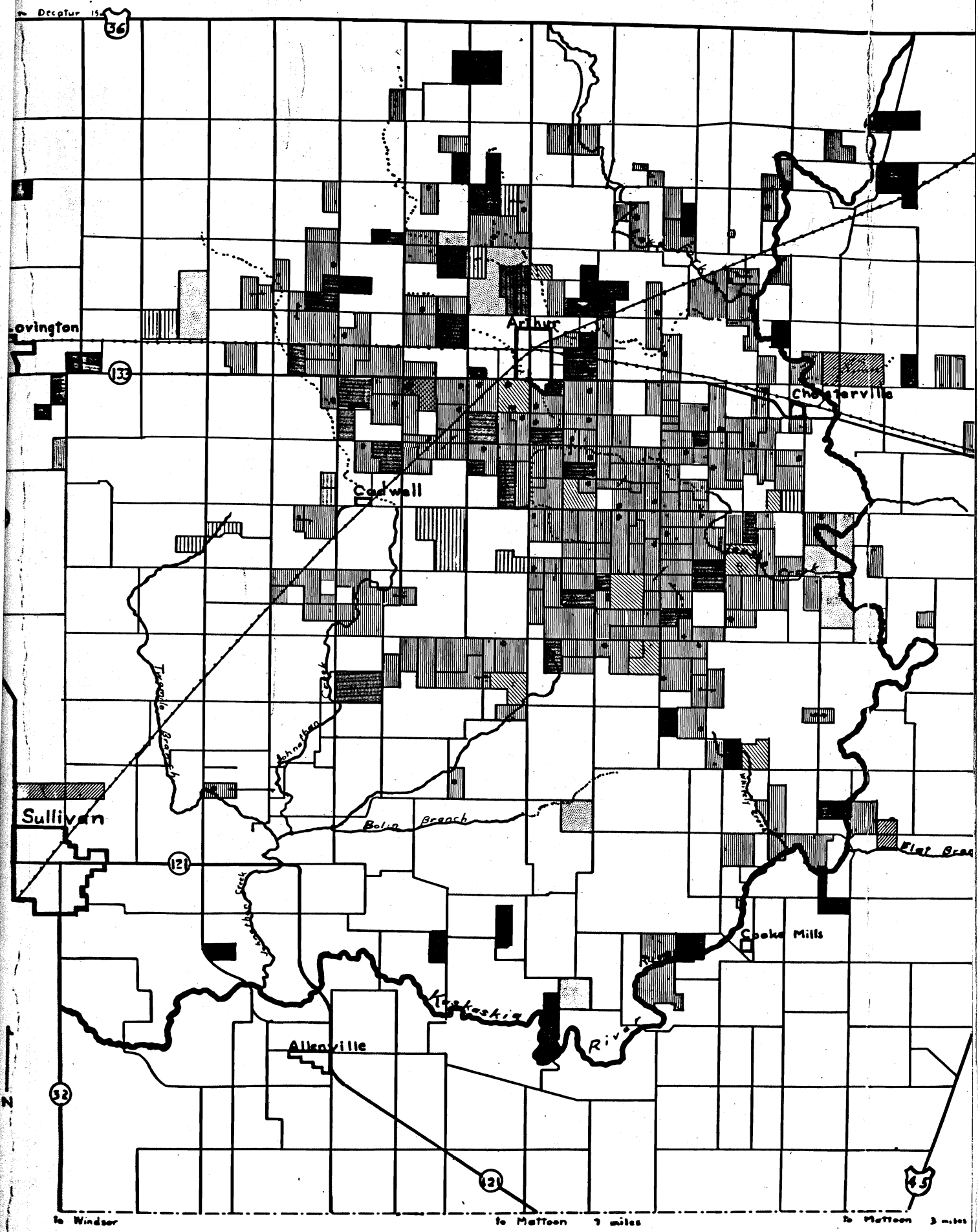

ARTHUR
ILLINOIS
AND VICINITY
AMISH
and
MENNONITE
FARMSTEADS
Old Order Amish Owner
Old Order Amish Tenant
Holdings Sold to Outsiders
Beachy Amish Owner
Beachy Amish Tenant
Mennonite Owner
Mennonite Tenant
Major Highway
Road
Township Line
"Grandpa" House
Drainage Ditch
Railroad
Arthur
Chesterville
Arcola
Cooke Mills
Flat Branch
Kaskaskia River
to Paris 33 mi
to Mattoon 7 miles
to Mattoon 3 miles
July, 1960. Lois Fleming


Decatur
36
Lovington
133
Arthur
Chesterville
Cadwell
Tuscola Branch
Johnson Creek
Sullivan
121
Bolin Branch
Flat Bran
Cooks Mills
Kaskaskia River
Allenville
32
121
45
N
to Windsor
to Mattoon 7 miles
to Mattoon 3 miles

PREFACE

My qualifications for making a study of the Old Order Amish settlement in Illinois consist of attendance at a one-room elementary school half of whose pupils were Amish, residence on the fringes of the Amish settlement, and eleven years of teaching Amish pupils. Very early in the work I discovered that the information accumulated by me during that time was of a very limited and superficial nature. It has been a most fascinating and rewarding privilege to make a serious study of this unique and remarkable ethnic group under the invaluable guidance of my advisor, Dr. Dalias Price.

The inclusion of so much historical material, none of which is original, was necessary to an understanding of the present behavior of the Amish people. Theirs is a society determined by traditions whose roots are deeply and tenaciously anchored in the past.

My thanks go to Dr. Price for the encouragement given to me and for the patient checking of every point, without which, this work would not have been completed. It is with trepidation that any more acknowledgments are even attempted since I am indebted to so many people for the ideas that have been incorporated here.

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INTRODUCTION

Of the hundreds of small tightly knit social groups which have come to America to find freedom, the Amish-Mennonites have been the most successful in retaining their distinctive characteristics and in resisting being absorbed and lost in the main stream of American culture. The ordinary citizens of these United States have an Anglo-European heritage which was more or less thoroughly reworked and transformed by the influence of the Frontier. Our magnificent communications system has enabled our population to erase most of the slight differences in speech and customs which formerly identified residents of geographical regions. The Amish-Mennonites' basic objective has always been to maintain non-conformity to the ways of the world. Stubborn resistance to changes and tenacious clinging to their way of life seem to them to be necessary if their objective of keeping themselves separate from worldliness is to be achieved.

When we come in contact with Amish-Mennonites, our initial curiosity changes to astonishment and later at times develops into mild affront and resentment. How can anyone fail to comprehend that the American Way, that is, our way, is superior to any other? How can anyone want to be

different from us, the final product of the best system in the world? A study of their ethnic group may not result in understanding, but it will certainly bring about sympathy and respect.

There are Amish-Mennonite communities in many states. The one surrounding the village of Arthur, Illinois, is the object of this study. Some of the integrating and disintegrating forces bearing upon the area and bringing about changes will be presented.

Agriculturally the area is part of the East-Central Illinois Cash Grain Region, the general characteristics of which will be mentioned. The contrasts to the remainder of the region in the manner of land use and occupancy to be found in the Amish-Mennonite settlement will be described and analyzed. Reasons for the differences will be proposed, developed and evaluated. Trends in farming methods, size of farms, and human and livestock populations in the Amish-Mennonite area in contrast to its surrounding region will be studied.

How is the agricultural land use in the Amish-Mennonite community different from that in the rest of the region? What changes have occurred in the rest of the region? What changes have occurred in the density of human and livestock populations? How and why have farming methods changed during the past generation on Amish-Mennonite and non-Amish farms? What pressures have impelled the changes

that have taken place? How and with what success have the Amish been able to resist many of those changes? What difficulties do they face in maintaining their way of life? How seriously have their numbers been depleted and their solidarity undermined by defections to other denominations?

The above problem will be discussed and interpreted. A tentative answer will be given to the basic question: Is the Amish-Mennonite ethnic island in the vicinity of Arthur, Illinois, changing in character, growing, expanding, or shrinking, and what changes have been discovered in this study?

CHAPTER I

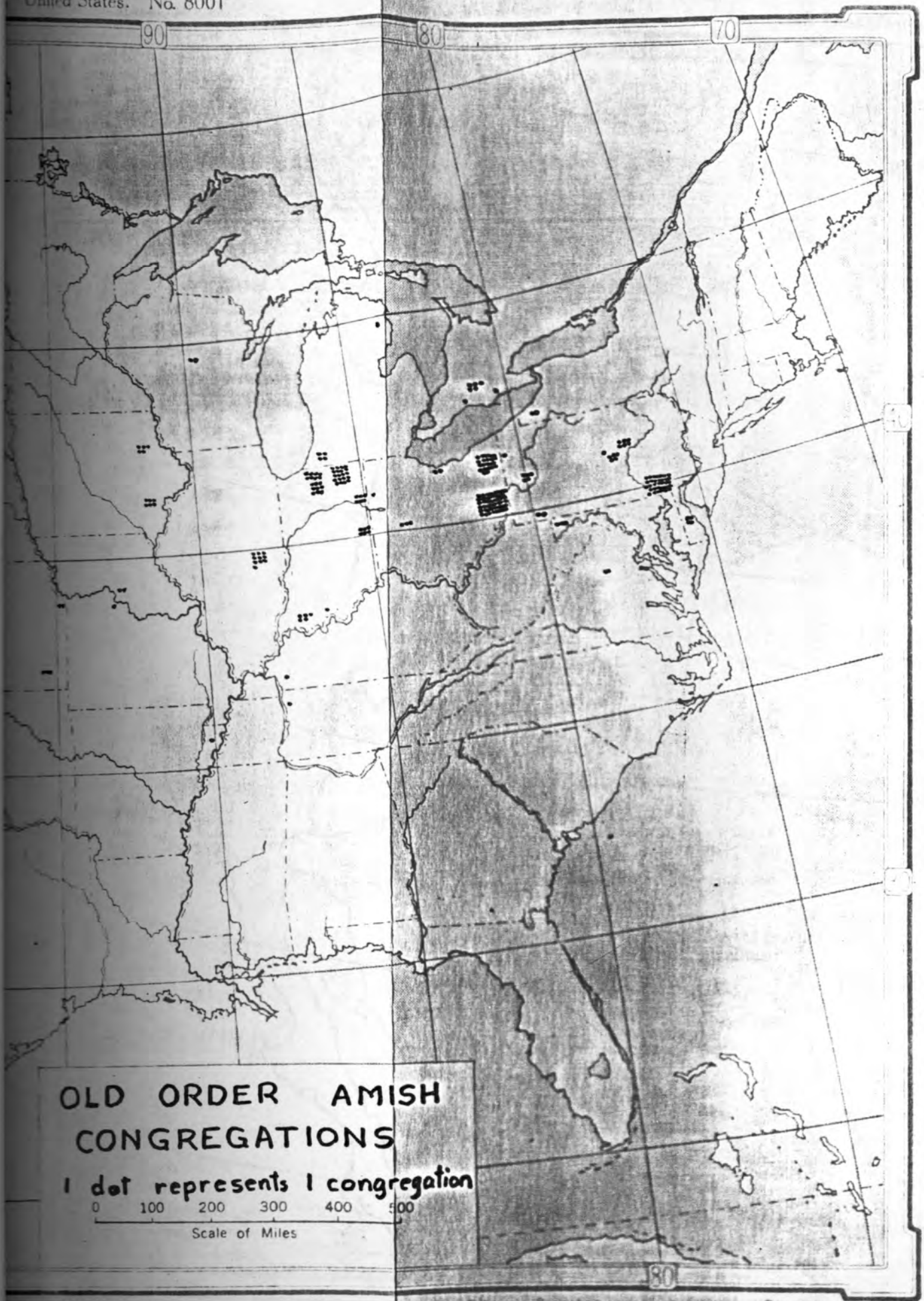
NATURE OF AREA

Location. The locations of the Old Order Amish settlements in nineteen states and the Province of Ontario are shown on page 4a. The Old Order Amish colony in the vicinity of Arthur is the only one in Illinois. Plate I, the frontispiece, shows the Amish-Mennonite settlement in Illinois in detail. Its location in the East-Central Illinois Cash-Grain Region is shown on the map, page 5a. The east side of Moultrie County, the southeast corner of Douglas County, and the northwest corner of Coles County are included. The east-west extent is twenty-one miles and the north-south, nineteen miles, with an area of three hundred seventy-five square miles.

Climate. The East-Central Illinois Cash-Grain Region has the Corn-Belt Type of climate. Its usually adequate rainfall is well distributed over the entire year. The growing season is 176 days on the average. The hot nights required by corn in midusmmer always arrive.

Landforms. The landforms in the area under consideration are the result of the Wisconsin glaciation. Arthur, Illinois lies between the Shelbyville and Cerro Gordo

United States. No. 8001

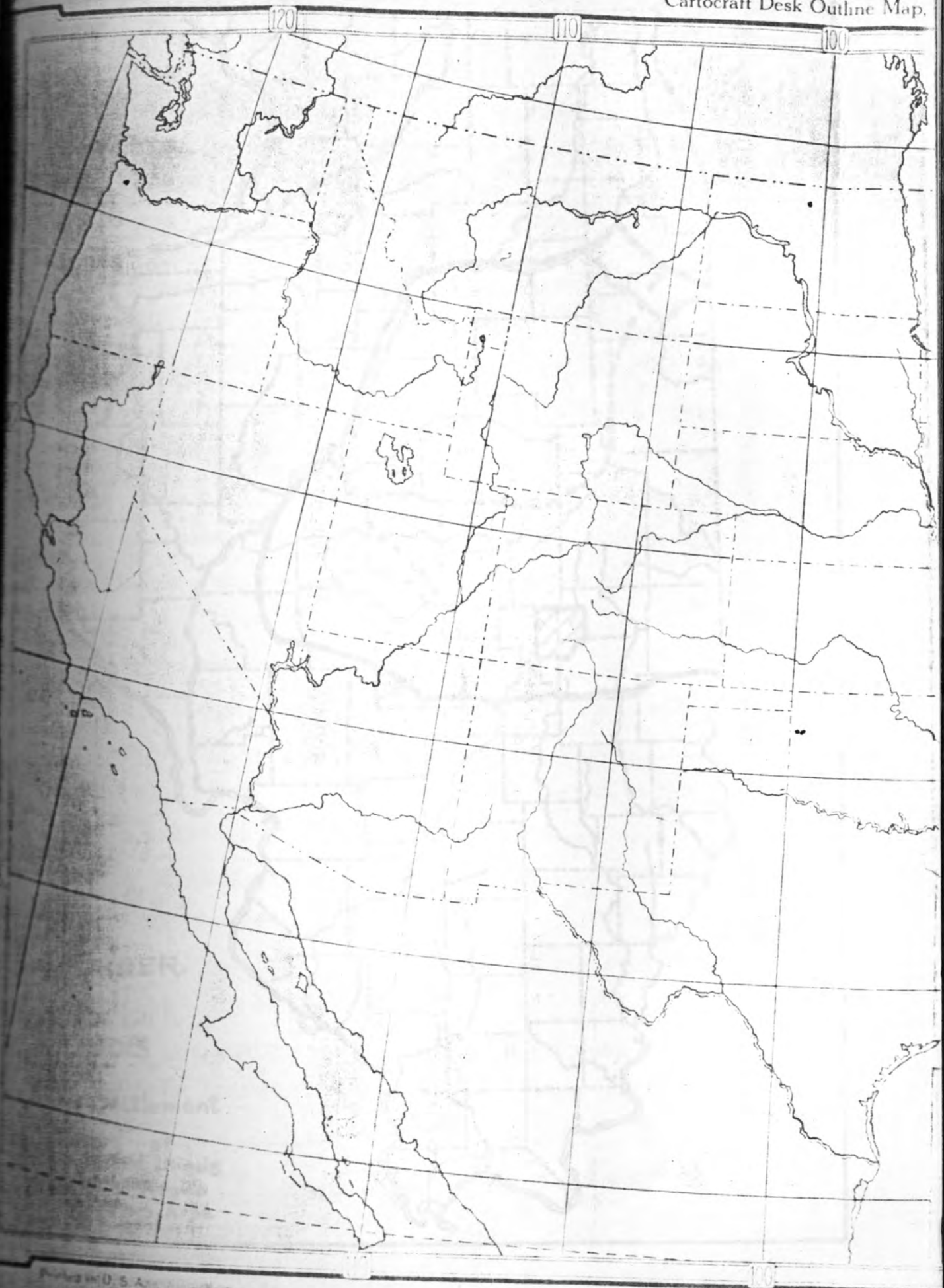


EPPERT CO., Chicago

Polyconic Projection

Copyright

Cartocraft Desk Outline Map.



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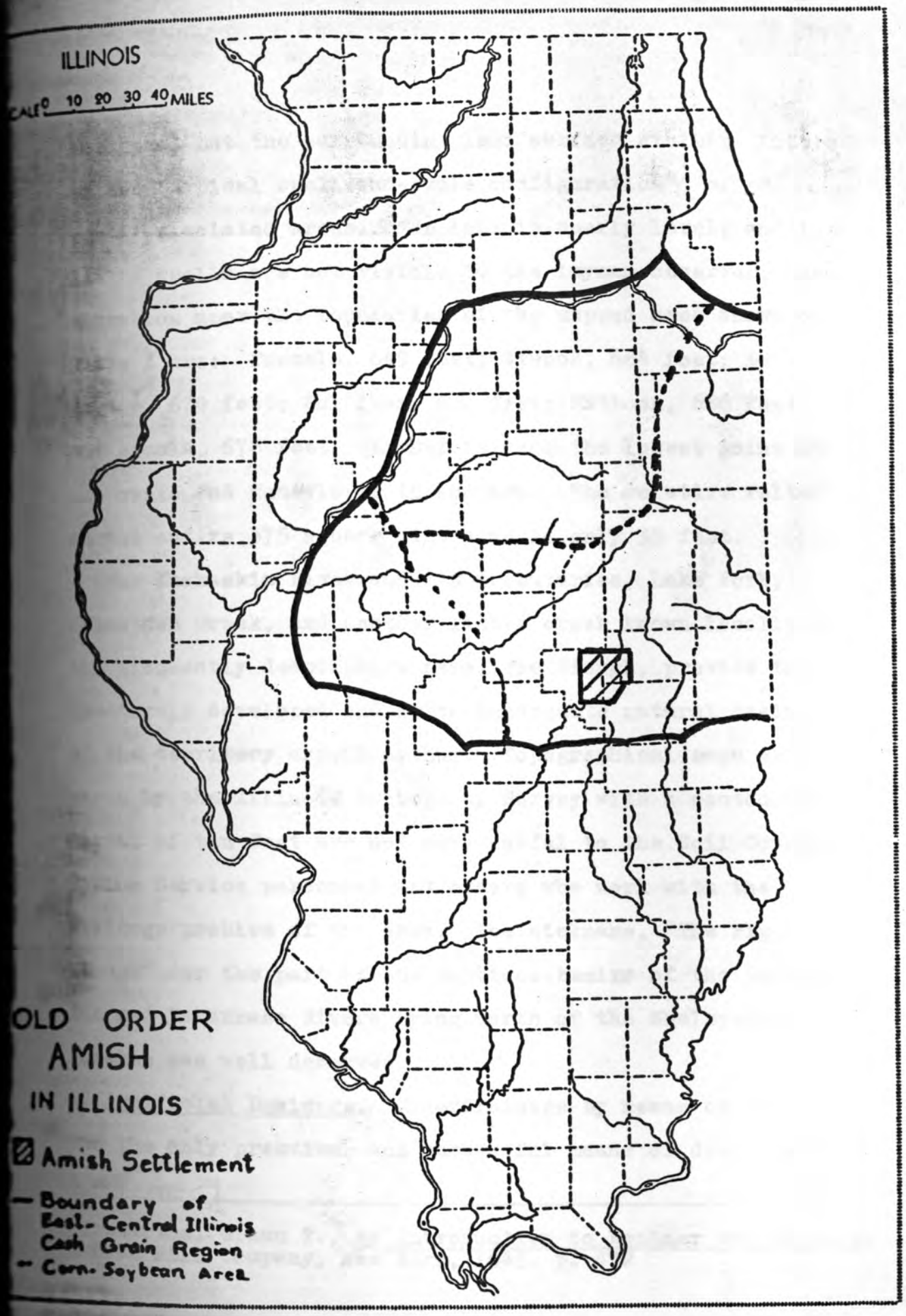
ILLINOIS
SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 MILES
OLD ORDER
AMISH
IN ILLINOIS
Amish Settlement
— Boundary of East-Central Illinois Cash Grain Region
-- Corn-Soybean Area

Moraines, but the surrounding land surface exhibits little of the "typical swell-and-swale configuration"[1] of recently glaciated areas. The land is nearly level, and the little swells are not visible to the layman observer. The elevation near the boundaries of the mapped area shown on Plate I are: Tuscola, 649 feet; Atwood, 684 feet; Lovington, 679 feet; Sullivan, 682 feet; Mattoon, 686 feet; and Arcola, 678 feet. Arthur is near the lowest point in one swale and Tuscola is in another. The relative relief in the entire 375 square mile area is only 35 feet.

The Kaskaskia River and its tributaries, Lake Fork, Johnathan Creek, and another little creek known locally by the eloquently descriptive name, The Slough, provide the immaturely developed and quite inadequate natural drainage of the territory around Arthur. Topographical maps prepared by the Illinois Geological Survey with a contour interval of ten feet are not very useful to the Soil Conservation Service personnel and others who work with the drainage problem of the area. The nickname, "The Big Slough" for the part of the combined basins of the Kaskaskia and Embarrass Rivers lying north of the Shelbyville Moraine was well deserved.

Artificial Drainage. Underdrainage by means of tile was the only practical and successful means of drainage in

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[1] Trewartha, Glenn T., An Introduction to Weather and Climate, McGraw Hill Company, New York, 1943, p. 472

the glacial till plain. Immediately the problem of location of outlets for the tile drains arose. Our laws follow the old Roman common law. If the land below has a natural watercourse across it, the owner of the land above can empty his tile drains into the watercourse. Even if the extra water causes the natural watercourse to overflow and damage the crops of the farmers below, they must accept it. When there was no natural waterway contiguous to a farmer's land he had to find some other outlet.

Under the Farm Drainage Act, passed in 1870, a majority of land-owners in areas where drainage is needed can form districts and prorate costs in proportion to benefits received. The law is very specific about details of organizing and financing drainage districts. The commissioners, elected by the voters, have taxing power, but it is not a continuing power such as township officials and school boards have. Each proposed project must be described in detail and approved by a court before an assessment can be made. Since the wording of assessments and descriptions of the work to be done must be presented to the court in proper legal phraseology, the drainage district commissioners usually leave that part of it to an experienced lawyer. One lawyer in Mattoon has practically all his time taken up with the affairs of the drainage districts that he represents.[1]

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[1] Interview with W. E. Larabee, July 14, 1960

The problem of installing adequate drainage in the Arthur area was tremendous. The bench mark of the Geological Survey one mile east and one mile south of Arthur records an elevation of 653 feet. The mark one mile due east of that is 652. The edge of the river valley about four miles to the east has an elevation of 650 feet. Thus we see that a good job of engineering had to be done to get the drainage system to operate effectively.

The first ditches were dug with plows with slip-scrapers pulled by horses. In the year 1900 a steam-powered dredger was hired. The operator had a hole dug at the head of the ditch, one mile east and three and one-half miles south of Arthur. A dredge-boat was built from planks right on the spot and the machinery was hauled overland and installed on the boat. The steam shovel then dug a channel in which the boat floated. If the ditch dried up or was frozen, work had to be discontinued until the boat could move.[1] The cost was burdensome. In 1886 a steam powered floating dipper cost from $5,000 to $23,000, depending on its width, and required four men to operate; so the dredging was expensive.[2] It was a great temptation to install tile too small in diameter and ditches too shallow to be efficient. As costs for drainage ditch assessment and tile were as much as $45.00 per acre on land

[1] Interview with Abraham J. Yoder, July 27, 1961
[2] Excavating Machinery Used in Land Drainage, Technical Bulletin No. 300, United States Department of Agriculture, p. 2

that was selling for $80.00 per acre, it took some time to pay for it.[1]

After the outlet was available, the work of laying the tile in the fields was left to the individual land owner. Tile kilns were built in Cooks Mills, Humboldt, and Fuller's Point as well as in Arcola and Arthur. Millions of tile were laid. It is a matter of curiosity that no one knows where those tile lines were placed. The owners must have thought that they could never forget the location of anything which cost them so much in money, time, and back-breaking labor. Still, no charts were made. The laying of tile is still continued, but the ditch is dug by Deisel-powered machine and the tile must be hauled from Indiana.

Soils and Natural Vegetation. The soil of the region is largely of the Drummer and Flanagan classification, ranging in color from browns to black. Drummer soils are found where the slope is less than 0.5%, and Flanagan soils occupy the slopes of 0.5% to 3.5%. Soil productivity ratings are 1for the Drummer soils and 2 for the Flanagan soils. A soil index of 95 is assigned to Drummer soils and 77..95 to Flanagan. "These soils are among the most productive in the state."[2]

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1 W.N. Thompson and P.E. Johnston, How Valuable Are the Soils of Central Illinois? Bulletin 550, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, Jan. 1952,p. 380

2 R. C. Ross, and H. C. M. Case, Types of Farming in Illinois, Bulletin 601, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, Ullinois, April 1956, p. 47

Both types of soil had their origin in the poorly drained Wisconsin glacial till. Drummer was formed under sedges and rushes in locations where drainage was extremely poor. Flanagan developed under the various tall grasses of the wet prairie. Big bluestem, Andropogon gerardi, was the dominant species. Organic matter from the fibrous roots of the prairie vegetation accumulated and gave the soils their dark color. The dark colored soils in the area are highly productive.[1] The organic material not only contributes fertility in the form of available chemicals but also is the most important constituent in producing good physical condition, or good tilth.

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1 Ibid., p. 47

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The Amish-Mennonite Faith. It will be impossible to give more than a brief history of the Amish-Mennonite denomination in this study. It is necessary to call attention to the long story of faith in spite of persecutions in the past in order to explain the present tenacious clinging to the old ways. Many excellent books have been written on the subject and the Mennonite Encyclopedia gives details of the lives of the members of the early church.

The following account is abridged from "A Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829--1929" by Harry F. Weaver, pages 4 to 15:

The Amish-Mennonite movement began with the Anabaptists, one of the four major groups of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The Mennonites were dissatisfied with Zwingli, the leader of the Reformed movement in Zurich. They designated themselves as "Brethern"...It was their enemies who called them Anabaptists, which means rebaptisers, because they believed that baptism of infants is insufficient. They also disagreed with the foundation of the new churches, Luthern and Reformed, as state churches.

The early group of leaders, men of excellent character, were put in prison and sentenced to death by drowning. A second group arose and in less than a decade the movement had spread all over "the Germanies".

"On August 20, 1527, at Augsburg, a conference met to formulate and unify the various views. This conference has been named the "Martyrs' Synod", because in a few years most of those who attended met a martyr's death."[1]

The confession of faith consists of seven tenets and doesn't seem very radical to a present-day Protestant. It affirms belief in baptism of those who have made up their own minds to request it, excommunication of non-repentant members who have fallen into sin, the separation of the Christians from worldly things, the need for a good minister for each congregation, the rejection of participation in governments or in military service, and the forbidding of all oaths. The movement was scattered by relentless persecution. Only the non-resistants survived.

Menno Simons and Dirk Philips joined the Anabaptists in Holland. The writings of both men are still used by the Amish. Philips must have been somewhat tactless and aggravated disputes. Menno Simons was a Catholic priest. His life after he left the Church was one of keeping on the

[1] Harry F. Weber, "A Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829--1929", Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, p. 4

move to escape imprisonment, but he was, strangely enough, permitted to die a natural death. He was an outstanding leader and tried to conciliate divisions within the groups. The Mennonites take their designation from his name.[1]

A compilation of narratives of the lives of Anabaptist martyrs was made in 1529 by the Swiss Mennonites. The authorities hunted and burned all the copies which they could find. "A second edition was printed in 1534 which contained new series of martyrdoms that had occurred since the first edition was printed, but again these books were hunted up and destroyed...The third edition was completed in the year 1562 and other accounts of many later persecutions were added."[2]

The "Martyr's Mirror" is annotated thus by John Hostetler: "Along with Luther"s translation of "The Bible" and "The Complete Works of Menno Simons", the "Martyr's Mirror" is a favorite revered book in many Amish homes...a collection of confessions, hymns; and records the fate of the Anabaptists from 1524 to 1660. At least 4001 burnings of individuals are recorded besides numerous stonings, crucifixions, imprisonments, brandings, live burials,

1 Harry F. Weber, A-Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829--1929, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, pp. 4--15

2 Noah J. B. Miller, Pioneer Life of Our Ancestors, The Budget, Sugar Creek, Ohio, January 31, 1961

suffocations, severing of limbs, and other atrocities."[1]

It was during this period of Mennonite history that the "Ausbund", the hymnbook used by the Amish, was written. The book consists of words only of hymns called "slow tunes", a good description. The men who wrote the words were in prison far from home because of the overcrowding of the local jails with Anabaptist prisoners. Most of the authers were under sentence of death, but the hymns express faith, hope, and determination to cling to their chosen religion, as well as a haunting sadness.

In 1671 most of the Mennonites were forced to leave Switzerland. The government of Turkey was at war with Venice at the time, and all the Mennonite men "who could be found were sold to Turkey as galley slaves."[2] The rest fled to the Palatinate on the Upper Rhine. The Count of the Palatinate must have been sympathetic to them, or at least tolerant of them. Only in Holland was there enough freedom to allow a moderate prosperity for the Mennonites.

The division of the Mennonite Church which took place in 1683 has never been completely restored. A fiery leader of the church in Holland, Jacob Amman, thought that all congregations were insufficiently strict in administering the ban. The ban, or "Meidung", can be literally translated as

John A. Hostetler, Annotated Bibliography on the Amish, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1951, p. 37.

Noah J. B. Miller, Pioneer Life of Our Ancestors, The Budget, February 2, 1961

"shunning". Ammon thought that it should be applied daily to all facets of life, and not just to communion only. His followers called themselves Amish Mennonites. This designation continued until 1865 when all except three groups reunited with the main branch of the Mennonite Church. The most conservative of the three called themselves Old Order Amish, and it is this group which is of particular interest to us in this study. Only a powerful religious conviction could keep a group together in such a uniquely old-fashioned pattern of land use and such distinctive behaviour patterns. It is the Old Order Amish who give the special character to the rural area they occupy.

Amish-Mennonite Emigration to America. Agents of William Penn invited Mennonites to settle in Pennsylvania. The first settlement was made near Germantown in 1683, but the main stream of immigration to America did not begin until after 1700.

The Amish-Mennonites had been expected, as provided by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, to follow the Counts of the Palatinate in the respective religions. Each of the three successive Counts in the last half of the seventeenth century had a different religion and none of them was sympathetic regarding the Amish. Queen Anne of England became interested in their plight. Thinking these people would make good settlers in the colonies, she had a pamphlet prepared for circulation in the Palatinate. The

opportunities awaiting pioneers in the New World were described so glowingly that the book was called the "Golden Book of Good Queen Anne". It invited them to come to England and embark.

It seemed to the good queen that every inhabitant of the Palatinate accepted her offer of a new life in America. At least 10,000 people were able to reach England. The Mennonites in Holland helped them financially. The people were questioned, classified, and all the Catholics were sent back to Germany. Many weavers were sent to Ireland where their skills were needed. More than 2,000 people, including about 450 Amish, were crowded on board small ships. The hardships of the ocean voyage were not the last which they were to endure.

When the ships arrived at New York City, the Amish were much upset when they found out that they would be subject to military service. The only alternative was to settle on the frontier. They set out for the queen's land in the Scholarie Valley west of Albany, pulling their meager possessions on sleds. The homes which they hewed out of the raw wilderness had to be given up after Queen Anne's death a few years later. Agents of the governor of New York found a defect in the title to the land which she had given to the Amish. When the governor of Pennsylvania saw the homeless Amish in Albany, he invited them to make new homes in his state.

After another weary overland journey, the Amish established homes on Tulpehocken Creek in Berks County. The first Amish Church in America was founded in 1729 at the village of Womelsdorf. The relatives of the American Amish who were still in Germany were given enthusiastic recommendations to immigrate, but were advised to avoid the port of New York and dock at Philadelphia instead.

"It was...in Berks County...that many of the present time old Amish customs were originally founded. One of these...is the custom of holding their meetings for worship in their homes from place to place. This was also their old custom at one time in Europe, which first originated from Jacob Ammon, who on Dec. 23, 1693, issued an order to his congregation that he would not permit his followers to build costly temples, either grand or modest; but they would worship God in a humble way as did Abraham and the patriarchs."[1]

The custom of serving lunch after church services originated in Berks County, too. Since the members of the church were quite scattered, and could hardly be called a colony, it required a long time for people to make the trip to the house at which the services were held. Most of them had to go on foot. They would carry a basket of lunch along at first, but it was less of a burden on the members

[1] Noah J. B. Miller, Op. cit., Feb. 9, 1961

of the congregation if they could be provided with food at the place where the services were held.

The French and Indian War brought fresh trials to the Amish people on the Tulpehocken. The three hundred whites who were massacred by Indians included many Amish. After a particularly savage raid in 1757, the white people fled to more densely populated areas in Pennsylvania. After the Indian troubles were over, many of the white settlers returned to their former homes, but nearly all the Amish settled in other places. Most of them located on the Limestone Plain of Lancaster County where their descendents remain to this day.

The land on the Lancaster Limestone Plain was good and the Amish prospered. They were excellent farmers and used improved practices such as "diversified farming, rotation of crops, careful use of barnyard manure, use of lime, and the growing of red clover".[1]

Mr. Noah J.B. Miller's series of articles on Amish history draws heavily on the work of Frank Eshleman. The style as well as the content of the conclusion of his article of February 16,1961, is of interest, with its strong emotional appeal for pity and sympathy towards his people: "In Eshlemen's record of Pennsylvania we find many

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[1] Walter M. Kollmorgan, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, Rural Life Studies:4; United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., 1942, p.5

interesting and touching stories, how large numbers of the Christians suffered in great sorrows and hardships nearly all their lives. Frank Eshleman was a native from Canton of Bern, Switzerland, where most of our Mennonite and Amish ancestors once lived. After some years of experience with the pioneer life in Pennsylvania, he made a careful study and investigation of the homelands in Switzerland. This included the hardships and sufferings among the christians throughout Europe, how they fled from their home to escape persecutions and martyrdoms; how they migrated on foot to the Palatinate sections in Europe, where they became poor homeless servants. How they were later again driven from their homes in the Palatinates and how real they suffered on the long and dangerous voyages on the sea, he relates; how they hoped and longed to find some little home in Pennsylvania where they could live a peaceful life in religious freedom and where they could teach their children the true doctrines of the Bible. They later considered the hardships of pioneer life in the wilderness of Pennsylvania nothing compared with the terrible martyrdoms which they had so long suffered for many, many years in Europe."[1]

No sentimentality enters into the following appraisal of the Amish spirit: "The tenacious way in which the old

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1 Noah J.B. Miller, Op. Cit., Feb9, 1961

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 does much to tie them together and to make them look with apprehension and disapproval at the 'world'."[1]

Since the Bible says repeatedly that the chosen people of the Lord shall suffer persecution, the Amish regard their mistreatment by various government agencies as proof of their being selected by God. Recent difficulties with draft boards, with the Social Security Agency, and with the local school board over consolidation give weight to that conviction.

The same motives which impelled all the westward movement of individuals applied to the Amish. Religious persecution no longer existed, and evangelistic zeal had never been part of their heritage. The Amish moved west to Illinois for economic gain.

The Amish division of the Mennonite Church was never very large in numbers. The migration to Pennsylvania began early in the eighteenth century and was completed by the end of that century. No Amish congregations exist in Europe today. Many of the colonies which are found in various states were founded by members of the Pennsylvania. There was a large immigration of Amish from Alsace in the nineteenth century and a much larger immigration of Mennonites

[1] Walter Kollmorgan, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, p.5

from Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Russia, but since they did not affect the Arthur community except indirectly, they will not be described here.

Establishment of Arthur Colony. Weber's account gives details of the beginning of the Amish settlement around Arthur, Illinois:

"The first of these (old Order Amish) people to come to Douglas and Moultrie Counties followed Bishop Joel Beachy of Grantsville, Maryland, and Moses Yoder of Summit Mills, Pennsylvania, who started west in June of the year 1864 to find a location where they could farm without liming the soil before raising a crop. They had good farms in the east, but were tired of burning limestone and applying it every year to their soil. In starting west, Joel Beachy had in mind to locate in Wisconsin, while Moses Yoder had looked towards Missouri. After visiting both of these states and starting homeward, they arrived at Pana, Illinois one Saturday evening and decided to rest there over Sunday. When they walked out in the country as far as Orena, the country looked very promising to them. Monday morning they took the train for Mattoon, then walked to Arcola, a distance of fourteen miles, and there met Joel Smith who took them about through the country for a day or two. They were greatly impressed by it, but decided to wait and see it later in the summer.

"They went home without buying and returned again in

September the same year. This time they were accompanied by Daniel Miller and Daniel Otto and others who had, urged by the entreaties of Yoder and Miller, prepared to go into the new sections where they could be apart from the rest of the world and together in a settlement of their own people. The followers of Yoder and Miller settled upon the unbroken prairie around the little village of Arthur.

"Daniel Miller bought the Ike Cosler farm...(1 mile east of Arthur, where Abe Yoder lives at present); Moses Yoder bought 160 acres (3½ miles south and 1½ miles east of Arthur, now owned by Sam Petersheim)...Moses Yoder then rented this farm to Daniel Otto. In November when he came back to pay for it he decided to buy another farm for his own home. He purchased the Henry Cosler farm where he lived until his death. (This farm is owned by L. A. Miller.) On this trip Moses Yoder also bought a section of railroad land at $8.10 per acre. (The northeast corner of this section now joins the village of Arthur.) Later Joel Miller traded some land in Pennsylvania for the northern half of this section and moved on it in the year 1869 where he resided until his death."[1]

When Moses Yoder and Joel Miller divided the section of land it was unbroken prairie sod. There had been an official survey of the entire state, of course, but there

[1] Harry F. Weber, "Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829--1929", p. 539

was no professional surveyor available to set the boundary line. The men stepped off the boundary of their respective properties. Later they bought a surveyor's chain for their own use, but the old approximation didn't cause any discord.[1]

"Moses Yoder, Daniel Miller, and Daniel Otto with their families were the first Amish emigrants to arrive in the community. They landed (by train) at Arcola on March 3, 1865, from Summit Mills, Pennsylvania, and were accompanied by a Dunkard family by the name of Cornelius Hostetler, who also located in the vicinity of Arthur. Jonas J. Kauffman and family arrived in the year of 1865 from Iowa. (His farm was located 4 miles east and ½ mile north of Arthur and is now owned by Eli Kauffman). Kauffman was ordained as minister in 1868, and as bishop in 1873. In 1880 he and his family moved to Oregon.

"Moses Kauffman and family arrived from Iowa March 3, 1868, and located on the Henry Cosler farm, now known as the Isaac Bartholomew farm. (The purchase is described in the Douglas County Book of Deeds as 80a + 80a + 30a + 60a. The price at $1310, or $5.25 per acre. Located 4 miles east and 3 miles south of Arthur, it was sold to an outsider).

"Daniel Schrock and his family arrived from Holmes County,

[1] Interview with Eli M. Otto, July 17, 1961

Ohio, locating on the farm now owned by J. Kauffman (located 3½ miles east and 1½ miles north of Arthur). He was ordained to the ministry the same year and died in 1890 at the age of 62. New immigrants kept coming in until the year 1888 when it was necessary to divide the church into two districts."[1]

The prairie was being occupied very rapidly. As late as 1855, titles to public land had to be obtained at the Federal Land Office at Edwardsville, Illinois. A "land-office business" is a description still used for an enterprise having more work than it can handle effortlessly. It was small wonder that the land office was busy, for it was selling one of the best bargains ever available to the public. The land was as good as any in the entire world, after drainage, and it was priced at $2.65 per acre. Within twenty years, the price had doubled and re-doubled and was four times as much as it had been at the beginning of the period.

Problems of Early Settlers. Problems of pioneering on the prairie were many. Until the invention of the steel plow by John Deere of Grand Prairie, Illinois, in 1837, it had been impossible to break the sod at all. Since then the rich soil found beneath that dense mat of tough, tangled bluestem roots has been so valuable for agriculture

[1] Harry F. Weber, Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829--1929, p. 529

that there are only pitiful remnants of the original prairie vegetation along the railroads, and there is none which has not been greatly disturbed.

Wood for buildings and fuel had to be hauled several miles in some cases. Oak grew only in the better drained spots along the streams, while soft maple, sycamore, and elm were found on the narrow floodplains. It was desirable for a farmer to own some timber land as well as his homestead on the prairie. In other cases, the pioneer built his home in the woodland and went out on the prairie to farm.

In Spring, the wind blew relentlessly across the unprotected farms. "Uncle" Sam Cox used to laugh as he told of his cabin northwest of Arthur. It was built of logs and the spaces between the logs were plastered with the local clay. That black laomy clay was not as suitable for plastering as the clay available in the timber. The winds came howling from the west and quickly picked out the crumbly dry chinking from between the logs and deposited it inside the house. Mrs. Cox was just a bride. She cried when the wind blew black dust onto the table and the food before her husband and the hired man could eat. The potatoes were liberally sprinkled with specks of black. The hired man said comfortingly, "Never mind, ma'am. It just looks like pepper."

Many Amish farmsteads have fine windbreaks located on the north and west sides of the buildings. Catalpa groves can b e seen only infrequently elsewhere. The quick growth and straight trunk of this species recommended it for use as fence posts. The extensive hedges of Osage orange trees planted for fencing were also valuable as windbreaks if they were allowed to grow untrimmed.

The only other fencing material in common use was split rails hauled from the timber. The barbed wire and woven wire fencing was invented in the 1880's; it simplified the problems of protecting domestic animals and poultry from straying and of protecting gardens, orchards, and crops from the animals. Bushy branches of trees were placed right over the kitchen garden to keep the hens from destroying it. Children were kept busy watching lest an energetic and cunning chicken should crawl through the makeshift barrier and spoil the vegetables that were such special treats to the farm families.

Before artificial drainage was installed, crops could not be grown successfully every year. Precipitation varies in total amount and even more in monthly distribution. In some seasons, crop production was fairly satisfactory; but in many others, ponds would form in the lower spots and the crops would "drown out". Many plants cannot live if their roots are without oxygen for several hours. A pioneer farmer of this vicinity often replied to his neighbor's

question, "Do you have any corn this year, Mr. Hearn?"

"Just dabs on the p'ints, dabs on the p'ints."[1]

The "points" were the little ridges and knolls which were not covered with water. Another farmer, after losing three consecutive crops due to ponds, said that he would try to raise a crop just one more year. If he were unsuccessful, he would move to Kansas where at least it was dry.[2]

The early settlers suffered from disease as well as loss of crops until the swamps were drained. Some of them called the ailment "agger" (ague). Mr. Yoder called it biliousness and malaria. It was worst in hot weather when there were ponds in the fields. One year in the late 1890's, Dr. Rigney of Arthur was exhausted by the demands of calls in the country where so many of his patients were suffering from malaria. Instead of going all the way home after a grueling round, he took the blanket from beneath his saddle, rolled up in it in a rail fence corner, and got a little sleep while no one knew where to find him.[3]

The pioneers did not have an easy time of it, yet the Amish colony grew steadily. The pattern of its growth

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[1] Interview with Rev. Claude A. Temple, May 10, 1961

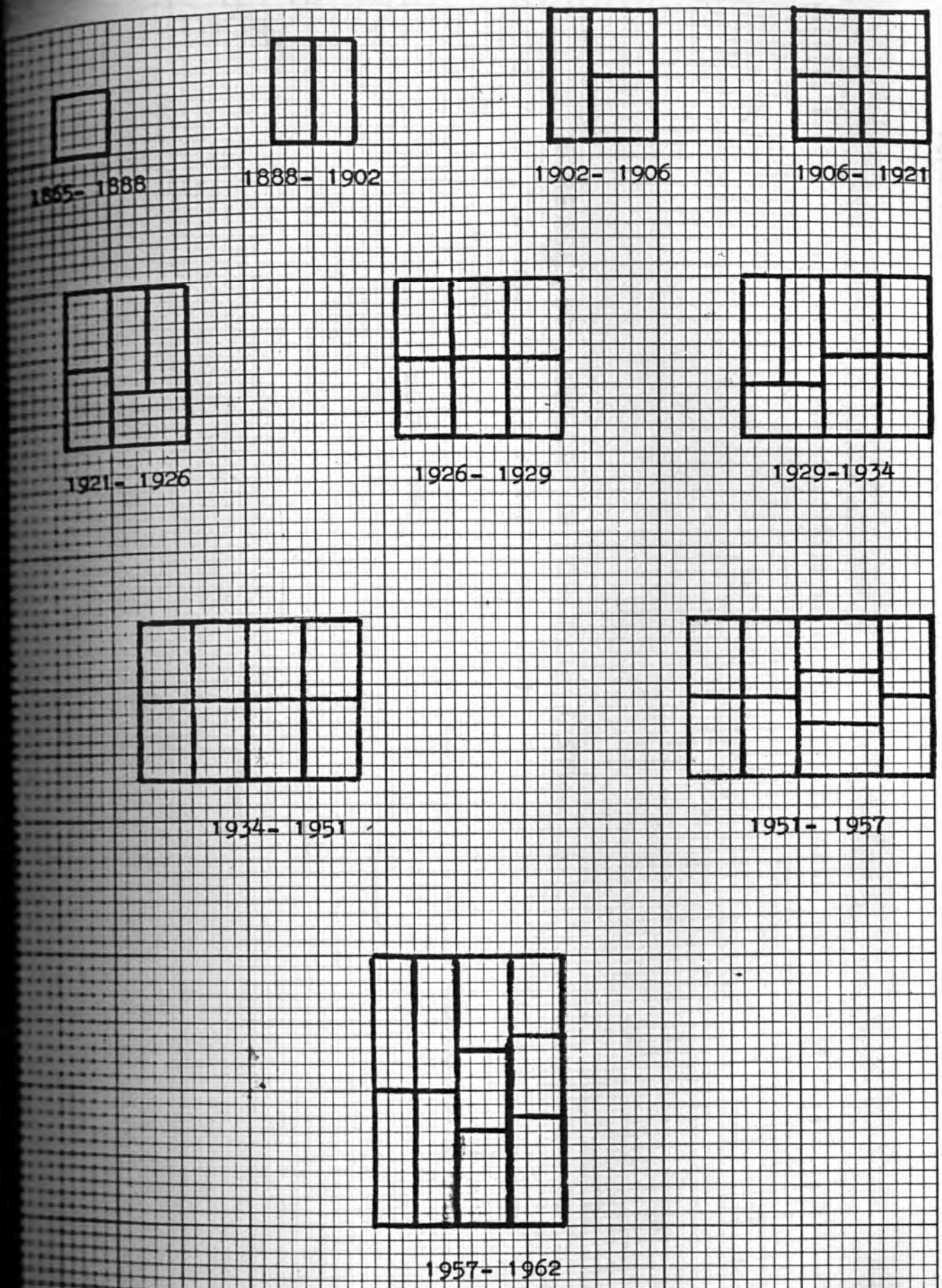
[2] Interview with Abraham J. Yoder, July 27, 1961

[3] Interview with Abraham J. Yoder, July 27, 1961

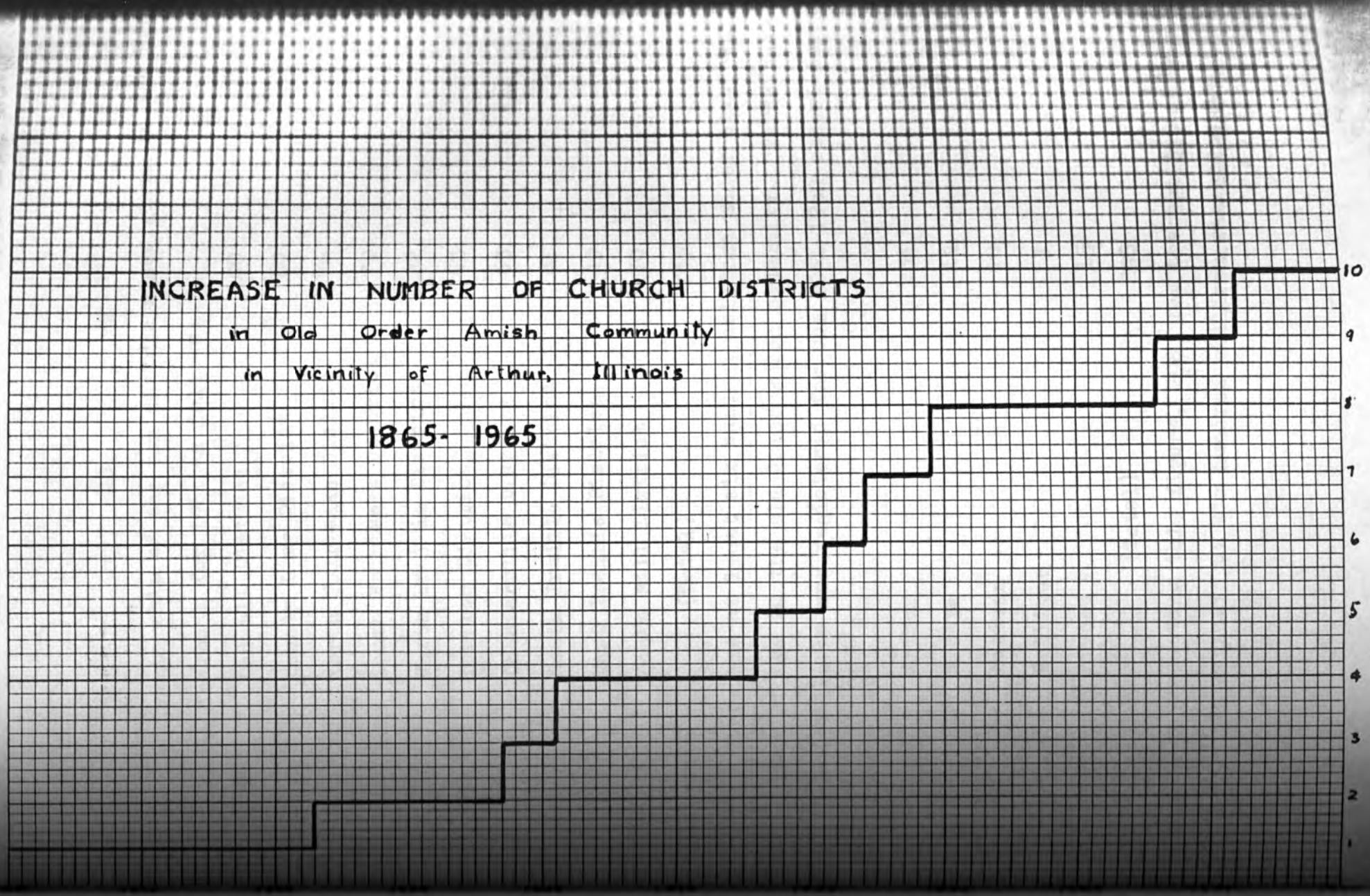
can be seen in the divisions of the church districts. Amish congregations meet in the homes of members. Since only about twenty-five families can be accommodated in one dwelling for church services, new districts were formed as the colony grew. The data for the chart of page 28 was taken from the "Arthur Church Journal".[1] The chart uses one square to represent one family. The shape of the districts is distorted, but their relationship to each other is maintained. The base line is the Moultrie-Douglas County boundary line which divides the area approximately in half.

The increase in church districts can not be translated exactly into population figures. There is an average of seventy-five church members per district, but membership varies from less than fifty to over one hundred. Districts are divided when the attendance at church becomes so large that the people cannot meet in one dwelling. Only adults are church members. Attendance in congregations consisting of many older persons is not as large as that in congregations of couples with several young children apiece. However, the steady increase in number of church districts certainly indicates a steady growth in total population in the community as a whole.

[1] Obed A. Diener and Henry J. Mast, Arthur Church Journal, pp. 1--3



SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF DIVISION OF CHURCH DISTRICTS
Old Order Amish Community, Arthur, Illinois; 1865- 1962


INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CHURCH DISTRICTS
in Old Order Amish Community
in Vicinity of Arthur, Illinois
1865- 1965
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

The membership of the ten districts was given in the Mennonite Yearbook for 1961 as follows:

Cadwell District	100
County Line District	60
North Fairbanks District	76
South Fairbanks District	79
North Prairie District	122
Bourbon District	63
Chesterville District	63
South Prairie District	81
East Prairie District	49
Cooks Mill District	70
(Total)	763

There are at least six hundred children under eighteen years of age in the old Order Amish community. Three hundred children are registered for the 1961-1962 school term, including:

Arthur	234
Arcola	42
Mattoon	10
Sullivan	7
Atwood	15
(Total)	298

By projecting this figure, 298, for the age group, 7--15, the estimate of six hundred children was obtained.

INFORMAL POPULATION CENSUS OF REPRESENTATIVE OLD ORDER AMISH FARMS

Farm	Size	Adults 1957	Children 1957	Adults 1962	Children 1962
A	77a.	2	7	4	10
B	116a.	2	8	4	9
C	80a.	4	4	4	5
D	90a.	5	5	4	9
E	110a.	5	4	5	6
F	118a.	2	2	2	3
G	80a.	2	6		
H	66a.	2	4		
I	117a.			3	4
J	100a.			4	6
		24	40	30	51

Avg. 1957 92 a. Density 54.6 per sq. mil.

Avg. 1962 101 a. Density 64 per sq. mi.

the total population of the community is at least 1350.

From the graph on page 29, showing the time involved in the increase of the number of church districts, it would seem that projections could be made. The population has doubled every generation. The Amish do no missionary or evangelistic work. Only a very few members are recruited as spouses who were non-Amish and joined the church after marriage to an Amish church member. It is due to their large families and the fact that they are moderately successful in holding their young people that "they are one of the fastest growing denominations in America today"[1].

In 1936 there were one hundred Amish congregations in the United States with a membership of 9,887.[2] By 1961 there were two hundred fifty congregations with a total membership of 17,666.[3]

The socio-religious ties which have kept the Old Order Amish groups separate from the "world" for nearly four and one-half centuries are clearly and sympathetically set forth by Walter Kollmorgen in his study of the Pennsylvania Amish. The Scripture references are invaluable. The

[1] John A. Hostetler, Amish Life, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1952, p. 3

[2] Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, Vol. II, Part 2, Department of Interior, Washington D.C., 1936, p. 1025

[3] Milrose D. Zook and Mervin Swartzentruber, Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, 1961, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1961, p. 80

entire discussion is inserted at this time.

"A keen awareness of a tragic past together with an observance of many religious principles...is not the only consideration which conditions the basic characteristics of the socio-religious community of the 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 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".

"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 Peter 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 the world, the author of all iniquity". Nonconformity, it is held, is obligatory in everything in which standards of the world conflict with references 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 Peter 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. Peter 1:14. Standards insisted upon in Christian apparel are that it must be (1) substantial, Gen. 3:7,21; (2) modest, I Tim.

10; I. Peter 3:3,4; and (3) economical, I Tim. 2:9,
r 3:3. There should be sex distinction in clothing
. 22:5). The wearing of jewelry and expensive orna-
tion is prohibited (Isa. 3:16-24). Women must wear a
ional head covering (I Cor. 11:1-16). Fashionable
es are definitely worldly and sinful.
voidance of organizations outside the church group is
on II Cor. 6:14 which reads: "Be ye not unequally
with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteous-
with unrighteousness? and what fellowship hath light
darkness?" This admonition has served to prevent the
from joining formal organizations other than their
organizations, secret societies, and even farm or-
ations. Marriage and business partnerships with
ders are similarly forbidden because of this principle.
that participation in non-church organizations may in
y or another lead to court action also serves to
such involvments. Closely associated with and
menting the admonition against the unequal yoke with
evers is the principal of separation from the world.
her these two principles serve to set them, although
ically they are closely associated with the outside

the sake of maintaining uniformity in observing
tion 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 group paint their buggies, and regulate in considerable detail the lives and activities of all members of the community. These disciplines are defended on the basis of Christian unity. See Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:14; I Jno. 1:17.

"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 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 thee 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. 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."[1]

Divisions in the Church. The next subject is a rather touchy one as any point over which there has been an argument or disagreement must be. Offshoots from the parent body of the Old Order Amish began in Pennsylvania between 1862 and 1878. Conferences of ministers were held with the purpose of unifying the congregations in America. As differences in beliefs were vocalized, they were adhered to more steadfastly than ever and the result was a further division of, rather than unification of, the Amish denomination. "(Some of) these congregations eventually merged with the Swiss Mennonites. Numbering about half the Amish descendents in America, they are today indistinguishable from Mennonites."[2] The organization of the Mennonite Church in Arthur accompanied the great revolution in farming methods which was in full force in the 1930's.

Before 1930, any farmer in the Arthur vicinity would have been able to distinguish his own from an Amishman's

[1] Walter M. Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, pp. 7-9

[2] John A. Hostetler, Amish Life, pp. 8,9

daily routine if he were led through it blindfolded. The area was classed as one of mixed or general farming. Farmers had to grow enough hay to feed horses, for horses were the source of power for field work. The milk from four to six cows was separated and the cream was sold to a buyer who collected it every other day. The skimmed milk was fed to pigs who consumed it with gusto. Baby chicks were hatched by broody hens. This inefficient method of increasing flocks kept the numbers of poultry small. Grains, especially wheat and oats, were important in the system of crop rotation. They could be seeded at times when the row crops, which were much more demanding of care, were not needing attention. The straw was useful for bedding the livestock in winter. A horse will eat quite a little bit of bright oats straw, but cows don't like it.

Automation came to the Corn Belt so gradually that those who were involved in it scarcely knew what was happening. The first tractors were so large and expensive that only a few farmers owned them. In the late 1920's a tractor which had its front wheels set very close together and could be used for cultivation came on the market. Farmers began to calculate and compare costs of buying gasoline with the value of grain fed to horses. During the early 1930's there was a succession of very late planting seasons. The soil stayed wet much longer than usual. When field work was possible at last, hot weather set in

and many horses died of heat prostration. A tractor did not have to rest at the end of each row, or at the noon hour, or even on Sunday.

Simultaneously came the acceptance of the soybean in the rotation. In the early 1920's the crop was introduced to Central Illinois. Mr. Henry Jurgens was one of the first farmers to grow it. The very name of the variety, the Manchu, was exotic. After a rain in the fall, the popping of the splitting pods as they dried could be heard for a long distance. That disadvantage was corrected by improved varieties. Soybeans are not subject to the smuts and rusts which attack small grains. Soybeans were not bothered by the chinch bugs which damaged several successive grain and corn crops severely. In fact, many farmers planted their first soybeans in strips around their cornfields as barriers to discourage chinch bugs from migrating from matured oats or wheat to growing corn.

Another peculiarity of the soybean is the conditioning effect it has on the soil. Maintaining soil tilth has been a problem in the "wet" prairie ever since it was plowed.[1] Walking in a small grain stubble in the late summer when the weather was dry could be compared to walking on a cement sidewalk. The sidewalk was smoother, but was not much harder. Dry soybean stubble fields are

[1] Cyril G. Hopkins, Moultrie County Soils, Soil Report No. 2, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, Illinois, 1911, p. 2

and crumbly. After soybeans have been harvested, a bed for winter wheat can be prepared by discing instead of plowing. The increased susceptibility of the soil to both sheet and gully erosion and to leaching was not so manifest as to cause concern.

Oleomargarine was made both palatable and inexpensive. Many farmers who used oleo on their own table and sold their cream salved their consciences by observing that oleo was made from a home-grown product, too. The Pevely Dairy Company of St. Louis extended its milk shed to Coles and Douglas Counties in the early 1930's. The convenience of selling whole milk instead of separating the milk from the cream appealed to many farmers and their wives. The Pevely Company sold the cheese factory in Arthur to Mr. George Marner and other Amish investors and they in turn sold it to a large dairy concern. The cheese factory can still buy a sufficient amount of milk within economically feasible trucking distance to stay in business.

Poultry raising became a highly competitive commercial operation with the perfection of methods of artificial incubation, brooding, and scientific feeding. Farm flocks became much larger or disappeared. Reasons for that trend can be seen in many published reports, for example, the one for 1960 in Illinois: "Eggs produced

per hen, calculated on a ten-day basis, increased with increases in the size of flock. Feed cost per unit of product declined and the average sale price per dozen eggs increased. The difference in these output and cost factors resulted in a return above feed cost of $2.30 per hen for the flocks above 750 hens and only $1.40 per hen for the flocks ranging in size from 100 to 299 hens."[1]

The coming of World War II speeded up the changes in farming methods unb elievably. Farmers were urged to stop feeding grain to horses. Gasoline was rationed and the door to door collection of cream had to be discontinued. Labor was scarce and fence rows were hard to keep mowed and looking neat. Many hundreds of miles of fencing were taken out. East-Central Illinois had become a cash-grain area. "Because they do not have the ability to manage livestock efficiently, or because they are unwilling to handle it, or for still other reasons, many farmers in the area...(on the nearly level Flanagan-Drummer soils) do not turn soil-building crops into the cash equivalents of what they can get from grain crops. On these farms the yields may be maintained at a high level by use of legumes, including catch crops, and by

[1] A. G. Mueller and D. F. Wilken, 36th Farm Business Analysis Report on Illinois Farms for 1960, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois, 1961, p. 12

application of commercial fertilizer."[1]

While these tremendous changes were taking place all around them, the Amish farmers continued in their old ways. A ban had been placed on tractors and automobiles. It was easier to maintain the old ways than it was to replace a ban if lifting it should prove to be undesirable. It appears to outsiders that because the divisions in the church followed the mechanization of farming, the divisions were caused by the necessity felt by many Amishmen to modernize farming methods in order to compete with non-Amish farmers. Reasons for the divisions were not made public, nor were the methods of recruiting membership in the different divisions. Facts, figures, and dates are given without explanation in various publications of the Mennonite Publishing House.

A Mennonite congregation was organized in Arthur in October, 1936. "Its membership was 241 in 1953. The group is almost entirely of Old Order Amish background and drawn from the neighboring Amish community."[2] In 1961 its membership was 215.[3]

Russell T. Odell, Bulletin 522, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, Illinois, 1959, p.9

Mennonite Encyclopedia, Volume I, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1955, p. 9

Book, Swartzentruber, Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, 1961, p. 62

Today the farmsteads belonging to Mennonites and methods of farming employed by them cannot be distinguished from non-Amish operator's practices. The Mennonite women have long hair and dress conservatively. In other ways, Mennonites are indistinguishable from members of any other Protestant denomination.

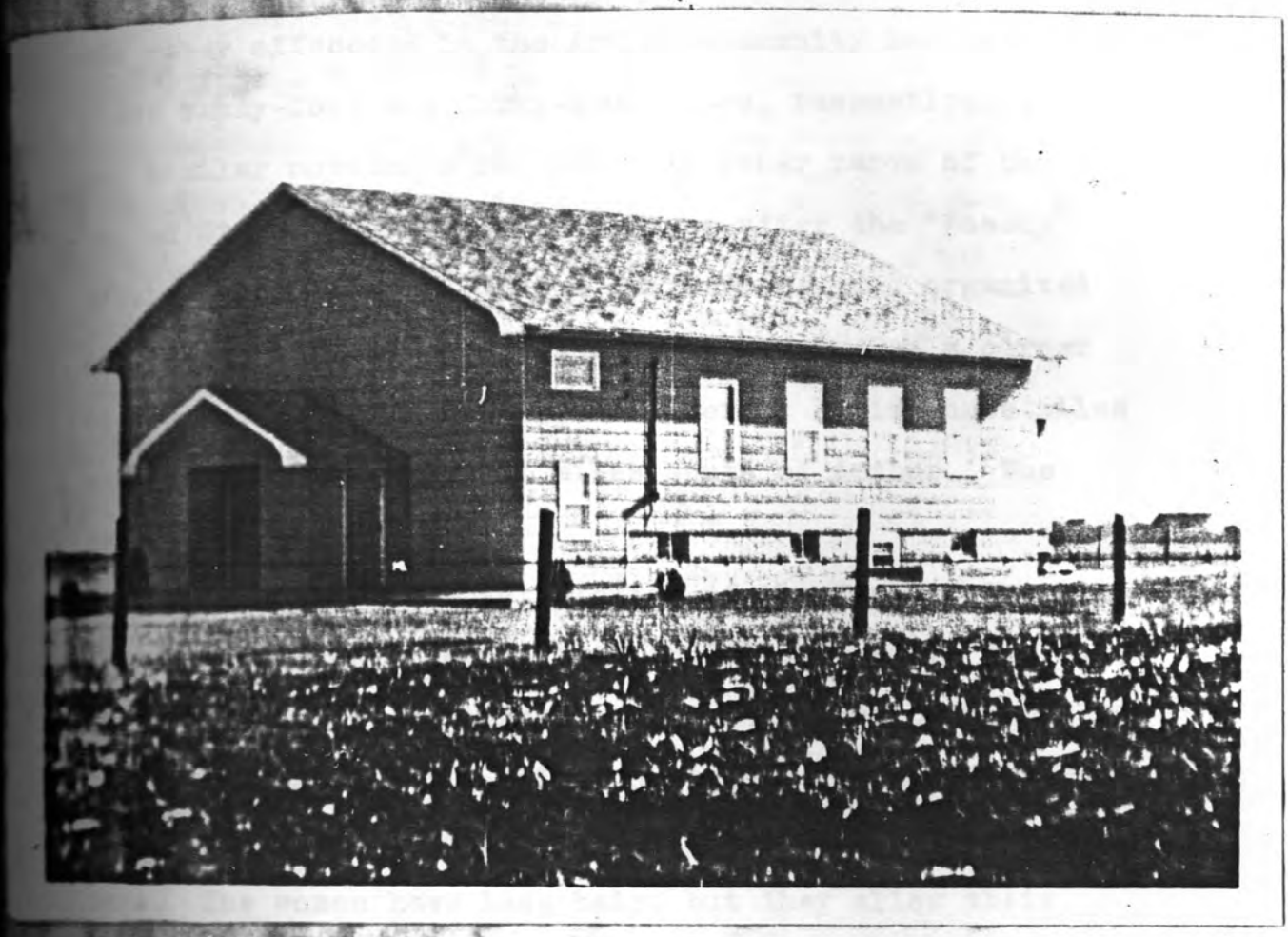
"A second 'progressive' group whose members began to cut their hair shorter, and who also (like Mennonites) began favoring meetinghouses and Sunday Schools during the latter part of the nineteenth century, organized themselves in 1910 and are now called the Conservative Mennonite Conference. They continue to favor the simple life and plain dress but support missionary work."[1] The Conservative Mennonite congregation in the Arthur vicinity was organized in 1954. In 1960 they built a new meetinghouse just east of Chesterville. In 1961 the membership was 132.[2] A group from the Arthur Mennonite congregation purchased the Quinn Chapel meetinghouse south of Arthur and affiliated with the Conservatives.

A recent departure from the main line Amish that began to take place about 1937 (in Pennsylvania) was called the "Beachy" Amish. If you see a fully clad Amishman (That is clad in the same habit as a member of the Old Order)

[1] John A. Hostetler, Amish Life, p. 9

[2] Cook and Swartzentruber, Mennonite Yearbook, 1961, p. 59

CONSERVATIVE MENNONITE MEETINGHOUSE. Built in 1960, housing a congregation of 132 members.



BEACHY AMISH MEETINGHOUSE. Located on land donated-
by a member.

driving an automobile in the Dutch country he may be a "Beachy" Amishman. They have retained the beard and plain dress but in farming methods they are progressive."[1] The other offshoots in the Arthur community had taken place sixty-four and forty-four years, respectively, after similar movements had begun in other parts of the United States. It was twenty years after the "Beachy" offshoot had occurred that a congregation was organized near Arthur. Their meetinghouse is located on a corner of the property of one of the members. It is three miles east and two and one-half miles south of Arthur. The membership is 40[2].

Distinguishing Characteristics of the Sects. The outward differences of Mennonites from other people are few. They have all the machinery, appliances, and conveniences which their means will allow, just as non-Amish do. The men's and boys' clothing is of the ordinary ready-made sort. The women have long hair, but they allow their daughters to cut and arrange their hair in any desired style. The girls wear pretty dresses of bright prints. The women wear plain styles and subdued colors. Women and girls wear a tiny starched net cap for a "covering" in church.

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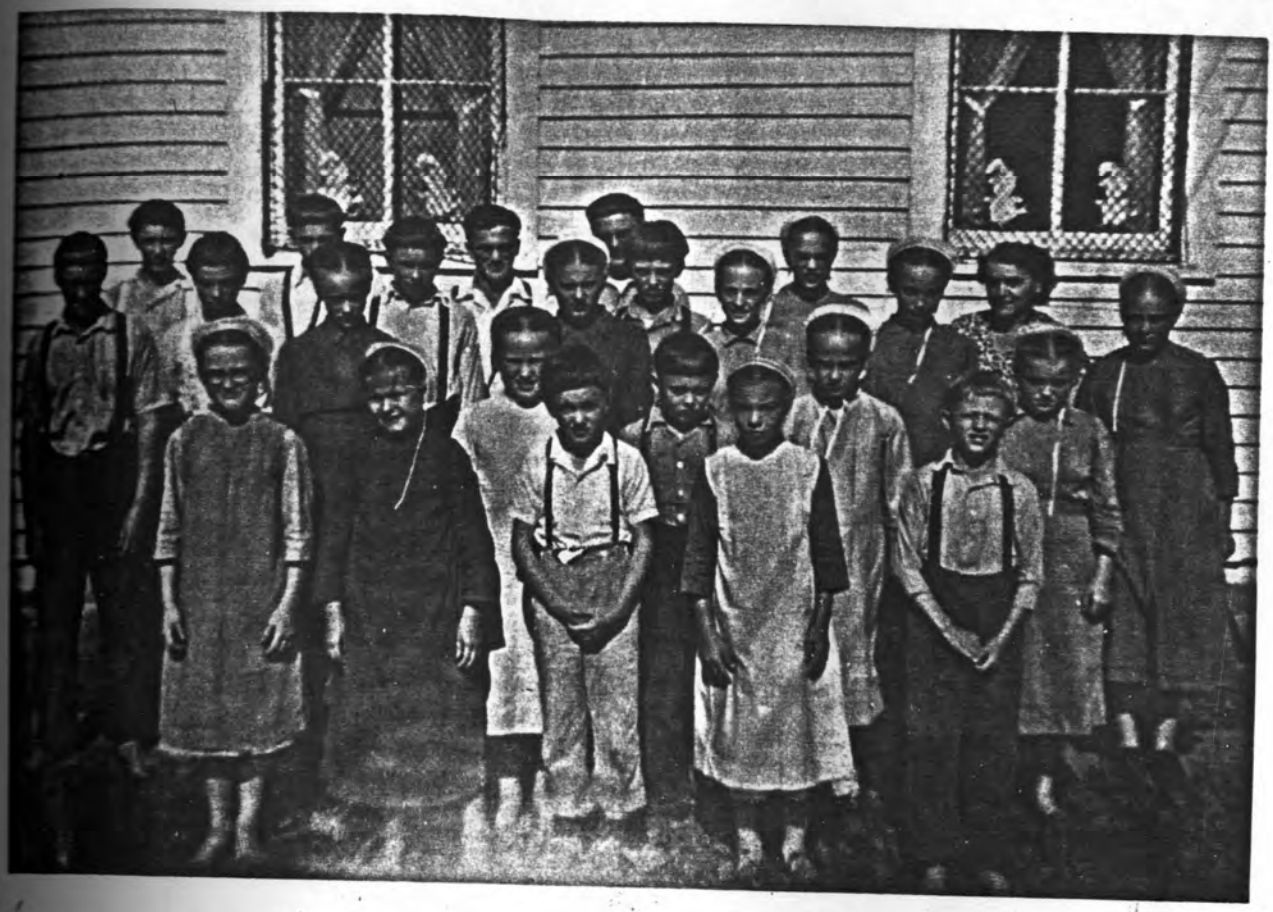
[1] John A. Hostetler, Amish Life, p. 9

[2] Zook and Swartzentruber, Mennonite Yearbook, 1961, p. 60

The Conservative Mennonite men have very short beards, or sometimes, none. They wear ready-made everyday clothing, but their best suit is cut with a small stand-up collar instead of lapels, resembling the habit of a Lutheran clergyman. The women and girls dress in plain styles. The adult women wear a little "covering" of starched net at all times when in public, and in winter they wear a short-slatted dark bonnet. Conservatives have all the machinery they wish for farming and conveniences such as electricity and telephones. They do not have radios or television sets.

The "Beachy" Amish differ from the Conservative Mennonites only in that they keep the habit of the Old Order Amish in their dress. "Beachy" Amish prefer black automobiles, but it is not always practical to insist on that detail. All three of these groups have meetinghouses, which are a convenience, too, no doubt.

The Old Order Amish have retained the old ways and manner of dress which they brought with them from the Palatinate so long ago, to an astonishing degree. The men's and boys' homemade clothing is made in the same style, but little girls' dresses use a different sort of cut from the older girls' and women's dresses. The picture on page 47, taken by a stranger without the permission of the parents of the children, shows details of their dress,



RURAL SCHOOL GROUP. Boys' haircuts and manner of dress are similar to men's. Little girls' dresses and aprons may be seen in front row, center. The young ladies' two piece costume fastened with straight pins is worn by the girls on the left.

as worn indoors. Men have beards, but their haircuts, shirts in plain colors, suspenders, and broadfall trousers are like those worn by the boys of school age. Women wear a dark-colored bonnet in public situations, and use a large square shawl for warmth instead of a long coat in winter. The young ladies' and women's two-piece dresses are held in place by straight pins. Their long hair is arranged in a flat knot in the back and tied with string.

Their unique appearance makes their identification easy. The use of Pennsylvania Dutch for all intra-group communication is another bond contributing to group solidarity. Mingling with non-Amish groups is kept to a minimum by mutual consent.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY OF AREA

Distinguishing Characteristics of the Amish Community. The location of farms owned by Amish or Mennonites can be determined by studying plat maps of townships where they live and referring to a list of names peculiar to their ethnic group. The townships include Lowe, Johnathan Creek, and East Nelson Townships in Moultrie County; Bourbon and Arcola Townships in Douglas County; and North Okaw Township in Coles County. The list of last names, pages 50 and 51, on which the names to be found in the Arthur community are underlined, is an infallible guide in every case except one. Miller is a surname which is common to both Amish and non-Amish societies. Between the years 1865 when the first Amish settlers came to Illinois from Pennsylvania, to 1936, when the first successful Mennonite church was organized in Arthur, the Amish were amazingly successful in maintaining conformity to the precepts of their church. One of the fundamental tenets of both Mennonite and Amish religions forbids marriage to any person outside the church membership. Social and economic pressures as well as religious ones were exercised

"Amish Family Names primarily of the Old Order and Conservative Amish Groups and those descending from the early Pennsylvania Amish settlers and the Hessian Amish: (Names of Amish living in Arthur vicinity are underlined.)

Beachy (Peachy)
Bender
Blauch...Blough
Bontrager...Borntrager..Borntreger
Brenneman
Byler...Beiler
Burkholder
Christner
Chupp
Coblentz
Esch...Eash
Gingerich...Guengerich
Glick
Graber
Hartzler...Hertzler
Helmuth
Herschberger
Hooley
Hostetler...Hockstetler
Kanagy...Gniegi
Kauffman
Keim
King
Knepp
Lambright
Lantz
Lapp
Mast
Miller
Mullet
Nissley
Otto
Petersheim
Plank
Raber
Schrock
Shetler
Slabaugh...Schlappach
Smucker...Schmucker
Stoltzfus
Stutzman
Swartzendruber..Swarzen-truber
Troyer
Umble
Wagler
Yoder
Zook...Zug "

[1] Mennonite Encyclopedia, Volume I, p. 97

"Amish family names primarily of the Alsatian Group ~~and~~ their descendents:

Albrecht
Ausburger
Bechler
Beller
Bessley
Berkey...Burki
Camp...Kemp
Conrad
Egli
Eacher
Fahaney
Fluckinger
Gascho
Gerig
Gunden...Gundy
Guth
Heiser
Imhoff
Jantzi
Kennel
Kinsinger
Klopfenstein
Nifziger...Noffsinger
Oesch...Esch
Oyer...Auer
Raber
Rediger
Ringenberg
Ropp...Rupp
Rocke...Roggi
Roth
Ruvenacht
Schertz
Slageel...Slagel
Smith
Sommer
Springer
Stahley
Strubhar
Stuckey
Sutter
Sweitzer
Verkler
Wagler
Wyse
Yordy
Yutzi...Jutsi
Zehr"[1]

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[1] *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Volume I, p. 97

with such effectiveness that an Amish name indicates Amish descent, and, in the Arthur area, all farmers with Amish names are Amish or Mennonites.

No Amish land owner rents his property to a non-Amish farmer, but there are many Amish and Mennonites who rent all or some of the land that they operate from outsiders. Plat books are not adequate for locating the rented farms. The frontispiece map, was drafted according to information supplied by individuals who are personally acquainted with the members of the Beachy Amish and Conservative Mennonite congregations.[1]

The Old Order Amish community is extensive, consisting of approximately 265 separate properties. Preparation of an accurate map of it would require tedious field work if no directory could be obtained. Miss Anna J. Miller, a remarkably skilled unmarried Amish lady, had prepared a map of the church districts in 1955, showing the location of the homes of all the members and the boundaries of the church districts. She had the map duplicated by the Ozlid process and sold copies to members of the Amish church. After an initial reluctance to allow her work to be exploited by an outsider, Miss Miller gave permission for the map to be photographed and used in this study. The artistic quality and fineness of detail of her cartography and calligraphy were not diminished by reduction

[1] Interview with Eli M. Otto, July 21, 1961

to a size only one-third as large as the original. Being neat and particular with everything they do is a common, if not universal, trait of her people. An excellent key which requires no explanation accompanied her map. It is included with the map, which is page 54 and the key is page 55.

Miss Miller's map is the basis for the placement on Plate I of farms rented by Amish farmers. No attempt was made to determine which farms were rented by Amish from other Amish. In nearly all cases these farms are rented from parents or other close relatives and the tenancy is a step at eventual ownership.

Elements of Change. Farming methods on farms operated by English and Mennonites have been changing rapidly during the past generation, and the rate of change was accelerated during and since World War II. The change from horse-drawn to tractor-powered implements and the marked reduction of other livestock numbers have made it possible for one farmer to operate a much larger farm than he could have before. The cost-price squeeze and improved standards of living have made it imperative that farm size be increased. The average size of all farms is now two hundred one acres and is increasing every year.[1]

1 A. G. Mueller and D. F. Wilken, 36th Annual Summary of Illinois Farm Business Records--1961, a (Department of Agricultural Economics), University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1962, p. 3

This map consists of our nine Amish church districts surrounding Arthur. On one Sunday five of these districts have church services on the next Sunday the other four have theirs. The stars indicate which districts have their services at one time.

Whenever two families live in one house it is marked on index (2 f) Two houses on one farm (2 h) Large and small house (L) (S) Wherever church line is on road it is made thus: ═══

This covers an area of twenty miles east and west, and some more than sixteen miles N. north and south. Here are a list of Bishops, Ministers and Deacons beginning at top of map to the left

Saml Beachy 12.b Menno^s Miller 14.a Noah B Schrock 14.f Edward^s Nisley 11.a Hard^t Begchy 14.g Chris E. Otto 7.b Abraham^s Gingerich 13.f
John^s Gingerich 12.b Levi D. Miller 13.a John^s Bontrager 15.e Jeff Kaufman 9.d Hard^t Mast 14.b Jos M. Hostetler 14.g Dan Otto 10.c 10.f Noah^d Beachy 12.g
Simon^s Brenneman 11.c John a Schrock 13.f Noah^d Bontrager (2 h) 15.f Eli H Beachy 11.a Simon^s Gingerich 14.h Levi Chupp 10.j William^s Miller 11.f
Menno^s Reuchtiger 11.b Jacob^s Helmuth 14.g Roman Bontrager (L) Amzy Miller 10.a Menno B. Kuhn 16.g Joseph Graber 10.f Hard^t Troyer 10.f

Anderson
John .. 19.b

Beachy
Alvin d (2 h) (L) 12.b
Hard Jr .. 10.f
Eli H (2 h) .. (L) 11.c
Jake H .. 11.f
Joe d (2 h) .. (L) 14.d
Joel M
Menno H (2 h) (L) 14.e
Noah J .. 7.f
Solomon H (2 h) (L) 12.e
Joe E Beachy 15.h

Brenneman
Menno S 10.c
Noah d (2 f) .. 11.c

Graber
Amos d 14.m

Gingerich
Abraham d 11.d
Ben J (2 h) (L) 12.b
Ele c .. 14.c
Ele J .. 13.f
Edward J .. 12.g
Emory C .. 14.a
Elvin J .. 13.a
John a .. 17.a
John S .. 18.f
John Jr .. 15.h
Merle a .. 10.f

Helmuth
Albert H 10.f
Albert J (2 f) 13.c

Jess
Elvin d 12.c
Lester d (2 h) .. 14.d

Kaufman
Alvin J .. 13.g
Amzy J (2 h) (L) .. 9.d
Andy J .. 14.a
Daniel J .. 9.a
Dan J .. 5.c
Eli J .. 15.c
Fred d .. 9.b
George a .. 12.d
Levi d (2 h) (L) 13.g
Melvin J .. 13.b
Jacob J (2 h) (L) 15.a

Miller
Aaron .. 9.c
Adale B .. 12.h
Alvin M .. 5.g
Amos .. 9.g
Ammon a (2 h) (L) 13.c
Ammon B (2 h) (L) 15.c
Ammon d .. 12.a
Andy a .. 12.b
Andy J .. 12.c
Anson d .. 9.i
Ben a .. 15.f
Dan a (2 h) (L) 10.e
Dan B .. 14.i
Dan a .. 14.d
Dan d .. 14.c
Eli a (2 h) (L) 14.g
Eli (small house at Mr B. Schrock) 14.f
Eli JR. .. 13.d
Elmer d .. 15.h
Ervin J .. 11.c
Jerry d. Otto 14.b
Noah Otto 14.i
Henry Bontrager 14.n
Joe a Yoder 14.j

Otto
Rudy H .. 14.b
Simon J .. 14.j
Wayne H .. 16.j
Elmer J .. 11.b
Noah J Otto (2 h) (L) 11.a

Peterheim
Sam (2 h) (L) 13.h

Plank
Alvin J .. 15.h
Andy J .. 9.b
Eger J .. 6.e
Jake C .. 6.a
Jake M (2 h) (L) 13.b

Schrock
Jos B (L) Rebecca Schrock 14.c
John a (2 h) (L) 13.f
Jonas J .. 12.h
Levi a .. 14.f
Levi J .. 17.f
Menno a .. 12.d
Menno (2 h) (L) 10.b
Moses a .. 9.c
Phineas .. 9.a
Rudy J .. 14.b
Willie (2 h) (L) 11.e
William B (2 h) 14.f
William J .. 14.a
Frid n. .. 15.e
Joe .. 12.j

Stutzman
Clarence 9.h
Hard J (2 h) (L) 15.f
Eli J .. 15.e
Menno .. 13.g
Menno .. 11.a

Yoder
Roman .. 18.f
Rueben J .. 15.h
Rueben L .. 13.i
Walter B .. 14.i
Yutzy
Aldman c 13.d
Simon S (2 f) 13.d
Moses a .. 9.c
Phineas .. 9.a
Rudy J .. 14.b
Stutzmans Custom grinding and feed mill.
Coffins 13.g
Schrocks woodwork and repair shop 13.g
Stutzmans buggy and repair shop 14.f
Cannery and butcher 15.f
House 13.d
Buggy and repair 13.g
at Menno Chupp

55

Noah J John Otto (6) 11.f
Solomon W (2h) (6) 12.e
Joe C Beachy 15.k

Brenneman
Menno E 10.c
Simon E.
Noah D (2f) .. 11.e

Bontrager
Andy F .. 11.f
Levi W
Henry W (2h) (6) .. 13.f
Raymond C. .. 14.i
Eddie N .. 14.f
Noah Y (6)
Roman K (2h) (6) 5.f
Melvin C .. 7.k

Burkholder
Anna Beachy (6)
Roman C. (2h) (6) 11.e

Chupp
Anson L .. 15.h
Dan J .. 10.f
Floyd L .. 10.g
Menno J .. 12.f
Jake J .. 10.e
Mrs Sam J 11.b

Diener
Dan O .. 9.d
Henry Diener
Ezra A .. 12.i
Jerry O .. 9.g
Ervin M Diener (6)
Menno A (2h) (6) 9.e
Paul A Diener (6)
Obie A (2h) (6) 13.h

[illegible]

Emory C .. 17.e
Ervin J .. 13.e
John A .. 17.e
John E .. 18.f
John Jr .. 15.h
Merle A .. 14.a 10.f

Helmuth
Albert W 10.f
Mrs Amelia Miller
Albert J (2f) 13.i
Benj .. 16.i
Benj J.K. 13.f
Obie Helmuth (6)
Chris J (2h) (6) 12.g
Chris A 16.h
Dan J 10.c
(6) Noah E Helmuth
Enos J (2h) (6) .. 15.g
Helmuth Jesse 11.e

Hershberger
Ananias E .. 13.f
Christian E .. 12.f
David E .. 14.g
Edward J .. 12.c
Ervin C .. 11.k
Lena Lee
Levi C (2f) .. 12.e
Noah E .. 14.m
Jake E .. 12.h
Jake J .. 19.h
Mrs Jonas Hershberger
Jonas A (2f) 9.e
Jonas Chupp (6)
Seth E (2h) (6) 12.e
Tobe J .. 11.j
John K A (6) 15.f
(6) Levi J Hershberger
Joe C (2h) (6) 9.f

Hochstedler
Joe J .. 9.h
John J .. 14.g
John J 11.g
Menno J (2h) (6) 10.g
Dennis J 10.e

Alvin J .. 13.g
Jeff J (6)
Amzy J (2h) (6) 9.d
Andy J .. 14.e
Daniel J .. 9.e
Dan J .. 5.i
Eli J .. 15.i
Fred D .. 9.b
George A .. 13.d
Jacob J Miller (6)
Levi D (2h) (6) 13.g
Melvin J .. 13.f
Eli J Kauffman (6)
Jacob A (2h) (6) 15.e
Joel A .. 15.g
Sam A .. 11.d
Noah C Yoder (6)
Steve A (2h) (6) 10.c

Kemp Jr.
Benj Otto
Herman E .. 16.h

Kuhns
Abe E .. 12.h
Ed J Yoder (6)
Ben (2h) (6) 13.g
Harvey .. 10.b
Jerry E .. 13.d

Lee
Mrs Sarah .. 7.b

Marner, Conrad
(6) Anna Marner Miller
John G (2h) (6) 14.f

Mast
Andy L .. 12.h
Dan M .. 9.g
Emanuel L .. 13.f
Jonas L Mast (6)
Henry J (2h) (6) 12.j
Mrs J Schrock
Jonas J (2f) .. 13.g
Mose C .. 9.g
Willis A .. 11.f
[illegible]

Union L .. 9.i
Ben A .. 15.f
Amzy Miller (6)
Dan A (2h) (6) 10.e
Dan B .. 14.i
Dan A .. 14.d
Dan S .. 14.e
Jacob Helmuth (6)
Eli A (2h) (6) 14.g
small house at Eli Schrock's
Eli Wm (6) (2h) 14.f
Eli J Jr. IV .. 13.d
Elmer D .. 15.h
Ervin J .. 11.i
Henry A .. 14.f
Sam H Miller (6)
Henry E (2h) (6) 14.g
Herbert G .. 10.g
Mrs Ida .. 14.g
Menno J Miller (6)
Jake M. (2h) (6) 14.e
~~Mrs Bontrager~~
Levi E (2f) 10.i
Emma Otto
Jonas D .. 10.h
Levi W .. 13.b
Mary D .. 9.g
Ervin Miller (6)
Obed J (2h) (6) 9.f
Sam E Miller
Sam E (2f) .. 15.h
Samuel J .. 14.d
Steve S .. 9.g
Steve A .. 9.c
William J .. 17.k
Menno J .. 15.f
Albert M .. 15.e

Nisley
Sophia Nisley (6)
Edward E (2h) (6) 11.e

Otto
Albert J (6) 15.e
Amos W (2h) (6) 10.f
Eli M (2h) (6) 14.j
Eli A .. 14.m
Fred J .. 10.h
Freeman J
[illegible]

Petersheim
Menno L Miller (6)
Sam (2h) (6) 13.h

Plank
Alvin J .. 15.h
Andy J .. 9.b
Ezra J .. 6.e
Jake C .. 6.e
Jonas Plank Sr. (6)
Jake M (2h) (6) 13.f
Lovina Plank
Jake J (2f) .. 11.g
John B .. 12.h
Jonas Jr .. 12.e
Jonas J .. 11.g
Ben C Yoder
Mrs Lena (2h) (6) 2f 14.c
Lovilla Yoder (6)
Mrs Lydia Plank 13.f

Schlabaugh
Fred W .. 13.h
Katie Mast (6)
Lewis F (2h) (6) 9.g
Maryann .. 12.e

Schrock
Alvin N .. 13.b
Andy A .. 9.d
Ben W .. 16.e
Christian A 13.n
Jake H Schrock (6)
Dan J (2h) (6) 13.g
Dan M .. 10.m
Levi J Schrock (6)
Eli J (2h) (6) III 13.g
Elmer J .. 15.g
Enos N .. 12.n
Fred W .. 14.h
Harley .. 13.f
Noah E Schrock (6)
Harvey (2h) (6)
Henry [illegible]
[illegible]

Ervin A Mast (6)
Willie (2h) (6) 11.g
Chris W. Yoder (6)
William E (3h) (6) 14.f
William J .. 14.a
Fred N. .. 15.e
Joe .. 12.j

Stutzman
Clarence 9.h
Mrs Mattie
David J (2h) (6) 15.f
Eli J .. VII 15.e
Mrs Gertie .. 13.g
Henry .. 11.a
Jonas J .. VIII 14.f
Levi J .. 15.g
Ora William Yoder (6)
Menno L (2h) (6) II 13.g

Troyer
Melvin H. (2h) (6) 10.f
Wanda .. (6)

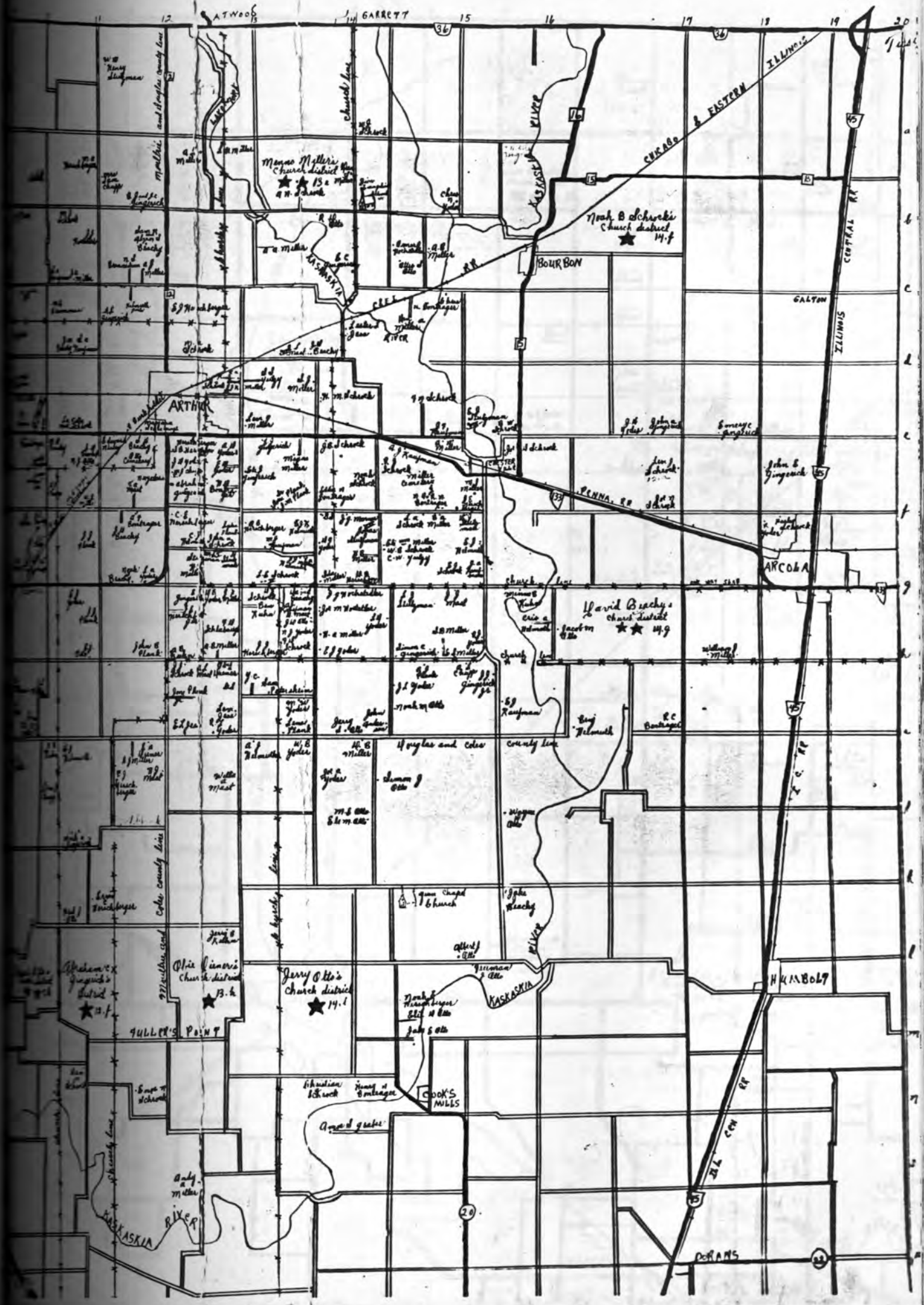
Yoder
Abe W (2h) (6)
Mrs Carrie Yoder (6)
Anna W (2f) 13.e
Chris N .. 15.b
Dan B .. 13.g
David Y .. 14.g
Edwin J .. 11.g
Mart W Schrock
Eli W (2f) (2) 13.f
Mrs Susan Diener (6)
Ervin J 14.k
Mary Schlabaugh (6)
Henry R (2h) (6) 7.e
Howard .. Yoder 7.e
Jake W .. 12.e
Jerry A .. 6.g
Sarah J Kauffman (6)
Joe W 17.g
John C (2h) (6) 9.e
Levi W .. 14.e
[illegible]

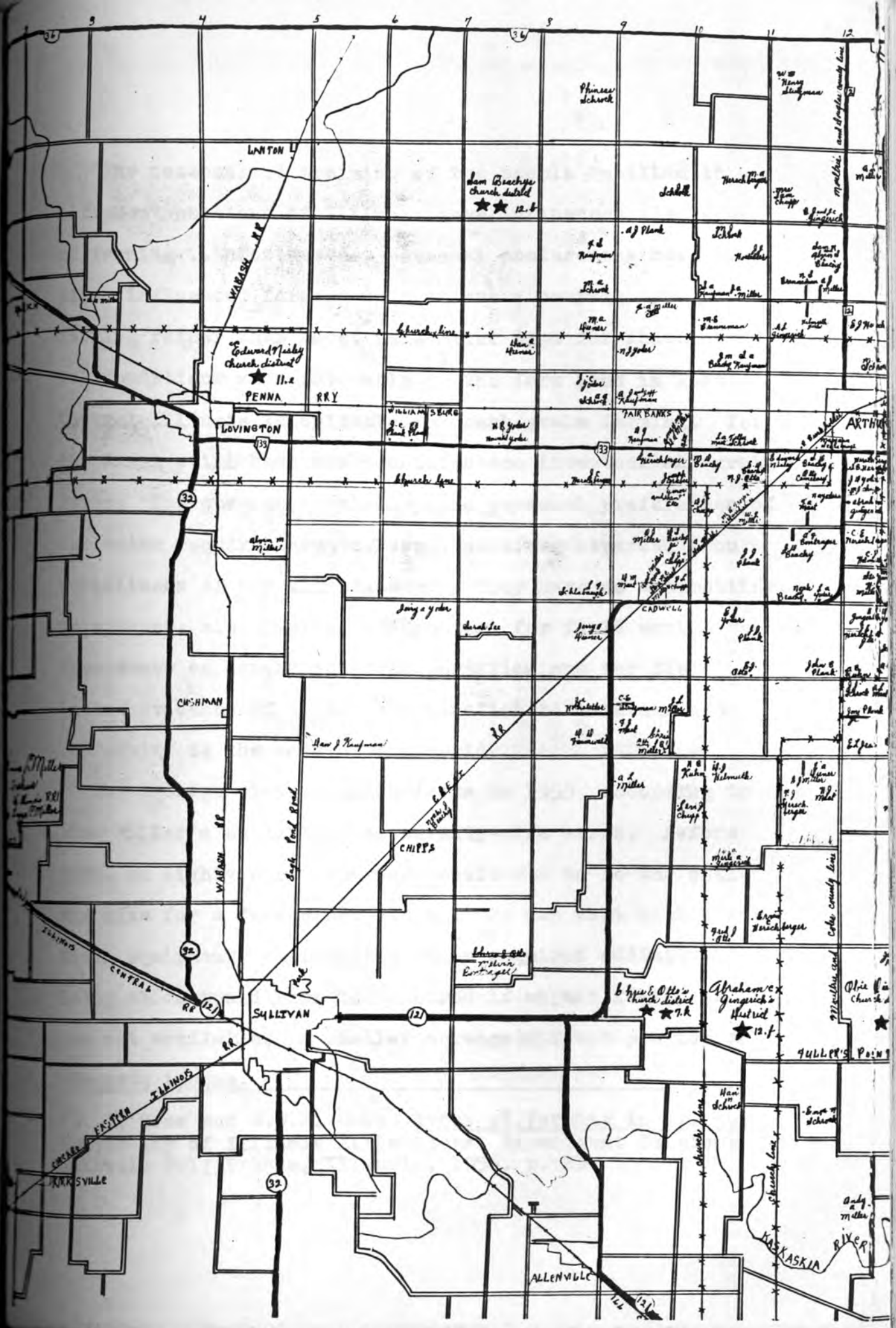
I Stutzman's custom grinding and feed mill.
Coffins. 13.g
II Schrock's woodwork and repair shop. 13.g
III Stutzman's buggy and repair shop 14.f
IV Cannery and butcher House 13.d
V Buggy and repairs at Menno Chupp
VI Mast's harness and repair shop 13.d
VII Miller's harness shop. 9.c
VIII Plain Cannery 15.e

3 Schoolhouses (A.S.) German School at 10.e — 14.f, 13.h

3 Cemeteries
Otto. 12.e
Miller 14.f
Yoder 13.h (YC) on map

Land Each Unit Acre	
S.N. Beachy	1718
Edw. Nisley	3254
Abe Gingerich	2250
Chris E Otto	1748
Obie A Diener	3682
Jerry Otto	1651
David Beachy	1902
Menno S Miller	2148
Noah E Schrock	3136
	20,989


ATWOOD
GARRETT
CHICAGO & EASTERN ILLINOIS
KASKASKIA RIVER
Menno Miller's Church district
Noah B Schwartz Church district
BOURBON
GALTON
ILLINOIS CENTRAL RR
ARTHUR
PENNA. RR
ARCOLA
David Beachy's Church district
Douglas and Coles county line
Coles county line
Moultrie and Douglas county line
Jerry Otto's Church district
Olie Miner's Church district
Gideon Gingerich's District
FULLER'S POINT
HAMBOLT
COOK'S MILLS
DORANS
I.C. RR


LANTON
WABASH RR
Sam Beachys Church district
12.b
Edward Nisley Church district
11.e
PENNA RRY
LOVINGTON
WILLIAMSBURG
FAIRBANKS
ARTHUR
CADWELL
CUSHMAN
CHIPPS
Dark Pond Road
ILLINOIS CENTRAL RR
SULLIVAN
Abraham C Gingerich's District
12.f
TULLER'S POINT
CHICAGO EASTERN ILLINOIS RR
ARRSVILLE
ALLENVILLE
KASKASKIA RIVER

"The customs and training of the people settling in different sections of Illinois have influenced the types of farming...Unfortunately personal preferences have sometimes influenced farmers to continue a certain type of farming rather than adopt some other type for which natural conditions were favorable."[1] The farm land in East Central Illinois is suitable for cash-grain farming. Yet the Amish still have small combination livestock and grain farms. The customs, training, and personal preferences of the Amish require them to keep themselves separate from worldliness of any kind whatever. They have no automobiles, telephones, electricity, or tractors for field work. Their dependence on horses for transportation and for field work is one evidence of their determination to maintain nonconformity to the ways of the world.

The average size of Amish farms in 1955, according to Miss Miller's estimate, was seventy-nine acres. Before 1930, an eighty acre farm was considered to be the optimum size for a farmer who did all his own work with horse-drawn equipment. A larger acreage required additional labor which would have to be hired if unpaid family labor was not available. A smaller acreage did not provide an adequate income.

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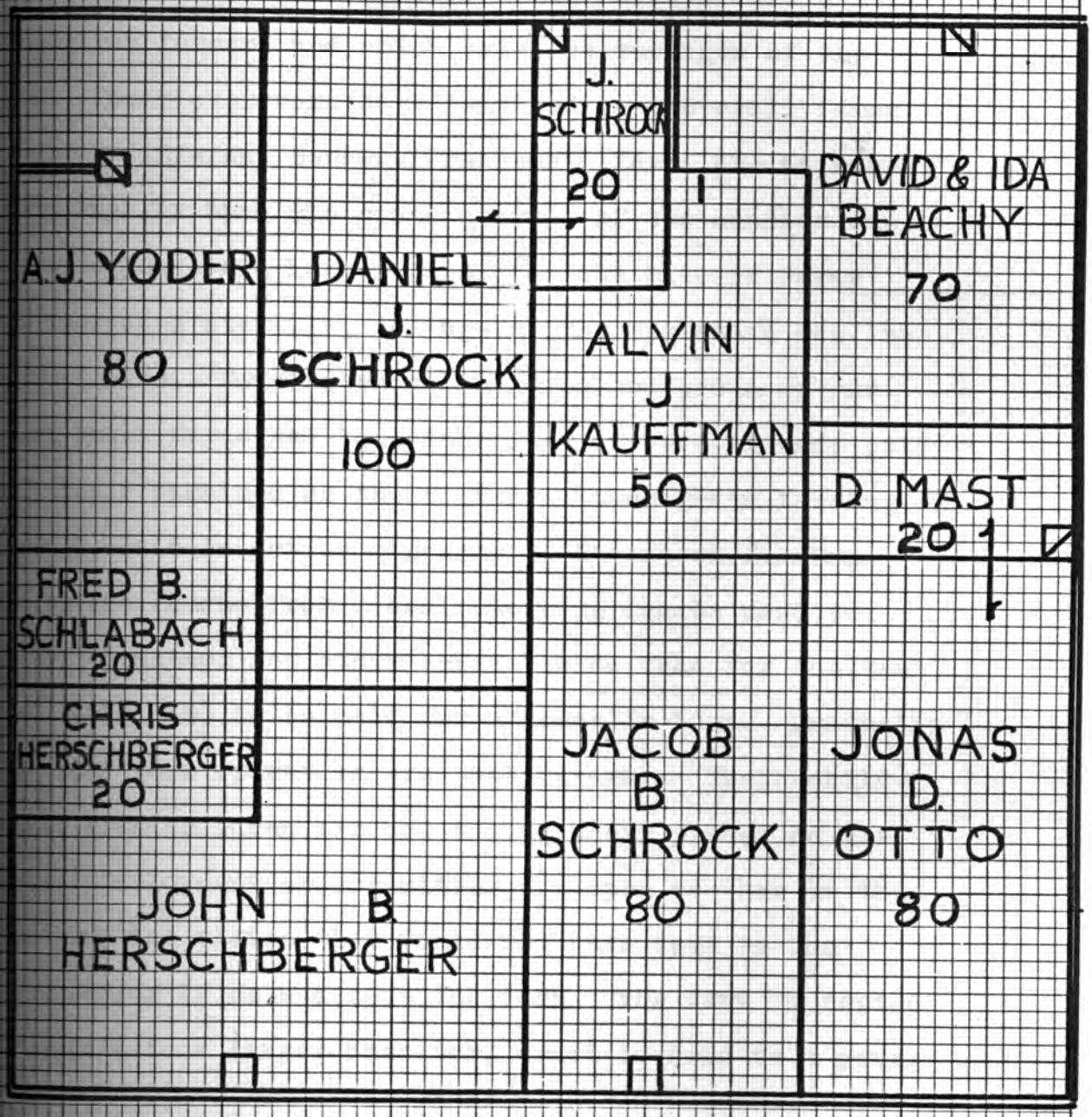
[1] R. C. Ross and H.C.M. Case, Types of Farming in Illinois, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 601; Urbana, Illinois, 1956, p. 23

There is only one section of land in the Amish settlement all of which is owned and operated by Amish farmers using horses for all field work and transportation. A detailed map of this section is found on page 58. There are seven farmsteads. Four of them have two houses. The second house is for the retired parents of the operators. In nearly every case, the older couple is the owner, or former owner, of the land. Four tracts are of only twenty acres, two of which are improved. The owners of both of the improved twenty acre tracts are elderly couples. They formerly owned the unimproved tracts which adjoin their present small holdings. Most of their holdings have been sold to one of their heirs, and the money was probably used to help their other heirs get established in farming elsewhere. Retaining title to the tract of land with the buildings on it is a custom among retired Amish couples. Independence during the older generation's lifetime is insured. The owners of the other two twenty-acre tracts live on farms nearby. The average size of the seven farms in Section Eight is eighty-six acres. The population is fifty. The section is neither typical or representative since it is the only one occupied by Amish farms exclusively. The farms are representative, however, both in size and population. The units are by no means uneconomical for the use made of them. Eighty

SECTION 8

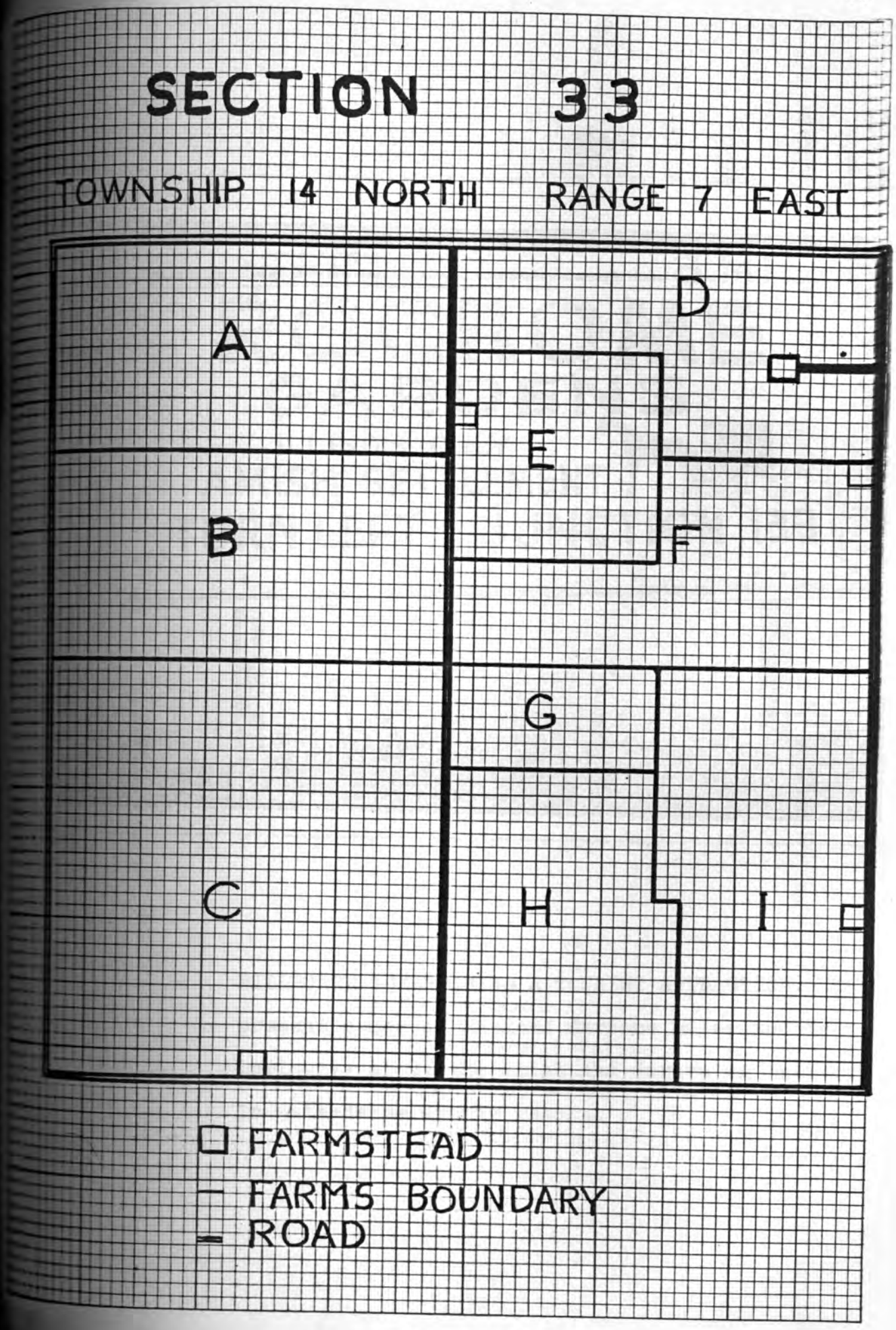


□ FARMSTEAD
□ GRANDPA HOUSE
— FARM BOUNDARY
═ ROAD

cres is the optimum size for a one-man farm cultivated ntensively with horses without hired labor.

There are many uneconomical units in which are owned y English farmers and which exist as vestiges of the ast. Their operators have remained on the small farms or many different personal reasons. There are as many arms smaller than the state average of two hundred one cres as there are larger ones. As the size of farms as increased steadily, the age of the operators has in- reased also. Couples whose children had grown up and hose small farms had been inherited or were already paid or simply remained on their farms. Cash-grain farming on small scale is not as rigorous as livestock farming. he modest income from a small acreage can be used to etter advantage for other expenditures than for the rent hat would have to be paid for a house in town. Gradually he older farm operators are passing away. Their child- n or grandchildren are not taking their places on the rms. Employment opportunities are open to them in the e towns and cities that would not have been to the der farmer if he had left the farm. The farm is rented or sold to a larger operator, or it is sold to a young ish couple.

A representative section near the Amish settlement wing this trend is shown on page 60. There are nine acts in Section 33, and five farmsteads. The average


SECTION 33
TOWNSHIP 14 NORTH RANGE 7 EAST
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
FARMSTEAD
FARMS BOUNDARY
ROAD

pp. 61-63 missing

BILLBOARD ADVERTISING A TOURIST ATTRACTION. The present owner of Rockome Gardens hopes to create curiosity about the Amish and derive an increase in attendance at his resort.

obstreperous animals by a one-strand battery powered electric fence. Fences are a necessity for farms with livestock and are not characteristic of the rest of the East Central Cash Grain Region.

Livestock is kept on the Amish farms as a matter of course, since all of their people have always kept livestock. Their small farms with highly productive high-priced land require intensive management in order to be economical. The large families that are the rule rather than the exception among the Amish provide an abundance of the labor required to care for the livestock. On hearing about the lack of fencing along Route 45, a good Amish woman asked in all innocence if the farmers didn't have many animals killed on the highway. It didn't occur to her that a farm could exist without livestock.

Custom isn't the only reason, of course, that dairy cow numbers have been maintained and that numbers of hogs and laying hens have been increased during the past five years. Hogs and poultry are a logical concomitant to the feed grains produced in the Corn Belt, but dairy herds are unusual in the East Central Illinois Cash Grain Region. Of fifty-six farmers making detailed cost reports in Central Illinois in 1960, only eight had livestock and only one had a dairy herd. The dairy farmer's

farm and herd were both approximately three times as large as the average found on several Amish farms, but the ratio of acres per cow was nearly the same.[1] Dairying utilizes both land and labor much more intensively than a beef cow herd or beef cattle fattening enterprises do. Members of the large families discovered in the census tabulated on page 67 furnish abundance of labor.

In the eyes of the Amish, the disadvantages of dairying are outweighed by its advantages. The income from the sale of milk is received in weekly payments. This steady income is an advantage to the farm family. The legumes considered necessary for soil building can be turned into a profit by feeding the hay to cows. Barnyard manure is thought to be the best fertilizer. Many of the older Amish landowners believe that chemical fertilizers kill earthworms and soil bacteria and will not allow such fertilizers to be applied to their land. Helping care for animals is good for children, inculcating habits of dependability. The early rising and hard work entailed in dairying are regarded as their duty. The manner in which they are tied down is of no concern to them since they don't take two-weeks' vacations. The neighbors with

[1] R. A. Hinton and A. G. Mueller, Detailed Cost Report on Drummer-Flanagan Soils in Central Illinois, 1959 and 1960, University of Illinois Department of Agricultural Economics, 1961, p. 6

INFORMAL LIVESTOCK CENSUS OF REPRESENTATIVE OLD ORDER AMISH FARMS

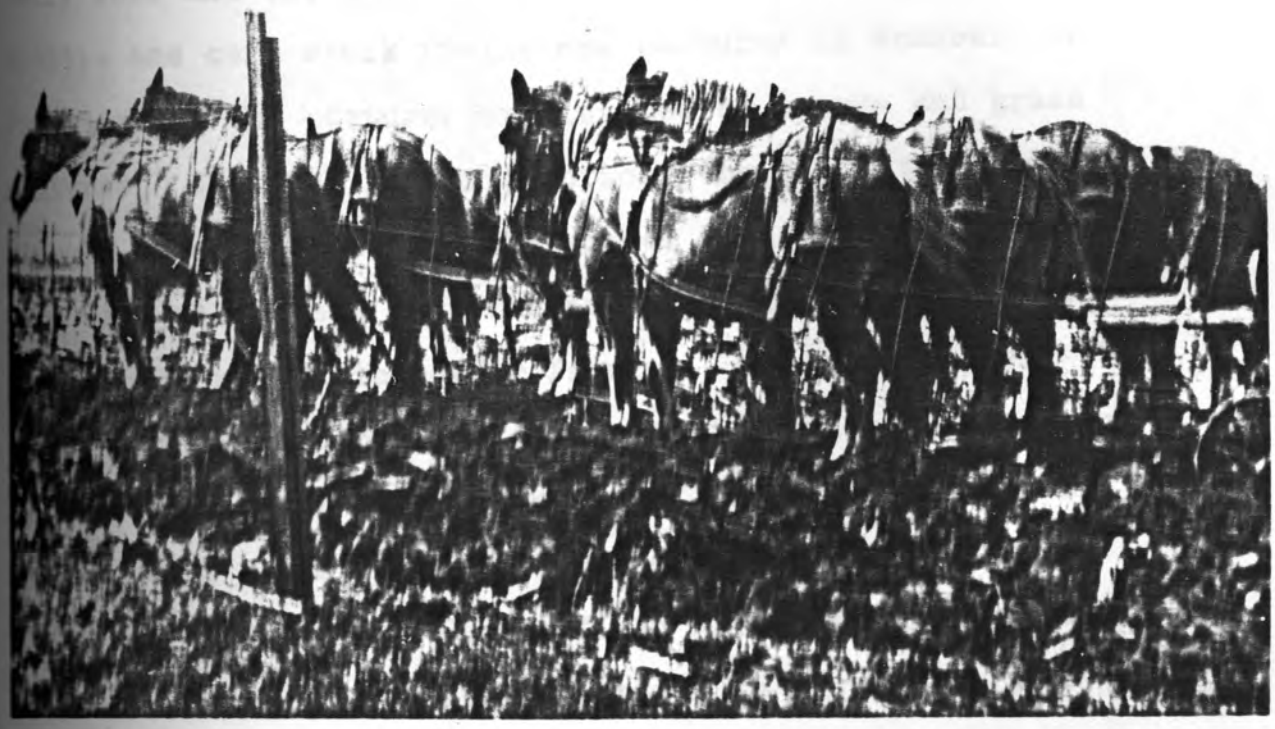
	1957	1962
Number of Farms	8	8
Acres Included	737	794
Average Size of Farm	92 a.	101 a.

Kind of Animal	Number	Acres per Animal	Number	Animal (Acres per)
Horses	59	12.5	83	9.8
Cows	88	8.4	90	8.9
Hens	1000	.74	2250	.36
Hogs	--		1000	.8
Sheep*	--		13	
Steers*	12		125	
Turkeys*			8000	

* One Farm

whom they exchange work take over their chores if one is ill or must be away from home for a few days. A wedding or a funeral of a relative in one of the other Amish communities is the occasion for such absences in most cases.

In 1957 an informal census was taken in an area comparable to Section 8. In 1962 another one was taken. The data from both are tabulated on page 67. The number of dairy cows was approximately the same. Larger herds would necessitate changes in methods of handling or a change in the tradition of using home-grown feeds almost exclusively for all livestock except poultry. There has been an increase of 30% in the number of horses. Part of the reason for the increase is probably a personal one. Although there were eight farms in both 1957 and 1962, one of the operators and two of the farms were different. An increased number of horses can be used to advantage in peak work seasons. A big team of seven or eight horses can pull a gang plow or double disc instead of a sulky plow or single disc and double the number of acres that can be tilled on that farm in a day. A farmer can drive his team faster and can work longer hours if he can change at midday to a fresh team. The size of flocks of laying hens has doubled in response to a favorable price for eggs during the last two years. Figures for hogs and sheep in 1957 are not available. Turkeys were a



BIG TEAM. The seven chestnut Belgians pull a gang plow, doing twice as much work as a three- or four-horse team could do. The driver stepped out of range when he saw the camera.

profitable product in 1960. The 8,000 turkeys were the property of one farmer. There was a drastic reduction of turkey prices in 1961. It is unlikely that any except vertically integrated flocks will be kept in 1962.*

As much as possible of the roughage requirements of the dairy cows and the horses are met by pasture. Small grain stubble and corn stalk fields are pastured in season. The remainder of the pastures are legumes or legume and grass mixtures. No local farmer practices the dry lot feeding of clipped green feed during the summer as dairy farmers in some city milk sheds do. The pastures are intensively managed by the use of temporary fencing. The cows are confined to a limited portion of the field, and are forced to eat all the edible forage instead of nibbling the freshly growing tips of the leaves. The cattle are then allowed access to another part of the field where fresh grass is available. The well-utilized portion is given time to recover for use again in a few weeks. A small field near the farmstead is used as a semi-permanent pasture. The work horses can be allowed to graze there overnight. Dry feed requirements are kept down, but the teams can be rounded up easily for work in the morning.

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* Vertical integration is a system under which a feed company furnishes baby chicks, poults, pigs, or young steers together with all the feed needed to raise and fatten them for market. The farmer provides shelter and care for the animals in return for fixed payment per unit plus a bonus for a good livability and efficiency record.

The crop rotation is usually corn, oats, hay, and pasture. Variations occur from farm to farm and from year to year as is expedient. Coles and Moultrie Counties are near the southern boundary of the potential range of profitable oats cultivation. If hot weather occurs in early summer, as it frequently does, oats yields are cut severely. Oats are grown in the southern counties of the region except in the Amish settlement. Oats fulfill needs which do not exist on the highly mechanized cash grain farms. As a feed grain, oats compare favorably pound per pound with corn and can be used in the ration of all farm animals. Horses have special nutritional requirements that can be met best by oats. The straw can be fed to horses, and it makes excellent bedding for all livestock. As a crop, oats fit well in the schedule of the farmer who uses only horses for power. Fields which are much too wet to be plowed in early spring can be planted in oats and require no further care until harvest. The cutting and threshing season for small grains comes after growing corn is too tall to be cultivated.

No Amish farmer participates in crop reduction programs sponsored by the government. Cropping plans are similar to the ones used for many years. Oats are planted in fields that were used for growing corn the previous year. The pernicious custom of burning cornstalks

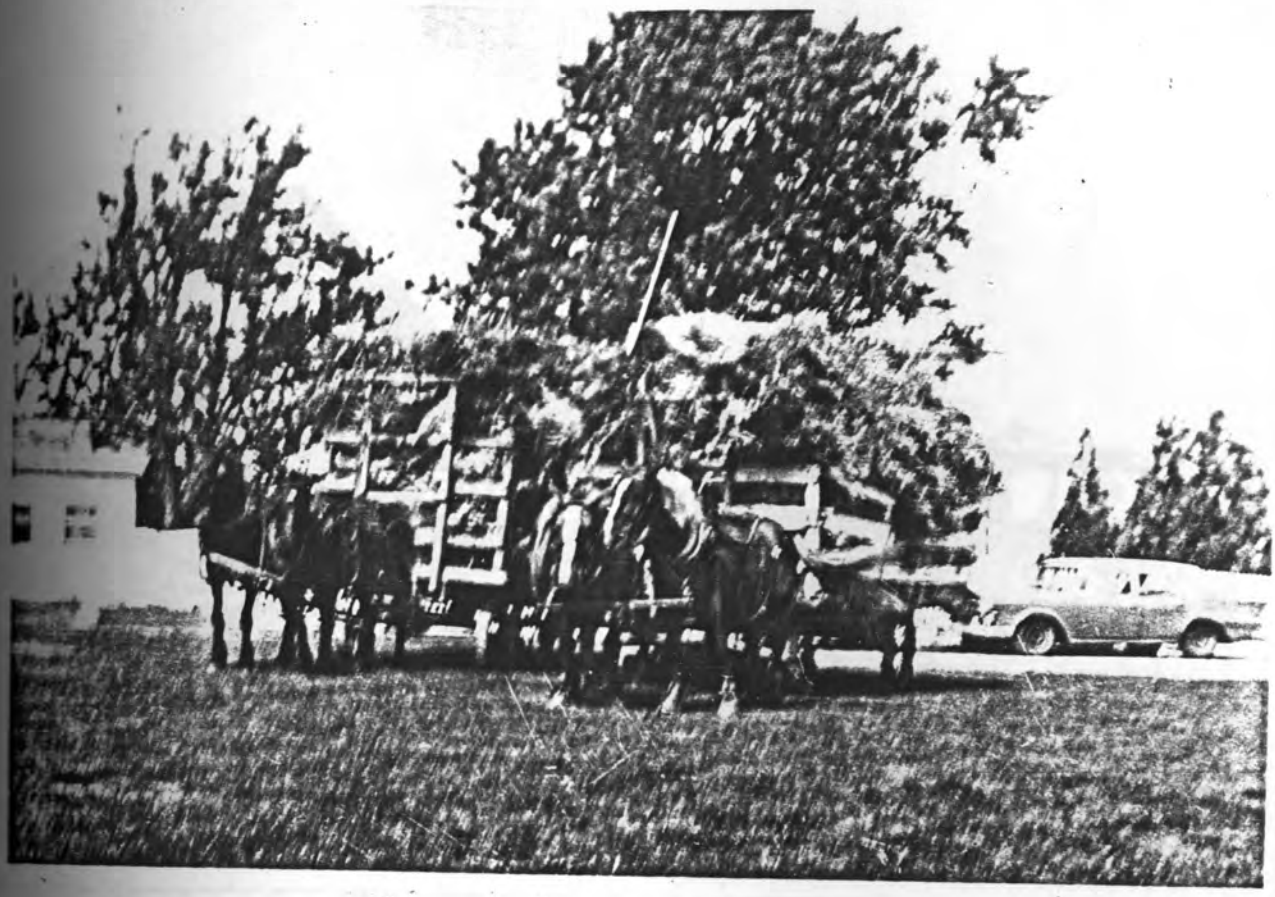
is disappearing from the Corn Belt. The Amish use heavy applications of barnyard manure for fertilizer. Both phosphorus and nitrogen are necessary for activation of the bacteria that decompose the tough cellulose in corn stalks. Manure is a good source of nitrogen, phosphorus, and other elements as well. In early spring oats are seeded with an endgate seeder mounted on a wagon. Discing cuts up the cornstalks and partially covers the oats. The legume mixture for hay and pasture is seeded separately. The faster growing oats shade the small legume and grass seedlings and compete with the weeds that would gain a foothold if legumes were seeded alone. Red clover is the leading legume. Solid stands of alfalfa are common. Various mixtures of mammoth and alsike clovers, lespedeza, trefoil. timothy, fescue, redtop, and orchard grass are used.

Wheat is not an important crop, but when it is grown, it is harvested in the same way as oats. A horse-drawn binder cuts the slightly underripe grain and ties the straw in bundles with heavy twine made of sisal. The bundles are then deposited in piles, set upright by hand, covered or "capped" with two sheaves, and allowed to dry in the shocks. The density of shocks in a field indicates the volume of straw produced and is usually a dependable indicator of the yield of grain as well. During July,

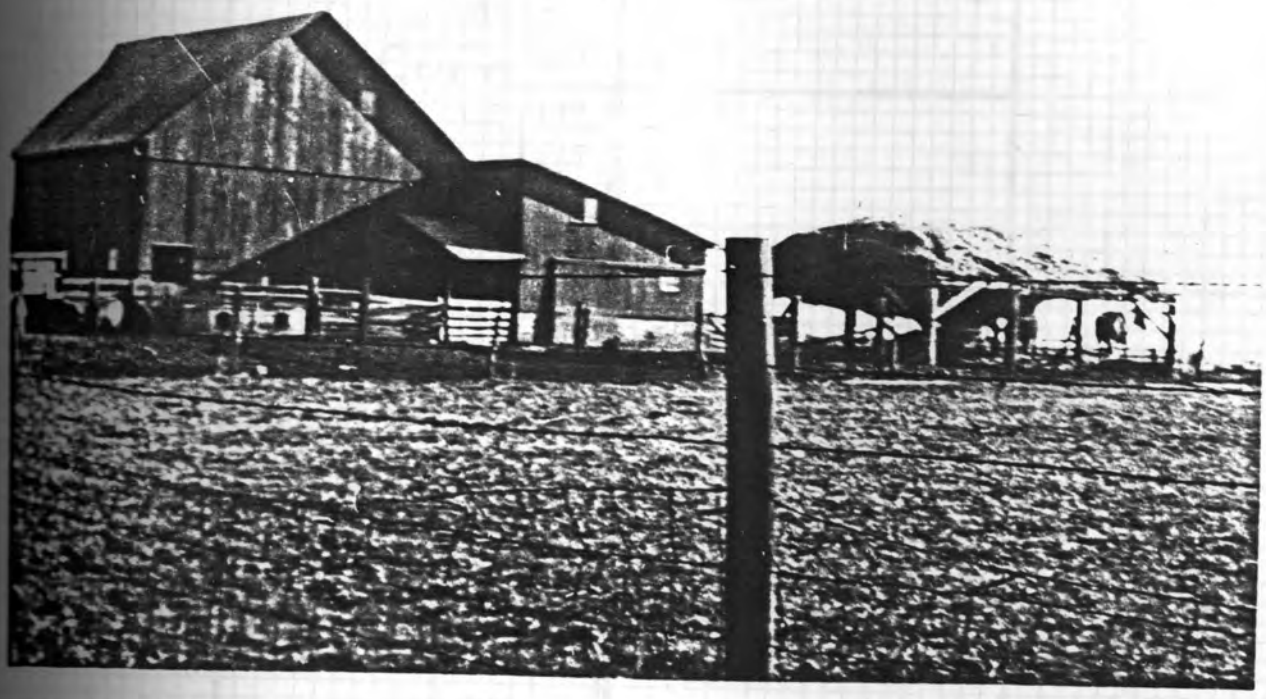
fields of small grains in shocks, a feature of the landscape to be found nowhere else in this part of the Corn Belt, can be seen in the Amish settlement and give it its special character.

Grain cut by a binder is threshed by a stationary machine. The threshing machine is hired on a custom basis. Sheaves are hauled from the fields on wagons with flat platforms instead of boxes, called "rack wagons". Loading the wagons and feeding the sheaves into the threshing machine is done by hand. Grain is not sacked as it comes from the spout. It is caught in a box wagon and scooped by hand into a grain bin in the barn or crib. The straw goes through a long spout equipped with a strong blower. A skillful thresher operator can build a compact, nearly waterproof stack of straw with excellent keeping qualities. Some farmers have their straw stacked on a pole shed consisting of four corner posts and a wire roof. Animals eating straw and rubbing around straw stacks cause the stack to collapse. The pole shed prevents trampling and wastage of straw by the livestock. It also serves as a rough shelter in winter and provides shade during the following summer. Many farms have barns with sufficient space in the second story, or haymow, for both hay and straw. The straw is blown directly into the haymow by the threshing machine. Big barns mark a farmstead equipped

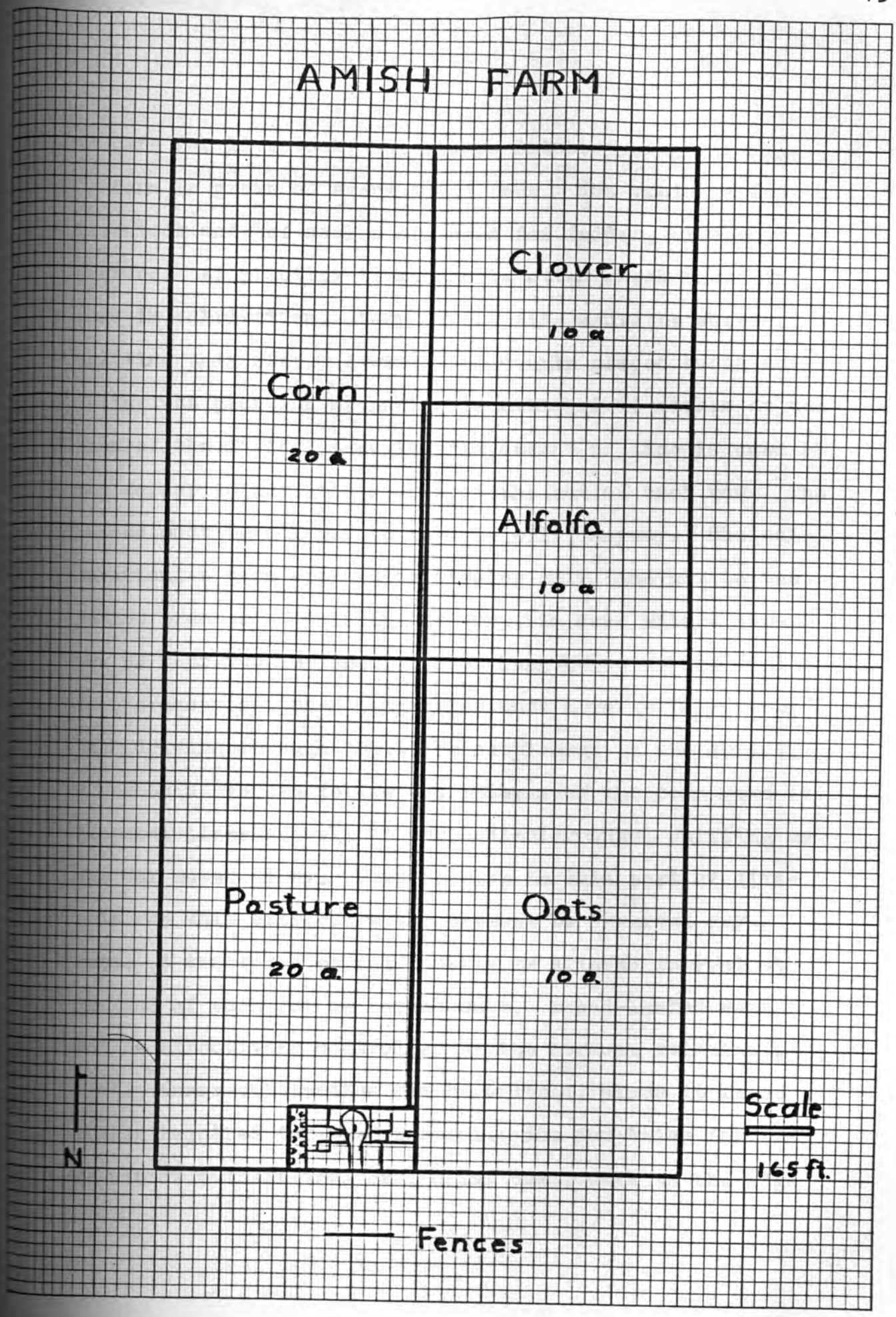
FIELD OF SHOCKED OATS. Having been cut with a horse-drawn binder, the oats cure and dry while awaiting threshing.



OATS ON RACK WAGONS. Wagon on left is pulled by black Percherons and one on right by sorrel Belgain draft horses. Three men loaded each wagon with the oats which now await their turn at the threshing machine. Permission to photograph the threshing machine in operation was refused.



STRAW SHED ON AMISH FARM. All straw except that on top of the frame has been consumed by livestock. Its shade is welcomed in summer on this recently constructed farmstead with no large trees.


AMISH FARM
Clover
10 a
Corn
20 a
Alfalfa
10 a
Pasture
20 a.
Oats
10 a.
N
Scale
165 ft.
Fences

to care for livestock, not always Amish.

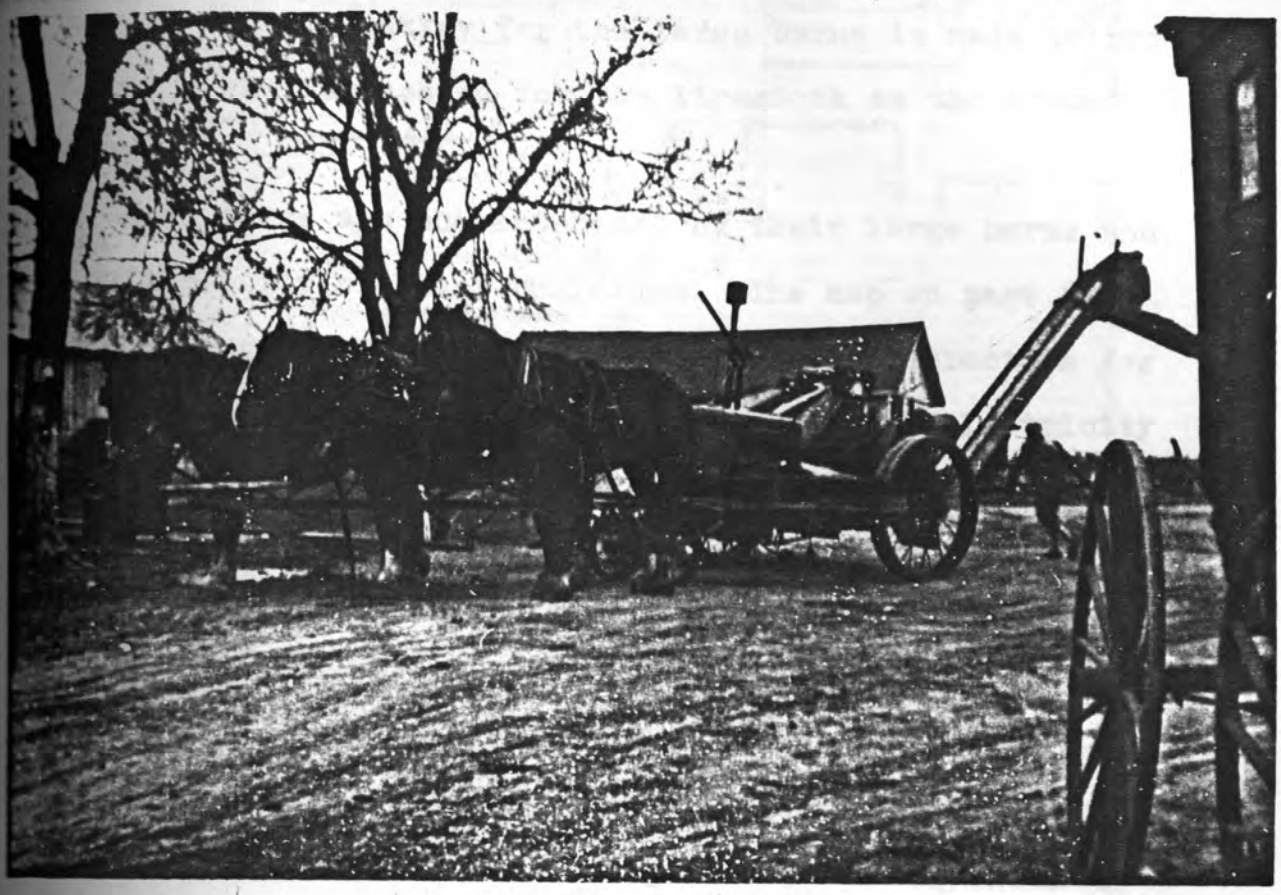
Corn is grown on every Amish farm. The grain is fed to livestock and the stalks are used for fodder, silage, or pasture. At planting time corn is often check-rowed for ease in cultivation. Very little time would be saved by omitting this step. A wire with evenly placed knots activating the planting mechanism is attached to stakes at the ends of the field. A negligible amount of time is used by the farmer to move the stakes at the end of each row. The horses must be allowed to rest briefly, anyway. The cultivation, a term applied to weeding only, and not to the entire process of raising the crop, is done with a two-row or four-row implement, first lengthwise of the field, then cross-wise, then lengthwise once more to "lay it by". When driving through the Amish settlement in the spring, a person's eye can follow the patterns of the corn rows in diagonal lines as well as perpendicular ones, shifting as the car moves along. Nowhere else in this part of Illinois can this attractive arrangement be observed any more. A tractor does not have to be allowed to rest at the end of each row as horses must. Broad-leafed weeds can be effectively controlled by the hormone stimulant, 2-4-D. Cross-cultivation can be omitted, since it is no longer required for weed control. The non-Amish farmers do not stop their tractors, climb down, walk to the edge

of the field, and move the stakes needed for check-rowing corn by means of a knotted wire.

Corn is picked by hand in most cases, but an Amishman who has no sons old enough to help him may get permission to use a mechanical picker pulled by horses. Models with their own motors that were designed to be pulled by light tractors can be adapted for use with horse power. Corn is stored in the ear and dried by the elements. Field picker-shellers and artificial driers are innovations that are undesirable for use by the Amish; the corn stalks are broken up so thoroughly by the machine that they are much less valuable for pasturage. Spoilage of stored corn is seldom a problem since most of it is fed on the farm and is not stored for protracted periods.

Several acres of corn are used for silage on many Amish farms. Field choppers pulled by horses save the hand labor formerly used to cut the corn, but there is still need for many man-hours of labor at silo-filling time. Work is exchanged among neighbors, and sons are frequently forced to miss school to help out with filling the silo at home even if it means sacrificing otherwise perfect attendance records.

Haying requires much hand labor, also. Most hay is stored in loose form, since its bulk is no disadvantage and baling would necessitate a cash expenditure. Many



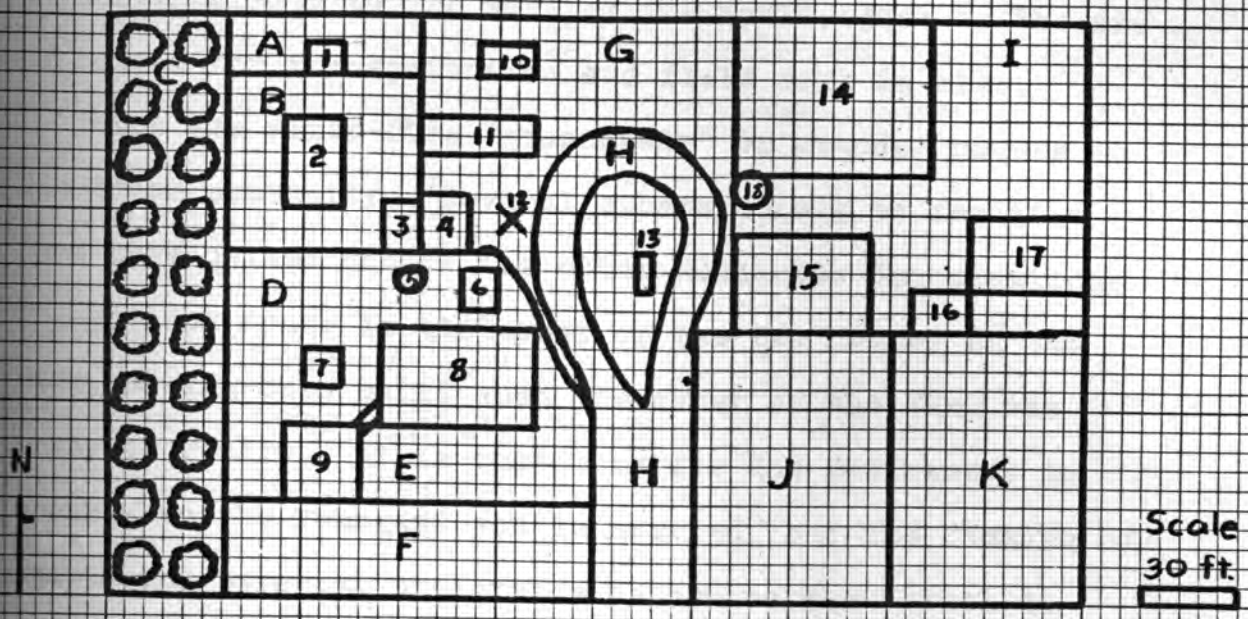
HORSE-DRAWN CORN PICKER. A labor-saving device has been adapted for utilization of horse power instead of tractor power.

Many farms have barns with sufficient space in the second story, or haymow, for both loose hay and straw. The extensive capital outlay for the large barns is made to provide the shelter needed for the livestock on the ground floor.

Amish farms are characterized by their large barns and a multiplicity of other buildings. The map on page 80 is a composite of several farms. The use of tractors for field work and the use of alternating current electricity is forbidden by the Amish church. Labor saving devices which do not fall into either of those categories are in general use. Most Amish farms have windmills for pumping water. Anyone who has ever pumped enough water by hand to fill a large watering trough knows what a convenience windmills are. A gasoline engine or stationary Deisel motor furnishes power for feed grinder, milking machine, the milk cooler required by milk marketing regulations, and for pumping water if the weather fails to supply enough free motivation.

The lack of lead-in wires from the electric and telephone lines is one of the special marks of the Amish farmsteads and can be used as a criterion for their identification. A ban was placed on both of these inventions when they were coming into general use many years ago. Refusal to have either of them is one of the many examples

AMISH FARMSTEAD

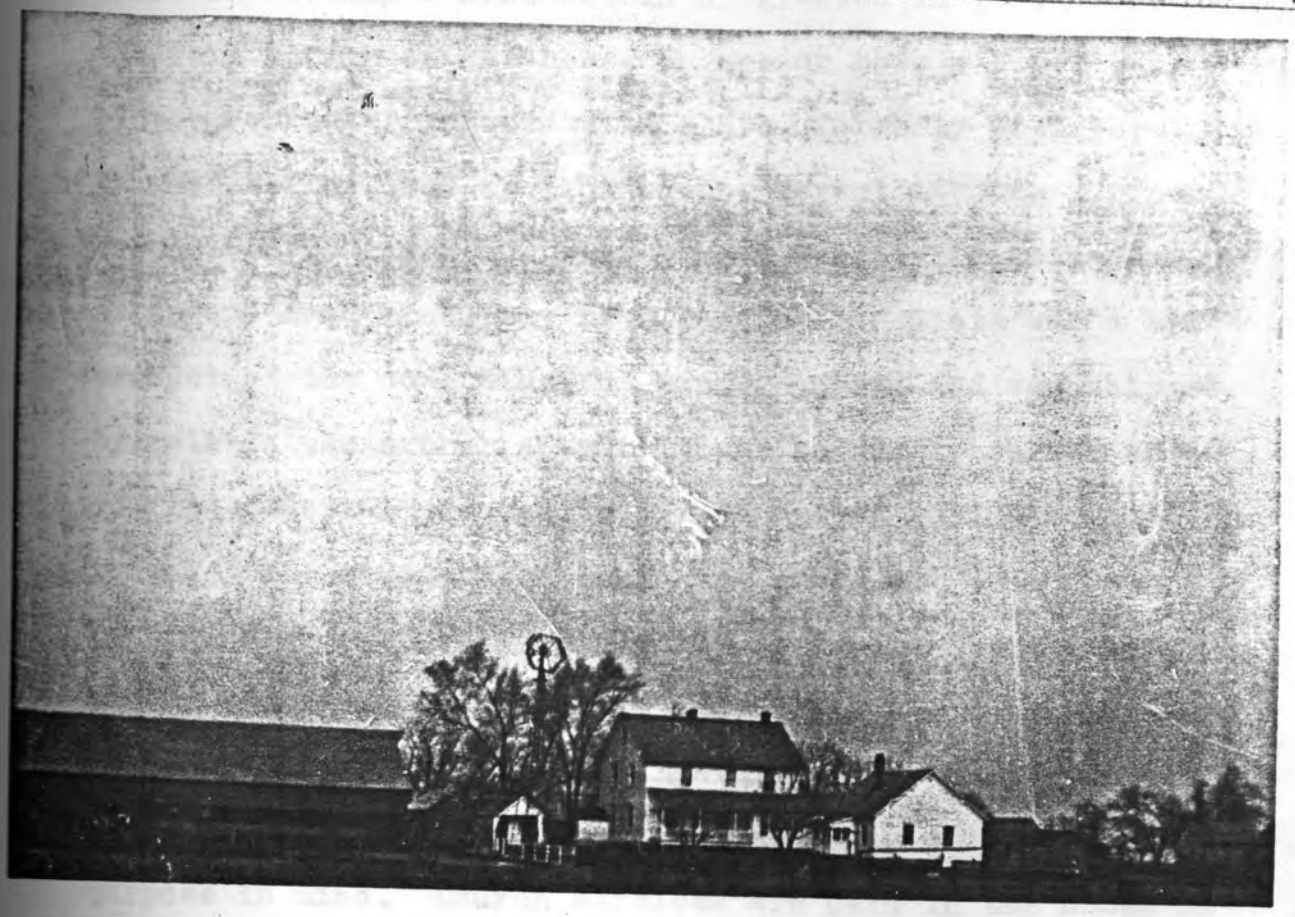


1, 3. Brooder House
2. Hen House
4. Coal and Cob House
5. Water Supply Tower
6. Wash House
7. Glazed Block Cellar
8. Dwelling
9. Grandpa House
10. Cider Mill
11. Tool Shed
12. Windmill
13. Scales
14. Barn
15. Grain Crib
16. Hog House
17. Implement Shed
18. Silo

A. Baby Chick Run
B. Hen Yard
C. Orchard
D. Back Yard
E. Front Yard
F. Grandpa's Garden
G. Barn Lot
H. Driveway, Crushed Rock
I. Hog Lot
J. Garden
K. Pasture

of nonconformity to the ways of the world, just as the use of horses for transportation and field work is also.

There are sixty-five "grossdawdy" or grandpa houses in the Amish community. Several others belong to families that have joined one of the other Mennonite denominations. The grandpa house is the newer of the two houses on the farm, having been built when the owner of the farm was ready to retire. It is customary for the retirement to occur when the youngest son is married, but the factors of health and personal preference determine the actual decision. As a rule, the grandpa house is considerably smaller than the main dwelling house. It is most definitely not a little cottage for the occupation of newly-weds, as is thought. The farmer's wife retires from the strenuous duties of caring for a large house, providing meals for the extra hands, and preparing to entertain and cater for her church district every few months, when her husband retires from active field work. She moves into the small new house and turns the more strenuous duties over to the young woman. Common sense dictates that the young family that has every intention of increasing continuously for many years is the one which needs the big house. Most of the grandpa houses are connected to the big house by a covered arcade.



AN AMISH FARMSTEAD. The enormous barn, numerous other buildings, windmill, large dwelling, Grandpa house, and absence of lead-in wires for telephone or electricity identify the Amish farmstead.

The style of architecture of the Amish house is distinctive. They are ell-shaped or rectangular with two stories. There is usually a screened-in or glassed in porch running the full length of the house on one or both sides. Many of the houses are roofed with slate, formerly an important criterion, but freight costs prevent its use for new houses at present. The slate roofs were built years ago, or second-hand slate may have been used. Slate was a by-product of the coal mines of eastern Ohio, and was shipped by rail to the Arthur area. It was so highly valued as a roofing material because of its durability and fire resistance.[1] The clusters of large buildings out on the open prairie are especially vulnerable to damage by lightning, but by some devious reasoning incomprehensible to outsiders, the church has put a ban on lightning rods.

The entire design of the Amish house is made with one purpose in mind. Church services are held in the homes of the members. The downstairs rooms, with the exception of the kitchen, are planned to accommodate the congregation. Folding walls or sliding walls are not common, if they exist, in the Arthur vicinity. The floor plan of the house is arranged so that a person can be seen, or at least can be heard, in three rooms from a doorway near the center of the house. The preachers[2] stand in that doorway while

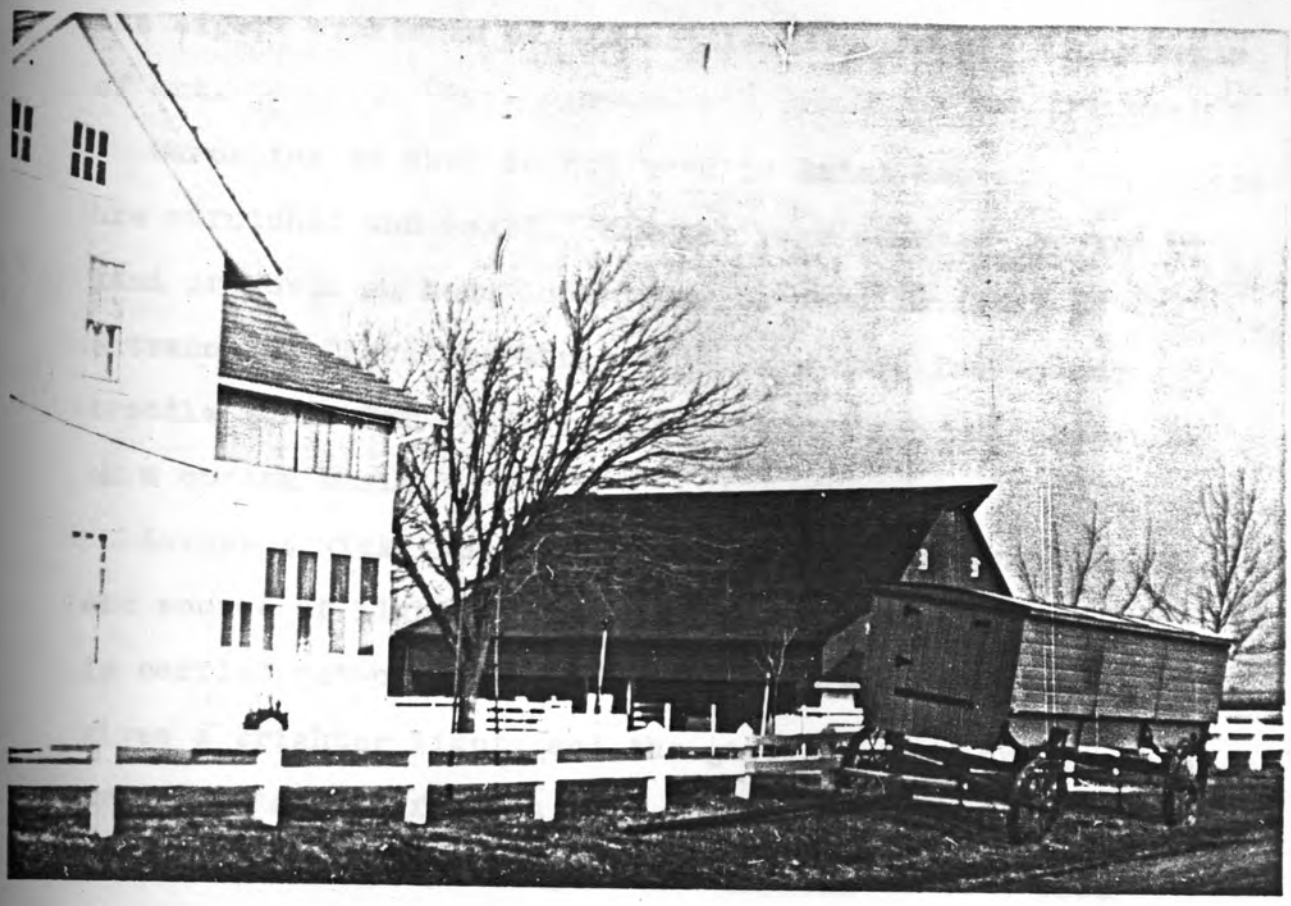
[1] Interview with Eli M. Otto, July 21, 1961

[2] Three preachers speak in turn at each church service.

addressing the congregation. The people sit on benches for the long church services. The ten-foot backless benches are collapsible for ease in transportation from one residence to another. They are transported and stored between services in a covered vehicle built especially for that purpose. The presence of the bench wagon in a driveway shows that church services were held at that home within the previous two weeks, or are scheduled to be held there on the coming Sunday. Church services are held on alternate Sundays.

Window shades on rollers or Venetian blinds are not used in Amish homes. A single curtain is hung on a small, straight fixture attached at the top of the window casing. The curtain is made of plain colored material with no pleats, fullness, or ruffles, and is usually unbleached white or royal blue in color. During the day it is draped to one side, and at night it hangs straight serving as a closed shade and drawn drapery together.

The interiors of the houses present an austere effect. The walls are finished with grooved ceiling boards like the ceilings, and painted a solid color. There are no pictures except the ones on the current calendars which have a utilitarian value. There is usually a china cupboard, however, with glass doors in the upper section. In it the colored glass and china dishes so cherished by



THE BENCH WAGON. Each church district owns benches for the use of its members and their families. Between services, benches are stored and transported in the bench wagon.

Amish housewives are attractively arranged. Many of the cupboards were made by hand in the shop of one or another of the expert craftsmen of the settlement, and are truly works of art.

Carpeting as such is not used in Amish homes. The floors are varnished and waxed. Scatter rags of rags, hooked by hand or woven on hand looms, may be used in front of the entrances. There are three women who have four-harness treadle looms for weaving twenty-seven inch rag carpeting on a custom basis.

Kerosene wick-type lamps are the most dependable and common source of light in the houses, and a kerosene lantern is carried out-of-doors. The kerosene mantle-type lamp gives a brighter light, and the gasoline lamp and lantern are still more effective, but the mantles are extremely delicate and easily damaged. It is well to have wick-type lamps ready to use in case of an accident to the mantles. The glass chimneys which wick-type lamps require are not so perishable as mantles are. A people whose universal custom is early rising could make good use of cheap, efficient electric lighting, particularly in winter. The Mennonites, Conservatives and Beachy Amish have brilliantly lighted homes and farmsteads. Several of them have the electronically activated security lights for night lighting which have recently gained popularity in this rural area.

Water is provided by drilled or dug wells from thirty to three hundred feet deep. A fairly dependable aquifier in glacial till is usually found without too much difficulty, yet every home of the eleven families who answered an informal questionnaire has a cistern. The soft water is used for laundry, bathing, and dishwashing. Six of the eleven homes have running water, but only one has a water heater. Pressure is obtained by pumping the water into an overhead supply tank located in the attic or in an outside tower. Freezing of piping in winter is prevented by allowing the water to trickle from a tap. Ten of the eleven homes have sinks. The six homes with running water have bathrooms, and the five homes without running water have outdoor toilets.

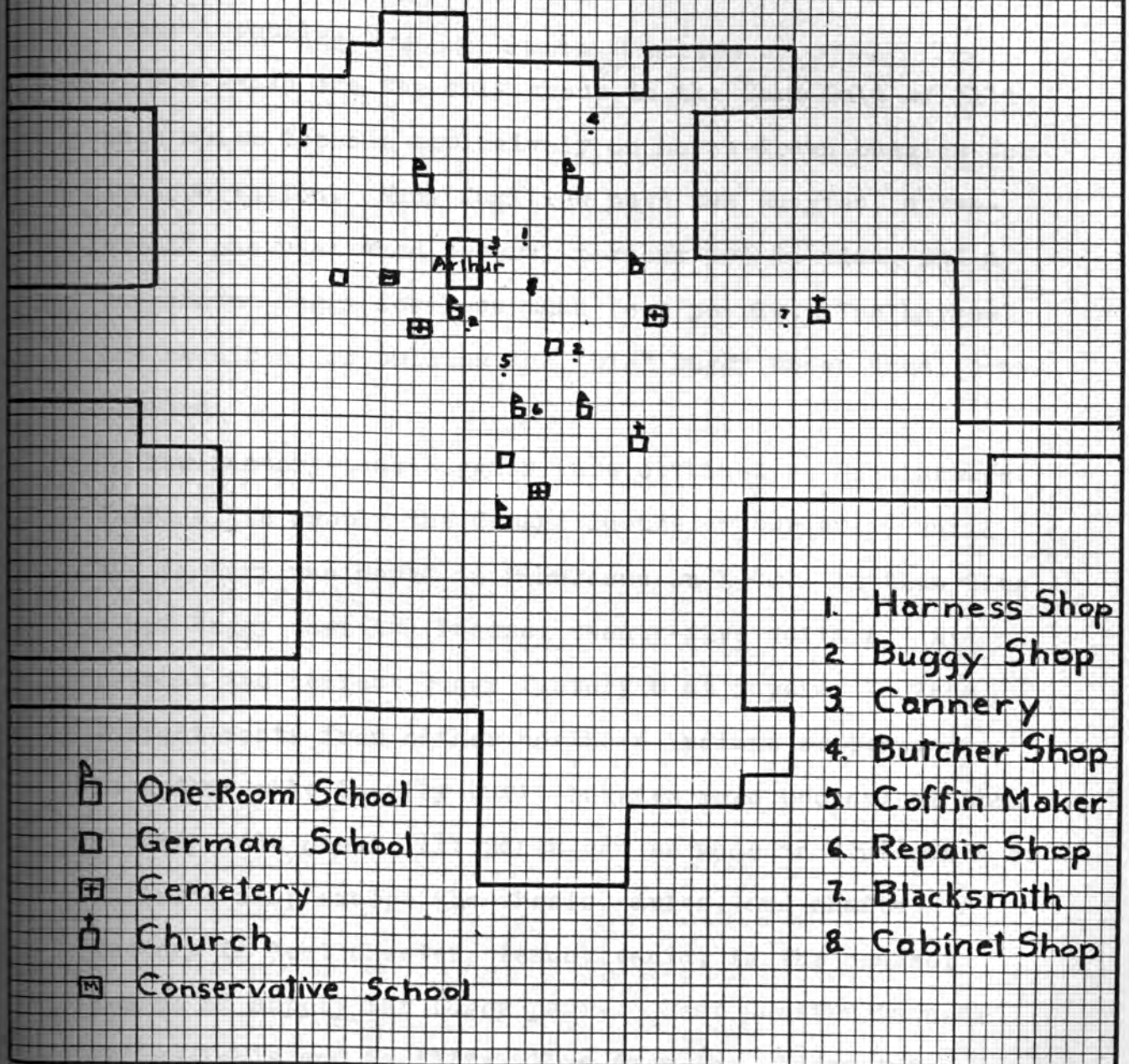
The large vegetable garden is the special domain of the farmer's wife. Fresh vegetables make a valuable contribution to the family's diet in summer. Hundreds of quarts of vegetables, vegetable juices, fruits and meats are canned. There is always room for rows of flowers, also. Zinnias and coxcomb are favorites, but many others are grown as well. Small fruits are grown where possible. Strawberries are nearly universal. In favorable seasons strawberries provide fresh fruit and are canned or made into jams and jellies. Raspberries are subject to blights and canes must be replaced frequently. Blackberries grow wild in the

woods. Some apples are grown, but they require spraying. Retired farmers with spray rigs mounted on spring wagons make rounds of customers. Some peaches are grown, and the crop is supplemented by purchased fruit for canning.

In summary, the Amish farm can be identified by its small size, well-fenced fields, comparatively large percentage of land in crops other than corn, omission of soybeans from the crop rotation, small grains cut with a binder, shocked, and threshed, straw stacks, presence of large numbers of livestock, particularly dairy cows, and unique draft horses. The farmstead has most or all of these features: a large barn, a large house with a slate roof and windows curtained with a single straight full-length piece of plain material, grandpa house, many smaller buildings, windmill, large garden, fruit trees, and absence of lightning rods, electric wiring, and telephone lines.

SPECIAL FACILITIES IN VICINITY OF ARTHUR

USED OR PROVIDED BY AMISH-MENNONITES



Amish Industries Other Than Farming. The location of industries operated by Amish and facilities used by Amish is shown on the map, page 89. Industries are of two types: those which supply special needs of the Amish population and those offering custom food processing service to the general public.

The Amish are the only group in the Corn Belt of Illinois which depends exclusively on horse-drawn buggies for transportation. Many families have two buggies, a two-seated one used when several persons are to ride, and a one-seated buggy for less than four people. Two horses are required for pulling the "big" buggy under usual conditions.

New factory-made buggies were obtained at Huntingburg, Indiana, to supply the demand in the Arthur area, until the factory was moved to Tennessee in 1940. At that time a new buggy cost two hundred twenty-five dollars. At present the nearest buggy factory is at Topeka, Indiana. Freight costs from either northern Indiana or Tennessee to Arthur make locally built buggies more economical than factory made ones. All parts can be made in Stutzman's or Miller's shop except the wheels, axles, and shafts. A factory in West Chester, Pennsylvania, is the nearest source of supply for buggy parts. West Chester is near Philadelphia and is fifty miles from the oldest Amish

A NEW ENTERPRISE. The location of Mr. Menno A. Miller's new shop on Route 133 east of Arthur makes it easily accessible to the public. An aptitude for cabinet making is common among the Amish.

Harness is of two types, "work" harness and "buggy" harness. The work harness is made of thick leather cut in wide strips to withstand hard wear. Buggy harness is much lighter in weight. Sets of harness can be bought ready-made from the mail order companies, but most of the Amish patronize the two local harness makers.

Many Amish farmers have well-equipped farm shops with both wood-working and metal-working tools, including acetylene welders. Some do minor repairs for their neighbors. A full-time repair shop gives work to three persons. Many types of horse-drawn implements can no longer be purchased. It requires a good deal of ingenuity to adapt the implements that were made for use with tractor power so that those tools can be operated with horse power. The implements are designed to be mounted on small tractors; these are most easily altered for use with horses. Second-hand horse-drawn implements are obtained whenever possible. Representatives from the Amish settlement hire a taxi and make long trips to public sales where such implements are advertised. Patching up and using the implements that they now have is not only a matter of thrift in most cases, but is also a necessity.[1]

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[1] Interview with Howard Phillips, July 24, 1961

The other craftsmen that are patronized by Amish only are the coffin maker and tombstone engraver. The coffins are made of wood, are quite shallow, and have a plain lining. In shape, the coffins are very similar to an Egyptian mummy case: widest at the shoulder, pointed at the top, and tapering toward the bottom. The law requires that a licensed embalmer be employed. During World War II, the undertakers could no longer take time to do the work in the homes, and since then they no longer go out in the rural areas'. The undertaker does not assist with the funerals or burials. The family brings the body to be embalmed and takes care of it after the undertaker is finished with his work. The three cemeteries owned by the Amish are shown on the map, page 89.

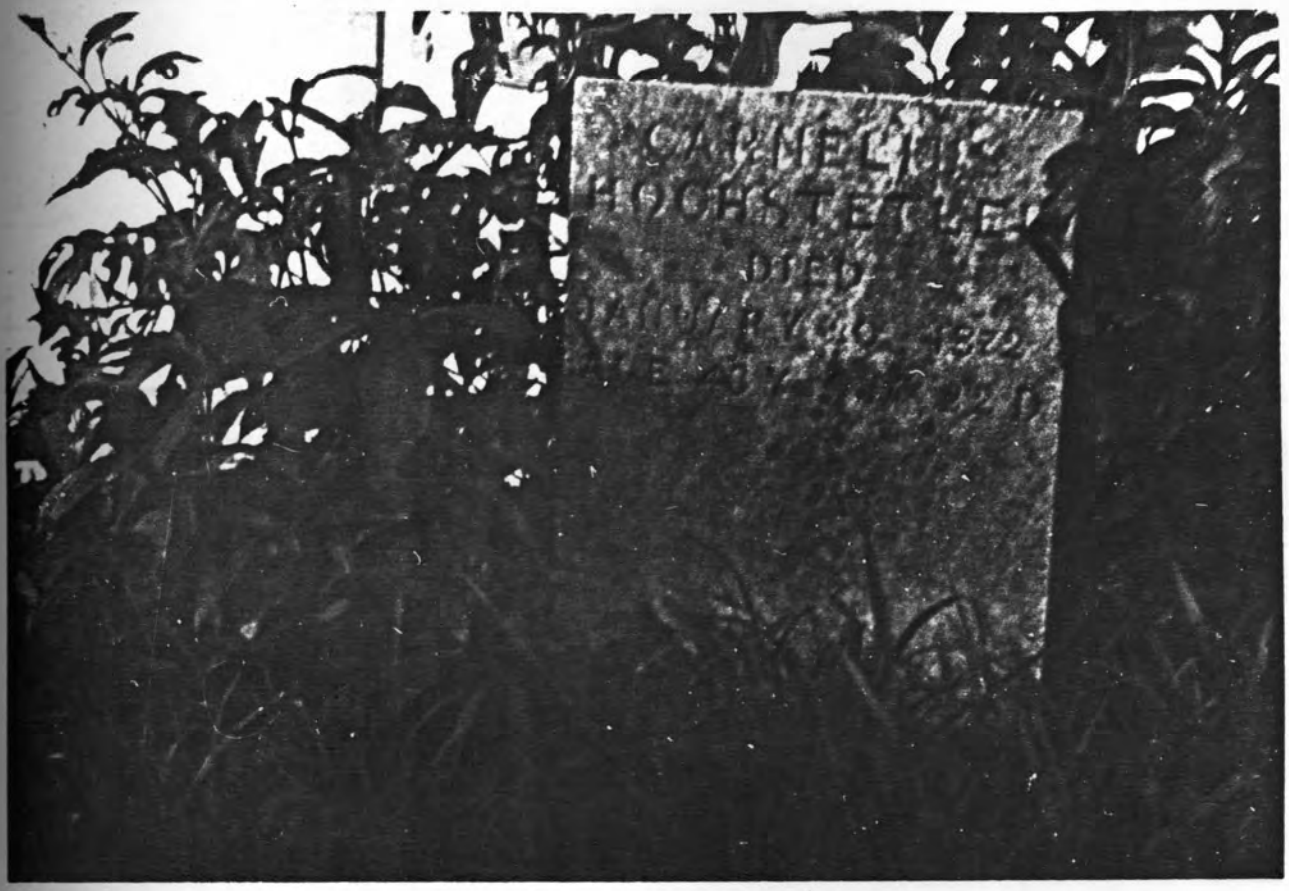
The sandstone tombstones used by the Amish are ordered from Indiana. Absolutely identical stones cannot be obtained, but all the stones are very similar. An elaborate or impressive tombstone would indicate the cardinal sin of pride, even after death. The lettering is done by hand by a local craftsman. After Mr. David Troyer retired a few years ago, the engraving work was taken over by Mr. Menno Chupp. There is a little Dunkard cemetery on the north side of Route 133, three-fourths mile east of Arthur. That denomination is somewhat similar to Amish and their headstones are similar in design to the ones used in the Amish cemeteries. Three years ago all the

stones in the three Amish cemeteries were painted white. One Mennonite couple whose young son was buried in an Amish cemetery before they left the Amish church tried to get permission to place a conventional granite marker at his grave. Permission was refused, and they moved the body to the public cemetery. In many cases, the deceased are buried in rows in the order of their deaths instead of in family groups as is the custom elsewhere.[1]

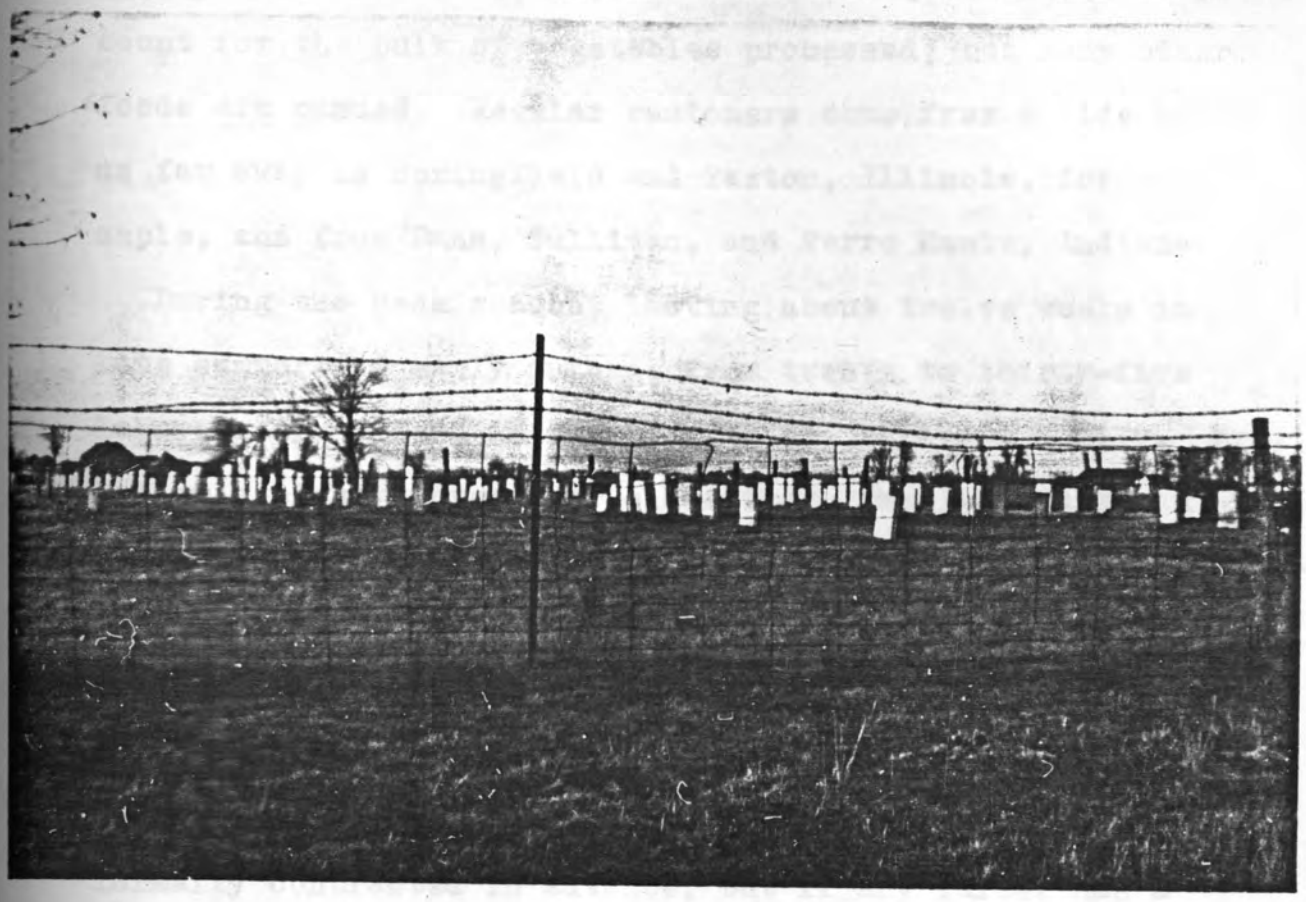
Food Processing Industries. Two business enterprises are operated by Amish, offering services to the general public, and utilizing some of the abundant local labor supply for processing of food. Miller's Custom Cannery has been operated by Mr. Eli Miller for the past six years, but there has been at least one cannery operated by Amish owners in the Arthur area since 1930. Since sweet corn is one of the leading products canned locally, canneries without automatic machinery for husking and cutting corn off the cob have not been able to stay in business. The last operator to attempt to use hand labor and second-hand processing equipment was in business for only two seasons, 1956-57.

Millers' Cannery used an average of 400,000 No. 2 tin cans during each of the last six years. A charge of 9½¢ per can is made to customers who bring product to be canned,

[1] Mennonite Encyclopedia, p. 539



EARLY SETTLER'S TOMBSTONE. Mr. Carnelius Hochstetler accompanied the first group of Amish immigrants to Illinois. His tombstone resembles the ones the Amish use.



AMISH CEMETERY. Three cemeteries, each one-half mile from the public road, are maintained by the Amish. Marble tombstones are simple and unpretentious.

regardless of the type of product. In fact, anything the customer brings will be canned with the exception of Irish potatoes which will not be accepted for canning unless they are already peeled. Corn, tomatoes, and green beans account for the bulk of vegetables processed, but many other foods are canned. Regular customers come from a wide area, as far away as Springfield and Paxton, Illinois, for example, and from Dana, Sullivan, and Terre Haute, Indiana.

During the peak season, lasting about twelve weeks in late summer and early autumn, from twenty to thirty-five laborers are hired, in addition to Mr. Miller's family. Mrs. Miller's eighty-three year old father, who fired a steam engine in his youth, stokes the steam boiler. After the vegetable season is over, meat is canned. The season for canning meat ends April 1, but the office is open the year round for selling case lots of canned products. Marketing is not done in any other way. No acreage of vegetables is formally contracted in advance, but if any farmer has a surplus of good quality produce, Mr. Miller will buy it for canning.

The more important retail product is canned meat. Both chicken and beef are boned, packed in broth, and canned. The beef is canned without regard to the cut of the carcass, the filet mignon being thrown right in with the neck, flank, and chuck. It is all equally tender after processing and

is a delicious product. At 85¢ per No. 2 can, it is also an excellent bargain.

Mr. Rudy D. Otto operates a custom and retail butcher shop for the winter months. When the business was started in 1955, the family did all the work in the basement of their house. In 1956 their glazed tile shop was built for their enterprise that had already grown to proportions much greater than they had expected. The family, consisting of three daughters and a son-in-law besides five school-aged children, can no longer do all the work. One woman is hired full time during the butchering season, from November 1 to March 31, and three men and four women help on two days a week.

At present, the retail business is twice as much as the custom demand for preparation of meat for freezers. The amount varies from week to week, but the average in 1962 was five hogs and three beeves butchered on a custom basis. The retail business was especially brisk during the last three weeks of March as closing time was approaching. On one weekend, 625 pounds of hamburger were sold. During the entire season, an average of eight to ten hogs and four to six beeves were sold over the counter in retail cuts and an additional one and one-half carcasses in halves or quarters were sold to be put in freezers.

A wood fire is used to heat water for the scalding vat, and also to smoke the bologna sausage that is a specialty

of the shop. However, hams and bacon are cured and smoked for Otto's by the locker plant at Atwood. By retailing a quality product, the family has built up a large clientele of regular customers. Their fresh pork sausage has a reputation of being the only sausage available that requires shortening to prevent its sticking in the pan while cooking. Customers come from a wide area fifty miles in radius; many of them were directed to the butcher shop by the operator of the cannery.

A rendering company from Decatur picks up the offalls, bones, and tallow, which is discarded, twice a week. Only a nominal payment is made, but at least no charge has to be paid for the service. A truck calls for the hides and hauls them to Springfield, where 7¢ to 12¢ per pound is paid for them. A Deisel engine supplies power for the cooler, grinder, saw, and pump, as well as for the milking machine, at a cost of 50¢ per day.[1]

In addition to industries and public services patronized exclusively by Amish, and to services offered to the general public by Amish businessmen, other business enterprises in the Arthur area depend in varying degrees on Amish patronage. Some representatives of such businesses will be mentioned briefly.

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[1] Interview with Sarah Ann Otto and Mrs. Rudy D. Otto, April 21, 1962

The owner of Kutz's Market in Chesterville has a retail grocery store and also operates two huckster wagons. Each customer on two routes, covering an area with about a ten mile radius, is called on twice weekly, and an additional route is serviced once a week. A complete line of groceries is carried, including frozen products. The delivery service was not inaugurated, nor is it maintained as a special service to Amish patrons, but at least three-fourths of the customers are Amish.[1]

In 1930, the Pevely Dairy Company of St. Louis opened a cheese factory in Arthur. A group of Amish investors, under the leadership of George Marner, bought the equipment and kept the cheese factory going when the Pevely Company withdrew. In 1942, the Sugar Creek Company bought the equipment and there are no Amish stockholders at the present time. Amish farmers supply approximately one-fourth of the milk processed daily, and are not a determining factor in the maintenance of the factory in Arthur. Truck routes to Marshall, Monticello and Chrisman use Arthur as a central gathering point.[2]

The Arthur Auction Company, located one-half mile north of Arthur, holds a consignment sale of livestock, household goods, farm products, and machinery every Wednesday

[1] Interview with Albert Kutz, April 18, 1962

[2] Interview with W. T. Gray, April 21, 1962

that is much like many others in Central Illinois. However, on the third Saturday of each month a horse auction is held with at least half of its volume of business supplied by Amish patrons, both buyers and sellers. People who are interested in horses come from as far away as Iowa and Ohio to buy and sell draft horses. Only a few trotters, racing stock that failed to make the grade on the tracks, are sold in Arthur. Prices are surprisingly high. $625 was paid for one team in January, 1962 at the Arthur sale, but the record was paid in Indianapolis for a matched pair of blonde Belgian geldings. They were four years old and well broken, and were raised just south of Arthur by an Amish farmer. They brought $1800. Both the weekly sale and the horse sale are well attended, serving as social events and providing entertainment for most of those present, as well as being a market place. Anyone who wishes to observe the Amish men and boys in a spontaneous public situation should attend the horse auction.[1]

Community Adaptations to the Amish Population. The ubiquitous horse and buggy demands a surprising amount of special consideration. Most of the drivers of automobiles who use the secondary roads are familiar with them. The time elapsing when approaching those slow-moving vehicles is so brief and the reaction of the driver and horse to

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[1] Interview with Gene Hollenbeck, April 28, 1962

the signal to pull over is agonizingly slow. There have been all too many collisions of buggies with cars. Nearly all of the collisions occurred on asphalt surfaced road or on the paved highway. It is particularly dangerous for a buggy to be in the path of an auto approaching from the rear and meeting another at the same time. If the former driver cannot slow down quickly enough, he faces the choice of striking the buggy from the rear or colliding head-on with the approaching car. Therefore, the state highway department has graded and oiled the shoulders on Route 133 from a point one mile east of Chesterville to a point five miles west of Arthur. There are warning signs along the highway at intervals between these points. From the map it can be seen that an extension of the signs should be made to the east. Nothing except prudence forces the Amishman to use the shoulder. Ease and speed are so much greater on the pavement. Often safety is sacrificed unwisely. Most of the accidents have happened to buggies using the pavement instead of the shoulder.

When the horse and buggy arrive at their destination, a "parking" place must be found. When the street where the old hitchrack was located was widened a few years ago, the hitchrack was removed. A covered hitchrack was built on East Progress Street with funds donated by local businessmen and the State Bank of Arthur. It has space for

SIGN WARNING MOTORISTS OF TRAFFIC HAZARD. Horse-drawn vehicles create a traffic hazard and risk danger when using the paved highways.

twenty buggies. It is filled on Saturday afternoons, and the overflow fills the open hitchrack near the elevator also.

There is a public telephone booth adjoining the sidewalk in the center of town. Many Amish patronize it when they have business to transact that can be expedited by quick communications. In cases of emergencies at their homes when a doctor, veternarian, or the fire department must be summoned quickly, permission is obtained to use a non-Amish neighbor's telephone. The privilege is seldom abused and tolls for long distance calls are never left unpaid.

Local stores keep in stock many items used exclusively by the Amish, such as men's and boys' black felt hats, kerosene and gasoline lamps and parts, and coal or wood-burning stoves. Women and girls complain that the plain black oxfords preferred for their durability and simplicity are hard to get at reasonable prices.

The one-room school is an anachronism, especially in a heavily populated rural area where transportation facilities are adequate. Cases when roads are impassable are isolated and rare. Nevertheless, there are seven one-room schools in the Arthur Community Unit District with pupils in grades one through eight. One attendance center has two rooms with four grades taught in each. In 1957 Amish

COVERED HITCHRACK IN ARTHUR. Both sides of the double hitchrack are filled on Saturday afternoons. Buggies here are one-seated type.

parents rejected a proposal that a single attendance center be built for the use of Amish pupils, by a vote of two to one. Economic considerations were probably paramount. Spiraling taxation rates put an excessive burden on the livestock farmer. The Amish were understandingly reluctant to obligate themselves to pay more. Other objections were based on sociological and personal reasons. Amish parents prefer for their children to be in the same room so that the timid youngsters can be encouraged, and protected from hurt feelings, by their siblings. A check can be kept on the child inclined to be impertinent, also. Parents frequently express the opinion that having large numbers of children at one location would increase discipline problems. Such considerations are very trivial points, of course, and serve to camouflage the basic objection to the idea of one large attendance center. It has been a tradition of the Amish parents that their children will be sent to elementary school and will then be allowed to stay at home, or be kept at home, to help with the work. The help is welcome enough, but it is keeping the group separate and intact that is the concern of the Amish parents. Acculturation is not an objective the Amish desire. The English population has no real compulsion to force acculturation upon them. Warner says,"One of the most important factors in the acculturation in this

rural area was the establishment of a community high school in Jonesville. As long as generations of Norwegians '(Amish)' grew up out in the country and attended only the rural grade schools, first hand contact with Yankees '(non-Amish)' were at a minimum."[1]

The Amish do not want to send their children to high school, and they feel that the construction of a large attendance center would be a prelude to increased pressure for teen-aged Amish boys and girls to attend until they reach sixteen years of age at least. In Ohio and Pennsylvania "Amish Vocational Schools" have been organized to meet the attendance requirements of those states. The Amish in the Arthur area prefer to keep things as they are now, educationally, and to use teen-aged pupils' time for learning to read and write German instead of the curriculum offered in the public high school.

Justification of the Amish rural attendance centers cannot be made on the basis of inaccessibility of the rural residences. The rural school buildings do have one very real deficiency, a lack of plumbing. Sinks are provided for washing hands, but the water must be carried inside in buckets and heated on hot plates. All buildings have electricity but none has a telephone. Quality of instruction cannot be evaluated here, but the rural locations

[1] William Lloyd Warner, Democracy in Jonesville, Harper, New York, N.Y., 1949, p. 246

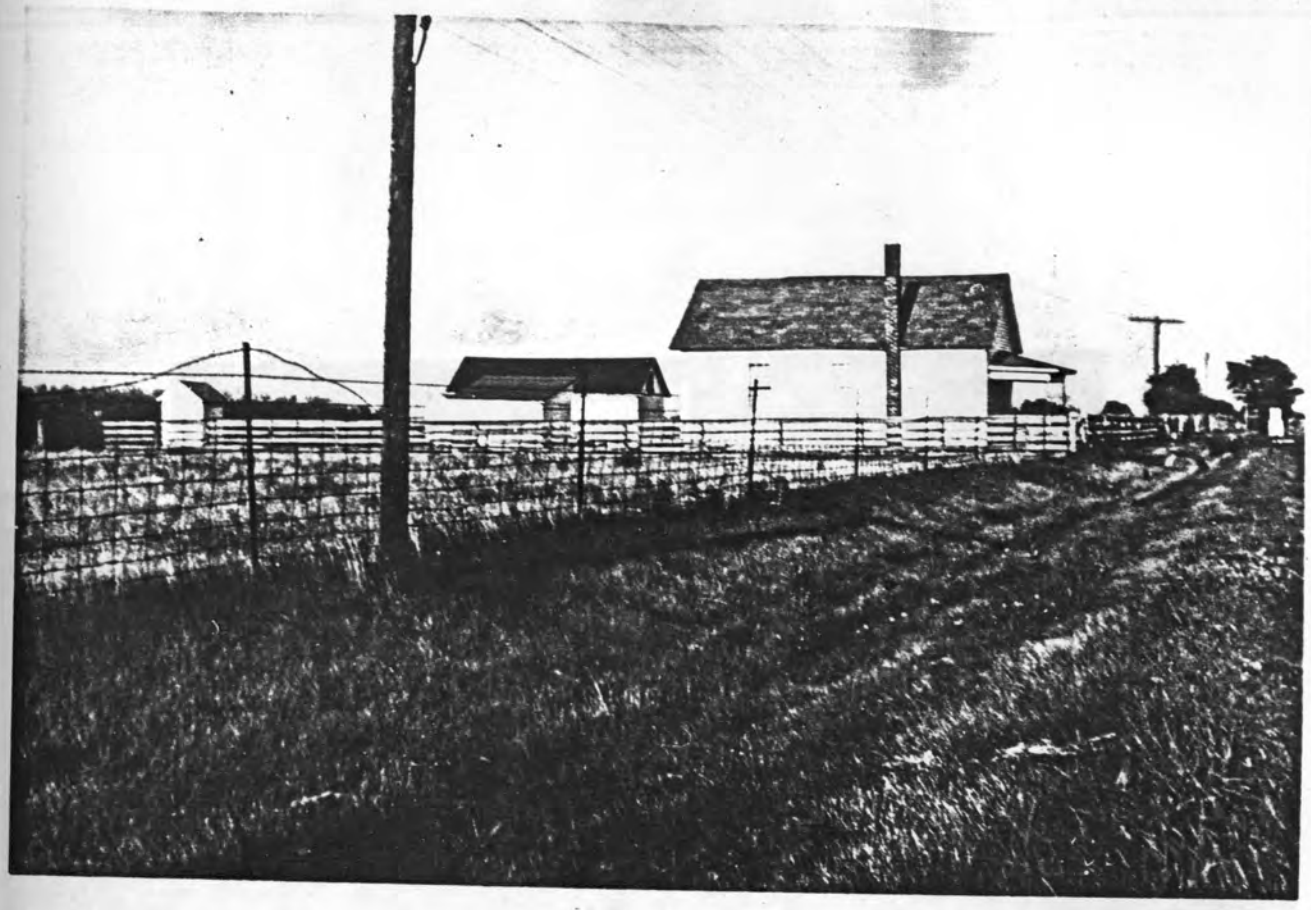
ONE-ROOM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. Nine such attendance centers at eight locations offer eight grades to a total enrollment of 232 in the school year 1961-62.

have some advantages, For example, interruptions are infrequent, and standing in line is not necessary more than once a day.

To persons unacquainted with the Amish denomination, the situation which forces the boys and girls to secure only an eighth-grade rural school education and then to drop out of school, seems at first glance to be one of discrimination and segregation. The State Department of Public Instruction could not condone such conditions if they existed. Recognition by the Department must be obtained before a consolidated district can receive its share of the distributive fund. Therefore the ultimate disposition of the problem is in the hands of the state officials. In many states Old Order Amish, Conservatives, and Mennonites have met the problem of controlling their children"s education by establishing parochial schools.

The Conservative Mennonite Church near Arthur operates the Maple Grove Christian Day School. In 1961..1962 an enrollment of 53 pupils attended the school. Part of the expenses of the Christian Day School are met by tuition charges to parents and the remainder are paid by the church.

Evidences of Stability and Instability. The past generation has seen greater changes in rural living and has brought greater problems to the Amish trying to preserve their traditional ways than any other period in the history



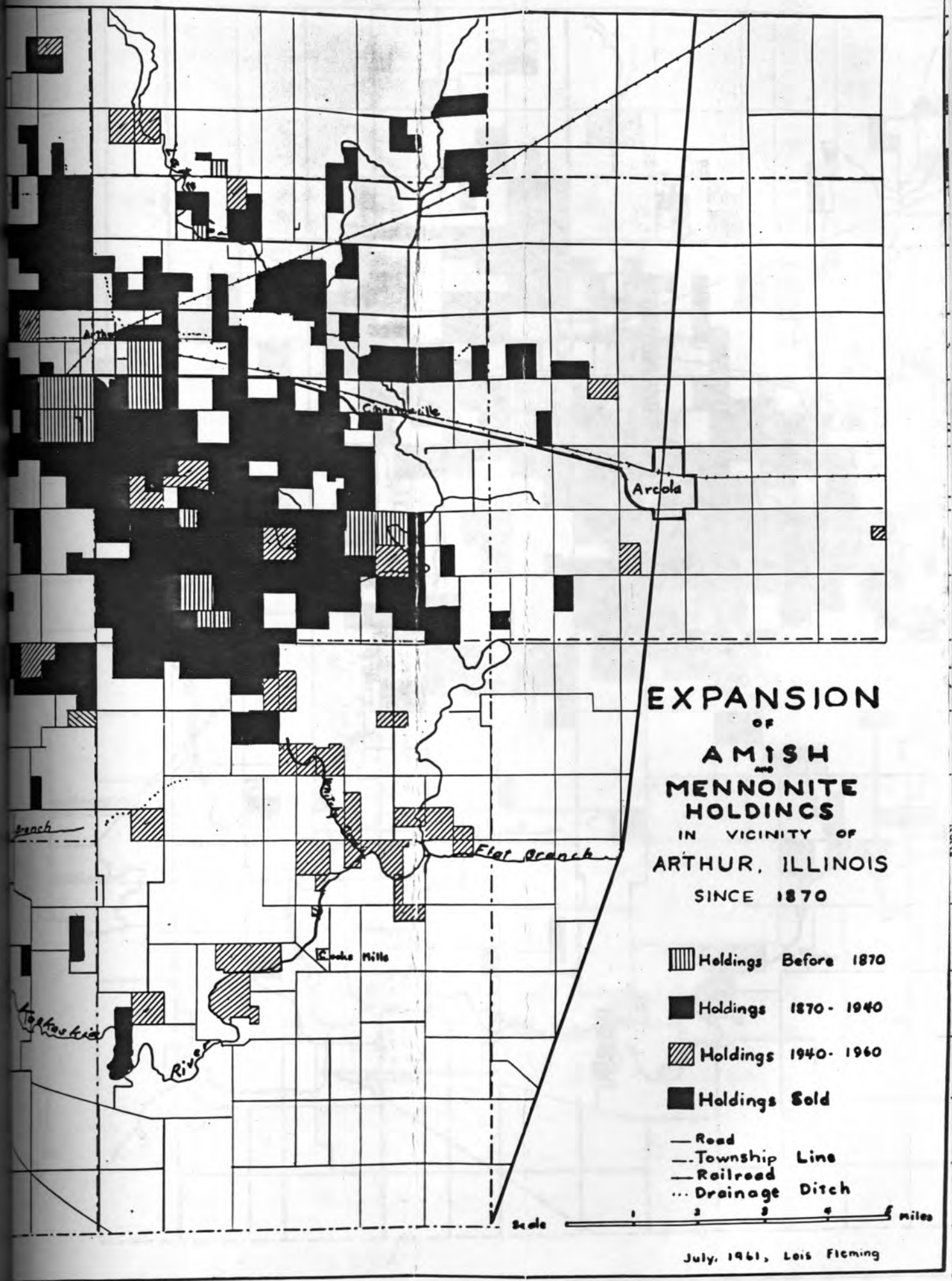
GERMAN SCHOOL. Three school buildings are owned by the Amish. Elementary classes in reading, writing, and spellir German are taught in summer. Reading from Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament is taught in winter. Terms are three to four weeks in length. Teachers are not paid.

MENNONITE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL. Tuition supported, eight-months term, ten-grade school with an enrollment of 53, some of whom are transported as far as twenty miles.

of the group. Relative prosperity, absence of religious persecution, ease of communication with and necessity for competition with outsiders have caused divisions in the church that the rack and stake were unable to bring about in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The greatest physical problem of the Amish is the scarcity of farm land for sale or rent within driving distance from the main body of the colony. A great deal of work is exchanged or done co-operatively by the Amish: Haying, threshing, hauling shelled corn, silo filling, butchering, quilting, and preparing for church are only examples. Families who live on the periphery of the colony are at a disadvantage. Time-consuming distances intervene between them and the socio-economic benefits accruing to Amish church members. Some centripedal movements of families can be observed, but other families have taken their places in most cases.

To the residents of the north precinct of North Okaw Township it seems that the colony is burgeoning inexorably, but it can be seen from Plate II, page 113, that spread in all directions at once is not occurring. Some land once owned by Amish has been sold to outsiders because of its distance from the rest of the colony, but several families live on farms which are equally distant from Amish neighbors.


Arcola
Flat Branch
Cooks Mills
EXPANSION
OF
AMISH
AND
MENNONITE
HOLDINGS
IN VICINITY OF
ARTHUR, ILLINOIS
SINCE 1870
Holdings Before 1870
Holdings 1870 - 1940
Holdings 1940 - 1960
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Road
Township Line
Railroad
Drainage Ditch
Scale
1
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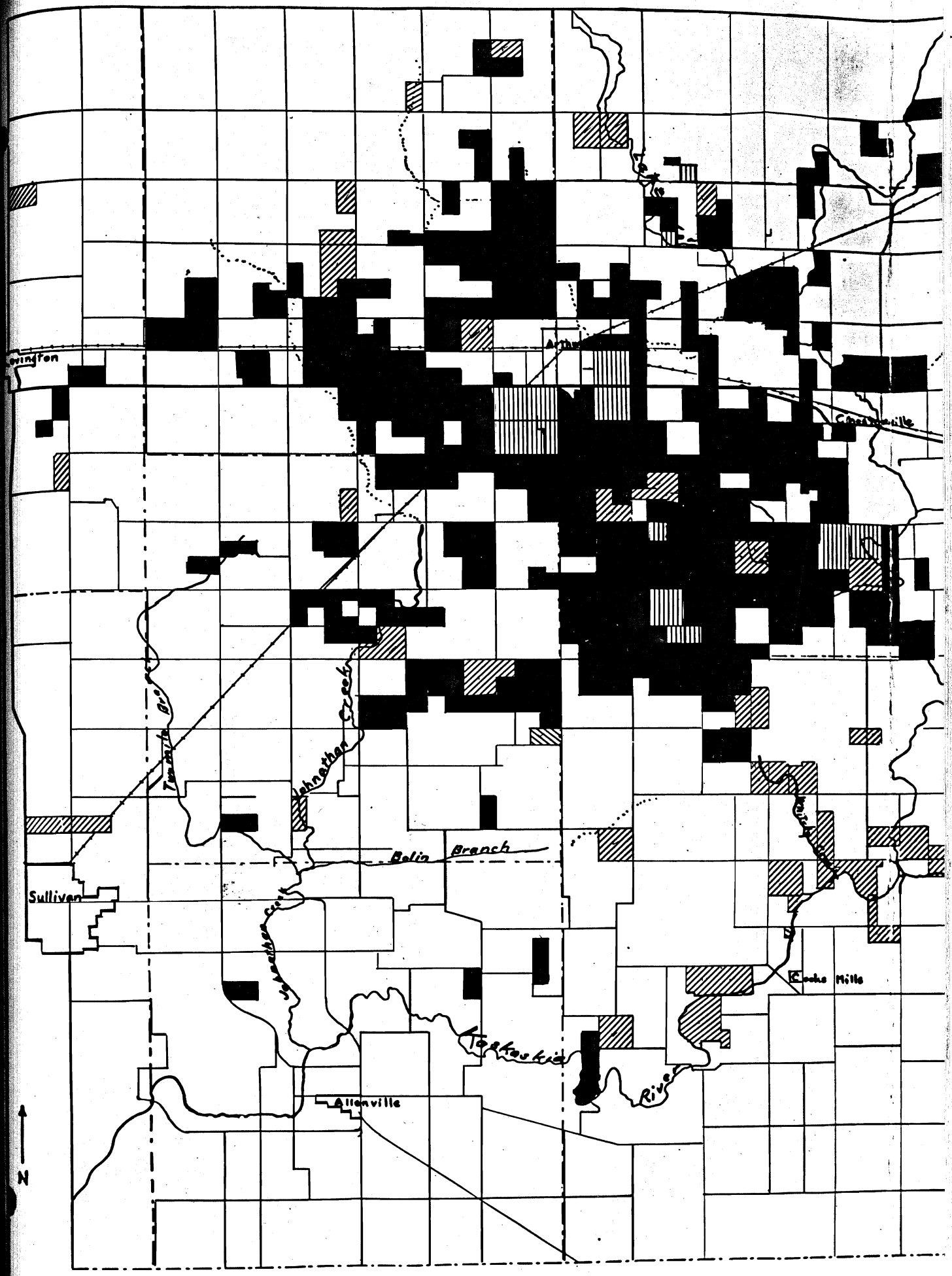
miles
July, 1961, Lois Fleming


Lexington
Arthur
Greenville
Tenmile Creek
Johnathan Creek
Belin Branch
Sulliven
Jonathan Creek
Cooks Mills
Tallatoona
River
Allenville
N

Amish families have not solved the problem of land shortage by moving to town. With the exception of two families living in Chesterville (Unincorporated) and two families in Cadwell (also unincorporated) there are no Old Order Amish families living in other than rural locations. Moving to town has followed leaving the church rather than the opposite order of events.

A good deal of out-migration has occurred. In recent years Amish families have moved to Kansas, Ohio, and Indiana. Many more have followed a pattern of "going Conservative" or "going Mennonite", then moving to other places: to Florida, Mississippi, Michigan, Missouri, as well as Kansas and Indiana, and to Anna, Illinois where a group of Conservative Amish bought a one-throusand acre tract of land cooperatively.[1]

Futher instability is demonstrated by the former Amish who have left the church. At least twelve young people have married non-Amish and non-Mennonite spouses during the past ten years. Their children cannot be taught Pennsylvania Dutch and one of the most effective bonds of the ethnic group will be lost to them. The Mennonites and Conservatives conduct their church services in English, and speak English in their homes, in contrast to the Pennsylvania Dutch which is such a unifying factor among the Old Order Amish.

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[1] Interview with Jonas L. Miller, July 30, 1961

The requirements which have to be met in order to market fluid milk have caused modifications of some Amish customs. The temperature of milk cannot be reduced quickly enough and far enough by setting the can in a tank of freshly pumped water and stirring it. A cooler powered by mechanical means is necessary. The Deisel or gasoline engine used to operate the cooler is used in many other ways as well. A milking machine, supplementary pump, battery recharger, washer, and line shaft from which shop tools can be operated are common.

Other problems of technology are met individually as they come up. One hundred ten volt alternating current may not be used, but storage batteries furnishing six volt direct current are used for buggy lights and for electric fences. Electric woodworking tools may be owned by carpenters who work for customers having electricity. Many farm shops have a line shaft to run a table saw, planer, sander, grinder, drill press, lathe, jig saw, and the like. Acetylene welders are common. Butane or propane gas may be used for cooking, space heating, and refrigeration including deep freezing. It is hard for outsiders to see logic in a ban against an electric range or refrigerator and acceptance of similar appliances using bottled gas.

Economic difficulties have not been insurmountable since the Depression of the 1930's. Several Amish farms were lost

then. If he can obtain such a loan, an Amish farmer will obligate himself to repay a heavy indebtedness at high interest rates for what must seem to be an interminable length of time, without hesitation. Falling prices for meat animals, milk, and eggs combined with sharply rising interest and tax rates work a severe hardship on the Amish. If farm buildings are in need of paint, the cause is not the owner's carelessness or apathy, but simply his lack of ready cash at this time.

The formation of the offshoots, or separate denominations, which has happened three times since 1936, indicates that the colony is breaking up to some degree. However, there has been an increase in total population of Amish in spite of losses to the other sects. In 1926, the four Amish churches had a membership of 236. In 1936, the five churches had a membership of 423 in spite of the loss of 243 members to the Mennonite church. In 1954, 132 members joined the Conservatives, and in 1958, 32 others joined the Beachy Amish church. More than holding its own, the Amish colony had a membership of 743 in 1961.

In Pennsylvania some families state proudly that their members have all stayed with the Old Order Amish Church, but there are few, if any families in the Arthur community which have no members in the more progressive groups. In most cases, a renter whose landlord is Amish is required

to move if he joins one of the offshoots. Complete rejection of relatives who become members of Mennonite groups does not occur, however. Having a relative who owns an automobile seems to be regarded as a convenience, and taxi service is supplied by relatives almost exclusively.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND PROSPECT

The Amish Mennonite denomination is one of the oldest Protestant groups, established by contemporaries of Luther and Calvin, and taking its designation from two leaders, Menno Simons and Jacob Amman. Their religious beliefs and their conscientious objection to military service made them victims of relentless persecution. In the eighteenth century immigration to Pennsylvania was completed. Firm establishment of a modestly prosperous settlement there was followed by founding of colonies in many other states and the province of Ontario.

In 1865 three Amish families immigrated to Illinois, and settled on the unbroken prairie near the village of Arthur. Scarcity of wood and inadequacy of drainage made life on the prairie difficult. After installation of tile underdrainage and surface ditches, the native productivity of the soil was successfully utilized for agriculture. From the first, the colony grew steadily, doubling its population every generation.

Before about 1930, the distinctions between the Amish and their rural neighbors were almost entirely those of dress, language and religious denomination. Amish people

still dress in the manner of farmers in the German Palatinates during the eighteenth century, still use Pennsylvania Dutch exclusively except when addressing a person who does not understand it, still hold church services in homes of the members, and still have even minute details of their lives encompassed by regulations of the church. At present, economic differences are even greater than the cultural ones.

When mechanization came to the Corn Belt and East Central Illinois changed from a Mixed Farming Region to a Cash Grain Region, the Amish people were subjected to tremendous economic and social pressures. The church leaders had placed a ban on telephones, electricity, and tractors. In order to compete with non-Amish farmers who were expanding their holdings rapidly with the help of labor saving machinery, approximately one-third of the population of the Old Order Amish ethnic group became members of other Amish-Mennonite denominations. Differences among the four denominations which comprise the entire ethnic island, are mainly in dress and farming methods.

The Old Order Amish use horses exclusively for field work and for transportation. On their small farms, averaging 79 acres in size, they turn to account the abundant labor supply provided by their large families in intensive management practices. Their small dairy herds utilize the soil-building legumes grown to maintain soil fertility and

tilth. Large numbers of hogs are raised, laying flocks are nearly universal, and turkeys are grown on an integrated basis.

Agriculture is by far the most important industry of this entirely rural group. A few persons supply the special needs of their people for buggies, harness, repairs to horse-drawn machinery, and the like. Amish carpenters do all the construction work for their own people, but no Old Order Amish public contractor is in business at present. A new cabinet-maker's shop has just opened. Custom processing vegetables and meat for the general public provides seasonal work for several persons.

The rapidly expanding population has been accommodated in two ways. The area of the Amish settlement has been enlarged steadily. Small farms with good buildings are especially attractive to Amish purchasers. Many non-Amish landowners rent farms to Amish or Mennonite farmers because of their reputations for thrift, honesty, and dependability. Many young farmers with families of small children have moved to one of the Amish settlements in surrounding states to allow room for younger brothers or sisters on the home farm.

That symbol of old-fashioned rural isolation, the one-room school, still exists in Central Illinois for the exclusive use of Amish pupils. The rapid acculturation of

Amish young people that high school attendance could bring about has been successfully resisted by the Old Order Amish. To date, in Illinois, Amish pupils drop out of school after completing the eighth grade. In some states, parochial schools have been organized.

The Old Order Amish have maintained their stability and uniformity and give every indication of continuing in their established patterns. The Amish have been able to increase their membership and to purchase more of the high priced land that their competitors had used for cash grain exclusively. The tremendous social and economic pressures now affecting them from the outside are no greater than the pressures that other generations successfully withstood, Short of a cataclysmic national disaster, which they would be more likely to survive than most of the rest of the population of this country, it is hard to predict that their group could be broken up by governmental action or by economic contingencies.

The Old Order Amish have gained nation-wide publicity because of their objections to governmental regulations in the fields of education, farming methods, social security, and military service. It is hoped that the officials of Illinois can see their way clear to agree with the judge of a Federal District Court in Pennsylvania who said, "I want you to know that whatever we do here, we are not lacking in sympathy. Simplicity always has been the aim and hope of

the philosopher and religious teacher. We appreciate what you are trying to do and we hope you will keep on. We hope the big state of Pennsylvania (Illinois) will make room for you people because you are interfering with no one." [1]

[1] New York Times, Dec. 2, 1937, p. 2, col. 4

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W. A. Bozarth, July 16, 1961

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Menno A. Chupp, March 30, 1962

T. W. Gray, Manager Sugar Creek Creamery, April 30, 1962

Lillian Keeney, July 22, 1961

Albert Kutz, April 18, 1962

W. E. Larabee, Associate, Craig & Craig, Attorneys, Mattoon, Illinois, July, 1960

Eli M. Miller, March 30, 1962

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Lorene Odum, June 6, 1961

Eli M. Otto, July 20, 1961

Rudy D. Otto, April 22, 1962

Howard Phillips, July 17, 1961

Opal Riggs, July 22, 1961

Mildred Rominger, July 26, 1961

Mary Rotramel, July 25, 1961

Merle Russell, August 10, 1961

Rev. Claude A. Temple, May 11, 1961

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