THE AMISH PEOPLE OF HOLMES COUNTY, OHIO:
A STUDY IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

by

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Ohio State
University

Approved by: F. A. Carlson
The preparation of this thesis has been a pleasure. The treatment accorded me by the Amish people was most cordial, and some fine, and, I hope, enduring friendships were formed.

During the preparation of the thesis much assistance was given me by members of the faculty of the Ohio State University. To Mr. Wilber Stout, state geologist, who suggested the problem and who has had a kindly interest in the work, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness. To Professor Roderick Peattie of the department of geography, who read the first draft of the thesis, and to Professor Guy-Harold Smith of the department of geography, I extend thanks for their suggestions and criticisms. And to Professor Fred A. Carlson of the department of geography, under whom the thesis was prepared, all thanks for his patient direction.

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PART ONE

Introduction

Living in the eastern half of Holmes county, Ohio is a group of farm people characterized by unusual habits of dress, religion and social customs. These people form a distinct community isolated, not by physiographic configurations, but by their own desire to live apart from, and undisturbed by modern civilization. Known to their neighbors as the "Amish" but among themselves as "the Old Order Amish Mennonites", a branch of the Mennonite church in America, these people are the subject of this thesis.

The origin of the Mennonites is obscure and authorities differ as to their forebears. Some trace them to the Anabaptists, while others credit the Waldenses with being their ancestors. The Anabaptists developed from the Zwinglian revolution about 1525, drifting from Zwingli over the matter of state-church affiliations, according to C. Henry Smith, Mennonite historian. Dr. Smith credits the Anabaptists as the ancestors of the Mennonites.*

On the other hand, Barthinius L. Wick** of the University of Iowa maintains the view that the Waldenses were

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the original Mennonites and cites Van Bracht's "Martyr's Mirrors" as proof. Cassell also holds this view and gives Dr. Ypeig of the University of Groningen as authority for the statement in Ypeig's work of 1813, "Geschichte der Hollandischen Baptistenten".

**ORIGIN OF NAMES:** Zurich was the center for the first meetings of the Mennonites and their movement gained converts rapidly. Only true believers were baptized and the rite of infant baptism was abolished.** These people later appeared in Holland where Henno Simon of Witmarsum, Friesland, became their leader. The European name for the group, "Menists" and the English appellation "Mennonites" is derived from Simon's name.

The Amish branch developed in 1693 under the leadership of Jacob Ammon, a native of Amenthal, Switzerland, but an Alsatian resident at that time, over the interpretations of the Dort Confession of 1632.*** His followers were facetiously called "Hookers" due to their use of the hook and eye rather than buttons for clothes suspension. In America the name "Amish" is applied to them, derived from the name of their early leader.

**FIRST SETTLERS:** The Amish were among the first permanent settlers of Holmes county. They first appeared there about 1810 with considerable numbers arriving in the years

*Daniel K. Cassell, "Geschichte der Mennoniten"
1888, p. 9.

**Smith, op.cit. p. 19.

***Wick, op.cit. p. 11.
from 1810 to 1820.* The majority of these new settlers came from Somerset, Lancaster, Berks and Mifflin counties in Pennsylvania, although some came direct from Europe. The members of this sect first settled in Pennsylvania near Germantown in August, 1683. They were led by a Pietist, Francis Daniel Pastorius, who was attracted to the region by its fertile appearance, abundant springs, fine pasturage and the religious tolerance promised in William Penn’s colony.** A previous attempt of these people to settle in America was made under the leadership of Cornelieus Pieter Flockhoy of Zeider Zee, Holland. This colony, which failed, was founded on the Horekill in southwestern Delaware in 1660.*** From the early settlements in Pennsylvania members migrated westward to Tuscarawas and Holmes counties in Ohio and to other midwest states.

Strict observance of the teachings of Jesus is practised by these people and the leading of a thorough Christian life, with simplicity of dress, manners and customs, is the keynote of their existence. Their form of religion sets them apart from their neighbors and leads to clannishness which has developed a compact group, the largest Amish community in America.**** It is situated in eastern Holmes county and adjacent counties to the east and north. Hence

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***Smith, op.cit. p. 83.
****Ibid. p. 217.
the selection of Berlin township, a particularly thickly inhabited area in Holmes county, for the field work.

**GEOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS:** Agriculture is the primary occupation of the Amish and a casual inspection reveals them as excellent farmers. Due to religious beliefs they avoid industrial and commercial pursuits and oppose the adoption of modern conveniences and customs. The unusual character of this quaint Old World community set in the midst of modern surroundings led to the purpose of this thesis, i.e. to determine what geographic factors led them to select Holmes county for human ecasis, what geographic factors account for their remaining an agricultural people, what are the geographic elements contributing to their excellency as farmers and what geographic factors may contribute to the disintegration of their community.

The subject is treated from a humanistic standpoint with an attempt made at correlating the geographic influences with religious beliefs in explaining their activities. Material for the thesis was gathered through personal interviews with Amish people and other citizens of Holmes county, through personal observation while living among them, and by reading various books, newspapers, magazines and manuscripts concerning the subject under discussion.
PART TWO

With the opening of new lands west of the Alleghenies by the Ordinance of 1787, subsequent acts by Congress and by treaties with the Indian tribes of the Ohio country settlers from the seaboard states began to search for these lands in the interior. The position of Ohio near the center of the various routes from the Atlantic coast to the interior led many home seekers to cross the state, thus they were influenced to stop on its fertile plains and hillsides rather than travel further west.

This westward movement which affected the Amish, as well as others, was caused by the more or less complete utilization of suitable farm lands in the eastern states. The amount of available arable land in the section of Pennsylvania settled by the Amish was distinctly limited due to the rugged topography -- only the valleys being suited to intensive farm operations.*

In the summer of 1807, a party under the leadership of Jacob Miller was sent out by the Amish settlers of Somerset county, Pennsylvania, to locate a place for an Amish colony in Iowa. This party traveled down the Ohio river from Pittsburgh and up the Mississippi to Iowa where

*Henry F. James, "The Kishicoquillas Valley" in Annals of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, Vol.28, 1930, pp. 223-239. This article points out the rapidity of land occupation by these gregarious people.
Figure 1. Routes followed by the Amish migrating from Berks Mifflin, Lancaster and Somerset counties in Pennsylvania to the settlement in Holmes county, Ohio and to western Ohio. (Champaign and Logan counties). Routes shown in red with arrows indicating direction. Scale: 1 in. = 80 mi.
observations on several sites were made but no decision reached upon a place for settlement. On their return journey the party traveled overland through Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. They passed through present day Holmes county and were impressed with the fertile and productive appearance of the valleys of the Killbuck in Holmes and the Tuscarawas in Tuscarawas county. The abundant springs of cold, clear water, the hills with fertile valleys between and the general resemblance of this region to their home in Pennsylvania enticed them.* The abundance of wild fruit and game in evidence in this region also influenced them in their decision to settle there.**

In the summer of 1808 Mr. Miller, his two sons and their wives, settled on the banks of Sugar creek in Tuscarawas county.*** In 1810 Jonas Miller, Joseph Mast, John Troyer and Christian Yoder settled on Walnut creek in eastern Holmes county. The first Amish services were conducted at Shanesville in Tuscarawas county in 1810 by Jacob Miller. Following the war of 1812, many Amish came from Berks, Mifflin, Lancaster and Somerset counties in Pennsylvania to this area. Some of these emigrants followed the overland route through western Pennsylvania along the Ohio river to Columbiana county, Ohio, thence overland to Holmes county. Others moved northward to the Mohawk valley

*Smith, p. 217.
**Dr. Manasseh Cutler, "Ohio in 1788" and Mrs. Margaret V.H.D.Bell, "A Journey to Ohio in 1810" furnish excellent descriptions of early Ohio.
Fig. 2. Location of Holmes county Amish community. Boundary outlined in red.
thence westward along the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie to Ohio. Still others moved down the Ohio river from Pennsylvania and from Virginia and Maryland down the Big Sandy, Kanawha and Licking rivers to the Ohio, thence up the Muskingum and its affluents to Holmes county. Some of these Amish people moved up the Big Miami river to settle in Butler county, Ohio. Other settlements were made at this time in Fairfield, Champaign, Logan and Wayne counties and in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa.* Figure one, page 8 shows the routes followed by the Amish in their westward movement.

The colony started by Jacob Miller in 1808 has grown until it now numbers approximately 3,500 people and embraces the eastern third of Holmes county and adjacent parts of Wayne, Stark, Tuscarawas and Coshocton counties. Figures two and three, pages 10 and 12 delimits the extent of the present Amish settlement in that part of Ohio.

**RELATION TO GLACIAL BOUNDARY:** The area mentioned above lies within the Appalachian plateau region, a province which occupies approximately the eastern third of Ohio. The western boundary of the plateau extends from Scioto county on the Ohio river in a general northeasterly direction to the lake plains in Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake and Ashtabula counties.** Figure four, page 14 shows the

*Smith, p. 218.

Fig. 3. The Amish community in Holmes and adjacent counties. Area outlined by red line has predominant Amish population. Towns near the boundary indicated by initial letter are Brewster and Beach City, Stark county and Dundee and Baltic in Tuscarawas county. A few Amish live outside the boundaries as located and another settlement is located in Wayne county east of Wooster.

Scale: 1 in. equals 11 miles
position of the Amish settlement in relation to the glacial boundary line in Ohio. The southern part of the settlement lies within the non-glaciated Appalachian plateau area, while the northern part is in the glaciated section.

The southern limit of the glacier enters the state from Pennsylvania just north of the Ohio river in Columbiana county and trends a little south of west across Stark and Tuscarawas counties to enter Holmes county northeast of Winesburg in Paint township, continuing to the southwest corner of Berlin township whence it bears to the northwest, crossing the Killbuck south of Millersburg and extending a few miles west where it turns abruptly to the south running along the western edge of the county to enter Coshocton county near the Knox county Holmes county border.*

**THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE:** Holmes county exhibits a mature state of dissection with wide valleys and meandering streams bordered by high hills. The relief of that part of Holmes county lying north of the glacial boundary has been influenced materially by the glacial deposits. The land may be described as rolling in Berlin, Salt Creek and Paint townships where the glacial drift has filled the valleys and erosion has been checked so that deep ravines do not occur. South of the glacial boundary where erosion has gone on uninterrupted, narrow ridges, steep valley sides and deep ravines are characteristic. In Coshocton county the dissection

*C.C. Huntington, map, p. 14, Dodge Lackey Geography of Ohio, reprint, 1931.
Figure 4. The Amish settlement (outlined in blue) in relation to the glacial boundary line. (shown in red) About two-thirds of the Amish settlement is in the drift area. Scale: 1 inch equals 32 miles.
is so great that little arable land is to be found and very few Amish farmers are located there as they prefer to carry on their activities in good farming regions. West of the Killbuck the hills are high and steep-sided and here again the Amish have avoided the region. The valley of Killbuck creek is broad and level in northern Holmes county. Much level farm land is also found in Paint, Salt Creek, Berlin and Walnut Creek townships, strongholds of the Amish people.

RELIEF OF REGION: The maximum relief of the county is 711 feet measured from the top of a hill on the divide between the Mohican and Killbuck rivers to low water mark on the Killbuck as it enters Coshocton county. The summit of this hill is 1402 feet above sea level* and is the culminating point of the county. It lies in Knox township just south of the Indian boundary line near the Stone school.** The low water mark on Killbuck creek as it enters Coshocton county is 791 feet above sea level. The average relief is approximately 450 feet. The whole region inhabited by the Amish in this section of Ohio is similar in relief with the altitude growing somewhat less to the east and the low point dropping a few feet lower.

*Karl Snyder, surveyor of Holmes county, unpublished statistics, 1932.

**See Loudonville sheet, U.S. Geological Survey.
A table showing the culminating height, low point and maximum relief figures for each township in Holmes county with the name of the topographic map from which the figures were taken is listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twp.</th>
<th>High Point</th>
<th>Topographic Map</th>
<th>Low Point</th>
<th>Topographic Map</th>
<th>Maximum Relief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Clark*</td>
<td>1305'</td>
<td>Coshocton</td>
<td>995'</td>
<td>Newcomerstown</td>
<td>310'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mechanic*</td>
<td>1240'</td>
<td>Millersburg</td>
<td>820'</td>
<td>Coshocton</td>
<td>420'</td>
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<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>791'</td>
<td>Coshocton</td>
<td>519'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richland</td>
<td>1205'</td>
<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>830'</td>
<td>Brinkhaven</td>
<td>475'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>1402'</td>
<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>885'</td>
<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>517'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
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<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>895'</td>
<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>495'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ripley</td>
<td>1370'</td>
<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>929'</td>
<td>Ldv. (Owls L.)</td>
<td>441'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
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<td>855'</td>
<td>Loudonville</td>
<td>505'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnut Creek*</td>
<td>1315'</td>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>875'</td>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>440'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paint*</td>
<td>1350'</td>
<td>Millersburg</td>
<td>980'</td>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>380'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt Creek*</td>
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<td>Millersburg</td>
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<td>435'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
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<td>825'</td>
<td>Millersburg</td>
<td>440'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Millersburg</td>
<td>810'</td>
<td>Millersburg</td>
<td>450'</td>
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<td>850'</td>
<td>Millersburg</td>
<td>460'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures are close approximations arrived at from a study of the bench marks and contour lines. The average relief is 449 feet. Townships in the table marked with an asterisk have a large Amish population. The table shows that the Amish avoid areas of strong relief, as these townships have the lowest relief.
DRAINAGE PATTERN: The county is drained by the Muskingum system with the Killbuck forming the main artery. This stream which is about 30 feet wide in Holmes county, flows from north to south dividing the county into almost equal parts. It drains the central half of the county. About eight miles east of the Killbuck valley a high ridge extends through the county from north to south and forms the watershed between the Killbuck and the Tuscarawas. Most of Salt Creek, Walnut Creek and Clark townships drain to the latter stream. About an equal distance to the west of the Killbuck lies the watershed between that stream and the Mohican. The area included in Washington, Richland and Knox townships drains to the Mohican. This stream is formed by the junction of the Clear Fork and Black Fork creeks just across the border in Knox county from Knox township. Black Fork creek flows through Washington township and is the outlet for Odell's Lake in the northwest part of the county. The Mohican in turn joins with the Kokosing to form the Walhonding river near the village of that name in Coshocton county and the Walhonding unites with the Tuscarawas at Coshocton to form the Muskingum. Figure 6, page 18 pictures the drainage system of Holmes county.

Berlin township lies to the east of the Killbuck near the crest of the watershed and in the central tier of townships from north to south. Like the rest of the county this township is rather hilly but is distinguished by a
broad flat area near the northwestern corner known as "The Plains". This area, several square miles in extent, is the former bed of a glacial lake. Observations made in the region lead to the belief that Doughty's creek (see figure 5, page 18) flowed north in its valley in glacial times and emptied into the lake which then occupied the Plains. The direction of flow of its tributaries which are barbed streams and the form of its valley point to this conclusion.

Martin's creek (fig. 5) was the outlet to this lake, carrying the waters to the Killbuck which flowed north to ancient Lake Maumee. A large moraine now lies between the western edge of the Plains and Martin's creek and serves as an effectual dam in turning the waters of the Plains toward Doughty's creek. The moraine furnishes gravel for road surfacing in that section. (fig. 15, page 90)

The eastern edge of Berlin township lies within the Tuscarawas watershed and is drained by Walnut and Indian Trail creeks. The maximum relief of the township is 460 feet with the high point, a hill top near the North Bunker Hill school 1310 feet high, and the low point, low water mark on Sand run in the western edge of the county, 850 feet above sea level. The average relief is about 400 feet.

Only a small part of the entire county is so level that artificial drainage is needed. The two principal
drainage projects are located, one in the northern part of the county in Hardy and Prairie townships and the other in Clark township.* A large number of farmers living in the Plains area in northern Berlin township and south Salt Creek township have found it necessary to use tiles on their farms and Martin's creek and Doughty's creek have been straightened in order to give more rapid run-off. Tiles are necessary on limited areas in other scattered districts over the county. Local drainage projects also occur in Amish settlements in the adjacent counties but their extent is limited.**

Danger from floods is practically unknown in the whole region due to the rolling character of the land. Some damage to crops occur locally during wet years from high water and on rare occasions, like the 1913 flood some livestock is lost.

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**Ibid. p. 624 et seq.
CLIMATIC ELEMENTS: The area inhabited by the Amish people experiences relatively few extremes in temperature as compared to regions farther in the interior of the continent. The climate is of the humid continental type, long summer phase, according to Trewartha's classification.* The summers are long and hot, with the precipitation reaching its maximum at this season. Winters, on the other hand, are cold, but the extreme cold temperatures of the northwest are absent. Twenty-three degrees below zero is the coldest recorded temperature at Killbuck and this occurred on February 10, 1899.**

Charts 1 and 2, pages 22 and 23 show the typical temperature curve for the continental type climate, long summer phase. On chart one the temperature curve for Millersburg, county seat of Holmes county, shows a steady rise from a January low until June, which marks the beginning of three hot months, June, July and August, when the temperature averages above 65 degrees F. The decline is rapid from September to December. Chart two for the Killbuck station again illustrates the continental type of temperature curve, except that February furnishes an exception to the usual rise from January to June. June, July and August have an average temperature well above 65 degrees and a rapid decline from September to December is shown.

*Glenn T. Trewartha, "Climates of the World", 1931, map p. 4.*
The temperature decline for February shown on this chart is not typical of this type of climate.* The possibility of typographical error in the data was eliminated by a check of the average monthly temperatures as recorded in the yearly bulletins of the Columbus station of the U.S. Weather Bureau and climatological data published by W. H. Alexander in his work, "A Climatological History of Ohio", pages 376 to 380.

**GROWING SEASON:** The average length of the growing season at Killbuck, in the southern part of the county, is 153 days, and for Millersburg, the same.** This period is sufficient for growing the "corn belt" crops such as corn, oats, wheat, legume crops, potatoes and various vegetables and fruits. At Millersburg, May 11 is the average date for the last killing frost and October 11, the first. The dates for Killbuck are May 4 and October 4. The latest frost on record at Killbuck came on May 31, 1897, and the earliest, September 14, 1902.*** For Millersburg, May 27 and September 15 are record dates for frost.**** Thus the variation in the frost dates adds another hazard to crop production, the primary occupation of the Amish.

**RAINFALL DATA:** Charts one and two illustrate the typical rainfall distribution for an interior continental station.


***Alexander, A Climatological History of Ohio, p. 379.

****Oscar E. Miller, weather observer, Millersburg, O., unpublished records.
CHART 3
YEARLY RAINFALL DISTRIBUTION
for MILLERSBURG

1920
36.06 INCHES

1921
38.91 INCHES

1922
32.59 INCHES

1927
44.68 INCHES

1928 LEFT
34.48 INCHES

1929 RIGHT
42.10 INCHES
For Killbuck an early summer maximum is shown with a peak in July. Millersburg shows a distinct summer maximum with good distribution throughout the year. Such data would tend to show favorable rainfall for crop production inasmuch as the peak is in the summer months. Chart 3, page 25, shows the general displacement of rainfall maxima and indicates the hazards of farming.

The chart shows rainfall co-ordinates for six different years.* 1920 shows a typical summer maximum with an early peak in April, but a very dry May, unfavorable for getting corn and oats started. 1921 had unfavorable distribution with crop production cut by lack of rain. 1922 had favorable summer rainfall, as did 1927. 1923 had an early spring deficiency which undoubtedly slowed up crop growth. 1929, a wet year, had favorable rainfall for maximum production.

Below is listed some significant data from the records of the Killbuck station for the several months.**

| TABLE 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Fahrenheit Scale) | J. | F. | M. | A. | M. | J. | A. | S. | O. | N. | D. | Yr. |
| Lowest Temp. | -19 | -23 | -1 | 12 | 26 | 33 | 40 | 36 | 28 | 17 | 7 | -17 |
| Highest Temp. | 70 | 66 | 53 | 90 | 98 | 102 | 102 | 105 | 97 | 90 | 77 | 67 |
| Clear Days Av. | 11 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 19 | 18 | 21 | 18 | 15 | 12 | 166 |
| Partly Cloudy | 6 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 92 |
| Cloudy | 14 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 87 |
| Rainy | 11 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 105 |

** Alexander, Climatological History of Ohio, page 379.
These data show an extreme temperature range of 128 degrees, typical of the continental type climate.

The position of Holmes county and the Amish settlement in relation to the mean annual isotherm of 50 and 51 degrees (F.) is shown by Figure 7, page 28. The 50 degree isotherm divides Holmes county, crossing from east to west. Thus a mean annual difference of one degree is present in the region but this does not seem to affect the agricultural activities of the people. The same crops are raised in Wayne county as in southern Holmes county.
Figure 7. Position of Amish region in relation to mean annual isotherms of 49, 50 and 51 degrees F. (After Alexander)
Scale: 1 in. equals 32 m.
GEOMORPHOLOGY AND MINERAL RESOURCES: Sandstones and shales form the principal underlying rock in Holmes county and eastern Ohio. The rocks are of Mississippian and earlier geologic age.* The sandstones are of the Waverly group and furnish good building stones and stones for grinding purposes. Two large quarries are operated in Holmes county, one at Glenmont and the other at Killbuck, both in the western part of the county. No sandstone is quarried in the Amish region.

Putnam Hill limestone occurs in all townships except Ripley and Washington in Holmes county.** The thickness of this limestone varies from six inches to 12 feet with an average of three to four and one-half feet.*** In Berlin township it is present in quantities except in the northwestern part, where pre-glacial Martin's creek has eroded the stone away.**** This limestone outcrops on the ridge one mile west of Berlin. The outcrop is within a few feet of the top of the hill and a quarry and crusher have been operated there by Andrew Miller, but is now abandoned. (1932) The stone was crushed and sold to the Amish for liming of soils. Some of it was used for road metal. The thickness of this bed of stone is about four feet. In southwestern Berlin township and in other townships, the stone outcrops, and is

quarried in a small way for the two uses above stated. The stone is a dull gray in color and is not used for building purposes. The presence of limestone in this region has been of much value to the Amish. Legume crops such as alfalfa, clover, cowpeas and soybeans require limestone soils and if the soil is deficient in lime it may be obtained cheaply from a nearby crusher. The legume crops are valuable for restoring the fertility of the soil and are used extensively by the Amish in building up their lands.

Hamden and Washingtonville shales occur in Berlin and other townships of the county.* The General Clay company at Baltic, Tuscarawas county, uses shale from Clark township for drain tile. Considerable shale useful in ceramics exists in the county, but most of it is inaccessible and is not of importance commercially.**

**COAL DEPOSITS:** Outcrops of coal occur in every township of Holmes county, but much of it is of little value and the small production is mostly for local consumption.*** The mid-Kittanning coal is mined to some extent and some coal of good quality is found in this vein. Two mines operated in Berlin township near the eastern boundary, one by Fred Brown, the other by Joseph D. Troyer, are now idle. (1932)

Iron occurs in small quantities throughout the county but is of no value. The large glacial boulders deposited over the area by the ice sheet are sometimes used for building

**Ebid. Washingtonville shale, p. 5.
***Ebid. Washingtonville shale, p. 5.
purposes, principally in the foundations of buildings. In late years these stones have been used for decorative purposes at gateways, along drives and in rock gardens. The glacial drift also furnishes cheap gravel for use in road surfacing, the price being as low as ten cents a cubic yard.

A series of horizons through the Pottsville formation in Holmes county beginning with the Brookville clay shows the following types: Brookville clay, Tionesta coal, upper Mercer limestone, Bedford coal, upper Mercer coal, lower Mercer ore, (iron) middle Mercer coal, Flint Ridge coal, lower Mercer coal, Bear Run coal, Quakertown coal and Harrison ore.*

The above section lists nine varying levels of coal veins none of which are of any great commercial value, although some of the coal is of fair quality.

The paucity of mineral wealth in the county and throughout the Amish region has been a positive factor in the growth of the Amish community. Their religion holds that soil tillage should be the only occupation. The presence of valuable mineral deposits would certainly have brought exploitation of these resources from outside sources. This would have curbed the expansion of the Amish community and if on a large scale would have tended to drive the Amish from the area.

As stated earlier in this study the region inhabited

*Data furnished by Wilber Stout, state geologist.
by the Amish in the Holmes county area lies partly within
and partly without the glaciated portion of the state. This
fact is responsible for some difference in the type of soil
found in the northern part of the settlement from that in
the south.

SOIL ORIGIN: In the northern part of the Amish settlement
 glacial drift abounds. This region is marked by the diagonal
glacial boundary running northeast from the southwest corner
of Berlin township (see fig. 4, page 14) to the Tuscarawas
line, across the northwest tip of that county and on into and
across Stark county. The upland soils in the region north
of this line have been formed by the weathering of the gla-
cial drift.*

The rocks which contributed to the glacial drift were
variable in nature, but were chiefly sandstones and shales.**
Part of the drift was transported from Canada and igneous
and metamorphic material is thus mixed with the shales and
sandstones. The shales are from the Ohio formations and
the sandstones are of the Waverly group which outcrop further
south. Over the broad area of shale, the glacial materials
form a heavy clay soil; but where sandstones predominate the
soil is a lighter silt loam.***

On the uplands and hilltops of this region the soils

*G.W. Conrey, The Glacial Sandstone and Shale Soils of
Ohio, in the Bimonthly Bulletin, Ohio Agr. Exp. Station,
Wooster, July-August, 1926, p. 144.
**Ibid. p. 145.
***Ibid. p. 145.
are of the Wooster and Canfield series.* The Wooster soils are brown, with a yellowish brown subsoil which is only slightly heavier than the surface soils. The soil occurs where the topography is rolling, drainage good, and is of loam or silt loam texture. The Canfield soils occur in gently rolling sections with fair drainage. The color is light brown with a pale yellowish brown subsoil, mottled near the lower part. The Canfield is a silt loam.

**Bottom Soils:** On the second bottoms or terraces the Chenango soils occur. This soil is brown with yellowish brown subsoil with stratified sand and gravel at a depth of three feet. The drainage is good and the texture of the soil is a silt loam. On the flood plains near streams three soil series occur, the Chagrin, Holly and Papakating. Chagrin soils are brown silt loams with a yellowish brown subsoil. Holly soils are gray and occur on poorly drained bottoms. They are of silt loam or silty clay loam texture with mottled gray or rust brown subsoils. The Papakating is a grayish black silty clay loam with mottled bluish gray subsoil occurring on first bottoms which have very poor drainage.**

Of the soils above described, the Wooster and Canfield are excellent agricultural soils, the Wooster silt loam being considered one of the finest wheat soils in

*Conrey, Classification of Ohio Soils, p. 146.
the state.* It is usually acid in reaction.** Chenango soils are good agricultural types. The last three soils have been washed from the surrounding uplands and deposited on the valley bottoms by stream overflow. The Chagrin series is used chiefly for hay and pasture, although some corn is raised. The Holly and Papakating soils, due to their very poor drainage, are used only for pasture, except where tile drainage is resorted to. Then corn, oats and other grain crops are grown.

Since the Amish farmer prefers rolling land and avoids valley bottoms and steep slopes, the poorer soil series discussed above have little influence on his activities. His farm operations are carried on in areas where the Wooster and Canfield soils occur and if there is poorly drained bottoms it is used for pasture.

South of the glacial drift, different types of soils occur. These are the residual sandstone and shale soils. The chief series of these soils which occur in the narrow belt south of the glacial boundary inhabited by the Amish is the Muskingum. This is a yellowish brown silt loam of acid reaction, and well suited for general farm operations. The subsoil is yellow with sandstone or shale about three feet below the surface. This soil is good for general farm crops.

*Conrey, The Classification of Ohio Soils, p. 149.
**Ibid. p. 148.
reflected in the value of farm lands in counties lying within the Appalachian plateau and on either side of the glacial boundary. Farm land values average much lower for the counties lying in the non-glaciated area of the plateau according to the table below, which was prepared from statistics of the 15th decennial census which relate to values as on April 1, 1930.*

Tuscarawas county leads the non-glaciated area with a value of $56 an acre with Belmont a close second at $55. Jackson and Vinton counties have an average value of slightly more than $20. an acre, the lowest of any unit in the entire state. The two Amish inhabited counties lying wholly within the drift area have an average value of $91 and $124 respectively for Wayne and Stark counties.

Holmes county has an average of $66 per acre, although part of the county is in the driftless area. Certain townships in Muskingum, Tuscarawas, Belmont and other counties have average values in excess of $100, but these townships are mostly in river valleys and near urban centers.

Since the underlying rocks of the plateau are essentially the same, the climate the same, and the geologic history similar with the exception of the glacial epochs, the presence of the glacial drift has significance in these land values.

### TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Unit</th>
<th>Value of Farm Land per Acre</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens county</td>
<td>$55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coshocton &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belmont &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallia &quot;</td>
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<td>Carroll &quot;</td>
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<td>Vinton &quot;</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington &quot;</td>
<td>45</td>
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</table>

* *Holmes "         | 66                          |
* Berlin township " | 135                         |
* Clark "           | 85                          |
* Paint "           | 70                          |
* Prairie "         | 60                          |
* Stark county "    | 124                         |
* Bethlehem township | 79                          |
* Sugar Creek "     | 81                          |
* Tuscarawas "      | 113                         |
* Wayne county "    | 91                          |
* Sugar Creek township | 108                        |
* East Union "      | 97                          |
* Paint "           | 88                          |

* Amish populated counties in the drift area, with the Amish inhabited townships.
PART THREE

The Cultural Pattern

Holmes county has a population of 16,726 people and an area of 418 square miles, giving a total of 40 people per square mile, the lowest figure per area in the state with the exception of Adams, Geauga, Morgan, Morrow, Noble, Paulding, Pike and Vinton counties (see table 6). The population figures have been in steady diminution since 1890. The census reports give the population at 21,139 for that year. In 1900 it was 19,511; 1910, 17,909 and 1920, 16,965. This is in accord with the general movement of population to urban centers prevalent in the United States since 1880. This movement has been checked by the current depression (1932) according to statistics on the movement of farm populations gathered by the last census.

One-hundred percent Americans is a phrase which we could well use in describing the people of Holmes county, including the Amish who make up about 15% of the population. Only 212 of the more than 16,000 are of foreign birth -- 130 men and 82 women. There is not a single Negro

***Movement of Farm Population, Table xii, Report on Agriculture for Ohio, Statistics by Counties, 15th census of the U.S.
resident in the county, nor is there a representative of any other race save the white. The native white population is 96.7% of the whole. The males outnumber the females 8,674 to 8,052.

Figures on school attendance reflect the influence of the Amish upon the cultural impress. They form about 15% of the total population and are opposed to education above the eighth grade. The percentage of children from 7 to 13 years of age inclusive who are enrolled in school is 98, which compares favorably with other counties in the state.* For children 14 to 16, the percentage falls to 85, much below the state average of 96.6. This reflects the Amish influence. 16 to 17 years, 56.2% as compared to 67.7% the state average and 17.1% against 22.8% for children 18 to 20, shows the absence of the Amish children from the schools during the adolescent period. The last three categories are among the lowest percentages of any county in the state.

On the other hand the percentage of illiteracy is only nine-tenths of one percent as compared to a state average of 2.3%, thus showing the Amish, as well as other citizens of the county, to be interested in the primary elements of education.

Only 85 divorced men and women live in the county, a further indication of the Amish influence, the Amish being strictly opposed to divorce. Only three counties show a lower total -- Morrow, Noble and Vinton.

Most of the people of Holmes county are of English or German descent. The people of the Amish area are practically all Germans. The Amish were among the first to settle this area and their gregarious habits, tenacious land tenure and prolific growth has crowded out the non-Amish residents to a great extent over the entire area. Hickory Amish or Mennonites form the bulk of the outsiders in this settlement. These people are members of the branch which separated from the Old Order Amish during the middle of the last century. They are characterized by modern habits of dress and manners but their activities and customs are similar to the Old Order.

In order to develop a clearer picture of the cultural landscape and to better understand the activities of the Amish it is necessary to develop the historical background.

At the close of the Revolution, Virginia abandoned her claims to the Ohio country and the area was organized under the ordinance of 1787. The Northwest territory was organized under this ordinance and in 1788 Washington county was formed with Marietta as the seat. Washington county included all of Holmes county south of the Indian boundary line as it was later established. Ohio was admitted to statehood February 19, 1803, and on January 24, 1825, Holmes county was organized. It consisted of 418 square miles taken from Wayne, Coshocton and Tuscarawas counties.
Ohio as a territory experienced constant trouble from Indian attacks. At the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, General Anthony Wayne completely routed the Indians and forever broke their power in Ohio. Wayne’s campaign brought to a close the appropriative stage of the historical geography of Ohio.* That is, the victory opened the way for settlement and the beginning of the sedentary life of the agricultural stage as differentiated from the nomadic life of the hunter and trapper, who appropriated the natural resources of the region and used them as they found them.

After the battle of Fallen Timbers, which marked the end of many sanguinary conflicts with the Indians, General Wayne and the Indian chieftains assembled in council at Ft. Greenville in what is now Darke county. There on August 5, 1795 a treaty was consummated which extinguished the Indian claims to all lands south of what later has become known as the Greenville treaty line, or the Indian boundary line.** This line began at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river and extended up that river to the portage, across it to the Tuscarawas river and down this river to the crossing place above Ft. Laurens near the present city of

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*C. J. Huntington, op. cit. p. 8.

Bolivar, thence in a south of west direction to the Big Miami near Loramie's store in Shelby county, thence to Ft. Recovery in Mercer county and thence through Indiana touching the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river. This line passes diagonally across Holmes county from northeast to southwest and has had considerable influence on land surveys in the county.

Early Indian inhabitants of the Killbuck valley and Holmes county were the Eries, who later were driven out and exterminated by the Iroquois. The Iroquois then allotted the valley to the Delawares, whose Wolf, Turtle and Monsuy tribes occupied it until the advent of the whites in 1806-10. They shared the region with the Wyandottes, Mohicans, Shawnees and Senecas.*

During the appropriative stage many pioneers ventured into the valley of the Killbuck and Mohican to trade and barter with the Indians. Among the first of these men were George Grogham and Thomas Burney, Englishmen. These men sharpened the knives of the Indians and bartered trinkets for bear, deer, beaver, otter and other wild animal skins thus establishing the first commerce in the area.

Early travelers in the Ohio country were much impressed by the abundance of natural food and the natural resources, as noted in early manuscripts discussing the area.*

Although the pioneer settlers were harassed by the Indians for some years after permanent settlement began, the hills and vales produced abundant crops and famine was unknown. Among the early arrivals in Holmes county were Jonas Miller, Jacob and Joseph Mast, Charles Yoder and Jacob Stutzman, members of the Amish faith from Somerset county, Pennsylvania.** They were followed in subsequent years by large numbers of the same group from Lancaster, Somerset, Berks and Mifflin counties in Pennsylvania and from Europe.

The principal occupation of these early settlers was farming and hunting. Products of the farm were wheat, rye, corn, buckwheat, barley, oats, flax, hemp, indigo, hops, fruits and melons.*** Much of their meat was obtained from the forests which abounded with wild turkeys, geese, ducks as well as elk, deer, bear and buffalo. Mention is made of the catfish as a source of food from the streams. Also from the woods the pioneer obtained wild grapes from which good wine was made and the sugar maple provided sap, syrup and sugar.

*Mrs. Bell, A Journey to Ohio in 1810; Dr. Cutler, Ohio in 1888.
***Cutler, op.cit. pp. 45-46.
Milk cows, horses, hogs, chickens and other barnyard animals were kept for their various purposes and the ox team furnished motive power for the heavy work. Surpluses included flour, pork, salt, hides and furs, lumber, apples and small grain. Much of this produce found its way to the Muskingum river by overland trail and thence to New Orleans, Mexico and the West Indies.* Other shipments went overland to the Cuyahoga, thence to Lake Erie and Ontario, up the Oswego river, over the portage to the Mohawk and on to New York.

With settlement well under way many easterners found homes in the valley of the Killbuck and by 1830 Holmes county had a population of 9,123. By 1840 the federal census showed the seven most populous townships to be Hardy (with Millersburg) 1985; Salt Creek, 1730; Mechanic, 1404; Paint, 1361; German (now Clark) 1281; Berlin, 1151 and Walnut Creek, 1000.

The county at this time was one of the leaders in the production of wheat and horses.** The rank in the production of draft animals is still maintained. Other farm produce raised by the Amish farmers and their neighbors and traded or sold to merchants in Millersburg and Berlin included dried apples and peaches, timothy and clover seed, flax, butter and lard. These products were bartered for cotton yarn, broadcloths,

*Cutler, op.cit. p. 52.
cashmere cloth, bombazine stocks, furniture and kitchen
ware.* Storekeepers offered goods for sale for "good cash"
or would barter for produce.

Some light upon the cost of living for the early
day Amishman may be found in the market quotations taken
from Millersburg papers.** Flour $6.50 @ bbl., wheat $1.80
@ bu., corn 60¢ bu., oats 37¢ bu., clover seed $4. bu.,
dried apples $1.25 bu., dried peaches $2. bu., bacon 7¢
@ lb., lard 8¢ @ lb.

The following data give some idea of the character
of farm produce in Holmes county 50 years ago. The
figures relate to the year 1887.*** Total production,
wheat 462,252 bu.; rye 6,145 bu.; buckwheat 1,096 bu.;
oats 553,489 bu.; barley 896 bu.; corn 584,491 bu.; broom-
corn 1,200 brushes; hay 23,882 tons; clover 11,440 tons;
potatoes 56,161 bu.; butter 499,561 lbs.; cheese 197,623
lbs.; sorghum 870 gal.; maple syrup 5,017 gal.; honey
5,500 gal.; apples 24,153 bu.; peaches 24,000 bu.; pears
1,110 bu.; tobacco 955 lbs.; wool 211,529 lbs.

These figures compare favorably with present day
production. Wheat production now averaging about 550,000
bushels a year, corn 800,000, oats 450,000 and potatoes
120,000 bushels.

* Holmes county Whig, Vol. 1, 1844.
** Holmes County Farmer, Thursday, Febr. 23, 1844.
*** Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio, Vol.
II, p. 219.
The lack of numerical strength among this sect during the last century has changed rapidly in recent times and at present the eastern third of Holmes county has a predominate Amish population, despite the loss of many families who have migrated to other counties in Ohio and to other western states, notably, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa.

Only slight changes in the mode of living of the Amish has occurred since they settled in Holmes county. The ox team has been superseded by the horse for draft purposes and dairying is an important factor in present day farming, whereas the raising of beef cattle was formerly practiced, but has been practically abandoned during the present century.* Bungalow type houses are now frequently built instead of the old rectangular type with basement kitchens, which are a feature of the landscape in this region.

**LAND DIVISION:** A haphazard and complex system of survey was used in the county and as a result the land division is hard to explain. The Indian boundary line separated the Indian lands from the military lands to the south. The land lying north of the Indian boundary line was surveyed into townships six miles square and into sections of 540 acres. However, no townships in Holmes county are complete north of the Indian boundary.

*S. Y. Schlabach, veteran Amish farmer, is authority for this statement.
The sections in townships north of the boundary are numbered consecutively from the northeastern corner of the township to the northwest. Thus section number 36 lies in the southeast corner of the township. The political townships do not correspond north or south of the Indian boundary with the surveyed townships.

The land south of the line was divided into townships of five miles square and these subsequently into quarter townships of 4000 acres. Some of these quarter townships were divided into 100 acre lots for the private soldiers of the Revolution and 480 of these lots were given to boys of 1776. Six of the 4000 acre tracts were set apart as school land for the Connecticut Western Reserve and later was sold at public sale. The remainder of this territory was surveyed into sections of 640 acres and sold at private entry at Zanesville.

All section or Congress land south of the boundary line is numbered in the same manner as the above, beginning with section one in the northeast corner and ending with section 25 in the southeast corner. All military lands are numbered from the southeast corner of the quarter township to the northwest corner and are numbered from south to north in blocks divided into five rows east and west and eight rows north and south.

School lands are divided into quarter townships, and subdivided into lots which number from the northeast corner of the quarter township to the northwest corner, always
numbering to the left thus, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, until the quarter 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, township is completed.

Township numbers south of the Indian boundary extend across the county from east to west. Township eight is on the south line of the county and includes the political townships of Clark, Mechanic, Killbuck and Richland. Nine is next north and township 10 reaches to the Indian boundary. Townships north of the boundary line are numbered with the ranges north and south. The range lines extend north and south. They are six miles apart north of the Indian boundary and five miles apart south of that line.*

For a better idea of this complex system of land survey the reader is referred to figure 8, page 48.

*Explained to the writer by Solomon Y. Schlabach, Amishman.
LAND UTILIZATION: Only a small amount of land in the Amish community is devoted to urban utilization. No towns of any size are located in the area. Berlin, Winesburg, Mt. Hope, Benton and Walnut Creek are villages with the Holmes county settlement, all with less than 1,000 population. (see map page 18) A great deal of the land in these villages is used for agricultural purposes and many of the residents are farmers who operate farms near by. So the typical scene in this area is rural.

FARMS: As stated earlier in this essay, farming is the primary industry of the Amish and practically all land occupied by them is used for agricultural purposes -- truck farming, dairying or grain farming. The average size of the farms is about 100 acres. The largest farm in Berlin township is owned by John Y. Schlabach and lies along the western edge of the township. He controls 165 acres.

A study of seven farms in representative sections of the township reveals a marked sameness in land utilization. Rotation of from four to six crops is used and the arable land of the farm is divided into the required number of fields of near equal size. An example of six crop rotation is given in figure 9 page 50, the farm of William E. Beachy, near Berlin. Mr. Beachy uses a rotation in this order, corn, oats, wheat, clover, timothy, and pasture. The remainder of his holdings are used in permanent pasture and for the farmstead.
Figure 9. Land utilization on the farm of William E. Beachy near Berlin, Holmes county. Mr. Beachy uses a six crop rotation plan with the crops in this order: corn, oats, wheat, clover, timothy and temporary pasture. Scale: 1 in. equals 15 rod. Discrepancies in size of fields and number of acres in the fields is accounted for by waste lands.
The farmstead in this instance as well as in all observed is compact and conveniently arranged. The total distance from end to end of Mr. Beechy's farmstead is about 100 yards each way, and the residence houses, barn, poultry houses and other outbuildings are within this space. Outside of this area; but within a short distance of the house is the orchard, the garden and the truck patch. This arrangement is made for convenience and the necessity of conserving the land area for crop growth.

The 165 acre farm of John Y. Schlabach in the western part of the township is operated on a five crop rotation basis. The crops in order are corn, oats, wheat, timothy, and timothy and clover. Figure 10 page 52 shows the field arrangement on Mr. Schlabach's farm and figure 12 page 56 the building arrangement which again illustrates the compact and convenient placing of farm buildings, arranged for efficiency and land conservation.

Four crop rotation is the plan used by J. J. Miller who owns and operates a farm of about 120 acres in northwest Berlin township. His rotation is corn, oats, wheat and hay. His farm arrangement is shown in figure 11 page 53 and the typical Amish building arrangement in figure 13 page 56.

David J. Miller in the southern part of the township uses a four crop rotation. He owns and operates a farm of 70 acres. Jacob D. Miller, who owns a 96 acre farm southwest of Berlin also uses a four crop rotation
Figure 10. Land utilization on the farm of John Y. Schlabach in western Berlin township. Mr. Schlabach uses a five crop rotation of corn, oats, wheat, timothy and clover. The crop arrangement shown is for this year (1932). Scale: 6 inches equals 80 rod. Discrepancies in size of fields and number of acres in the fields is accounted for by waste lands.
Figure 11. Land utilization on the farm of J.J. Miller, northwest Berlin township. Mr. Miller uses a four crop rotation of corn, oats, wheat and clover. The crop arrangement shown is for 1932. Scale: 6 inches equals 80 rods. Discrepancies in size of fields and number of acres in the fields is accounted for by waste lands.
both of these farmers using corn, wheat, oats and clover for the rotation. Eli M. Harshberger, who operates a 73 acre farm northeast of Berlin uses a five crop rotation of corn, oats, wheat, hay and pasture.

Land tenure has been one of the important factors in holding the large Amish community of the Holmes county region intact. A large number of the land holders have inherited their farms from their forebears, in some instances the land having been in the same family for nearly a century. The Amish farmer, undisturbed by the pressure of progress and new developments about him and the high living standards obtaining during the past 50 years, has saved his earnings and paid off the mortgage on his holdings or purchased more land or stock. Additional land acquired is given to the children as they grow to maturity and marry.

Hence, instead of leaving the parental homestead, the young Amishman either takes over the home place when his elder grows too old to be active, or is given a farm by his parents in the immediate neighborhood. This method of land tenure has served to crowd out the non-Amish resident, who has moved elsewhere -- unable to stand the competition of people who do not spend their money for luxuries, but invest it in real estate or stable chattels. This system has added to the solidarity and unity of the Amish, until now it is a powerful, but passive element in
the political, economic and religious life of Holmes county. Land tenancy has been declining in Holmes county during the decade 1920-30, census figures show.* From 1920 to 1925 the percent of tenancy dropped from 28 to 20.5. In 1930 it was 21.2 with a further increase during the last two years due to the depression. Land values in 1930 ranged from $40 to $60 an acre.

TRANSPORTATION: Horse drawn vehicles form the principal means of transport for the Amish. The ownership of motor cars or other motor vehicles is forbidden by their religion. However, trucks are used in removing produce to and from the region.

For eastern Holmes county, Millersburg is the market outlet. The Cleveland, Akron and Columbus branch of the Pennsylvania provides freight, express and passenger services from that station to points north and south where east-west connections are available. For Wayne county, Fredericksburg provides the Amish an outlet over the C.A. & C. Amish residents of southwestern Stark county have convenient rail outlets at Beach City and Justus, both on the Wheeling and Lake Erie R.R. This line also furnishes outlets in Tuscarawas county at Dundee, Sugar Creek and Baltic.**

No regularly scheduled truck service operates thru this region, but much of the hauling is done by local

Figure 12. The farm building arrangement on the farm of John Y. Schlabach. Note the compact dwelling group of house, wood shed, ovens, wash and spring houses. Scale: 1 inch equals 50 feet.

Figure 13. Farm building arrangement on the J. J. Miller farm. Note the nearness of the house to the barn. The compact grouping of buildings is characteristic of Amish farms. Conservation of space and convenience is the object.
truck operators. Milk sold to the Cleveland, Akron and Wooster dairies is all hauled by truck. Bus passenger service is maintained through several of the villages in the region including Berlin, Winesburg, Sugar Creek and Beach City connecting with Millersburg and Massillon.

COMMUNICATION: The United States mail provides the principal means of communication between the Amish and the outside world. Mail service is provided by rural routes from the larger towns nearby. The residents of villages such as Berlin, Mt. Hope, and Benton are served by a local post office situated on a star route.

Since the Amish are opposed to innovations, the telephone has never been used. However, telephone lines pass through the region to the homes of non-Amish subscribers, mostly Mennonites. Telegraphic communication is likewise difficult although the Western Union Telegraph Company maintains offices in Millersburg, Fredericksburg and other nearby towns.

A ban on all musical instruments incorporated in the religion of the Amish bars the radio from their homes and this method of obtaining news from the outside world is restricted to the non-Amish population. Newspapers and farm journals are subscribed to by the Amish and furnish a source of information. The Millersburg Farmer-Hub, a weekly, has a wide circulation among the Amish. The Cleveland Plain Dealer and other metropolitan papers also
have a circulation in the area. Other than this the spoken word is the only means of communication and it forms the principal source of information to many of these people and in many cases the only means of communication.
PART FOUR

Human Activities and Social Customs

AGRICULTURE: General farming is the primary occupation of all Amishmen. By general farming is meant diversified crops and stock raising without specialization in any one activity such as found in the wheat region of Kansas or the dairy region of Wisconsin. Many farmers, however, place particular emphasis upon dairy farming.

The Amish farm consists of anywhere from 40 to 160 acres of land. The average is about 95 acres. This acreage is appreciably less than the farms of western Holmes county where the farmers are non-Amish. Table 4 page 61 shows the relative size of farms in the several townships of Holmes county.*

The average acreage for Berlin township is 92, for Paint 98, Walnut Creek, 93, Salt Creek 92 and for Clark, 100. These are the five townships with heavy Amish population. Of the non-Amish townships all of them have an average farm acreage of more than 100 except Prairie which has only 92. Killbuck township farms average 137 acres in size with Knox a close second at 135. This can be explained partly upon a topographic basis. The land in the western part of the county is less suited to intensive tillage and more acreage is required to sustain a family; or stated in another way, the lack of arable land has kept the population down and larger land holdings necessarily.

*These figures relate to April 1, 1930.
follow. In Prairie township a large percentage of the land is arable and hence the topographic influence is absent -- as in the case of the Amish region where the percent of arable land is greater.

Amish farm land and building values reflect the excellence of their farming. Table 4 page 61 shows the total value of farm lands and buildings in Holmes county. In Berlin township the valuation is $1,748,090 compared to $447,340 for Knox township, one of the poorest townships in the county. The average value of farm lands and buildings in Berlin township is $9,712 followed by Clark, $8,771; Salt Creek, $8,707; Walnut Creek, $8,582; Washington, $8,333; Prairie, $7,432; Paint, $6,948. Washington and Prairie townships are non-Amish. The remainder of the townships show average values down to $4,020 for Richland, the lowest.

Amishmen of Wayne, Stark and Tuscarawas counties own farms comparable in size to their neighbors in Holmes county. The values of their property reveal a favorable comparison, but do not rank them ahead of their non-Amish neighbors.* Farm values in the Amish region compare favorably with the richest counties in the state.**

Statistics on the value of farm dwellings and farm implements and machinery for Holmes county are significant in regard to the position of the Amish farmer in

**Ibid. pp. 4 to 22.
<table>
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<th>Township**</th>
<th>No. of Farms</th>
<th>Land in Farms Acres</th>
<th>Value Bldgs. and Land</th>
<th>Aver. Value</th>
<th>Value Farm Implements</th>
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<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>19,570</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>857,685</td>
<td>4,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>13,580</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>668,490</td>
<td>5,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paint*</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>17,788</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1,248,646</td>
<td>6,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>17,835</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>1,085,079</td>
<td>7,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richland</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>16,346</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>502,525</td>
<td>4,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ripley</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>17,007</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,009,400</td>
<td>6,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Creek*</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>17,711</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1,665,477</td>
<td>8,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnut Creek*</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>17,338</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1,604,938</td>
<td>8,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>18,945</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1,316,700</td>
<td>8,333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Figures from report on Agriculture for Ohio by Minor Civil Divisions, the 15th Decennial Census of the United States, 1920, page 11.
* Townships marked with an asterisk have predominant Amish populations. Some Amish reside in Hardy, Mechanic and Prairie townships.
relation to his neighbors. The figures on farm dwelling values give Clark township the lead at $381,300, Berlin 338,300; Hardy (only a few Amish) 291,800; Salt Creek, 290,200; Walnut Creek, 288,775; Paint, 232,145. All but Hardy are Amish townships. For farm implements the five Amish townships also take the leading positions with Walnut Creek first with $119,258; Berlin, 105,051; Paint, 102,075; Prairie (a few Amish) 100,659; Killbuck, (non-Amish) 97,110; Clark, 95,930; Washington, (non-Amish) 95,630; Salt Creek, 93,499. Richland is last with 42,300.

The use of crop rotation is universal among the Amish farmers. Crops rotated are corn, oats, wheat, barley, timothy and clover hay and sometimes rye or a legume crop as clover or cowpeas. Corn and wheat are the chief crops, the soils of the area being especially adapted to wheat raising.

In order to facilitate crop rotations the Amishman divides his farm into nearly equal fields. If four crops are grown in rotation there are four fields of approximately equal size set apart for these crops and each crop is planted in a field once every four years. The remainder of the land is utilized for permanent pasture, woodlands, orchards, other minor crops and for the homestead. Some farmers use five and six crop rotation plans. Often the farmer is unable to plot out four or more fields of equal size. In that case two smaller fields of about the same acreage as one large one is used.
Sowing and caring for crops is carried on by the Amish with methods similar to those used by other farmers in Ohio, except that mechanical power is not used. Their religion forbids the use of tractors for drawbar work, that is, pulling of plows or other implements. The use of the tractor for belt power is permitted, however. This concession in their religious belief to modern methods is necessary because of the present day threshing machine which has to have mechanical motive power.

Commercial fertilizers are in general use and no natural manure is allowed to go to waste. Liming is resorted to in order to grow legumes such as sweet clover, alfalfa, vetch and cowpeas. Soybeans also have been raised fairly extensively in recent years but the Amish have not adapted this bean to the varied uses the Manchurians have found for them.* The Amishman subscribes to the current farm journals and is willing to experiment with new ideas on cultivation or farm management which he reads about. If the experiment is successful he imparts his knowledge to his neighbors and soon the practice is general. A remarkable sameness in noted in their agriculture.

Grain crops as a rule are not sold but are used for feeding livestock. Wheat is often marketed at local elevators, but with low prices prevailing at this time (1932) much of it is being fed to livestock. Corn, oats, barley

*S.N.R. Fortune, February 1932, p. 48. This article describes the multiple uses of the soybean by the Manchurians and Japanese.
and rye is harvested and placed in storage for use through the winter. The hay crops are likewise stored indoors in the mows of the large -- frequently enormous -- barns which mark the Amish farmstead. The small grain crops are threshed in the wide driveway on the second floor of the barn and the straw is piled in a shed which is a part of the barn. Thus the livestock may have access to the straw during the winter while in shelter. The corn is cut and husked in the fall and the fodder stored in the barn loft. Frequently the fodder is shredded before being stored.

Fruit is an important crop on Amish farms. The Amishman attempts to be as near self sustaining as possible and his orchard furnishes fruit for household consumption. Apples, peaches, pears, plums, cherries and quince are grown and in favorable years furnish a surplus which is marketed. Potatoes and vegetable crops are raised in the truck patch and garden for home use and the Amish women preserve great quantities of these food stuffs for the long winter months. The cellar of an Amish home is an anticipatory sight in the fall when the fruits of summer have been packed away. The growing of truck crops is not engaged in commercially to any extent by the Amish farmer, although some near the larger towns engage in it.

Near Mt. Hope, Holmes county, some of the farmers
are raising potatoes for commercial purposes. This is a recent development. In Stark county celery, radishes and other vegetables are grown for sale in nearby city markets. In 1931 a small amount of truck was raised in the "Plains" of Holmes county and sold in Wooster and Canton.

Bees are kept on many of the farms for the honey -- the many legume crops furnishing fine bee pasturage. In former years a great deal of lumber was cut in this area but this is steadily declining with the thinning out of the timber lots. Some oak, hickory and ash logs are sold and the growing of catalpa and Osage orange trees for fence posts is engaged in.

A new crop which promises to provide a good income to Amishmen of the "Plains" region in northern Berlin township is mint. About twenty acres are planted in this crop at present but a much larger acreage is suited to its cultivation. The mint roots are set out and they spread each year increasing the yield. The ground is cultivated shallowly each year. The crop is cut with a mower, the mint hay raked and hauled to vats where the oil is cooked from it.

Livestock furnish a principal source of income to the Amish farmer. The raising of beef cattle, prevalent a few years ago, has declined now but hogs are raised extensively and furnish meat for home consumption and for market. Veals have been grown profitably since dairying
has gained in late years, but with low prices prevailing veal production has fallen.

Horses furnish a source of income to these people. The whole area is noted for its horses and the market at Wooster and Millersburg has been among the largest in the country. Many horses are shipped in from Kansas and other western states every year and sold to the Amish who train them and resell them at a profit. Sheep raising formerly engaged in rather extensively has fallen off with the advent of dairying. The sheep nibble the grass too close for the dairy cattle. Goat husbandry is unimportant.

The raising of dogs and other pets is engaged in by some Amishmen for commercial purposes. Chickens are kept for both meat and eggs. White leghorns, barred rocks and Rhode Island reds are popular breeds but many others are raised. Most of the Amishmen keep purebred chickens. Ducks, geese and turkeys are raised but not extensively.

DAIRY FARMING: The dairy herd has been a major source of income to the Amishman for many years. The making of Swiss (Swiss) cheese has been carried on by the Amish since their arrival in this region. Hence the Amish farmer has had a sale for surplus milk. Twenty-five years ago the dairy herd on each farm was comparatively small. Milk for home consumption was the important item but some extra was produced and sent to the neighborhood
cheese factory which operated on a commission basis.

With the great increase in the use of dairy products the milk companies of the large cities -- Akron, Wooster, Canton and Cleveland -- began to reach out for further sources of supply. This growing demand and the supply made available by the good roads and the large tank trucks, caused the farmers to increase their herds until now practically every Amishman keeps from six to a dozen or more cows, mostly Holstein. Guernseys and Jerseys are displacing the Holsteins to some extent in the northern part of the settlement due to the richer milk these two breeds give. The city dairies insist upon 3.5% milk for which they pay around $1.33 a 100 pounds. (1932). The price formerly was $2.50 a hundred and the fall in price has caused some farmers to decrease their herds or send their milk to cheese factories.

In the milk industry each farmer is allotted a quota of milk to supply to the company and if his production runs ahead of the quota, the amount is increased. If he drops below the quota the price paid is cut and he is either dropped from the milk route or his quota is reduced. This is a source of considerable annoyance to the farmer as he must so regulate his production units that he has fresh cows coming on all the year round to keep up production.
For cheese manufacture the Holstein cow furnishes the best milk as "blue" milk is better for cheese. The Holstein cow gives a greater quantity of lower grade milk than the Guernsey or Jersey. The cheese factories are generally run on a co-operative basis -- the farmer receiving the wholesale price on the cheese made from his milk. The cheese maker operates his plant on a commission basis, 10% being the usual charge, but 15% if the cheese maker furnishes the wrapping and other shipping materials.

For dairying the farm operations are more or less the same as for general farming. If the farmer is supplying milk for city consumption the silo is necessary because of the lack of green feed in the winter. The ensilage serves for this purpose and is an aid in maintaining production through the long winter months -- production maintenance being essential to profit. The ensilage is made from corn fodder sometimes mixed with soybeans.

Present indications are that dairy farming will not increase in the future. This is based on the assumption that business will require many years to reach the levels of 1928 and 1929. With two outlets, the city milk companies and the cheese factory, the industry is on a firm basis apparently, although profits are low. Other farm operations should continue along present lines with the exception of mint raising which may expand in the future.
CROP PRODUCTION: As stated earlier in this study wheat and corn are the principal grain crops of the Amish area and these two crops are included in all rotation plans. The average annual value of the wheat crop in Holmes county is $735,000* at pre-depression prices. This figure is representative of the counties of the state as a whole, but is much less than the production of the counties to the north, notably Wayne and Stark, leaders in wheat production in Ohio.

Corn has an average annual value of $510,000 for Holmes county. This again is low for the state as a whole and is lower than the counties immediately surrounding. Of these two grains the Amish farmers produce roughly a third of the total. Oats production shows an average annual value of $300,000 for the county. This figure likewise is low for the state but Holmes county produces more oats than counties lying to the south of it, this being largely due to the glacial soils of the county.

The potato crop in Holmes county has an annual value of $150,000 which is much lower than for other counties of glaciated northeastern Ohio, but comparable to counties to the south. Thus it is seen that Holmes county is not a leader in the production of any of the major agricultural crops but strikes a good average.

The table shown below lists the production of various minor crops in Holmes county, data compiled for the United States census of 1930*.

**TABLE 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legumes:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soybeans</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>142 bushels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowpeas</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Beans</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>219 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Field Crops:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Potatoes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>199 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>365 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popcorn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>72 bushels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grass for Seed:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clover</td>
<td>6,836</td>
<td>7,591 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>1,886</td>
<td>7,220 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maple Products:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrup</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,111 gallons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td>246 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forest Products:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Logs</td>
<td></td>
<td>963,000 board ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood</td>
<td></td>
<td>14,251 cords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fence Posts</td>
<td></td>
<td>58,894 number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad Ties</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,582 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles and Piling</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,772 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orchard Fruits:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>42,899 trees</td>
<td>10,521 bushels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherries</td>
<td>6,695 &quot;</td>
<td>648 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaches</td>
<td>33,019 &quot;</td>
<td>7,187 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pears</td>
<td>3,494 &quot;</td>
<td>1,697 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plums</td>
<td>4,879 &quot;</td>
<td>621 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinces</td>
<td>146 &quot;</td>
<td>43 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grapes</td>
<td>7,250 vines</td>
<td>54,047 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small Fruits:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackberries</td>
<td>2 acres</td>
<td>1,662 quarts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raspberries</td>
<td>10 acres</td>
<td>7,371 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strawberries</td>
<td>34 acres</td>
<td>48,673 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no way of telling just how much of these products was produced by the Amish people in the county but a figure between

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one-third and one-half would be approximately correct. A comparison with data listed for other counties shows Holmes county not to be a leader in the production of any of these commodities except mint oil. Most of the produce listed is grown for home consumption. The position of Holmes county among Ohio counties in the dairy industry is high due to the large herds of the Amish. Holmes county with 25,457 head of cattle ranked 17th in number in the census of 1930. This figure was only exceeded slightly by Trumbull, Tuscarawas, Franklin and Wood counties with their large populations.

MARKETING: An interesting phase of the farm activities of the Amish people is their marketing methods. One of the principal markets for their surplus produce is the community sale or "feundu". The two principal sales are now held at Berlin, Holmes county and at Kidron in Wayne county, although a number of other towns hold them also.

The Berlin feundu is the oldest one in existence in the area. It is similar in nature to the fairs of Europe. The Amish farmers bring their produce, livestock, fruits, cereals, products of their handicraft, anything they may wish to sell -- to this sale. A great deal of the merchandise is hauled or driven to the sale pavilions or pens on Thursday preceding the sale day which at Berlin occurs on the third Friday of each month. The morning sales are of produce and household goods and the livestock sales commence about noon. As high as 2,000
people attend the Berlin and Kidron sales and the bidding on goods is frequently brisk.

Some of the goods are bartered among the Amish but most of the produce is sold at auction to the highest bidder, a local auctioneer (non-Amish) conducting the sales. Of late years outsiders have brought produce to these sales and now trucks from as far as Cleveland come here to offer all kinds of goods of interest to an agricultural people. Outside buyers also bid at the sales and purebred stock buyers from many states have visited them. Other marketing methods are similar to those employed in other agricultural communities.
A drive through the Amish community in the summer is a pleasure. The well-cultivated fields, clean fence rows and wood lots are in marked contrast with most rural sections of Ohio. The timber plot is cleared of all dead and fallen timber and the farmstead is a model of orderliness.

The Amish farmstead is a maze of buildings compactly arranged for convenience and conservation of space. The buildings are all of severe plainness. The barns are generally painted red, sometimes white, the house always white with no adornments architecturally or in color. A well kept lawn, generally fenced in, with flowers and shrubs in profusion, characterizes the farm home. The house is of two-story frame construction always with a basement which is built into the hillside with the basement opening through doors at the front. This type of adaptation to the hills of the region is universal among the Amish. The house is built near a spring at the bottom of some hill and the basement forms the first floor from the downhill side. A full length front porch is a feature and the basement part of the porch is sometimes boarded up to form a storage room.

Outbuildings are clustered between the house and barn and consist of granaries, corncribs, implement sheds, milk house, spring house, summer house with bake ovens, poultry houses, swine shed and tool shed and a miscellaneous assortment of bins, sheds and shelters, as everything except the growing crops on an Amish farm is kept under shelter.
INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY: Industrial enterprise is with few exceptions totally absent from the Amish area. Swiss cheese making is a notable exception. A large number of small cheese factories are operated throughout the Amish community. Some of them are operated by farmers in conjunction with their farms. Others are operated by a Swiss cheese maker on a commission basis.

The output of these small plants are from three to six cheeses a day. The cheeses weigh from 100 to 150 pounds each and are stored for about 60 days before they are ready for consumption. Shipments are made to all parts of the United States with the price ranging about double the price of American cream cheese. It retails at Millersburg for about 25 cents a pound. Most of the cheese making is confined to Holmes and Tuscarawas counties as the farmers of Wayne and Stark counties sell their milk to the city dairies.

Planing mills are operated in or near several of the villages by Amish and other groups of Mennonites. These mills employ only a few men -- less than five -- and devote considerable time to cabinet work. A great deal of the furniture of the Amish household is made at these mills, as well as caskets, farm implements and vehicles.

Rug weaving is engaged in by a few Amish, the owner being the only weaver. Rag rugs made from rags from the Amish household is the only manufacture and this is done on a commission basis.
Merchandizing is followed to a limited extent by some of the members of the sect, although this also is considered worldly. Lumber, fuel and other commodities are sold on a small profit plan in several sections by Amishmen. Occasionally an Amishman engages in general labor, particularly on neighboring farms, but this is not common. No one whatever is permitted to enter the professions and there are few artisans among them. Some handicraft work such as wood carving, embroidery and quilting is done but the services of these skilled ones are not for commercial hire.
A geographical discussion of such a quaint people can be hardly considered complete without mention of the social customs of the people. Although the following pages are devoted to a theme more sociological perhaps than geographical, the picture of the area would certainly not be complete without it.

THE AMISH SOCIETY: Strict adherence to the tenets of their religion is the keynote of the Amish family's existence. The Dort confession forms the basis for their doctrinal beliefs. In order to explain the Amish society of today some references and extracts from this agreement entered into at Dortrecht, Holland, April 21, 1632 are given.

The confession affirms the belief in one god, the virgin birth and other fundamental conceptions of Christianity. Baptism, however, is given only upon confession of faith. The feet washing rite is also fundamental. Matrimony can only occur between members of the Old Order. Anyone marrying outside the order is shunned, unless his (her) mate is willing to accept the Amish faith.

Article XIII of the confession recognizes the need

*The Mennonite Confession of Faith, Article VII.*
of government for protection and regulation and forbids resistance to authority, except those orders which are deemed against the will of God. It bids the payment of taxes, and prays for the success of the government. Article XIV states their opposition to the use of force for revenge or resistance. They are forbidden to take oaths, their yes or no being absolute.

With these fundamentals of their doctrine in mind we may well look into the structure of their society. The Amish community functions on a private property basis. There is no communal effort in the operation or management of their affairs. The family is the primary social unit and the father is the head of that unit. He manages the affairs of the farm, the business of both the farm and the home, even to the purchase of dry goods and other articles normally within the province of women's management. The wife is consulted, however, concerning family affairs.

The church is the secondary unit in the Amish society. The church consists of a group of about 35 families who choose a bishop and from one to three ministers from their numbers. There is no meeting house, the members meeting every second Sunday in the home of a member previously designated. No protracted or evening services are held. The function of the bishop and ministers is simply to provide spiritual leadership and conduct the
Sabbath services. Their position carries no responsibility or influence outside of spiritual affairs.

Social life of Amish people center in the home. The Amish home is furnished plainly, but comfortably with the exception that modern furniture is not included, although hot and cold water and furnaces are sometimes installed in homes. Furniture consists of cupboards, chests of drawers, plain tables and chairs, benches, sofas, cots, beds, an occasional rocking chair, clocks, dressers and desks. Much of this furniture is made at the planing mill in the community. Blinds are rarely used at the windows and only occasional homes have curtains. These are never of lace or other common curtain material but are of inexpensive stuffs of a drab color. No pictures adorn the walls, not even of religious subjects. Mirrors are few in number. Occasional rug rugs are used on the otherwise bare but clean floor.

HABITS: The Amish on the whole have commendable habits. They are honest to a degree, friendly, courteous, unassuming and charitable toward their fellows and toward outsiders. They contribute to charity and were active in this during the World War which they opposed as conscientious objectors. The use of tobacco is common but is confined to the male sex. The use of liquors is prevalent but the drinking is done within the home and excesses are
not common. In personal habits they are clean. The men allow their hair to grow long but it is kept combed. Married men wear their beards long, but have no mustache. Their food habits are similar to other Americans, few unusual food combinations being used.

Amish dress is very plain. The women wear long skirts of dull, generally dark material. High topped button or laced shoes, cotton stockings, black old-style stave bonnet and coat of inexpensive drab material makes up the outdoor garments for women. The men wear overalls or trousers of denim or other inexpensive material and frequently of home construction. Thick-soled, often hobnailed shoes, cotton socks, denim jacket and wide-brimmed black felt hat make up their outdoor apparel. In winter the sheep-wool lined coat replaces the denim jacket. No cravat is worn. Clothes are suspended by hooks and eyes instead of buttons, although buttons are occasionally used.

**MARRIAGE:** Marriage is performed by means of bans, no license being used. The marriage ceremony is an elaborate affair for the Amish. It is performed by the bishop or minister at the home of the parent of one of the participants and is an all day affair, beginning in the morning and lasting until midnight. The ceremony is performed shortly before noon and is followed by a wedding dinner.
EDUCATION: As stated earlier, the Amish are opposed to higher education. As a simple farm people they see no need for such learning. Formerly they were opposed to sending their children through more than the 4th grade, but now they complete the 8th grade, frequently continuing for special courses in high school. Occasionally members of the group will attend sessions or short courses for farm education held at the state fair or given by the state schools. The feeling among these rural folk is that the youth is needed more on the farm than in studying Latin, algebra and other subjects foreign to their ideals, religion and life.

SANITATION AND HEALTH: The Amish, although cleanly in personal habits, are slow to adopt modern sanitary methods. Hence disease is perhaps a little more common among them. They believe in modern medical science and call in physicians when sick. County health nurses experience some difficulty in enforcing health rules in the schools and quarantines are not always obeyed.

CITIZENSHIP: Holmes county public officials* believe that the Amish make fine citizens. They are industrious and law-abiding. They pay their taxes. Some difficulties are met in enforcing health and educational regulations and during the war some trouble developed over the draft laws. They settle their own difficulties in

*The sheriff, common pleas judge, probate judge, county health commissioner, superintendent of schools and auditor of Holmes county were interviewed.
their own councils and never resort to the courts for redress of grievances. Although they do not take an active part in political affairs, many of them exercise their franchise and some of them hold minor offices such as school board member, township clerk. Politically they are Democrats.

**ARTS AND CRAFTS:** Since the Amish are a plain people, they do not indulge in art work of any sort. They are opposed to pictures of any kind and have none of themselves. Anything that points to ostentation is frowned upon by the religion and pride is considered a false virtue. However, many Amish women are fond of flowers and their homes are sometimes surrounded by flowers and shrubs and many potted plants are kept. Needlework is a favorite with the Amish women and some of their embroidery, although never shown to the public, would attract many buyers if it were offered for sale. Quilts and comforts of beautiful and intricate design are also made by these women.

**THE AMISH INSURANCE PLAN:** The nearest approach to communal effort is noted in the Amish insurance system. This is a mutual plan which operates only in the case of destruction of property by fire or other uncontrolled causes. Each congregation has a committee of three members who act as adjustors. In case a member of the congregation has a barn destroyed by fire the adjustors call at his place and appraise the loss, assisted by other Amishmen of the community who may be better acquainted with the
loss. Upon fixation of the amount of the loss the applicant is reimbursed in the extent of three-fourths of the total, while he is forced to stand the remainder. This latter provision prevents incendiary fires. The congregation makes up the other three-fourths by pro-rataion among the members according to the ability to pay. Aid is extended to families stricken by crop failure and other misfortunes in this manner and also to other colonies or groups which have experienced reverses.

**RECREATION:** Play is included in the activities of the Amish people. Since they do not have musical instruments, radios, automobiles or golf courses, they must look elsewhere for amusement. Baseball, skating and swimming are indulged in by the young men. Hunting is favored by many and wrestling is a popular sport at most public meetings and at sales. Old fashioned side-holds are used in the wrestling bouts, which are impromptu affairs.

Attendance at picture shows as well as other commercial entertainment is forbidden but many of them attend shows and games. Pictures like Ben Hur and the Ten Commandments are attended openly by the elder members. Basketball, football and baseball, the county and state fair also attract Amish patronage. Local social affairs include the old fashioned box social or pound supper and husking and quilting bees.
PART FIVE

Geographic Interpretations and the Future

A great difference in the Amish society and the present social order is revealed in the preceding chapters. Most of this difference can be ascribed to the religious tenets of the Amish, but their independence and self-sufficiency may be explained partly on the geographic basis of isolation. The Amish arbitrarily chose an isolated area when they settled in this region and in doing so sowed the seed of their present day independence which is withstanding the attack of the great depression.

Progress among the Amish is retarded by their religious beliefs and their outlook for the future is practically the same as for the past. Based on the present conditions, little change should occur in the community in the next fifty years despite the rapid progress of the world outside. Even so, the future holds far more hope for the Amish region than for many other agricultural districts of Ohio. The primaries of life -- food, clothing, shelter -- are the aim of each Amish individual, and with his present agricultural position, the aim should be attained.

An important negative factor aiding the Amish to continue their present society is the lack of natural resources other than the soil, thus reducing the
possibility of industrial penetration of the area.

The study of the Amish social organism leads to the conclusion that the community will eventually disintegrate, and disappear. How soon this will come about it is hard to say but the end of the present century should witness a tremendous contraction in their numbers. This conclusion is based on three premises -- geographic factors, human nature and history.

Until recent years the geographic location has helped the Amish maintain their splendid social organism with no interference. Eastern Holmes county is off the beaten path. Since the Amish are agricultural people no towns developed, hence railroads did not penetrate the area. With the coming of the automobile and the subsequent good roads, conditions have changed. Penetration has come about through the increase of vehicular traffic. In order to facilitate rapid travel good roads have been built everywhere including through the Amish region. Several important highways now penetrate the area, including state route 39, and U.S. routes 250 and 62, the latter leading from Canada to Mexico, thus opening this section to cross country travel.

These trafficways have opened the region to the penetration of outside ideas, ingenuity and economies. The Amish youngster is constantly faced with the new instead of the old, and young people like young ideas
Defection is already noted in the use by the younger Amish of the English language instead of the German dialect. The use of modern machinery has alienated others and has lead to schism. A great difference of opinion arose among the Amish in the middle of the last century and resulted in a wide split about 1870 with a large number deserting the conservative group.

As the complexities of present day society are brought in further sources of disagreement will develop. An interesting note on this point is taken from volume two of the 1926 census of religious bodies, "They are, however, by no means a unit on these things (various points of order in their behavior) and the line of distinction between them and the other Amish Mennonites is in many cases not very clearly drawn. Some are consequently drawing nearer in their church relationship to the more progressive body which has affiliated with the general conference of Mennonites."

**CONCLUSION:** The Amish people established themselves in Holmes and adjoining counties because they were attracted by the appearance of the land. They have remained there because the region is not suited for any activity except agriculture. The Amish have been favored by good soils and good climatic conditions in establishing their

*Census of Religious Bodies, Volume II, 1926, p.864.*
reputation as good farmers. The geographic factor of isolation, so necessary for the preservation of individualism, is being destroyed by the modern transportation system. So we leave the Amish with great admiration for their social system but with sincere doubts as to its capacity for continuity.
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Figure 15. A gravel pit. This particular pit is located in the large moraine which blocked the valley of Martin's creek forming the present area known as "the Plains", the bottom of an old glacial lake. Note the characteristic rolling topography with a drumlin occupying the center background. Martin's creek flows through the valley. The gravel is used for road metal.

Figure 16. An Amish farmstead in Clark township in Holmes county. Note the compact building arrangement, the many outbuildings.
Figure 17. Land utilization around the farmstead. An Amishman's home in Berlin township, Holmes county. Notice the compactness of the arrangement. The orchard is to the rear and the garden to the right of the house.

Figure 18. A typical Amish farm residence. Two story frame dwellings with plenty of room. A full length porch is a feature of most houses.
Figure 19. Lights and shadows. The peculiar Amish vehicle of personal transport pulled by a one-horse power hay-burner. The Amish are opposed to having their pictures taken and a man with a camera is eyed with suspicion.

Figure 20. An Amish farmstead in Tuscarawas county. The full length porch and a basement kitchen is in evidence.
Figure 21. A two family farm. Here the eldest son has built a house alongside the residence of his forebears, who are living in retirement.

Figure 22. The little red school house. A modern rural school in Holmes county. The Amish formerly opposed education beyond the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic, but now they attend for the duration of the eight grades and occasionally they enroll in high school.
Figure 23. A Sweitzer cheese factory. These small industrial units are common throughout the Amish region. The factory shown makes three cheeses a day, each cheese weighing upward of 100 pounds.

Figure 24. A street scene in Berlin, Holmes County. Berlin is in the heart of the Amish district but the citizens are mostly Mennonites. The business houses are owned by Mennonites. The peculiar Amish buggy, a familiar sight in this area, can be seen in the center of the picture.
### TABLE 6

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(Figures from Population bulletin, 1st Series, for Ohio, 15th Census of the United States; 1950)

Figure 25. A new type Amish house. The basement opening as the first floor is the usual adaptation to the hilly region. The severe plainness and the full length porch is retained from the older designs.
Figure 26. On opposite page, A topographic map of the Amish region. The area shown on the photostat includes part of Stark, Wayne, Holmes, Tuscarawas and Coshocton counties, and has an area of more than 150 square miles. Some of the more sparsely populated districts of the Amish community are not shown on this map.

Scale of map: \( \frac{1}{62,500} \)