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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF AN AMISH SETTLEMENT

As a person travels across northern Indiana in early August he will pass through a diverse series of distinctive landscapes. Eastward from Chicago the traveler will wind his way through the industrial complex of the Indiana Calumet, new in history but already old in contribution to the American way of life. As the traveler leaves Gary on the eastward journey, the urbanized scene gradually fades away and, following U. S. highway 6 the width of the state to the Ohio boundary, he will pass through a continuous panorama of agricultural activity interrupted only occasionally by a small city or marketing village (Figure 1).

The roads and highways are, for the most part, very straight. The glacial topography of northern Indiana is not noted for its ruggedness, but the highways begin to rise slightly as they approach the glacial moraines which spread across the countryside. These higher lands, sandy, clayey, and bouldery, still support abundant forest growth and the widespread distribution of grazing dairy cattle testify to the difficulties of turning the moraine lands into productive crop regions. Between the moraines, on the outwash plains and along the bottomlands of the old sluiceways,

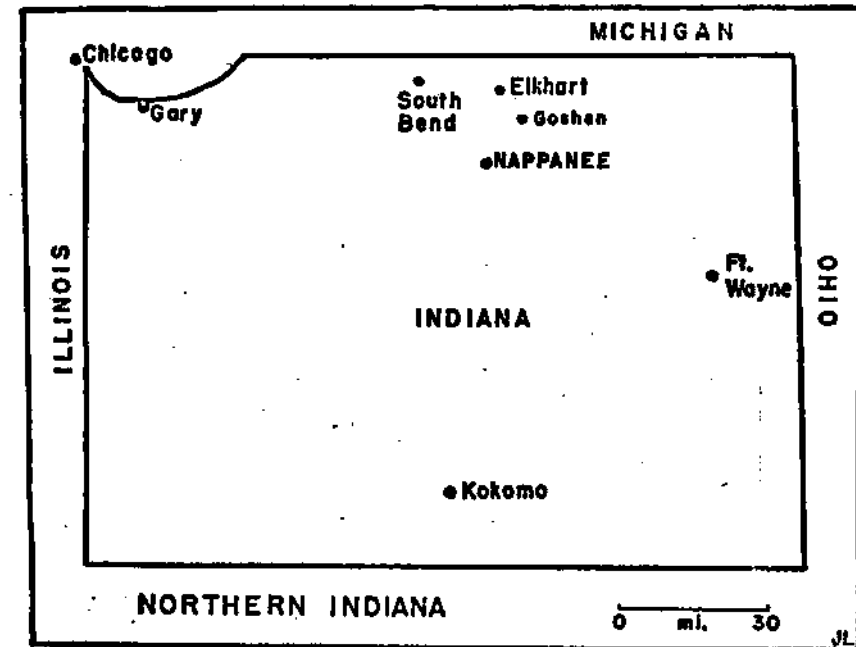


Figure 1. Map of northern Indiana, showing the relationship of Nappanee to the larger cities.

the agricultural landscape is more intensively developed. Tall corn, golden wheat, clover, and alfalfa are common and, on the organic mucklands of the lowest sections, small garage-like structures with high smokestacks evidence the presence of peppermint and spearmint, Hoosier specialty crops for well over a century. In early August the stacks belch black smoke as the mint hay is brought to the distilleries for processing.

About midway across the state the traveler on highway 6 is welcomed to the town of Bremen (Figure 4) by a sign which proclaims it to be the "mint center," a justifiable claim since Bremen contains two of the nation's four largest dealers in mint oils. And just seven miles to the east the traveler is again welcomed, this time to "the kitchen capital of the world," the city of Nappanee (Figure 4). It may easily have escaped the traveler's attention, but as he passed across the farm lands between the "mint center" and the "kitchen capital" numerous changes in the landscape took place. Architectural styles became different, modes of transportation became quite different, and techniques of agricultural development became very distinctive. For, in this short seven mile traverse between Bremen and Nappanee, the traveler passed through the most concentrated section of the second largest Old Order Amish settlement in the state of Indiana. The

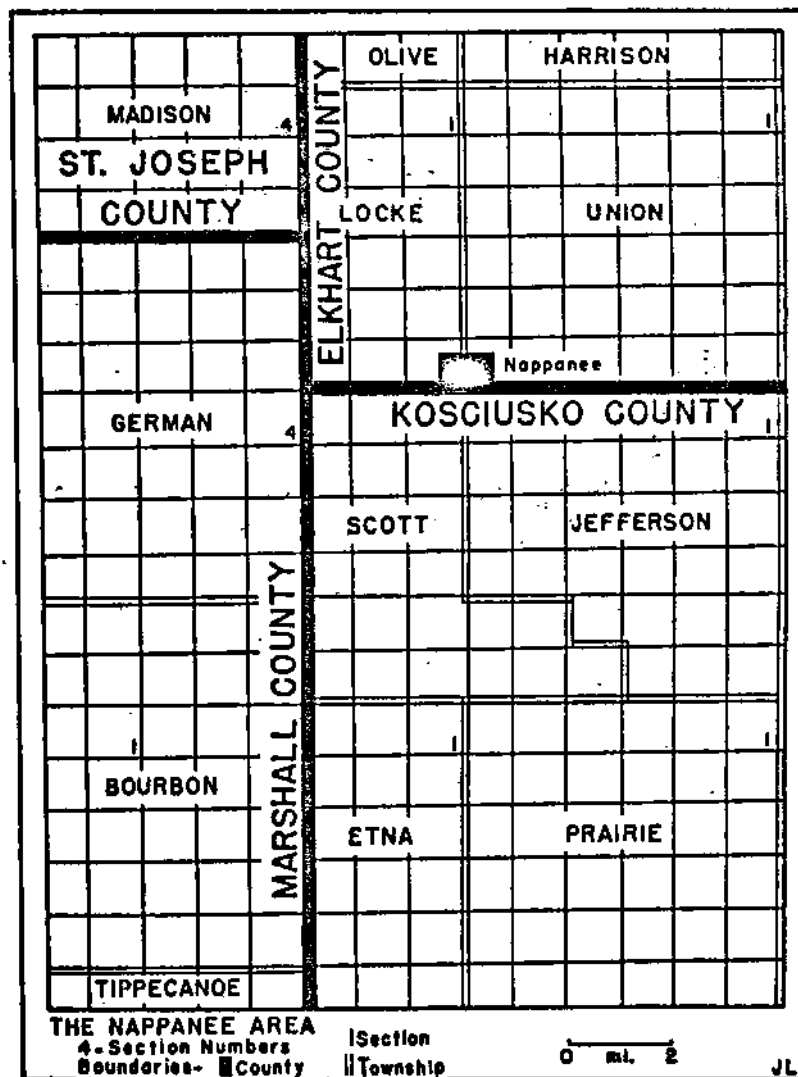
cautious observer would have noticed much more. He would have seen what appears to be a complex pattern of cultural variables: persons who look Amish in dress but who do not travel or farm like the Amish; persons who travel and farm like the Amish but who do not look Amish in dress; and, persons who look, travel, and farm like the Amish but are not Amish. The observer would have recognized the area as one containing a number of distinctive agricultural groups: Old Order Amish; Beachy Amish, an emerging group representing a liberalization of the Old Order traditions; Old Order Mennonites; and German Baptist Brethren. It was in this setting, the Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement of the area surrounding the city of Nappanee, that the study for this project took place.

Location of the Study Area

The city of Nappanee is located in the southwestern corner of Elkhart County, Indiana, three miles east of the Marshall County boundary (Figure 2). The northern border of Kosciusko County is the southern corporate limit of the city. Nappanee lies just north of the geographical center of the Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement (Figure 13) and is the dominant trade and marketing center of the area. Nappanee is

Figure 2. Index map of the Nappanee area, showing the arrangement of the county, township, and section boundary lines. The heavy lines are the county boundaries. The political townships are not coincident with the Congressional townships, although the boundaries do follow section lines.

Source: U. S. Geological Survey, 7½' topographic quadrangles, Indiana, Wyatt (1961), Wakarusa (1961), Foraker (1960), Bremen (1958), Nappanee West (1958), Nappanee East (1958), Inwood (1957), Bourbon (1958), Atwood (1959), Washington, D. C.



27 miles southeast of South Bend, 16 miles south of Elkhart, and 46 miles northwest of Fort Wayne (Figure 1).

The major east-west thoroughfare (Market Street) through Nappanee is U. S. highway 6 and the north-south artery (Main Street) is Indiana highway 19 (Figure 4). Wakarusa, Etna Green, Bremen, and Milford are small towns just outside the periphery of the settlement (Figure 4). Both the nature of the location and the nature of the groups studied have made it possible to analyze the geographic character of certain cultural processes which form the major objectives of this study.

Objectives of the Study

What are the spatial attributes of an Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement? The anthropological, economic, historical, and sociological attributes of the Amish settlement have all been pursued, some to a very high degree as can be seen in the review of the literature. Only the barest dents have yet been made in the analysis of the spatial patterns which are produced in an Amish settlement as a result of the cultural processes which operate within and upon the settlement itself. The geographic study of the settlement should help to "provide new insights and interpretations"^{1*} and,

*Footnotes are listed in numerical order beginning on p. 190.

in order to do so, settlements should be viewed "not as static uniform patterns but as dynamic areal growths."² The Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement at Nappanee was viewed, therefore, as a functioning and changing region and the writer attempted to isolate some major cultural processes which have resulted in spatial and functional changes in the settlement.

The major objectives of the study were twofold:

(1) to identify and describe the spatial nature of the Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement surrounding the city of Nappanee, Indiana, especially those aspects having to do with population concentration and Amish land control;

(2) to identify and examine certain cultural processes, especially the relationship of Amish agricultural orientation to the Ordnung or set of church rules, which have produced spatial and functional changes in the settlement through time.

"The discipline of geography has a distinctive contribution to make to the study of culture and culture processes."³ Perhaps the anthropological, economic, historical, and sociological attributes of the Amish settlement will loom more clearly when evaluated in conjunction with some knowledge of the spatial organization and development viewed from the perspective of geographic study. An examination of the related

literature clearly reveals the scarcity of geographic studies concerning the Amish.

Survey of Related Literature

The literature pertaining to the Amish is now voluminous.⁴ The literature concerning the spatial aspects of Amish settlements is quite limited. It was not expected, however, to repeat a study which had been done elsewhere and it was felt that both the study area (the Nappanee settlement) and the topics to be pursued (the spatial organization and development) represented new segments of research concerning the Amish.

As a traditional, cohesive, distinctive, agricultural group, it was expected that the Amish should attract research attention. Numerous facets of Amish culture have been examined, ranging from their origins as a conservative division in the late 17th century European Mennonite Church,⁵ to their utilization of nicknames in everyday life.⁶ Newspapers in areas populated by the Amish commonly carry articles concerning various features of their way of life, and a great deal of literature has accumulated through the years in periodical outlets including magazines⁷ and technical journals.⁸

Intensive studies have been more limited, and the

writer has found four to be especially helpful in this work: the comprehensive sociological-anthropological analysis of Amish Society by Dr. John A. Hostetler of Temple University;⁹ the detailed, and pioneering, commentary on The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County by the Rev. Calvin G. Bachman;¹⁰ the rural life study of the Lancaster County Amish by the respected geographer Walter M. Kollmorgen;¹¹ and the extensive analysis of an Amish church district in the Holmes County, Ohio, area by Dr. A. Gertrude Huntington.¹² Although none of these four major works is geographically oriented in basic content, all contain much valuable material pertinent to the present study.

Numerous ideas pertaining to the spatial aspects of Amish settlements are contained in the article by Dr. Maurice A. Mook concerning the unsuccessful Amish settlements in Pennsylvania,¹³ and in the thesis by Karl H. Baehr on secularization among Mennonites in Elkhart County, Indiana.¹⁴ An excellent review of economic activities among the Amish in Lancaster County, stemming from the work of Dr. Kollmorgen, is contained in two articles by Mrs. J. C. Getz.¹⁵ The central Ohio Amish settlement has recently been described by Dr. William Schreiber of Wooster College.¹⁶

Historical information concerning the Amish comes from a wide variety of sources, and many of these

have been brought together in the four volume work titled The Mennonite Encyclopedia.¹⁷ In relation to the Amish of Indiana, the most important work is that of Rev. J. C. Wenger of Goshen College,¹⁸ and the origin of the Beachy Amish movement in Indiana as well as in other states has been documented by Rev. Alvin J. Beachy.¹⁹ Much historical information is contained in class projects, reports, and term papers on file at Goshen College. The writer was grateful for the study of Amish and Mennonite land ownership trends in Elkhart and Lagrange counties carried out by Richard J. Yordy,²⁰ and for the paper on the historical development of the Nappanee Amish settlement prepared by Allen K. Yoder.²¹

Of great interest in this study was Dr. Hostetler's review of settlement practices of the Amish in Europe and North America,²² and the same author's work with Dr. Mook on the general nature of the Amish settlement.²³ Dr. Hostetler's article on the function of cultural symbols in bounding the Amish community was also quite valuable.²⁴

Although population was not a major focus of this study, it has important ramifications in the Amish settlement and the writer freely consulted the works of Dr. Mook on the Atlantic settlement in Pennsylvania,²⁵ as well as his work on the Amish population

in Pennsylvania.²⁶ Further information concerning Amish population was obtained from the work by Dr. Elmer L. Smith,²⁷ from The Mennonite Yearbook and Directory,²⁸ and from scattered notices in the German almanac published by a now deceased farmer in central Ohio.²⁹

Many scholars have been attracted to the Amish in order to demonstrate certain sociological principles. Although the Amish are a peripheral interest in many of these works, some contain important ideas concerning the spatial nature of Amish settlements. Among these are the several works on social systems by Dr. Charles P. Loomis and others,³⁰ and the works on cultural variables by Neal Gross.³¹

Even the Amish themselves have contributed to the knowledge of their settlements. Numerous papers, diaries, articles, and short books have been written which contain valuable information.³² The many Amish genealogies are a great reservoir of knowledge,³³ and there is a good deal of interest in the Nappanee settlement at this time concerning the compilation of such works.³⁴ About 1945, an Amish farmer in northern Indiana prepared and had published a series of maps showing the church district boundaries of all the Amish settlements in Indiana.³⁵ The maps of the Elkhart-Lagrange and Nappanee settlements were brought up to date by another Amish farmer between 1961 and

1963.³⁶ Such maps, including lists of the heads of households, prepared by the Amish, are now available for the Lancaster and Lebanon settlements in Pennsylvania,³⁷ and for many of the church districts in the Holmes County area of Ohio.³⁸

Geographers have not been entirely idle regarding the Amish. The work of Kollmorgen has been mentioned, and Dr. Henry F. James published an account of the Amish in the Kishacoquillas Valley of Pennsylvania in 1930.³⁹ L. R. Fletcher did his master's thesis in geography at Ohio State University in 1932 on the Amish of Holmes County, Ohio.⁴⁰ Robert A. Murdie's excellent account of cultural differences in consumer travel, using the Old Order Mennonites of Ontario as an example of a traditional society, has been a source of great stimulation to this writer and has many parallels in Amish life.⁴¹

The origins of ideas for the present study can probably be traced to the reading of Dr. Wilbur Zelinsky's recommendations concerning the role of religion in the field of human geography.⁴² Since the Amish represent a sectarian group as well as a distinct social group, it was hoped that the approach utilized in this study qualifies as an intensive local study as suggested by Dr. Zelinsky.⁴³

The writer has been further strengthened in his own work by the professional contributions of his colleagues. The questions raised by Paul Fickeler concerning the geography of religion has provided new insights into cultural processes,⁴⁴ and forcible and constructive impact has been received from the recent works on the Mormon culture region by Donald W. Meinig,⁴⁵ and the relationship between space organization and ideology as set forth in the study of the Dutch-Reformed community of southwestern Michigan by Elaine M. Bjorklund.⁴⁶ Additional studies are cited in the footnotes.

Many of the works on the Amish were made available to the writer at the Mennonite Historical Library and in the Mennonite Archives, both located at Goshen (Indiana) College. Numerous studies done by students and faculty members are on file at Goshen and not available elsewhere.

The literature alone, however, has not dictated the organization of this study, and much of the content is arranged and systematized according to the nature of the field methods utilized in approaching the problems to be examined.

Method of Approach -

The basic content of this study has been derived from field research conducted in the Nappanee settlement during the years 1965, 1966, and 1967. Although previously published and unpublished materials have been freely consulted, the nature of the topics covered in this study (e.g., schism, kinship, moving, and other cultural factors considered from the spatial perspective) were such that available materials were of limited utility in providing base data.

Extensive use has been made of plat maps dating from 1873 to 1966. Utilizing the maps in conjunction with Amish and non-Amish cooperators made it possible to work out most of the spatial patterns discussed. In order to do this, numerous interviews were conducted and, without the assistance of the many cooperative persons in the Nappanee settlement, the study could not have been completed.

All base maps were prepared on master sheets gridded according to the political arrangement of the Congressional townships and the township sections in the four counties involved (Figure 2). This has made it possible to obtain a relatively high degree of precision in the mapping of the many phenomena reported in

the study.

In many respects the study represents reconnaissance. The writer has gone into a community with which he was quite unfamiliar, a community with traditions well over a century old, and has attempted to identify and explain what could be seen. That much remains yet unseen is, of course, a truism, and a constant reminder that any study will have shortcomings and limitations.

Limitations of the Study

Any study based so largely on personal interviews will always have certain limitations. Memories are faulty, and the interviewer and the interviewee are operating at different levels of precision. What might be significant to one may not appear so to the other. The Amish settlement is not static and the Amish population is highly mobile, both geographically and socially. It would require extensive daily records to keep an account of all the space changes of families even in a single church district. Such records have not been found.

It has been necessary to analyze the settlement at selected periods of time along the historical continuum, and to examine the space organization at these

times. The transfer of the findings of these selected time periods might prove to have limited utility in a generalization of processes operating within the settlement in an ongoing space-time continuum.

The writer is not a member of the Amish culture group. Thus there was a risk of reading into the findings something seen by the outsider that was not really there, or failing to see what really existed. Any faults in this regard must be charged to the writer, and are not due to the lack of cooperation or interest on the part of the residents, Amish and non-Amish, of the Nappanee area.

It is not unlikely that pertinent literature has escaped the writer's scrutiny. The material on the Amish is widely scattered and some was not available during the course of the study. Relevant ideas may have been overlooked and certainly all the literature in the behavioral sciences which might have a bearing on the present problems has not been surveyed. The writer realizes that apologies can not offset these disadvantages.

Despite the limitations and shortcomings, the study of the Amish settlement is presented and, in order to facilitate the reading, certain terms utilized throughout need clarification.

Definition of Terms

To any reader not conversant with Amish history and traditions many of the ideas and terms used in this report will appear strange and are explained in the text. Certain definitions must be stated beforehand, however, to clarify the exact nature of the study and to avoid the confusion of conflicting terminology. The most important of these are: Amish, Old Order Amish, Beachy Amish, settlement, Old Order Amish settlement, and Nappanee settlement. Each of these will be discussed.

Amish. The Amish are direct descendants of persons involved in a religious division that occurred among the Swiss Anabaptists during the period 1693-1697.⁴⁷ They take their name from their leader, Jakob Amman, an elder of the Swiss Anabaptist group. The division involved the interpretation of various norms of religious practice and resulted in the followers of Amman taking the conservative position.

As a result of continued persecution at the hands of the established European churches the Amish dispersed throughout the Rhineland and, in the early 1700's,⁴⁸ began emigrating to North America. By 1780, from four- to five-hundred Amish persons had passed through the port of Philadelphia into Pennsylvania, the great majority

from Switzerland but some from the southern Palatinate of Germany. A second emigration of Amish from Alsace, The Bavarian Palatinate, and Switzerland occurred between 1815 and 1840, and a small group from Volhynia, Russia, emigrated to Kansas and Dakota after 1873.⁴⁹ Not all the Amish migrated to North America, but the remnants of those that remained in Europe have all disappeared or merged with other church groups.⁵⁰

Old Order Amish. The Amish settled in various sections of Pennsylvania,⁵¹ but the Lancaster and Somerset county settlements were the first that proved to be permanent, and the Amish moved west primarily from those two areas. In 1807, the Amish reached Ohio. They settled in Indiana about 1840 and Iowa in 1845. In the meantime, additional settlements were being established by the 19th century Amish immigrants in other localities. Because of the distance between settlements and the differences in local practices, concerned Amish leaders held a series of minister's conferences (Dienerversammlungen) in selected localities from 1862 to 1878 to attempt reconciliation of differences and attain greater unity.⁵² The conferences failed to achieve the desired objectives and, after 1878, Amish history followed three major courses.⁵³ There were those who wished the old traditions to remain unchanged as much as possible. These became known

as the "Old Order" Amish. There were those who associated with liberal church leaders like Henry Egli and Joseph Stuckey, both Alsatian Amish bishops, who had already broken spiritual ties with the Amish. And there were those who followed the middle-of-the-road position, favoring neither the traditional customs nor any radical changes. The latter group became known as "Amish Mennonites" and eventually merged with the Mennonite Church.

The major focus of this study is the Old Order Amish. In the Nappanee area they can be identified primarily by adherence to traditional dress, beards for the married men, rejection of automobile ownership for baptized members and utilization of horse-drawn buggies for transportation, horse-drawn machinery used for crop cultivation, bi-weekly worship services held either in the homes or barns of the members, and the utilization of the Pennsylvania-Dutch language in their everyday speech.

To avoid continuous repetition of the term Old Order Amish, it can be understood that the expression "Amish" is used as a synonym throughout this study.

Beachy Amish. The Beachy Amish represent a loose affiliation of groups that have left the Old Order within the past 40 years.⁵⁴ They are no longer ceremonially related to the Old Order and have made

numerous changes in their way of life. They may own automobiles, use tractor-drawn equipment, commercial electricity in the homes is allowed, and they hold weekly worship services in a church building where English (in most cases) rather than German and Pennsylvania-Dutch is utilized.

There has been a strong Beachy Amish movement in the Nappanee settlement since 1940 and various factors involving its relationship to the Old Order are examined in this study.

Settlement. The selection of the word "settlement" for use in this study instead of "community" raises the unhappy problem of semantics and may appear to some as a dubious choice. The use of the term is justified on several grounds.

"The community has various geographical settings and it is found in different geographical areas, but it has no geographical boundaries."⁵⁵ This interpretation of the Amish community is based on the idea that "all who celebrate communion together represent one community and all the Amish living in the United States and Canada who will break bread together represent a community."⁵⁶ The same perspective was adopted by Dr. Hostetler in his interpretation of the Amish society as a "little community" characterized by distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, and

self-sufficiency.⁵⁷ The "little community" may serve as a model for the entire Amish population or for the single Amish group isolated from all others. The community, in this view, includes only the Amish elements. By definition, therefore, the Amish community is homogeneously Amish.

Within an area, however, occupied by Amish families, and geographically isolated from all other areas occupied by Amish families, are numerous non-Amish elements. This total complex, the spatial arrangement of Amish and non-Amish elements, is referred to in this study as the "settlement." The settlement "consists of the total aggregation of Amish families living in close proximity within a given area."⁵⁸ It includes this, and more. There is probably no purely homogeneous Amish settlement,⁵⁹ but every Amish community has its settlement setting. The degree of heterogeneity of the Nappanee settlement was a factor examined in this study.

The Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee consists of that area which includes all Old Order Amish families residing in the church districts which have developed from the original Amish settlement in the area (Figure 13). A similar rationale was utilized in defining the extent of the Beachy Amish settlement (Figure 11).

The present work is a geographical study of a settlement as distinguished from a study in settlement geography. The writer has no intent to add to the methodological problems of settlement geography which have been recently reviewed.⁶⁰ The work is a study of an Amish settlement and the spatial patterns that have resulted from certain cultural processes that were selected for examination.

Summary

In the agricultural country surrounding the city of Nappanee, Indiana, is found the second largest Old Order Amish settlement in the state. A traditional, cohesive, agrarian society, the Amish remain quite distinctive due to their conservative apparel, the utilization of horse drawn buggies and farm equipment, their shunning of commercial electricity and telephones, the use of Pennsylvania-Dutch in everyday speech, and the holding of worship services every other Sunday in the homes and barns of members where the scripture readings are given in German.

The Amish have been the subject of numerous books, pamphlets, magazine features, and newspaper articles. Much is known about their way of life, the economic organization of the settlements, and their

historical development and traditions. Little is yet known about the spatial patterns that have resulted in an Amish settlement as a result of the cultural processes that operate upon and within the settlement itself. This study examines selected patterns in relation to the functions and unique organization of the Nappanee settlement.

The Amish originated in Europe in the late 17th century as a conservative division in the Swiss Anabaptist group, and they began emigrating to North America shortly after 1700, settling in Pennsylvania. They arrived in Indiana about 1840. During the last half of the 19th century, the more liberal Amish began breaking away from the church and those that wished to retain the old customs and traditions became known as the Old Order Amish. Within the past 40 years, a new group, referred to as the Beachy Amish, has emerged, and follow a more modern way of life although retaining much of the Amish identity. There are Beachy Amish churches in the Nappanee settlement, and this study examines selected spatial patterns of this new group.

The major objectives of the study are: to identify the spatial nature of the Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement surrounding the city of Nappanee; and to identify and examine certain cultural processes

which have produced spatial and functional changes in the settlement through time. To do this, numerous plat maps of the area were utilized in conjunction with personal interviews of many persons, Amish and non-Amish, in order to analyze the process and function changes visually on maps.

The field work for this study was conducted in 1965, 1966, and 1967. A basic assumption of this study was that the anthropological, economic, historical, and sociological characteristics of the Amish settlement would become clearer when evaluated in conjunction with some knowledge of the spatial organization and development viewed from the standpoint of geographic study.

Chapter II

THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE OLD
ORDER AMISH-BEACHY AMISH SETTLEMENT
AT NAPPANEE, INDIANA

The Amish settlement at Nappanee, Indiana, is one of nearly 60 separate settlements found in 18 states in this country and in southern Ontario in Canada (Table 1). In December, 1966, a migration of Old Order Amish families, primarily from Arkansas, began to British Honduras in Central America,⁶¹ the first Amish settlement to be established outside Anglo-America since the days of European emigration. In Indiana there are eight distinct Amish settlements, the largest spread across western Lagrange, eastern Elkhart, and northwestern Noble counties (Figure 3). The Nappanee settlement is the second most populous (Table 2). The most recent, founded in 1964 by families from Michigan, is in southeastern Steuben County. Settlements once present in Brown, Newton, Pike, Jay, Jasper, Wayne, Clinton, and Sullivan counties have ceased to exist.

The Beachy Amish churches near Nappanee are among nearly 50 found in 11 different states in this country and in southern Ontario (Table 3). The Beachy churches also support several foreign mission centers. There are nine Beachy churches in Indiana, two of which

Table 1

Location of Old Order Amish Settlements

Region	Number of Settlements	Number of Districts	Estimated Population ¹
Ohio	8	94	21,183
Pennsylvania	12	63	16,104
Indiana	8	67	12,990
Iowa	2	12	2,319
Illinois	1	10	2,313
Ontario	6	10	1,350
Missouri	4	9	1,572
Michigan	2	6	939
Delaware	1	5	864
Maryland	2	3	843
New York	1	4	819
Kansas	2	5	687
Wisconsin	1	4	672
Virginia	2	2	396
Oklahoma	1	1	324
Tennessee	2	3	261
Florida	1	1	168
Kentucky	1	1	69
Arkansas	1	1	not known
British Honduras	1	1	not known
Total	59	302	63,873

¹Based on an unpublished 1964 study by the writer.

Sources: E. D. Zook (ed.), Mennonite Yearbook and Directory: 1966, vol. 57, pp. 91-98; J. A. Raber, Der Neue Amerikanische Kalender, Baltic, Ohio, 1964, pp. 30-38. The figures for Indiana include revisions for the Nappanee settlement.

Figure 3. Old Order Amish settlements in Indiana in 1966. The settlement areas are generalized.

Source: E. D. Zook (ed.), Mennonite Yearbook and Directory: 1966, vol. 57, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, pp. 92-93; J. A. Raber (ed.), Der Neue Amerikanische Calendar, Baltic, Ohio, 1964, pp. 35-37. The Steuben County settlement was added on the basis of the writer's field data.

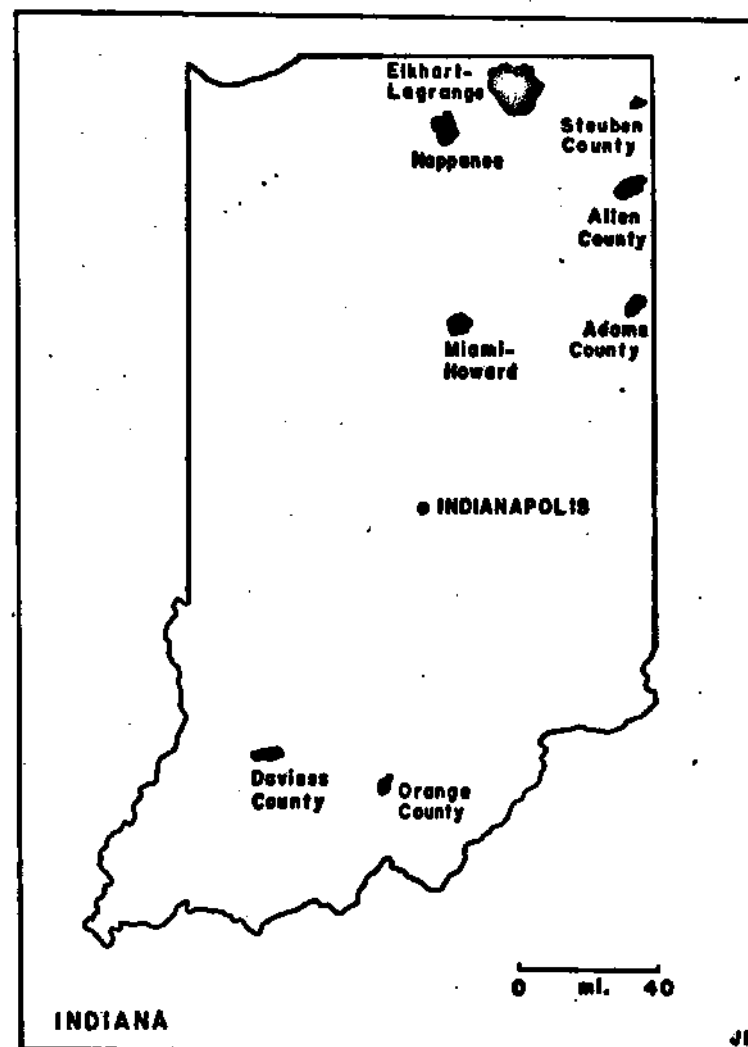


Table 2

Old Order Amish Settlements in Indiana

Region	Number of Church Districts	Estimated ¹ Population
Elkhart-Lagrange-Noble counties	30	6,196
Nappanee	12	1,985
Daviess County	6	1,182
Adams County	8	1,132
Allen County	7	886
Miami-Howard counties	2	184
Orange County	1	(est.) 50
Steuben County	<u>1</u>	(est.) 50
Total	67	11,665

¹ Estimated population is based on the Nappanee membership correction factor described in the text.

Source: E. D. Zook (ed.), Mennonite Yearbook and Directory: 1966, vol. 57, pp. 92-93; J. A. Reber, Der Neue Amerikanische Kalender, Baltic, Ohio, 1964, pp. 35-37. The Steuben County settlement was added on the basis of the writer's field data. The figures for Nappanee contain the writer's revisions.

Table 3

Location of Beachy Amish Churches

Region	Number of Churches	Membership
Pennsylvania	7	897
Indiana	9	539
Woodlawn (Goshen)		163
Fair Haven (Goshen)		155
Millersburg (Millersburg)		79
Fairview (Etna Green)		47
Miami (Amboy)		42
Maple Lawn (Nappanee)		30
Believers Fellowship (Montgomery)		23
Bethany (Kokomo)		not known
Odon (Montgomery)		not known
Ohio	8	507
Virginia	5	384
Ontario	5	343
Kansas	1	172
Iowa	2	137
Georgia	1	141
Michigan	2	78
Illinois	1	52
Maryland	2	29
British Honduras	1	19
Arkansas	1	10
Germany	1	9
Total	46	3,317

Unaffiliated Beachy Amish Churches in Indiana

Lengacher (New Haven)	43
Berea Christian Fellowship (Nappanee)	16
Hebron Christian Fellowship (Etna)	14

Source: E. D. Zook (ed.), Mennonite Yearbook and Directory: 1966, vol. 57, pp. 90-91

(Maple Lawn, founded 1940, and Fairview, founded 1962,) are in the Nappanee area (Figure 11). There are, in addition, several churches which have Beachy Amish origins but do not maintain direct affiliation with the parent group. One such church (Berea Christian Fellowship, founded 1963) is found near Nappanee (Figure 11).

The majority of Beachy Amish churches are found related to Old Order Amish settlements, a pattern which should be expected since the Beachy groups have emerged from the Old Order society. In some cases, however, due to a variety of circumstances, Beachy Amish churches are found in locations distantly removed from the closest Old Order settlement. Only recently, there has been talk of a Beachy Amish migration to Paraguay.⁶²

The Nappanee Settlement In Space Through Time

The origins of Amish settlement in the Nappanee, Indiana, area are still dimly veiled in a mist of historical uncertainty. As early as 1836, typical Amish names such as John Stutzman and John C. Burkholder had appeared in Union and Locke townships in Elkhart County (Figure 2).⁶³ This was quite early, since the first white settlers arrived in these townships between 1834 and 1837.⁶⁴ Since it is believed that the first

permanent Amish families in Indiana arrived in 1841 and settled east of Goshen,⁶⁵ such early names were probably not those of Amish families. In July, 1842, Christian Stehly, who had been born in Germany in 1820, arrived from Wayne County, Ohio, and settled a farm in section 30 of Union Township (Figure 2),⁶⁶ apparently the first Amish settler in the Nappanee area. Within a short time, he was joined by the families of three brothers, Henry, John, and Jacob. In 1904, Christian Stehly was mentioned by Amish historian S. D. Guengerich as one of the first Amish settlers in the Nappanee area.⁶⁷ Also mentioned were Henry Stahly, Jacob Stahly, and Jonas Schrock, and the Amish origins of the Stehly family have not been forgotten in the Nappanee settlement, even though they had merged with the Mennonite Church long before the turn of the century.⁶⁸ The Stehlys represented a later Amish migration from the Palatinate of Europe, and Christian had been brought to the United States by his mother in 1835. Other Amish persons, besides the Stehlys, involved in this later European migration who settled near Nappanee were John Ringenberg, John Emmert, and Cyrus B. Court (originally Berlincourt).

Between 1844 and 1854, it is known that at least ten Amish families and an unmarried Amish farmer, all from long established settlements in the eastern states,

moved to the Nappanee area.⁶⁹ These included three Hochstetler brothers from near Shanesville, Ohio; David H., Manasses, and Samuel, their wives and six children; the families of Jacob Schmucker, Solomon Miller, Eliss Yoder, Valentine Yoder, John C. Schlabach, and the unmarried Jonas Yoder, all from Ohio.⁷⁰ On May 25, 1852, they were joined by the family of John J. Borkholder II from Holmes County, Ohio, and their journey is well documented in the Borkholder family genealogy.⁷¹ John II entered his land in Marshall County two days after arrival.⁷² Two years later, in 1854, the family of Tobias Hochstetler from Ohio settled in Union Township.⁷³

Land records indicate that there were probably other Amish families in the Nappanee area by this time (Joshua, Israel, and Simon Yoder) including some who had come almost directly from Germany with only limited residence periods in the eastern states. Since many of the families were unrelated, some not even knowing others, the early settlement was not too closely knit. To a certain extent, the original Amish settlement near Nappanee contained elements of both the European and North American type as described by John Hostetler.⁷⁴ The families of more recent European migration were not as conditioned to living in the

closely knit, closely spaced, settlements such as those characteristic of the eastern states which had been in existence for over a century. They were more family oriented and much less Amish-group oriented than those from the eastern settlements, and kinship between the two groups of Amish was quite weak when compared to that within each group. A search of the original land-grant records and property deeds seems to indicate the Amish families from the eastern settlements tended to settle as a group in Marshall County just west of southern Locke Township (Figures 2 and 5), and Amish families of more recent entry into the United States, the Stehlys, Ringenberg, and Court, settled near the present site of Nappanee.

All the records could not be located, but enough were found to make the pattern evident. David H. Hochstetler settled in Marshall County, as did John Borkholder II, Sem (Samuel ?) Hochstetler, J. C. Slabaugh, Valentine Yoder, and Jacob Schmucker.⁷⁵ The Stehlys, Ringenberg, and Court all lived near present-day Nappanee. There was some intermingling, as Tobias Hochstetler settled along the Union-Locke townships boundary,⁷⁶ and Jonas Yoder acquired land in Scott Township of Kosciusko County.⁷⁷

This original Amish settlement occupied an area of nearly 21 square miles, but was probably somewhat

Figure 4. The major highways, roads, cities, towns, and local place names in the Nappanee area. All maps identified as TNA (The Nappanee Area) are based on the grid shown in Figure 2. The heavy lines are the county boundaries. The cities are shown in capital letters next to shaded areas. Small towns and villages are shown in small letters next to shaded areas. Names in small letters without shaded areas are local place names commonly used by residents of the Nappanee area.

Source: U. S. Geological Survey, 7½' topographic quadrangles, Indiana, same as cited in Figure 2. Many of the local place names were added from data compiled by the writer and verified by Nappanee residents.

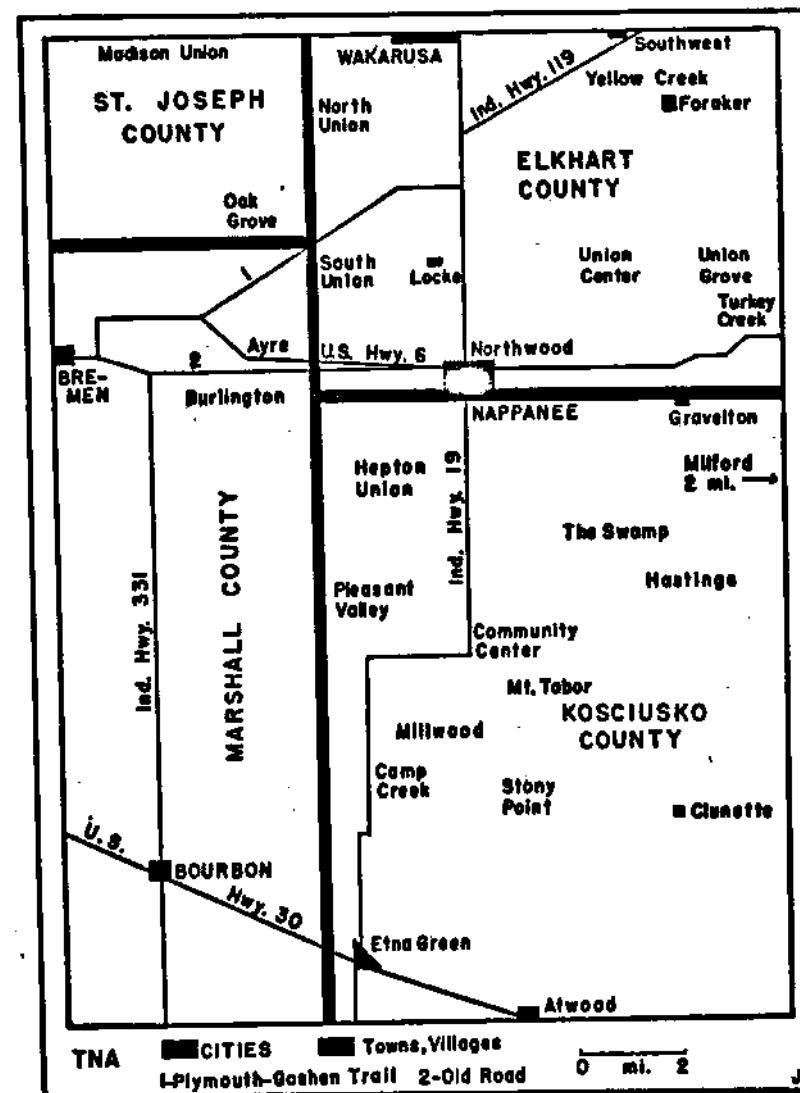
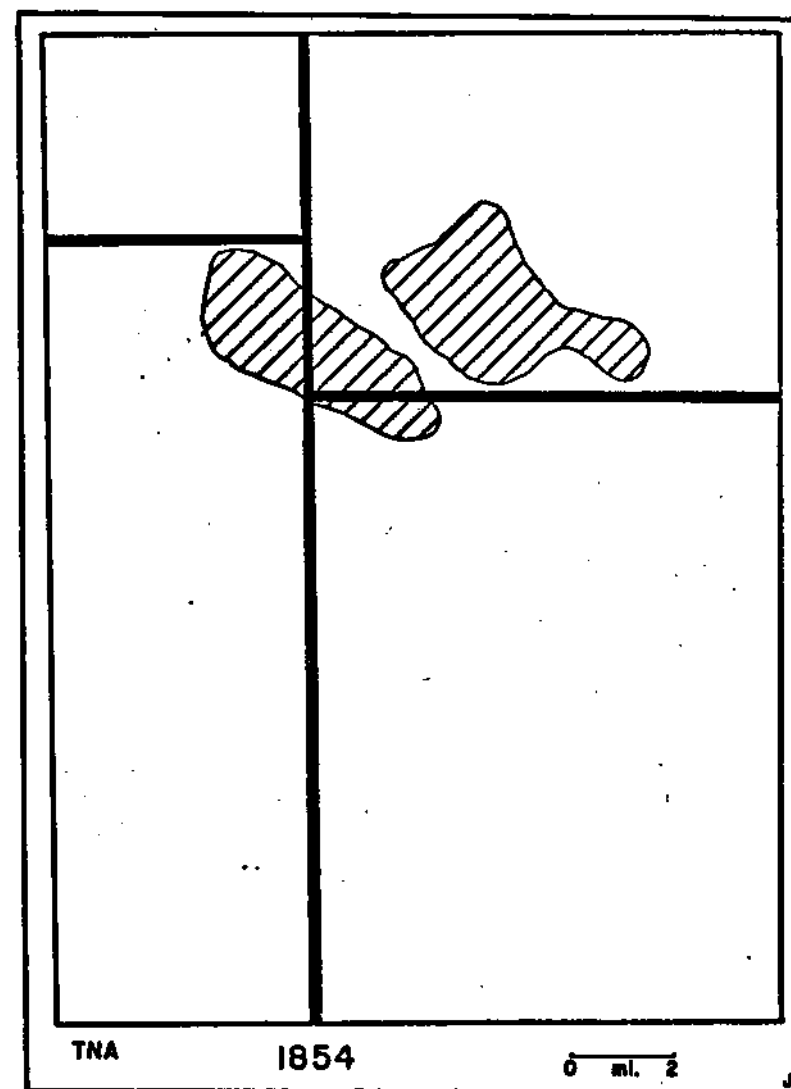


Figure 5. A re-creation of the Amish settlement pattern in Elkhart-Marshall-Kosciusko counties about 1854. Nappanee had not yet been founded. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: Land grant and property deed records located in the Recorder's offices of Elkhart, Marshall, and Kosciusko counties. These records are cited in the text.



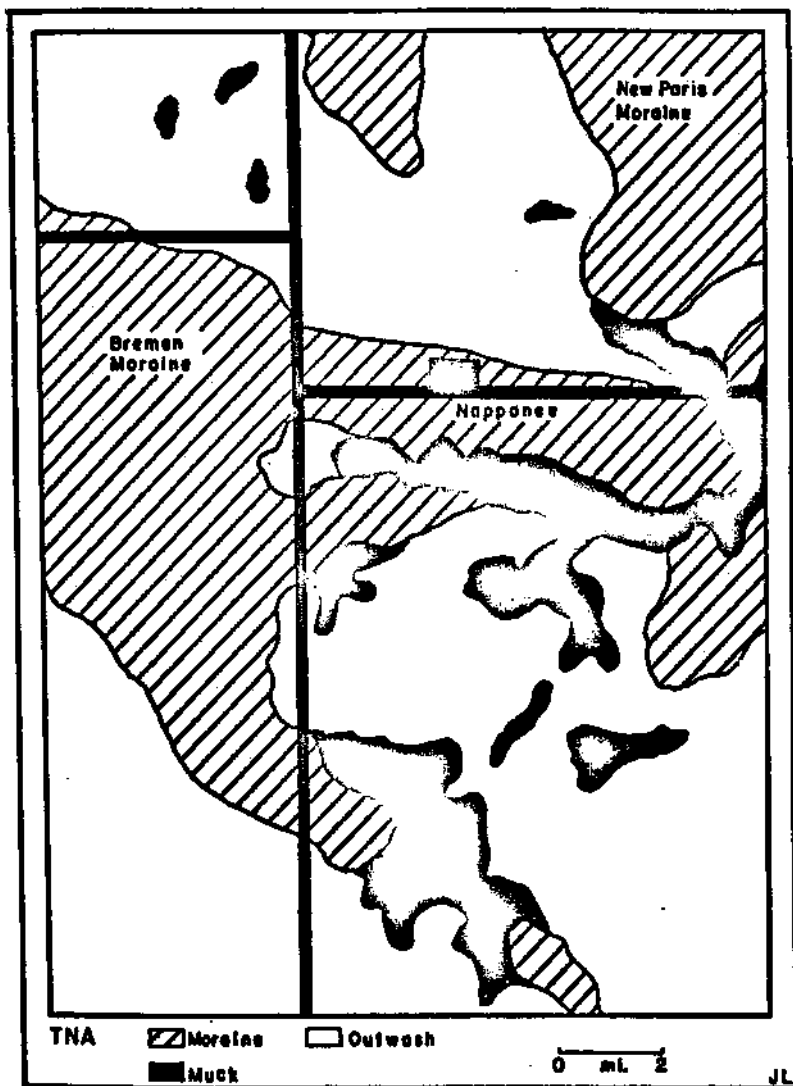
discontinuous. The eastern section contained the families of more recent immigration and several families from the settlement in the eastern states. The western section, almost entirely in Marshall County, contained most of the Amish families from long-established settlements in the east. A re-creation of the Nappanee Amish settlement pattern about 1854 is shown in Figure 5.

These early Amish settlers found no paradise in northern Indiana. The rolling topography so characteristic of northeastern Indiana is minimal in the Nappanee area. The higher ground, generally associated with the Bremen and New Paris moraines (Figure 6), laid down during the recession of the Saginaw ice lobe,⁷⁸ seldom rises more than 20 or 30 feet above the surrounding lowlands which were, in the early days, poorly drained and full of swales, swamps, and thickets. David Burkholder, the first Bishop of the North Main Street Mennonite Church in Nappanee, has written a vivid account of the trials of the early settlers in the area.⁷⁹

The Bremen moraine is quite conspicuous where it cuts across northeastern Marshall County and the traveler will view well developed knob and kettle topography about three miles east of Bremen, especially along the Old Bremen-Nappanee road and the Plymouth-Goshen Trail (Figures 4 and 6). It was on the higher ground of the latter, an early Indian trail, that the

Figure 6. Major land surface features of the Nappanee area. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: H. P. Ulrich, A. P. Bell, S. Meyers, L. E. Allison, B. A. Krantz, and P. T. Veale, Soil Survey of St. Joseph County, Indiana, Series 1938, no. 27, U. S. Department of Agriculture, June, 1950; W. E. Tharp, E. D. Fowler, L. S. Troth, and H. R. Beyer, Soil Survey of Kosciusko County, Indiana, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1927; G. B. Jones and R. S. Hesler, Soil Survey of Elkhart County, Indiana, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1916; C. A. Malott, "The Physiography of Indiana," Handbook of Indiana Geology, publication no 21, Indiana Department of Conservation, 1922, pp. 120-121.



eastern Amish families settled (interestingly enough, the name Borkholder in German means owner or holder of the hill⁸⁰). In Kosciusko and Elkhart counties the moraine becomes much more subdued and blends most smoothly into the shallow outwash plains and lower valleys. Several low ridges, however, extend like small fingers into these two counties (Figure 6). The southernmost one barely penetrates Kosciusko County just north of Etna Green, but the northern two extend eastward nearly 10 miles to a point where they have been sheared off by the glacial predecessor of modern Turkey Creek. An extensive swale of muck-land separates the two northern fingers of the Bremen moraine, and is locally referred to as the Swamp. The city of Nappanee is located along the crest of the most northern finger, and it was along this higher ridge that the Amish families of later immigration settled (Figures 5 and 6).

The New Paris moraine, hillier and rougher than the Bremen, occupies a small portion of the northern area of Locke Township and nearly the entire eastern half of Union Township (Figures 2 and 6). Small, eastward-flowing tributaries of Turkey Creek separate the Bremen and New Paris moraines east of Nappanee. The presence of these morainic ridges explains why the extreme northern and southern section of Locke and

Union townships were settled and developed first. The poorly drained lowlands between had to wait until the age of ditching.

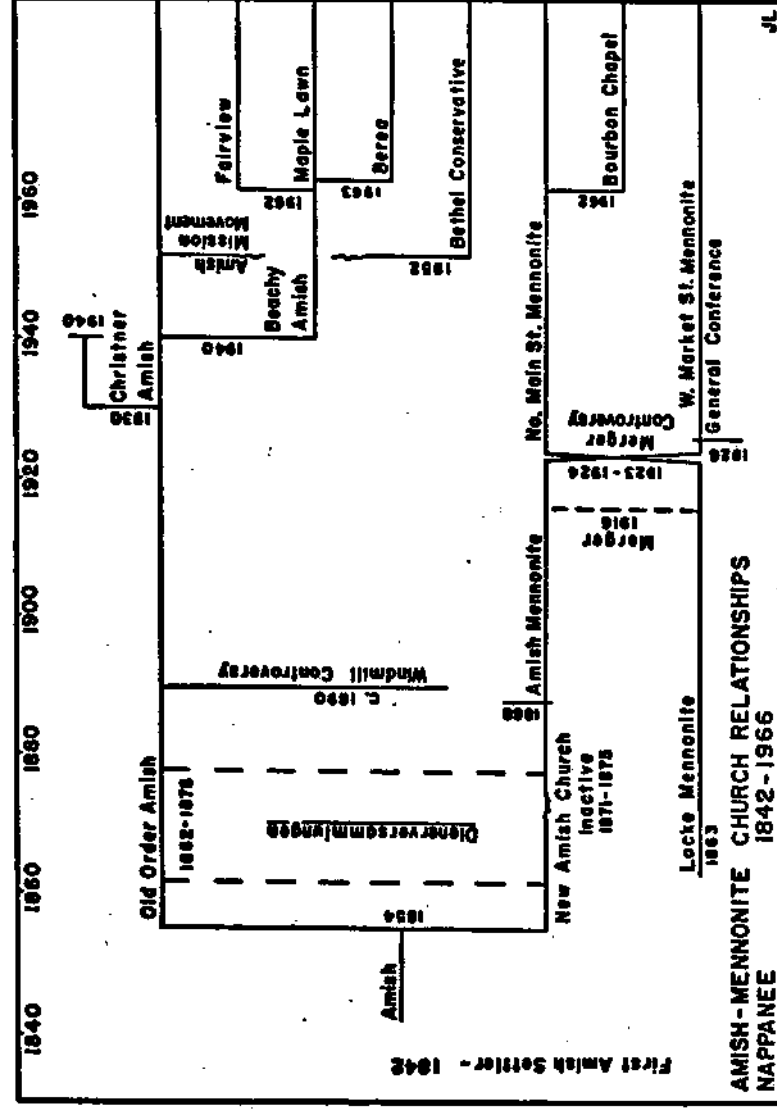
If the story of the original Amish settlement in the Nappanee area is still somewhat dim, so also is the account of the first few years of Amish life in the new settlement. Amish scholar S. D. Guengerich indicated that the Marshall County settlement (as it was, and is, commonly called by the Amish) was officially organized in 1853 with Tobias Hochstetler and John Ringenberg as ministers, and that bishops from east of Goshen (Joseph and Levi Miller) were called in to do the organizing. This undoubtedly means they came and conducted ordinations to the ministry.⁸¹ The date is probably correct, although the first land grant records for Tobias Hochstetler are all dated 1854. Essentially the same version was given by E. S. Mullet,⁸² longtime minister at both Mennonite churches in Nappanee, but A. E. Weaver, Elkhart County historian, mentions the date as 1857 and lists the first bishop as Solomon Yoder with John Ringenberg as minister.⁸³ Additional ministers mentioned in these accounts were Samuel Hochstetler, John Yoder, and John C. Schlabach (Slabaugh).

The evidence seems to indicate that the Amish settlement at Nappanee had already crystallized into two distinct groups with limited fellowship and

interaction. The families in the east, led primarily by Amish of later migration into the United States, had little in common with the families in the west, led primarily by those from Pennsylvania and Ohio. Even by 1853, differences between the two groups of Amish families had become noticeable. They dressed somewhat differently, groomed differently, and had differing opinions on social and spiritual matters. Contacts were not strong and the two unlike Amish groups at Nappanee were probably never a strongly integrated social unit. The eastern families, finding the western group too traditional to deal with without some dispute, withdrew from fellowship under the leadership of John Ringenberg. This development was probably much like an early dispute in the Elkhart-Lagrange Amish settlement⁸⁴ and much similar to divisions which occurred at about the same time in Amish settlements elsewhere. Mennonite historian J. C. Wenger was probably justified in his estimate that the break occurred in 1854.⁸⁵ The two groups went different ways, both identified as Amish for many years, but gradually increasing the differences in their identity (Figure 7), although the entire episode seems to have been lost to the successive generations of Old Order Amish families in the Nappanee area.

Figure 7. Major historical Amish-Mennonite church relationships at Nappanee, 1842-1966. The original schism between the conservative and liberal Amish took place in 1854, the liberals following John Ringenberg and the conservatives following Tobias Hochstetler. The Old Order Amish (the conservatives) and the New Amish (the liberals) both sent representatives to the Dienerversammlungen between 1862 and 1878, but reconciliation attempts were futile. The Old Order lost a number of families about 1890 when an Amish bishop objected to the use of windmills, manure spreaders, and hayloaders. The Samuel J. Christner movement emerged from the Old Order about 1930 and was active for 10 years. It was quickly followed by the David O. Borkholder progressive movement in 1940, a group which merged with the Beachy Amish churches and built Maple Lawn church. Fairview and Berea congregations both withdrew from the Maple Lawn church. In 1949, the Amish mission movement resulted in the withdrawal of a number of families that built Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church in 1954. The New Amish church languished after the death of Ringenberg in 1871, but was reorganized in 1875 by Jonathan Schmucker. It merged with the Amish Mennonite Conference in 1888. In 1916, the Amish Mennonite conference merged with the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite conference, an action that brought the church into close association with the Nappanee Mennonite church, which had been known for years as the Locke Mennonite church (the church was founded in 1863, but Nappanee was not founded until 1873, and Locke was the closest village). This conference merger created wide dissatisfaction among the membership and, between the years 1923 and 1924, many of the Nappanee members switched churches in order to join the one with attitudes that coincided with their own. The W. Market Street Church, which had Amish origins in 1854, joined the progressive General Conference in 1926 and presently has the least Amish identity of all the related churches in the area. The details regarding the Old Order Amish are elaborated in the text.

Source: the figure is a composite, and the information was drawn from all the various historical sources cited in the text.



Several factors indicate that the version given above is more than conjecture. An almost identical pattern of settlement evolution occurred among the Amish in eastern Elkhart and western Lagrange counties, with the more conservative families eventually moving into the eastern parts of the settlement, led primarily by families from Pennsylvania. The more liberal minded families occupied the western sections in the area of Clinton Township of Elkhart County, led primarily by Amish families from Ohio.⁸⁶

Also, a few years after the break, Tobias Hochstetler probably moved west into Locke Township, as much to be close to the David H. Hochstetler group as to remove himself from the eastern families, since his wife is reported as having died in that township.⁸⁷ In addition, those families that followed leader John Ringenberg, after continuing house worship for several years, began holding services in the Culp schoolhouse, one and one-half miles northeast of downtown Nappanee, a convenient location for the families in the eastern portion of the settlement.⁸⁸ Additional evidence is contained in the home addresses of the representatives of the two Amish groups which attended the Dienerversammlungen, or Amish ministers conferences, held in various states from 1862 to 1878 in an effort to retain unity among the many groups moving away from the

conservative Amish position. Those attending from the Tobias Hochstetler group all listed addresses as Bremen (Valentine Yoder, 1864; John C. Schlabach, 1864 and 1865; David H. Hochstetler, 1864, and 1865 with home listed as Leo, probably in Allen County). Those attending from the Ringenberg group all listed home addresses farther east (Samuel Yoder, Milford, 1862, 1864, and 1865; John Ringenberg, Locke, 1864, and 1865; the sixth man, Jonathan Schmucker, registered from Plymouth in 1875 and from Nappanee in 1878. He came to Nappanee and reorganized the new Amish church in 1875 since it had languished following the death of Ringenberg in 1871).⁸⁹ Lastly, the year 1854 also marked the divisions among Indiana Amish in the Clinton area of Elkhart County, the Hawpatch area of Lagrange County, and in the settlement in Miami-Howard counties.⁹⁰ The split between John Ringenberg and Tobias Hochstetler apparently had common origins with those elsewhere in Indiana and by 1865 it was apparent that reconciliation was remote.

The families that followed Hochstetler after the break became Old Order, while those that followed Ringenberg eventually established the first Amish Mennonite church at Nappanee. Although known for many years as the Amish (or New Amish) church (Figure 7) it eventually became known as the West Market Street

Mennonite Church from the street on which the present building is located in Nappanee, and is now the First Mennonite Church.

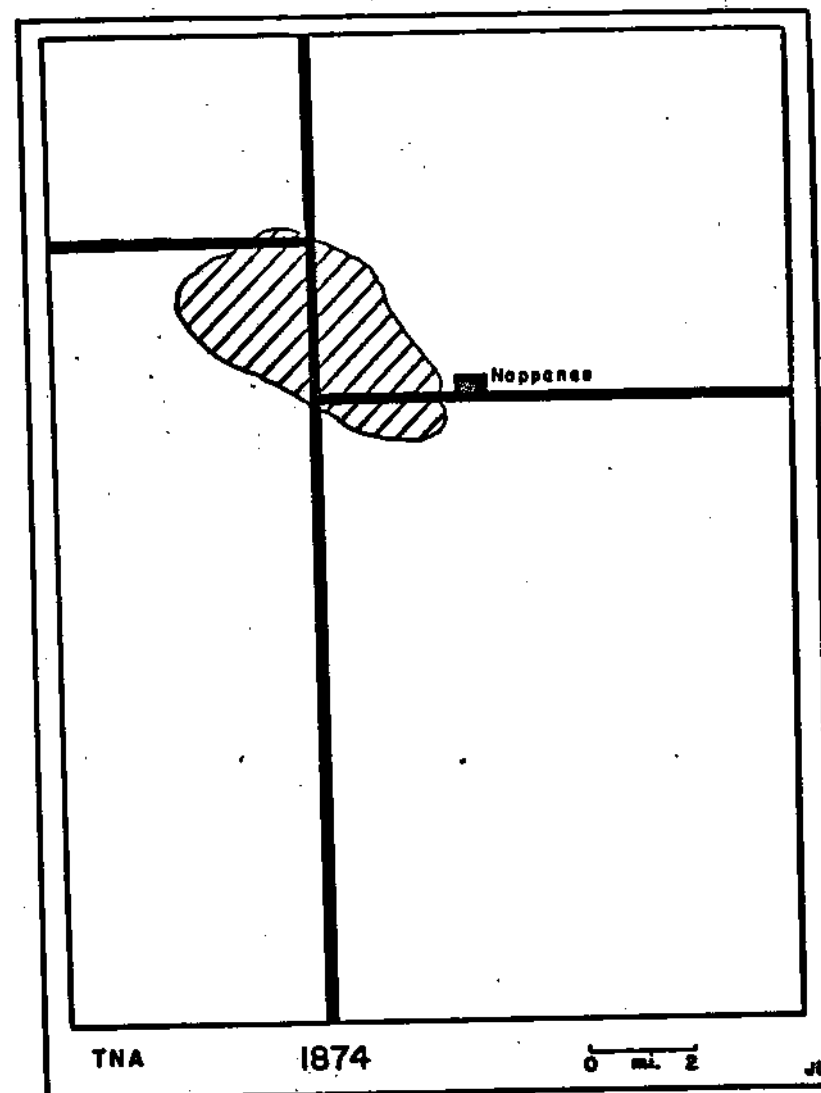
Following the split in 1854, the Old Order Amish settlement contracted. Having lost most of the eastern families to the Amish Mennonite group, growth was slowed, and the settlement received a severe setback when Bishop David H. Hochstetler and a "considerable" number of families moved from Nappanee to Newton County, Indiana. The date commonly given for this move is about 1876,⁹¹ but it might have been slightly before since it is known that he disposed of a good deal of his property in 1874.⁹² The reasons for the move are not known, other than that he was attracted "by the prairie and cheap land."⁹³ It might have been, however, that social changes in the Nappanee area had prompted the move. The village of Locke (Figure 4), just east of the Marshall County line, had been laid out in 1865 and, by 1870, already had a village population of 167.⁹⁴ The township population had grown from 171 in 1850 to 715 in 1870,⁹⁵ and Bremen, just to the west, was already a large town. In 1874, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad completed its main line to Chicago. In 1873, it had Nappanee platted (referred to as Locke Station for several years) to serve as a station, a saw mill was erected, and the first lots sold shortly after.⁹⁶

When the railroad was completed in 1874, it ran from Nappanee to Bremen directly across David H. Hochstetler's property, necessitating the removal of his house several hundred yards to the north. Hochstetler had sold the railroad a 100 foot wide right-of-way which divided his property into two unequal sections. The southern, and smaller part, he sold to his brother Manasses, and the northern, larger portion was sold to Jacob Weldy. After the move, the Nappanee Amish were without a bishop and had to call upon ministers from east of Goshen to conduct services, a condition that existed until Moses Borkholder, who served the Amish at Nappanee as bishop for nearly 50 years, was ordained in 1878.⁹⁷

Following the Hochstetler move to Newton County, there were probably less than 20 Amish families left in the Nappanee settlement. A recreation of the settlement about 1874 is shown in Figure 8. Most of the families lived along the Elkhart and Marshall county boundary line. The westward contraction since 1854 (Figure 5), resulting from the Amish Mennonite split, is quite conspicuous. In addition, there had been a very slight shift of the remaining settlement to the west and the north. The total area of the settlement was about 14 square miles, and it had become considerably more compact since 1854. The settlement was taking

Figure 8. A re-creation of the Old Order Amish settlement pattern in the Nappanee area about 1874. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: Assessor's Plat Book: German Township, 1873, Recorder's office, Plymouth, Indiana; An Illustrated Historical Atlas of St. Joseph County, Indiana, Higgins, Belden and Company, Chicago, 1874, pp. 63, 101; Combination Atlas Map of Kosciusko County, Indiana, Kingman Brothers, Chicago, 1879, pp. 97-98, 110, 112. Copies of the plat maps from these publications were viewed for the writer by Noah Borkholder, one of the long-time residents of the Nappanee Amish settlement.



the appearance of the close knit and closely spaced Amish settlements so characteristic today.

Despite the loss of families to Newton County, the Nappanee settlement continued to grow. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century "a number of Old Order Amish families united with"⁹⁸ the North Main Street Mennonite Church in Nappanee, but this was not greatly different than in most Amish-Mennonite communities elsewhere. John Hostetler has estimated that nearly 70 percent of the Amish born in North America have merged with the Mennonite churches.⁹⁹

Since 1905, membership figures for the Amish church districts have been published by the Mennonite Church. The figures for 1905 indicated that 140 members belonged to the single church district at Nappanee.¹⁰⁰ The year previously, 1904, S. D. Guengerich had listed the figures as 132 members in 58 families.¹⁰¹ This was large enough to occasion a division of the settlement into two church districts in 1906 and the following year William Yoder was ordained to serve as bishop in the east half (see the following section on the Growth of Church Districts).¹⁰² The boundary line, running north-south one-half mile east of the Marshall County boundary (Figure 14), indicated the Amish settlement was still largely confined to the area occupied in 1874. In 1910, the west half was divided into northern

and southern districts,¹⁰³ and the boundary line (Figure 14), running east-west from the original church boundary westward at a point one mile north of the Kosciusko County boundary, indicated a southward expansion. The growth of Amish church districts is an infallible indicator of the directional trends of settlement expansion. By 1914, the settlement boundary had moved southward in both Marshall and Kosciusko counties and slightly eastward in Elkhart County in the vicinity of the village of Locke (Figures 4 and 9). About this time, the first Amish families crossed highway 19 and occupied land east of Nappanee (Figure 9).

The 1914 pattern, as shown in Figure 9, reveals several important facts. Since the earliest days of Amish settlement, there had been practically no expansion in a northward or westward direction. The expanding, or growing edge of the settlement, was conspicuously along the eastern and southern margins. This pattern, evident since at least 1854, has persisted to the present day. It is also interesting that the eastward expansion north of Nappanee took place about a mile and a half from the city limits, just far enough to be somewhat removed from the urban influence. The small finger of settlement projecting eastward into Union Township and the broader extension southward in Scott Township (Figures 8 and 9) are characteristic digitated spatial

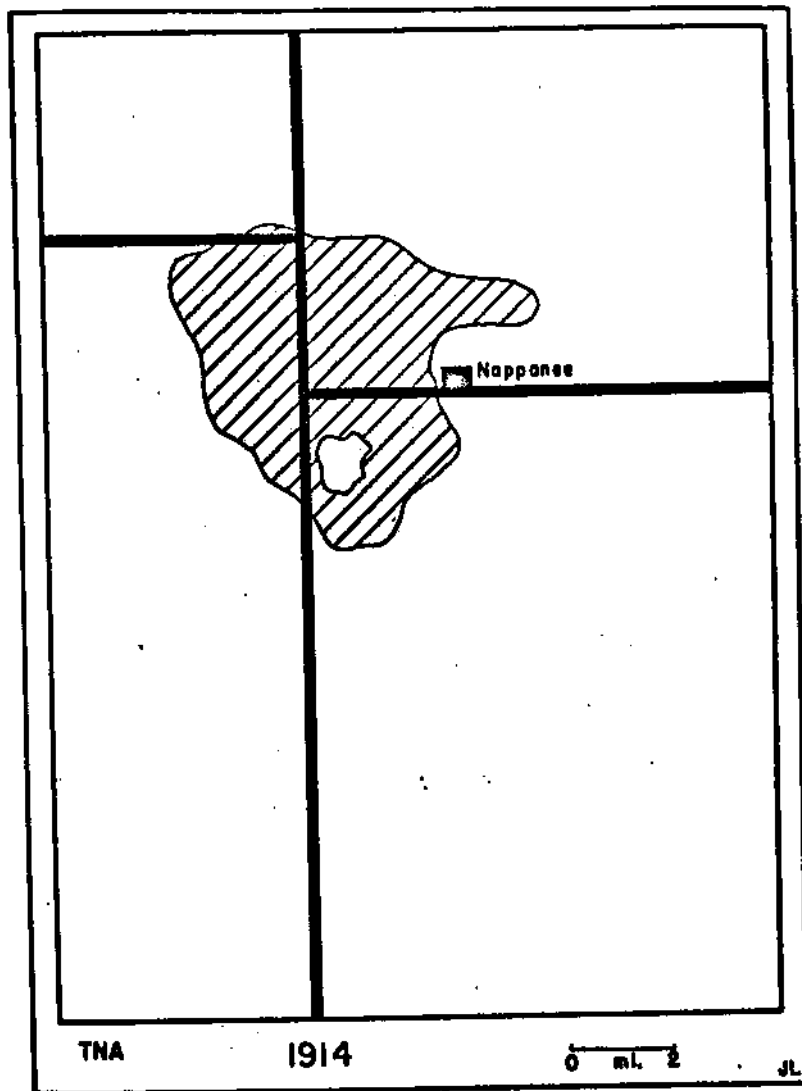
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The 1914 pattern, as shown in Figure 9, reveals several important facts. Since the earliest days of Amish settlement, there had been practically no expansion in a northward or westward direction. The expanding, or growing edge of the settlement, was conspicuously along the eastern and southern margins. This pattern, evident since at least 1854, has persisted to the present day. It is also interesting that the eastward expansion north of Nappanee took place about a mile and a half from the city limits, just far enough to be somewhat removed from the urban influence. The small finger of settlement projecting eastward into Union Township and the broader extension southward in Scott Township (Figures 8 and 9) are characteristic digitated spatial

Figure 9. A re-creation of the Old Order Amish settlement pattern in the Nappanee area about 1914. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: Standard Atlas of Marshall County, Indiana, Geo. A. Ogle and Company, Chicago, 1904, pp. 30-31; Standard Atlas of St. Joseph County, Indiana, Geo. A. Ogle and Company, Chicago, 1911, pp. 76-77; Standard Atlas of Kosciusko County, Indiana, Geo. A. Ogle and Company, Chicago, 1914, pp. 37, 39, 42-43, 45; Standard Atlas of Elkhart County, Indiana, Geo. A. Ogle and Company, Chicago, 1915, pp. 65, 67. The plat maps from these publications were viewed for the writer by Noah Borkholder, one of the long-time residents of the Nappanee Amish settlement.



patterns associated with the growing edge of all Amish settlements, and can also be identified on the maps of Amish residences in Lancaster and Lebanon counties, Pennsylvania,¹⁰⁴ and the Elkhart-Lagrange area of Indiana.¹⁰⁵

The eastward expansion, so conspicuous by 1914, continued vigorously enough that the East church district had to be divided twice by 1922 (Figure 15).¹⁰⁶ The significance of these and subsequent church district subdivisions are examined in greater detail in the following section, the Growth of Church Districts.

The decade of the 1930's was a period of crisis in the Nappanee Amish settlement. Two strong movements, one conservative, one liberal, had considerable impact on the Amish. Although the origins of both movements stemmed from the increasing contacts with non-Amish culture, the originators in both cases were Old Order Amish.

About 1930, a minister in the South church district, Samuel J. Christner, became concerned about what he felt was an unjustifiable liberalization of Old Order traditions. Aided by a like-minded bishop from Buchanan County, Iowa, Isaac Gingerich, Christner inaugurated an open movement for conservative reforms. He wanted to make the Amish church, according to local residents, like it had been 100 years before. After

creation of much bad feeling and ill will, a council of five Amish bishops (from Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana) was held to hear Christner's case. Later, two more bishops were added to the council. After several sessions, Christner was unrepentant, and the bishop's council silenced him in the ministry and set him aside from fellowship. Christner then began holding services on his own and attracted a following of families that shared his views. Christner and his deacon, Jake Mast, then ordained a member to the ministry, an action unheard of among the Amish since neither were bishops.

The Christner church never grew much beyond its original followership. At its peak, about 1935, there were 16 families in communion. Repeated attempts to obtain an Old Order Amish bishop to come and ordain Christner as a bishop were unsuccessful. Not being able to hold communion services, and shunned by other Amish families in the area, the increasing friction and bad feeling resulted in 13 of the families moving out of the Nappanee settlement. Three families remained, but only two were received back into fellowship with the Old Order.

About this time, 1937, Isaac Gingerich, the Amish bishop from Iowa, moved to Jay County, Indiana, and originated a settlement dedicated to the conservative principles of the Christner movement which he had been

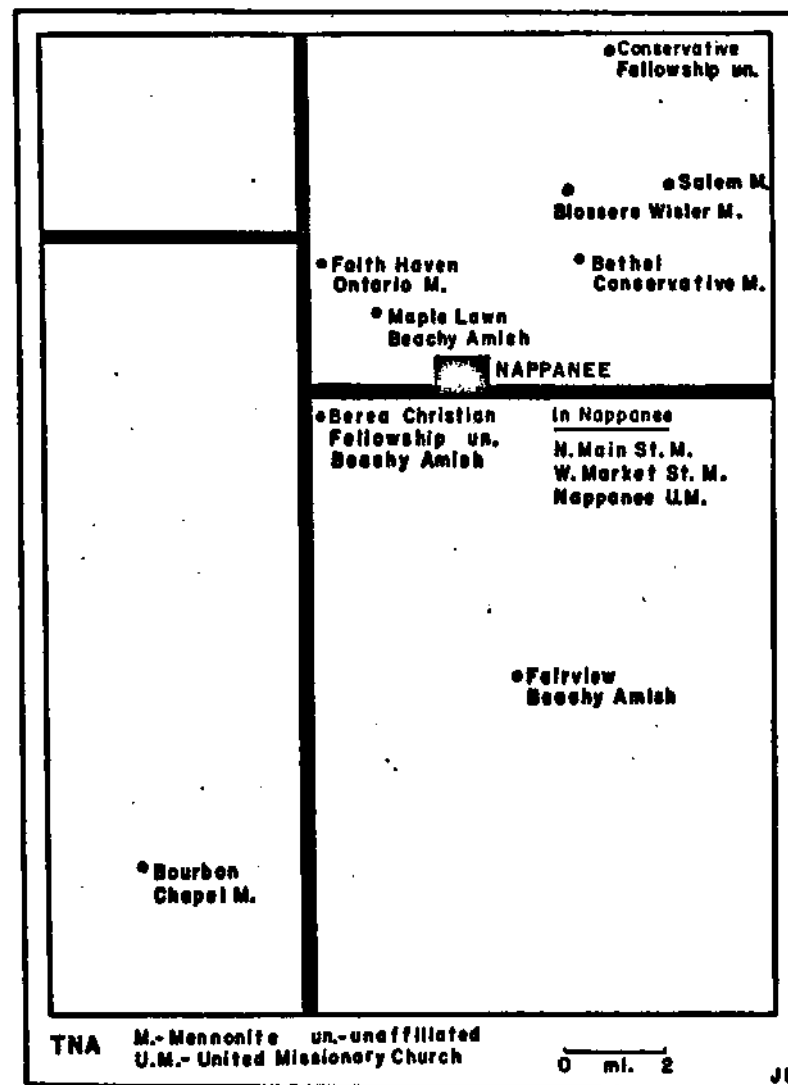
primarily responsible for formulating. Three of the Nappanee Amish families joined Gingerich, but Samuel J. Christner moved to Adams County, Indiana, where he resided with relatives. When he moved from Nappanee, just before 1940 (Figure 15), the Samuel J. Christner church in the Amish settlement at Nappanee passed into history, although several families remained for a short time following. Because of the spatial significance of the patterns involved in the Christner movement, they are examined in greater detail in chapter III.

As the Christner church died, a new movement at Nappanee was born. David O. Borkholder, son of the patriarchal Moses Borkholder, had been an Amish bishop in the Nappanee settlement since 1917. Having developed a sense of mission, and becoming disenchanted with the traditional restrictions of the Old Order society, D. O. Borkholder broke with the Amish in April, 1940, taking 10 Amish families with him (Figure 7). The group built Maple Lawn church just northwest of Nappanee (Figure 10) and became affiliated with the Beachy Amish churches of North America. The complete story of the D. O. Borkholder split has been documented by Alvin J. Beachy.¹⁰⁷

The Maple Lawn church was very successful. Originating with about 24 charter members, membership reached 103 in 1961. Since then, several groups have

Figure 10. Location of all Mennonite and Beachy Amish churches in the Nappanee area. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: all churches were visited by the writer and the locations plotted according to the U. S. Geological Survey 7½' topographic quadrangle maps cited in Figure 2.



left the Maple Lawn church and established their own independent congregations (Figure 7). The 1966 membership of these two groups, Fairview (47) and Berea Christian Fellowship (16) then exceeded the membership of the parent church, Maple Lawn (30)¹⁰⁸ (Figure 11). The three groups were not in fellowship with each other, and the Berea church did not maintain a Beachy Amish affiliation.

The impact of the Beachy Amish movement on Old Order settlements in the United States as a whole has been considerable.¹⁰⁹ In a few cases nearly entire church districts have followed their bishops into the Beachy church. In Nappanee, however, the movement has been slow and steady, a family now and then. With the recent dissatisfactions evident in the Maple Lawn church, this affiliation will no longer continue to be so desirable. Other factors, however, operating in the Nappanee settlement have minimized the impact of the Beachy Amish movement, and these are discussed in greater detail in chapter III.

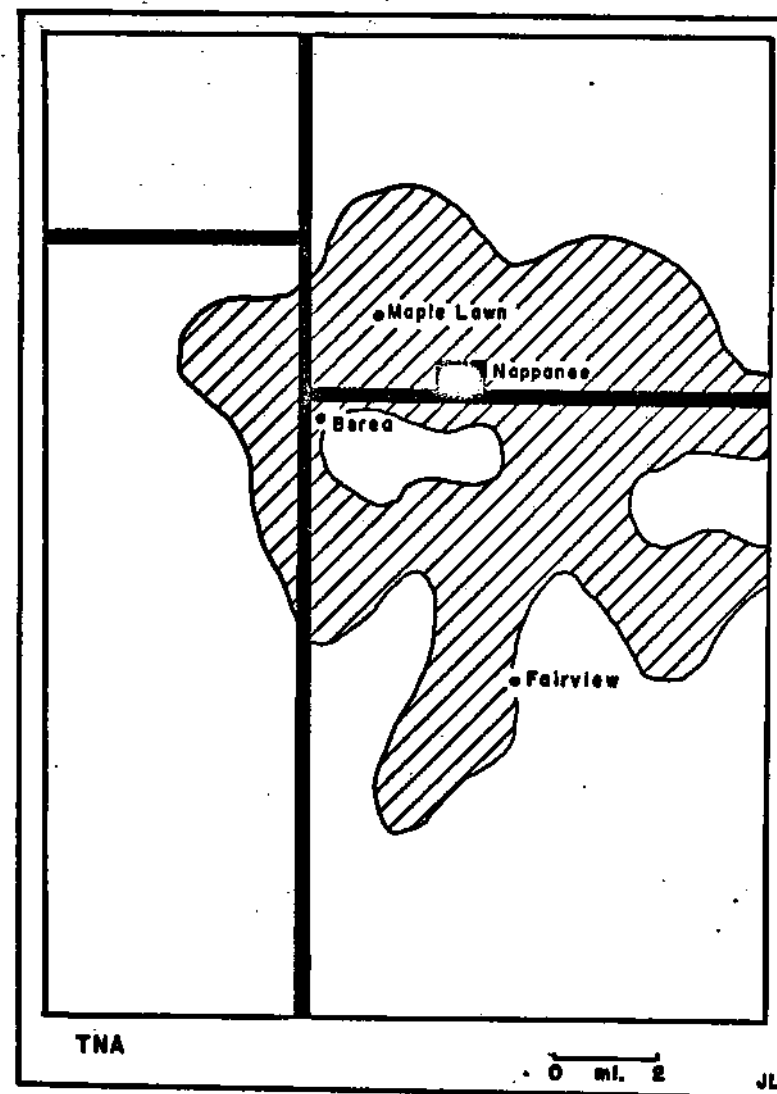
Since the Berea and Fairview groups represented secondary movements from the Old Order society their history was not documented in this study. The spatial significance of the original D. O. Borkholder split, however, is examined in greater detail in chapter III. The 1966 residential pattern of all three Beachy Amish

churches at Nappanee is shown in Figure 11.

If the decade of the 1930's was a period of crisis in the Nappanee settlement, it also provided the Amish with new and vigorous families. This was the depression period, and a steady stream of families from drought ridden and poverty stricken settlements in North Dakota, Iowa, and Kansas trickled into the Nappanee area, reversing a trend begun on a smaller scale in the early part of the century.¹¹⁰ For the most part, these families moved in along the southern edge of the expanding settlement (Figure 9), a most revealing fact. These western families, largely conditioned to a more tolerant set of church rules, or Ordnungen,¹¹¹ applicable in the American plains, found in this area of the Nappanee settlement a locale conducive to adjustment of their differing traditions. The spatial dimension, growth to the south, was strongly related to the social dimension, a more tolerant Ordnung. This may be a generalization applicable only to the Nappanee settlement, but the expanding edge of Amish settlement everywhere seems to carry along with it the conditions and traditions of the body group from which it is growing. In Nappanee, the two growing edges, one basically eastward along the northern extremity, the other southward and eastward along the southern extremity, represent the expansion of Amish families with

Figure 11. The 1966 residential territory of the congregations of the three Beachy Amish churches in the Nappanee area: Maple Lawn, Fairview, and Berea Christian Fellowship. A few additional families lived to the east of the area shown, and several north of Wakarusa (Figure 4). Until 1962, all these families were members of Maple Lawn. Since then, the other two groups have withdrawn and established independent congregations (Figure 7). The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: locational information for this map was provided by Steve Yoder, Bishop, Maple Lawn Church, Ervin Miller, minister, Maple Lawn Church, Jake Mast, minister, Fairview Church, Edward Graber, minister, Fairview Church, and Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church.



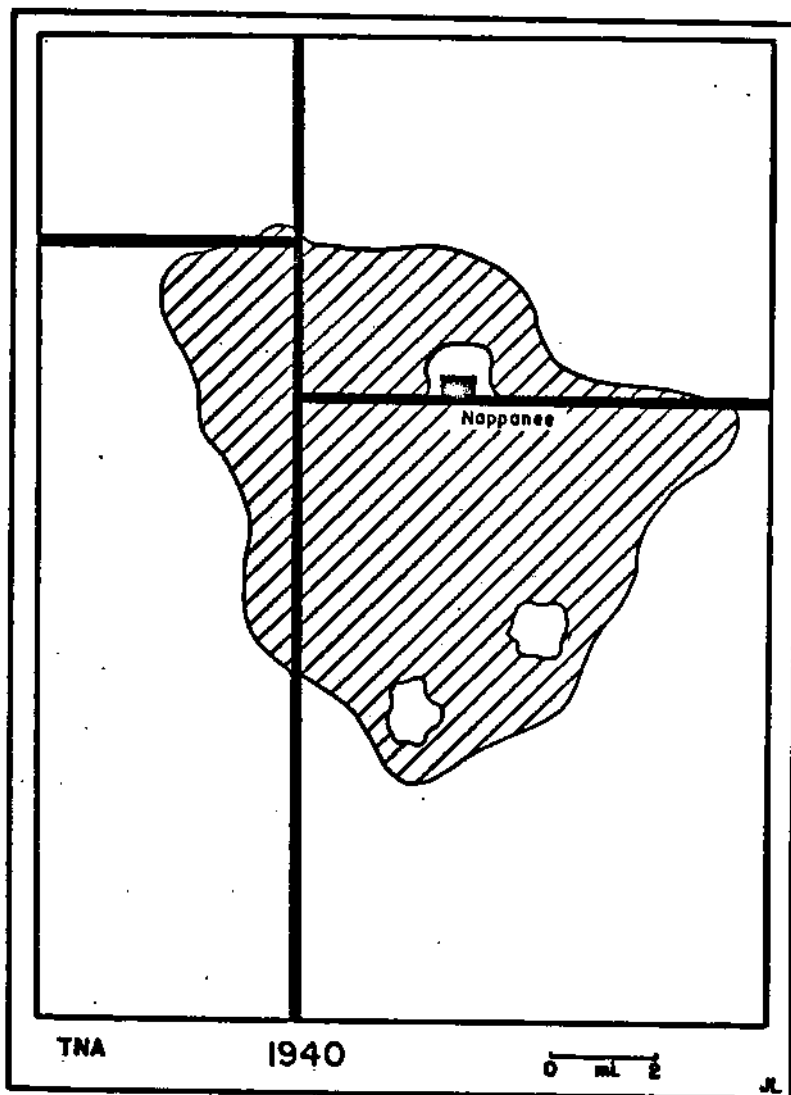
basically different traditions, the slightly more conservative groups being found in the north. When an Amish family moves, these governing church rules are assessed very carefully, resulting, in time, in a shifting of similar-minded Amish families into the same general locale whether it be a single church district or a district within a large settlement.

By 1940, the addition of new families, coupled with natural population growth, resulted in the continuous eastward and southward expansion of the settlement. The 1940 pattern is shown in Figure 12. Amish families were found all the way to the eastern edge of Union and Jefferson townships (Figure 2) and a single family had located seven miles further eastward in Benton Township of Elkhart County. The settlement then occupied an area of about 74 square miles compared with 30 square miles in 1914, an areal expansion of nearly 150 percent. A very minor extension occurred in the northwest, but the growing edge of the settlement continued to be the east and the south.

Following the D. O. Borkholder split with the Old Order, there was an immediate contraction along the eastern edge of the settlement. Many of these families simply joined the Beachy movement, but a great number moved into available land to the west to avoid the vacuum which now separated them from the main body

Figure 12. A re-creation of the Old Order Amish settlement pattern in the Nappanee area about 1940. A single family lived seven miles to the east in Benton Township, Elkhart County. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: Atlas and Plat Book of Elkhart County, Indiana: 1929, The Thrift Press, Rockford, Illinois, 1929, pp. 27-29; Madison Township, St. Joseph County, Indiana, plat map, Surveyor's office, South Bend, Indiana, 1935; German Township, Marshall County, Book 6, Assessor's office, Plymouth, Indiana, 1937; no plat for Kosciusko County in this period could be located. Locational information for this map was provided by Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church, Steve Yoder, Bishop, Maple Lawn Church, Ervin Miller, minister, Maple Lawn Church, and Noah Borkholder and Jonas Yutzy, Old Order Amish residents of the Nappanee settlement.

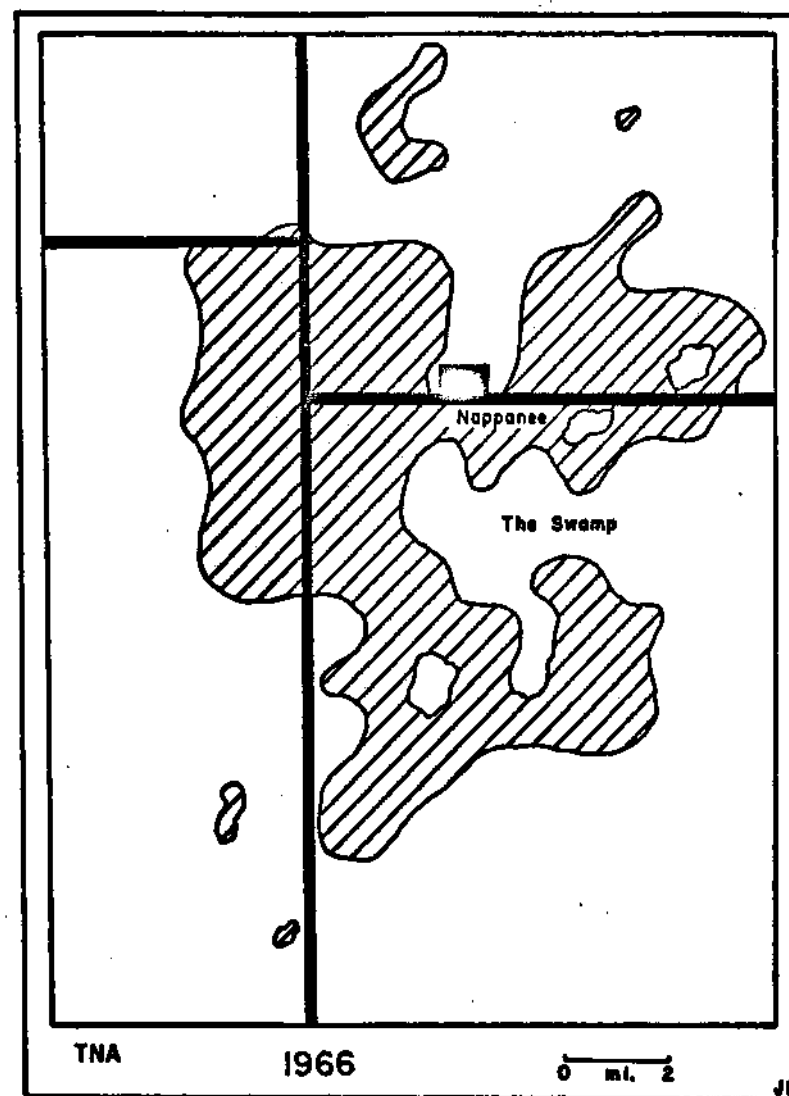


of Old Order families. This process was vigorous enough that, in 1947, the two easternmost church districts were merged into one (Figure 15).¹¹² This contraction was short-lived, however, and the districts were divided again in 1952.¹¹³ Expansion continued to the east and to the south, then also began to the north. By 1966, Amish families were living all the way to Etna Green on the south (13 miles from Nappanee) and Wakarusa on the north (7 miles from Nappanee) as shown in Figure 13. The Amish had apparently avoided the more expensive real estate along highway 19 north of Nappanee (Figure 4) and had largely withdrawn from the Swamp area of Kosciusko County (Figure 13), finding large muckland farms unsuitable for their generalized agriculture which required at least a small amount of pasture land for milk cows.

In 1966, the Amish settlement at Nappanee covered an area of about 85 square miles. The major east-west dimension was in a line passing directly through Nappanee, and the major north-south dimension was in a line passing just west of Nappanee. The settlement extended six miles both east and west from Nappanee, 11 miles southward, and 7 miles to the north. Again, there had been no expansion from the 1854 nucleus in northeastern Marshall County and the bordering

Figure 13. The Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement pattern in 1966. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: Kosciusko County, Indiana: Official Farm Plat Book and Directory, County Plat and Directory Co., Inc., 1965; Plat Map, Marshall County, Indiana, Rockford Map Publishers, Rockford, Illinois, 1964; Map of Locke Township, Surveyor's office, Elkhart County, Goshen, 1966; Map of Union Township, Surveyor's office, Elkhart County, Goshen, 1966; Atlas of St. Joseph County, Indiana, "Madison Township," Sidwell Studio, Chicago, 1960, p. 401. The locational information for this map was provided by Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church, Steve Yoder, Bishop, Maple Lawn Church, Ervin Miller, minister, Maple Lawn Church, and the following Old Order Amish residents: Noah Borkholder, Jonas Yutzy, Elmer Hochstetler, Peter Graber, Alvin Yoder, Daniel Borkholder, and Willis Yoder.



area (Figure 5).

The areal growth of the settlement between 1940 and 1966 was about 15 percent, considerably less than that recorded for Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. There, about 1940, Walter Kollmorgen had found the Amish settlement covering an area of 150 square miles.¹¹⁴ By 1966, this had increased to nearly 325 square miles,¹¹⁵ an expansion of better than 100 percent. Some, but not all, of the difference can be attributed to the much smaller size of the Nappanee settlement in population. Other reasons will be discussed in the following sections.

In the early 1950's, considerable interest was evidenced by a number of Amish families in a mission movement which had been stimulated by the efforts of a Detroit workingman, Russell Maniaci, who had been converted to the Mennonite church.¹¹⁶ Many younger Amish families were quite interested in the movement and, in August, 1950, a series of Amish Mission Conferences began, the first being held at Kalona, Iowa. A number of Nappanee Amish families participated in these conferences.

A Mission Interests Committee (MIC) was formed and Maniaci began forwarding a publication titled Amish Mission Endeavor to a great number of families and writing letters to the ordained ministers. The MIC

assumed responsibility for the maintenance of a hospital in Arkansas and later shifted its interests to Indians in central Canada. As a result of this activity, about 10 Amish families at Nappanee began meeting for mid-week Bible study, an action which created considerable opposition from the ordained ministry, although several ministers attended. The Bible study group met throughout the summer of 1952 and the following winter and, in December, Harvey Graber, a member of the Bible study group who had enrolled at Goshen College, assumed the editorship of the MIC publication and it was retitled Witnessing.¹¹⁷ During its short publication period (April, 1953, to June, 1961) Witnessing was forwarded to nearly 7,000 families in North America.

The mission conferences were stopped in 1953 due to considerable opposition and gossip, but the interest that had been created did not die. Several families had moved from the Nappanee area and others had withdrawn from the Old Order and merged with other church groups. The most significant movement which resulted was a transfer of several young people to the Conservative Mennonite Church. Soon a number of families followed and they attended services at Pleasant Grove church near Millersburg in southeastern Elkhart County. When the congregation grew too large, the church was divided and a new meeting house, Bethel, was constructed

just northeast of Nappanee (Figure 10). The charter membership of Bethel in late 1954, seven families and four young adults, was composed entirely of persons who had withdrawn from the Old Order settlement at Nappanee.

Of the ten families involved in the original Bible study meetings at Nappanee, only one remained within the Old Order in 1966. Three had joined Mennonite churches, one was Beachy Amish, and five were Conservative Mennonites. The spatial significance of both the mission movement and the original Bethel congregation are examined in greater detail in chapter III.

As the year 1966 drew to a close, there were, within the Nappanee settlement, 12 Old Order Amish church districts, three Beachy Amish churches, a Conservative Mennonite church composed almost entirely of ex-Amish families, a Mennonite church (West Market Street) with Amish origins, and a Mennonite church, which, although founded by Mennonite settlers, contained a large number of families descended from Amish settlers, this resulting from a mass congregational exchange which occurred between the two Mennonite churches in 1923 and 1924 (Figure 7).¹¹⁸

The city of Nappanee is the only significant trading center within the entire settlement (there are no stores in either Gravelton or Locke). Late on a

Friday afternoon and all day Saturday, the Amish buggies occupy, in the heart of Nappanee, what is probably the largest public-owned hitching lot in northern Indiana. Nappanee will remain the dominant trading center, but as Amish families expand toward Wakarusa, Etna Green, and Milford (Figures 4 and 13), the peripheral residents will undoubtedly reorient their shopping. Bremen already attracted a number of the families in the west. The northward expansion will also result in a new cultural contact, since Amish families were moving into the region occupied by the Wisler and Old Order Mennonite groups centered east of Wakarusa. Since these two groups, traditionally and agriculturally like the Amish, are also growing and expanding, an increasing conflict for land and space should be expected. Any comment on the future of this pattern at this time would be pure speculation.

The Growth of Church Districts

An Amish church district is a ceremonial unit no larger than a membership that can be conveniently accommodated in the homes where worship services are held.¹¹⁹ There is no specific number established, the needs depending on local circumstances, conditions, and attitudes. The church districts in the Nappanee

area are not discussed in terms of their functions, a task already performed by both Dr. Hostetler¹²⁰ and Dr. Huntington,¹²¹ but in terms of their historical development in relation to the spread of the Amish settlement and as indicators of the concentration of Amish population.

Of the largest Amish settlements, only the one in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, had had historic documentation on the dates of church district formation.¹²² The 1965 map of the Lancaster County church districts shows many dates regarding the establishment of certain boundary lines.¹²³ Because of the nature of the terrain, the district boundaries are extremely irregular, but in the middle west boundaries are generally rectangular and follow such visible features as roads, section, and property lines, and railroads.

The exact boundary lines of some of the church districts in the Nappanee area are impossible to show in full detail since, in order to equalize as fully as possible the number of members in a dividing district, they may detour around specific farms, follow lanes, fence lines, and imaginary boundaries. It is not possible to state under what specific conditions church districts in the Nappanee settlement have been divided, but examination of divisions over the years indicates

that when the baptized membership approaches 100 some concern is felt and when it reaches 130 the crowding in the home has reached a critical level. In the most recent division for which data were available, the boundaries were adjusted in such a way that 67 members (only baptized persons are considered members by the Amish) were located in each portion.¹²⁴ This division placed 29 households on one side and 25 on the other.

Comparing the historical development of the church districts with population was difficult since there were no reliable population data. Although the Mennonite Yearbook and Directory has given figures since 1905,¹²⁵ a few selected examples will suffice to show the peril of using the figures with any degree of assurance. The first listing of two church districts at Nappanee appeared in the yearbook in 1913, eight years after their formation and three years after the formation of a third district. Data for the Samuel J. Christner church first appeared in the yearbook in 1941, nearly 10 years after its formation, and after Christner had left the Nappanee area. These figures were then repeated for four additional years. The data that appeared in 1913 for two districts were repeated for 13 years. This is, of course, a reflection of the disinterest of the Amish in compiling and

publishing membership figures and keeping them up to date, and in now way is the fault of the yearbook staff. The membership figures in the yearbook, therefore, can be utilized only in a most generalized manner.

Some of the details of church division have already been mentioned. The first, in 1906, divided the settlement into East and West church districts (Figure 15). The boundary line, one-half mile east of the Marshall County boundary (Figure 14), evidenced little expansion beyond the boundaries of the 1874 settlement, but there apparently had been some population increase on the east. The membership about this time was probably between 130 and 150 persons (S. D. Guengerich, op. cit.). The second division, in the West district in 1910 (Figure 15), indicated a southward expansion since the boundary line ran west just one mile north of the Elkhart-Kosciusko county boundary (Figure 14). By this time, there was a heavy concentration of Amish families in the Burlington area (Figure 4). The third division, in the East district in 1916 (Figure 15), indicated continued expansion to the east and south since the east-west boundary line was established three miles south of Nappanee (Figure 14). The approximate church district boundaries at this time are shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14. The Old Order Amish church district boundaries at Nappanee about 1916. The settlement boundary is that of 1914, taken from Figure 9. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: L. D. Christner, Old Order Amish Church Districts of Indiana, Topeka, Indiana, c. 1945; E. E. Gingerich, Nappanee Church Districts, map, Middlebury, Indiana, 1951; A. K. Yoder, A History of the Amish South and West of Nappanee, Indiana, unpublished, Goshen, Indiana, 1958-1959.

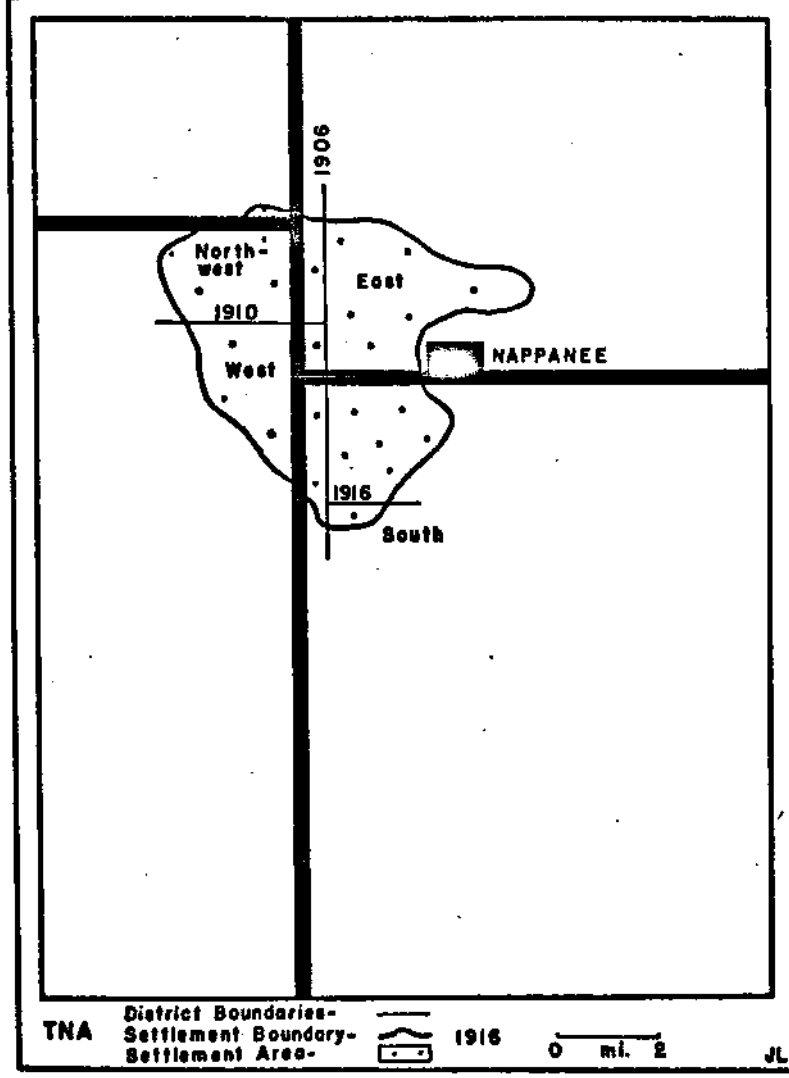
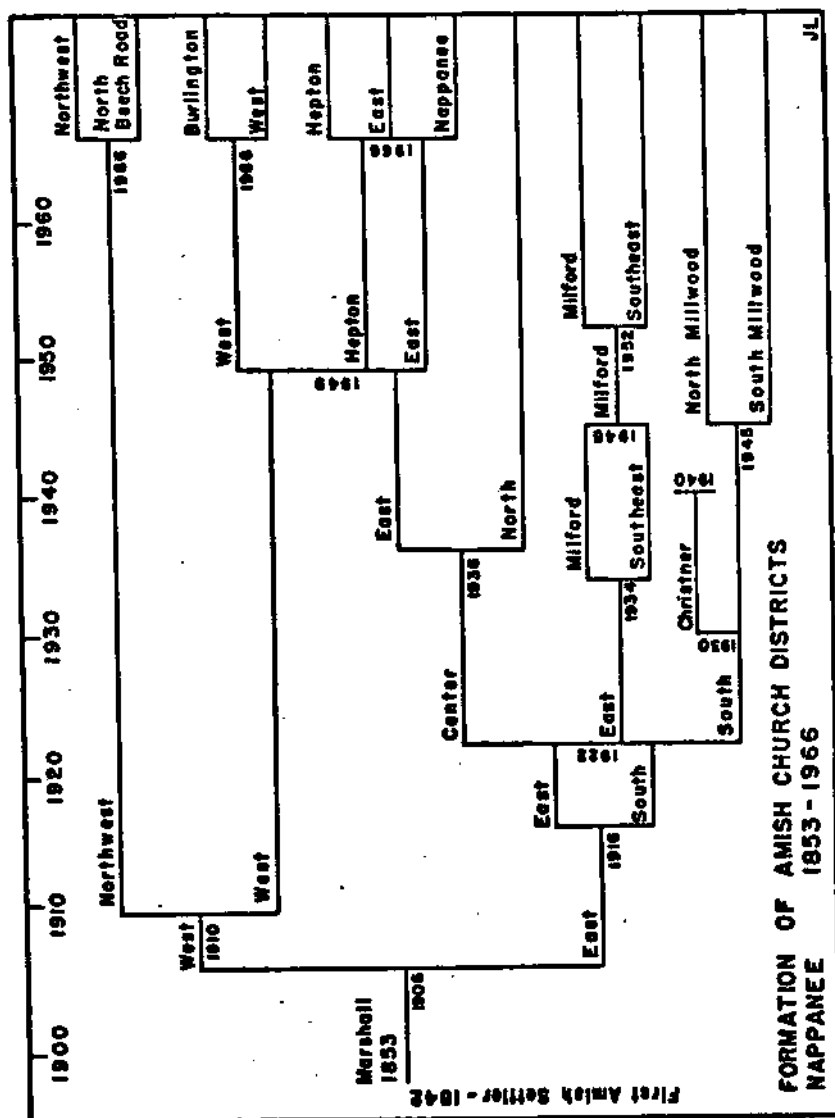


Figure 15. The formation of Old Order Amish church districts at Nappanee from 1853 to 1966. By the time this report is completed, trends at Nappanee indicate that the following church district name changes may have taken place: Burlington to West Burlington; West to East Burlington; Nappanee to South Nappanee; and East to Southwest Nappanee.

Source: L. D. Christner, Old Order Amish Church Districts of Indiana, Topeka, Indiana, c. 1945; E. E. Gingerich, Nappanee Church Districts, map, Middlebury, Indiana, 1961; A. K. Yoder, A History of the Amish South and West of Nappanee, Indiana, unpublished, Goshen, Indiana, 1958-1959. Further information was provided by Noah Borkholder and Peter Graber, both long-time residents of the Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement, and by Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church.



With continued expansion to the east and south, further divisions were necessary. In 1922 (Figure 15), a new East district was formed by a north-south line located one and one-half miles east of Nappanee (Figure 16) and the old East district became known as the Center district (Figure 15), and an east-west boundary line was established two miles south of the Elkhart-Kosciusko counties boundary line (Figure 16). In 1936 (Figure 15), the North district was divided from the old East (Center) district with a line running east-west through Nappanee (Figure 16). There were now seven church districts; Northwest, West, North, South (sometimes called Southwest), East, Milford, and Southeast (Figure 15). Because of the loss of families in the eastern section of the settlement due to the Borkholder split, the Milford and Southeast churches merged into a single Milford district but were divided again in 1952 (Figure 15).

The last major boundary formation took place in 1945 when the South district was divided into the North Millwood and South Millwood districts (Figures 15 and 16). In 1949, boundaries of the East and West districts were adjusted to create the Hepton district (Figures 15 and 16). This alignment of nine districts existed basically unchanged until 1966 when three new churches were formed, North Beech Road, Burlington, and Nappanee

Figure 16. The Old Order Amish church district boundaries at Nappanee in December, 1966. The settlement boundary is that of 1966, taken from Figure 13. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: L. D. Christner, Old Order Amish Church Districts of Indiana, Topeka, Indiana, c. 1945; E. E. Gingerich, Nappanee Church Districts, map, Middlebury, Indiana, 1961; A. K. Yoder, A History of the Amish South and West of Nappanee, Indiana, unpublished, Goshen, Indiana, 1958-1959. More recent boundaries were added by the writer. The location of the boundaries was verified by Noah Borkholder and Peter Graber, both long-time residents of the Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement. Also, see note covering names on Figure 15.

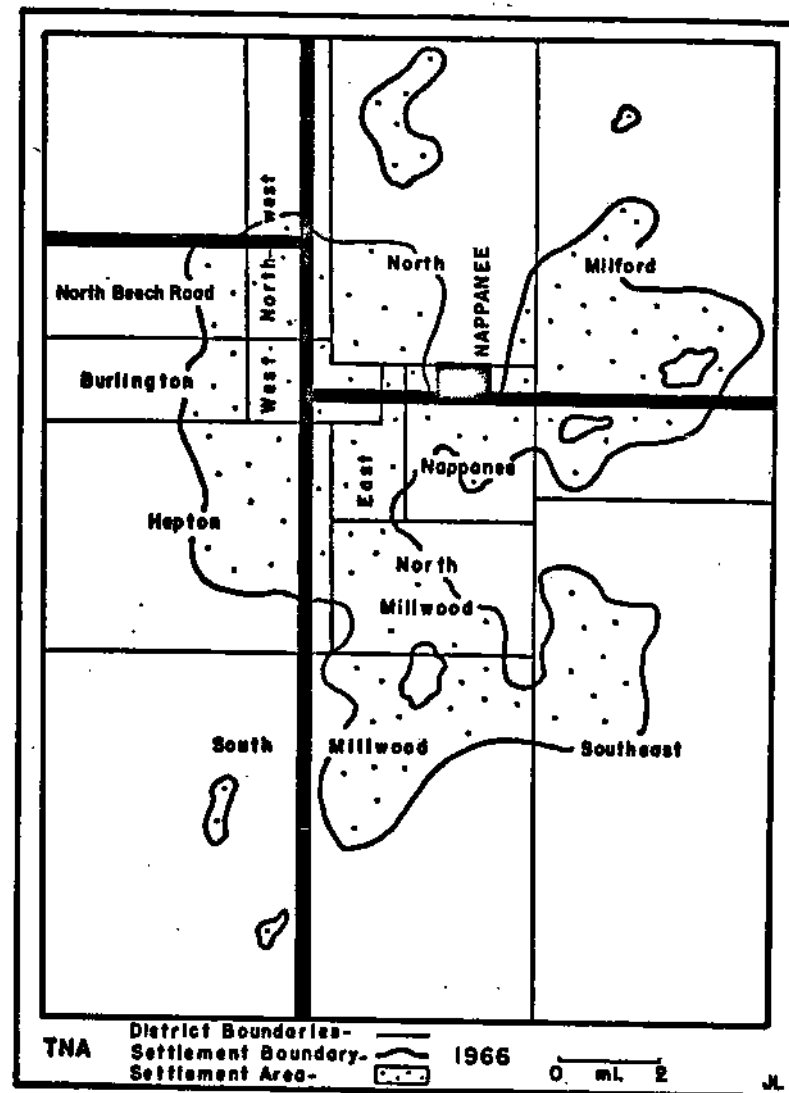


Table 4

Statistics of Nappanee Old Order Amish
Church Districts: 1966

Church District ¹	Area square miles	Church membership	Adjusted ² population	Density ³
Northwest	4.0	120	138	34
North Beech Rd.	3.0	---	138 ⁴	46
West	3.5	117	134	38
Burlington	2.0	---	134	67
East	3.0	112	159	53
Hepton	8.0	95	159	20
Nappanee	7.5	---	159	21
North	11.5	106	244	21
N. Millwood	10.0	75	172	17
S. Millwood	13.5	102	236	17
Milford	13.5	75	172	13
Southeast	8.0	61	140	18
Total	87.5	863	1,985	--
Average	7.3	72	166	23

¹See Figure 16 for location of the church districts and their boundaries.

²Adjusted population based on 15 per cent increase over 1966 membership figures and a ratio of 2.0 persons for each baptized member as described in the text.

³Density in the number of Amish persons per square mile of the total area of each church district.

⁴North Beech Road was divided from Northwest. Nappanee was divided from the combination of East and Hepton. Burlington was divided from West (see text).

Table 4
(continued)

Source: the 1966 membership figures from E. D. Zook (ed.), Mennonite Yearbook and Directory: 1966, vol. 57, pp. 92-93. All other data from the writer as described in the text.

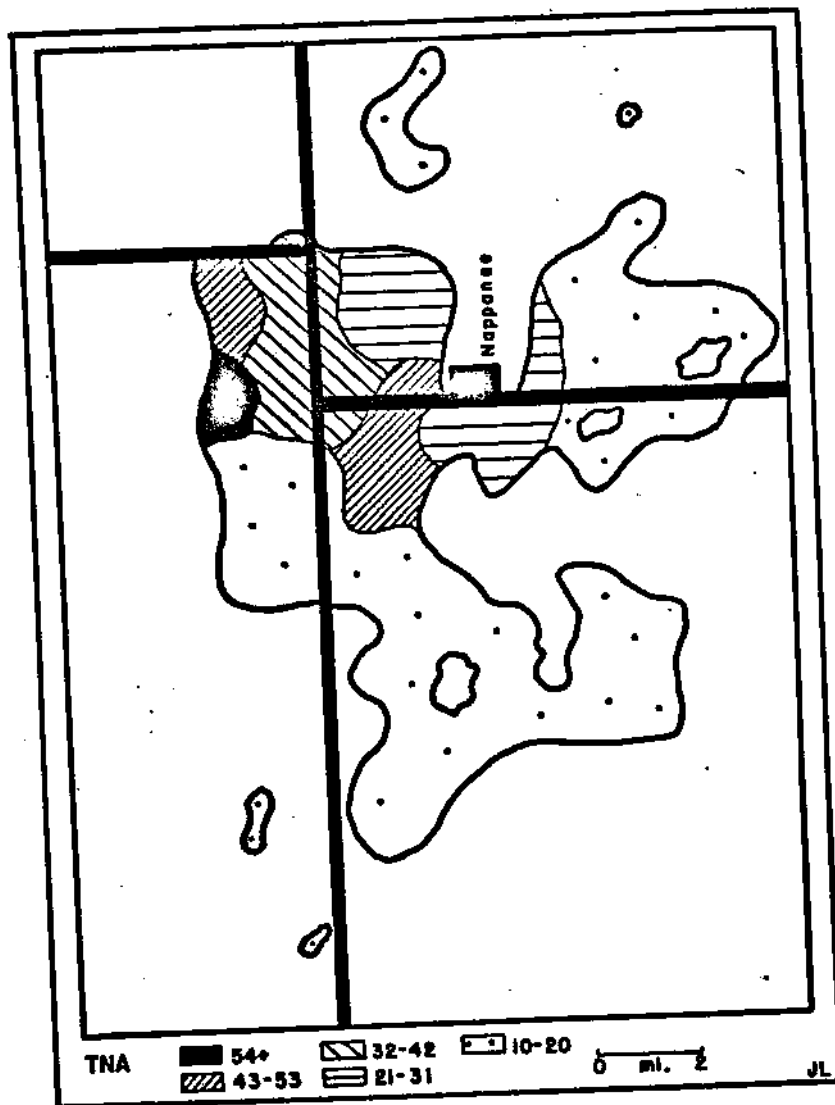
northeastern, eastern, and southern margins, the growing edge of the settlement. The smallest districts were those in the northwest, the original nucleus of the Old Order settlement at Nappanee.

The density of the church districts in number of Amish persons per square mile was also extremely varied, ranging from a high of 67 (Burlington) to a low of 13 (Milford), with the average for the entire settlement being 23. When the density data were prepared in map form, as shown in Figure 17, a noticeable asymmetry of population appeared. A section of high density, covering the northwestern portion of the settlement, is quite conspicuous, but the area is small, amounting to about 15.5 square miles. It was estimated that over 36 percent of the total Amish population, nearly 700 persons, lived in this area of high density which amounted to only 17 percent of the total land area of the settlement. The general density in this section was about 45 Amish persons per square mile, double that of the settlement as a whole.

Thus far it has not been shown whether or not the asymmetrical spatial growth pattern and the asymmetrical population distribution of the Amish settlement at Nappanee, described above, are characteristic of other Amish settlements, but this problem will be examined in the following section. Also, in an effort

Figure 17. Density of population, in number of Amish persons per square mile, in the Nappanee settlement in 1956. The settlement boundary is that of 1966, taken from Figure 13. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: the data on which this map was based are given in Table 4.



to relate the Amish population pattern to the actual land area occupied, an attempt was made to distinguish Amish lands from those controlled by non-Amish. This aspect of settlement homogeneity is another topic that will be discussed in the following section.

Homogeneity in An Amish Settlement

In most studies of the Amish, the problem of homogeneity has been assessed from the standpoint of cultural differences between them and their non-Amish neighbors. The writer is aware of only a single study, that by Yordy,¹²⁷ in which settlement aspects of Amish homogeneity have been studied, i.e., one in which the spatial locations of Amish territories have been analyzed in relation to those of their non-Amish neighbors. Although it has long been recognized that the typical settlement pattern is one which contains a mixture of Amish and adjacent non-Amish lands,¹²⁸ spatial variations in the intensity of this mix have not yet been quantitatively assessed.

To develop some idea of the homogeneity of Amish land control in the Nappanee area two criteria were selected: (1) the number of Amish farms in a square mile section; and, (2) the number of acres occupied or worked by Amish in each square mile section. The

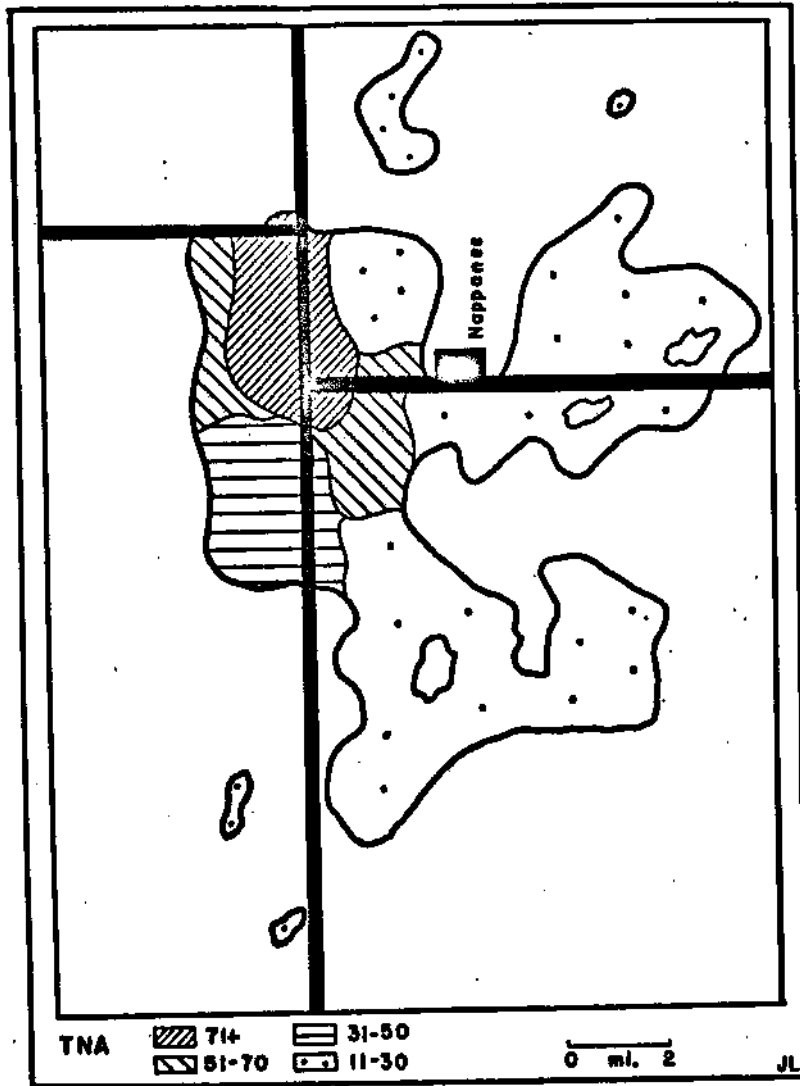
possibility of determining land ownership was rejected due to the technicalities of adequately determining such ownership. Many Amish farms were leased or were being purchased under contract arrangements of various sorts, and the ownership of many of these was non-Amish. It was felt that to interview every Amish farmer in the Nappanee area was not essential to answer the basic question herein posed, namely, in 1966, which lands were occupied and worked by Old Order Amish and which were not.

Survey of relevant plat maps in the company of numerous Amish and non-Amish persons who were willing to sit with the writer and examine the land control patterns in their areas made it possible to identify 196 Amish farms (only those with 20 acres or more were considered farms; more than one family commonly resided on a single farm) which included 14, 945 acres, an average of 76 acres per farm. An additional 500 acres in plots or tracts smaller than 20 acres, occupied by some 30 families, were not included in the following calculations. If the total Amish population of the Nappanee settlement were equally distributed among the 196 farms, each would contain about 10 persons.

The distribution of percentages of Amish land control is shown in Figure 18. A belt of sections in which the Amish controlled more than half the land

Figure 18. The percentages of Old Order Amish land control in the Nappanee settlement in 1966. The settlement boundary is that of 1966, taken from Figure 13. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: the data on which this map was based are given in Table 5.



corresponded quite closely to the zone of highest population density. Like density, the distribution of dominant Amish land control was highly asymmetrical with conspicuously high value zones occurring in the northwest section of the settlement.

Since the area of the Amish church districts was known, it was possible to determine the percentage of land in each church district controlled by the Amish and calculate a more meaningful population density figure based on actual acreage. These figures are presented in Table 5. Two facts emerged quite clearly, namely, the rather limited percentages of Amish land control existing in most districts, and the relatively high Amish population densities per square mile of controlled land. It is not so much the spatial pattern of these figures which merits attention, but their magnitude, for one expects density to vary directly with population and inversely with land area. Despite over 125 years of occupancy in the northwest section of the settlement, which includes the Northwest, Beech Road, Burlington, and West church districts (Figure 16), the Amish still controlled only a little more than 65 percent of the total land area (Table 5). In the Nappanee church district, with a very high density of 153 Amish persons in every square mile controlled by the Amish, the entire area was still nearly 85

Table 5

Land Control in the Nappanee Amish Settlement: 1966

Church District ¹	Area sq. mi.	Amish Land acres	Amish Land percent ²	Amish Density per sq. mile ³
Northwest	4.0	1,914	74	44
North Beech Road	3.0	1,093	56	83
West	3.5	1,620	73	51
Burlington	2.0	740	57	115
East	3.0	975	51	102
Repton	8.0	1,815	35	57
Nappanee	7.5	675	14	153
North	11.5	1,225	17	121
N. Mill-wood	10.0	1,132	18	96
S. Mill-wood	13.5	1,565	11	96
Milford	13.5	1,413	16	77
Southeast	8.0	778	15	115
Total	87.5	14,945	—	—
Average	7.3	1,245	26	86

¹See Figure 16 for the locations and boundaries of the church districts.

²Amish controlled land as a percentage of the total area of each church district.

³Density of Amish persons per square mile of Amish controlled land.

Source: all data from the writer as described in the text.

percent controlled by non-Amish (Table 5). With this knowledge, it was possible to evaluate some of the models that have been suggested to explain the structure of Amish settlements.

As a result of his study in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Kollmorgen concluded that land prices in the center of the settlement were double those on the periphery and that this resulted largely from a centripetal force which attracted Amish families toward the center with a resultant shortage of land. This finding has had wide circulation.¹²⁹ In line with this thinking is the idea that the settlement periphery is less desirable to the Amish, since location in the center will keep them from contact with the "gay world."¹³⁰

In the Nappanee settlement, however, there was a highly asymmetrical nucleus and the evidence was clear that, at least since 1874, the movement has been strongly peripheral to the south and east despite a large quantity of land available in the northwest. The non-Amish agricultural area within and immediately adjacent to the northwest district is not greatly different from the land the Amish now occupy (Figure 6), but there has been only limited expansion in that area. Although the presence of non-Amish controlled land is not necessarily an indication that it is available for sale, it seems unlikely that such large areas of non-Amish territory

would be left in the northwest if a strong centripetal force had been operating during the last 125 years.

The centripetal force idea also overlooks the fact that for each Amish family wishing to assure its cultural isolation from the outside world in a highly concentrated Amish area, there is probably a family, perhaps two, equally desirous of moving to the periphery if such a move offers a differential Ordnung in the direction of less restriction and greater tolerance to minor changes. The centripetal and centrifugal forces operating within an Amish settlement probably offset each other, although intense tension on the periphery of an Amish settlement may occasionally set in motion a centripetal mechanism on a temporary basis (as happened at Nappanee during the schism of 1854 and the D. O. Borkholder split in 1940). Equally important is the observable fact that some of the most conservative of Amish settlements are small ones completely surrounded by the "gay world." In addition, peripheral clustering by conservative groups of Amish on the outer margins of large, more progressive Amish settlements is a well known fact, as, for example, the Old School Amish in Big Valley (Mifflin County, Pennsylvania), the Swartzentruber Amish in central Ohio, and Amish along the western edge of the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement in Indiana.

The so-called land scarcity problem for the Amish has been a common theme. Yet, since Kollmorgen worked in Lancaster County, the settlement has doubled in area! A student working in the Nappanee settlement in the early 1950's stated that "today there is a shortage of land,"¹³¹ even though by 1966 the Amish still controlled only 26 percent of the settlement area they occupied. There was land available for the Amish at Nappanee. If they could not afford it, or did not desire it, this was an economic or social problem, and not necessarily one of land shortage. It appears that zones of dominant Amish land control are more simply related to the age of the occupied section than to any centripetal force attracting Amish families toward a hypothetical nucleus.

Whatever the merits of previous statements about the structure of Amish settlements may be, the fact remains that, in the Nappanee settlement, the areal expansion rate had slowed considerably. During the period 1940-1966, when the settlement increased in total area by only 15 percent, the population probably increased by 50 percent. In the preceding 26 years period (1914-1940) the Nappanee settlement increased in area 150 percent. Yordy discovered that Amish land holdings in the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement increased nearly 100 percent during the period 1913-1915 to 1937.¹³²

There are no such growth rates at Nappanee today and there are several reasons why. The answer is not found in a centripetal movement idea even though the three latest church divisions have occurred in the northwest section. The population increase so suddenly apparent in this area is resulting from the fact that Amish boys who are raised in the area marry and stay there. And the high densities on the Amish controlled acreage indicate that they are not moving onto the available land. One might conclude from the very high population densities that the Amish farms must be unusually productive to support such a large population, or that the Amish have been reduced to bare subsistence levels, a misinterpretation reached by a study of Mennonite land problems.¹³³ Neither idea is correct. The singular fact is that nearly half of the Amish household heads at Nappanee are no longer farming. The settlement does not fit any stereotype suggested in the past which implies that only agriculture is a way of life the Amish will accept. Evidence and observations concerning this remarkable trend are presented in Chapter III.

The Amish Exclave and the Non-Amish Enclave

The juxtaposition of Amish and non-Amish controlled lands, described in the previous section on

homogeneity, can be expected in most Amish settlements. The patterns which this juxtaposition may take are infinitely varied and four dissimilar types are shown in Figure 19. Because of the minimal land control of the Amish in the Nappanee area it was difficult to find a non-Amish farm which was entirely surrounded by Amish controlled area. One, however, is shown in the figure.

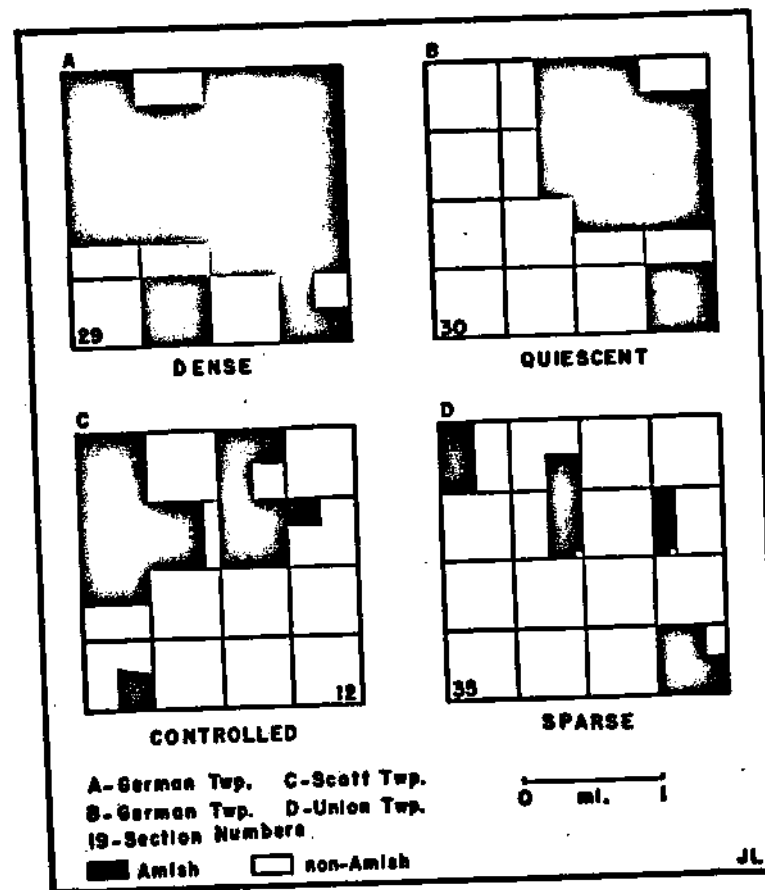
Such farms, or non-Amish enclaves, serve to create "one of America's most interesting minority problems . . . the plight of a non-Amish farmer who finds himself surrounded by a settlement of Amish."¹³⁴

Kollmorgen referred to a Mennonite farmer who found himself isolated from his closest non-Amish friends by a distance of ten miles.¹³⁵ Commentaries of this type related to cultural isolation of non-Amish farm families indicate an extremely high degree of Amish land control, a factor which is quite limited in the Nappanee settlement.

On the larger scale, there were three non-Amish enclaves in the Nappanee settlement, areas of at least one square mile in which not a single family of Amish was found (Figure 13). They were located in the extreme eastern and southern sections of the settlement (such enclaves can also be seen in Figures 9 and 12). Here also could be found another land-holding pattern, areas in which Amish families live that are distinctly

Figure 19. Four dissimilar types of Amish-non-Amish land control in the Nappanee settlement in 1966. Each lettered figure contains four square miles. Diagram A is in the northwest section where the Amish population and land control are greatest. Diagrams C and D show conspicuous Amish exclaves, and D is a characteristic pattern associated with the growing edge of the settlement. The blocky nature of B, located along the west margin of the settlement, contrasts sharply with D, and is associated with a boundary that has remained essentially unchanged for nearly a century. The conspicuous absence of Amish land in the southeastern area of C is related to the ribbon of muck that occupies that portion of the settlement. The Amish have withdrawn from areas in which most of their acreage was muck or poorly drained lowland. The small area in the southeastern section of A is entirely surrounded by Amish land and is a non-Amish enclave. See Figure 2 for location of the townships and sections.

Source: the patterns shown in the diagrams are enlargements from data used in the construction of Figure 13.



isconnected from the main body of the settlement (Figure 13). There were four of these Amish exclaves related to the settlement at Nappanee, two along the northern edge and two near the southwestern margin.

As an Amish settlement expands in area, the movement is not on a smooth continuum along the plane of the land area involved. As nearby rural land becomes available, Amish families may purchase it. In some cases the land is adjacent to that already acquired, in some cases not. Occasionally a jump is made and land is purchased at a distance from the main body, creating an Amish exclave. In most cases at Nappanee, the move was made because it was the only land available at the time the purchase was desired. Successive purchases may tend to close this gap, but in case the distance is too great and the gap slow in closing the family will abandon the exclave and return closer to the main body. More frequently, however, the gap is closed, the exclave becomes attached to the parent body of the settlement, and the non-Amish enclaves slowly decrease in size. Thus the settlement expands in area, a thrust here, an extension there, not smoothly but discontinuously both in space and time.

It is suggested that the appearance of non-Amish enclaves and Amish exclaves are characteristic land holding patterns along the growing edge of an Amish

settlement. Like fingers of extension from the main body, the enclave and the exclave denote directional movement of the settlement. At Nappanee, however, there were no protruding fingers, enclaves, or exclaves related to the northwest margin, which had not expanded since 1854. A similar situation is apparent on the Amish map of Lancaster County,¹³⁶ where Amish exclaves and non-Amish enclaves are found on the northern, eastern, and southern edges of the settlement, which are growing, but are absent in the west where expansion is prevented by the city of Lancaster.

Summary

The Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee, Indiana, is one of nearly 60 separate settlements found in the United States and Canada. Only recently, an Amish migration began to Central America. The three Beachy Amish churches in the Nappanee area represent almost 50 found in the United States, Canada, and, perhaps in the near future, Paraguay.

The first settlers arrived in the Nappanee area in the mid-1830's. About 1840, some recent Amish immigrants from Germany arrived and settled mainly along the Locke-Union townships boundary line at what is now the city of Nappanee. Other Amish families began arriving from well established Amish settlements in Ohio

and Pennsylvania about 1844. These families settled mainly along the Marshall County boundary, three miles to the east.

The Amish church district was officially organized about 1853, but disagreements between the two groups of Amish settlers caused a break in 1854. The more liberal division eventually built a church house and became known as Amish Mennonites. They are represented in the Nappanee area today by the West Market Street Mennonite Church. The others remained aloof and became known as the Old Order Amish.

Following the break, the Old Order Amish settlement was largely confined to the boarder area of Marshall and Elkhart counties, northwest of what is now Nappanee. About the time the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was completed in the area (1874), David H. Hochstetler, the Amish bishop, moved to Newton County, Indiana, taking a considerable number of families with him. For several years, ministers from the Clinton area of the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement conducted services for the Amish. About 1890, disagreements concerning mechanical devices resulted in a number of Amish families moving out, and others joined the Nappanee Mennonite Church.

Despite this loss, the Old Order Amish settlement continued to grow, and the first division into two

church districts took place in 1906. At this time, the Amish families were still largely confined to the Marshall-Elkhart counties boundary area. By 1914, however, the eastward and southward expansion had become conspicuous, and the growing edge of the settlement in these directions has persisted to today. Since the beginning, there has been almost no northward or westward expansion from the 1854 nucleus in northeast Marshall County.

In the 1930's, both conservative and liberal movements had considerable impact on the settlement. The former, led by Samuel J. Christner, created such friction that at least 13 families moved to other states. The liberal movement, led by Amish Bishop David O. Borkholder, resulted in the withdrawal of a large number of families from the Old Order who built Maple Lawn Church which affiliated with the Beachy Amish churches. Since 1962, two groups have withdrawn from fellowship with Maple Lawn and have established independent congregations.

During the depression, a large number of families arrived in the Nappanee area from drought-stricken Amish settlements in the western states. Many of these families settled along the expanding southern edge of the settlement, imparting to this area a greater sense of freedom from restrictive Ordnungen and tolerance

to minor changes. By 1940, the settlement had expanded to nearly 74 square miles, nearly 150 percent larger than in 1914.

During the 1950's the Nappanee settlement was disturbed by a great interest in the nationwide Amish mission movement. A local group began meeting for midweek Bible study and prayer services but discontinued the meetings after considerable opposition from the Amish ministry. Most of these families withdrew from the Old Order and joined other Mennonite churches. Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church, when it was organized in 1954, had a congregation composed entirely of persons of Old Order background.

By 1966, the Amish settlement covered about 88 square miles, an expansion rate of 15 percent compared to the 150 percent in Lancaster County during the same period of time (1940-1966). The settlement was divided into 12 Old Order church districts.

Nappanee was almost directly in the center of the settlement and was the dominant trade and marketing center. With continued expansion, however, peripheral trade relations with communities like Milford, Etna Green, and Wakarusa, should be expected. In the north, the Amish were moving in among Old Order Mennonites who shared many of the same traditions. A marriage between children of the two groups had already

been reported, and more cultural contact can be expected in the future.

Examination of the division and growth of church districts in the Nappanee Amish settlement substantiated the data presented in the first part of chapter II that the growing edge of the Nappanee settlement has always been to the east and south, and only recently to the north. Despite this areal expansion, however, the three most recent church divisions had taken place in the northwest section where there had been practically no areal expansion. More and more Amish families were occupying the same space.

A complete census of two church districts in 1966 made it possible to arrive at approximate population figures for the entire settlement. When the population was compared to the area of each church district, a conspicuous zone of high density population was revealed in the northwestern section of the settlement. Over 35 percent of the total Amish population at Nappanee occupied this zone of high density which amounted to only 17 percent of the settlement land area. The area expansion pattern and the concentration of population in the Nappanee settlement were both highly asymmetrical.

Identification of 196 Amish farms in the Nappanee settlement made it possible to assess the

homogeneous nature of the area in some quantitative manner. It was discovered that the Amish controlled only 26 per cent of the land in the settlement, although the amounts were greater in the northwest section. In one church district with an area of two square miles the Amish controlled less than 60 per cent of the land. A high value zone of dominant Amish land control was found in that section of the settlement which was oldest and had the greatest general population density for total land area.

The idea of centripetal movement toward a nucleus of the settlement with resultant land scarcity and high land values in the center was rejected since even the oldest and most densely concentrated zones of Amish land control still contained large quantities of available land. The centripetal mechanism, which supposedly attracts families into the center of the settlement to produce cultural isolation, is probably offset by an even stronger centrifugal force, and the expansion pattern of the Nappanee settlement indicated this. The small size of the church districts, the rather minimal Amish land control, the extremely high densities on Amish controlled land, the sudden population increase in the northwest where there has been little areal expansion, and the slow-down of total settlement expansion

in comparison with preceding time periods, was attributed to a loss in the agricultural orientation of the settlement.

The pattern of land holding in an Amish settlement is typically one of non-Amish lands in juxtaposition with Amish lands. An individual farmer might find himself removed some distance from the closest non-Amish neighbor, but the minimal amount of land control by the Amish in the Nappanee settlement prevented any great isolation.

Along the growing edge of the settlement were found larger areas in which no Amish families were found and areas disconnected from the main part of the settlement in which a few or a single Amish family was found. Patterns of this type were found in both the Nappanee and Lancaster County Old Order Amish settlements. Such Amish exclaves and non-Amish enclaves are related to the irregular nature of the land purchasing mechanism and are probably characteristic expressions of the growing edge of an Amish settlement.

Chapter III

INTERACTION PATTERNS IN THE NAPPANEE SETTLEMENT

No Amish settlement is so isolated that it has no contacts, either with the non-Amish society of which it is a part or with other Amish settlements either nearby or distantly removed. Even among the Old School Amish of Big Valley (Mifflin County, Pennsylvania), certainly the most traditional group of Amish anywhere, there is considerable non-Amish interaction even though they fellowship with no other group of their kind. Their white muslin covered buggies are common sights at the weekly Belleville auction and on the mountain roads near Reedsville. They eat in public restaurants, buy at the local stores, and sell to non-Amish outlets.

The impact of such interaction patterns on the conservative Amish and Mennonite communities has attracted considerable attention and study.¹³⁷ Each Amish settlement will have its own distinctive set of interaction patterns depending on geographic locale, traditions, and contemporary sentiments. It was suggested in Chapter II that the arrangement and structure of the Amish lands and population at Nappanee can offer some clues regarding the development of the settlement. Since the physical form of the settlement is a result of the functions of the persons residing within it, some relationship should be found between Amish activities

and the structure of the settlement. The major focus of this chapter is to analyze certain selected interaction patterns which were felt to be of special significance in understanding the developmental and structural aspects of the settlement itself. The interaction patterns analyzed deal with two major themes: (1) loss of agricultural orientation among the Amish residents of the settlement; and (2) the maintenance of a differential Ordnung, or set of church rules, which is related both to the growth patterns of the settlement as well as to the activities of the Amish residents.

The Industrial Revolution at Nappanee

The agricultural orientation of the Old Order Amish is well known. So prevasively has it directed Amish traditions that to associate the Amish with agriculture has become a legitimate stereotype. In view of past Amish history, it is not difficult to understand that "cultivation of the soil is a moral directive. Virtually all Amish heads of households are farmers or are on their way to becoming farmers."¹³⁸ One can understand that "in order to exist, the Old Order Amish church must have a strong economic base; it must remain isolated; and it must hold its children."¹³⁹ It is more difficult, however, to understand that "these essentials for the continuation of the church can best be

achieved by farming."¹⁴⁰ The developments at Nappanee will provide some observation on these points.

It has been accepted throughout most Amish communities that certain non-farm occupations are quite legitimate. Carpentry, harness work, blacksmithing, buggy making, specialized agricultural skills and services and, more recently, teaching in the Amish parochial schools, have all been recognized as being within the sphere of the inherent interests of Amish society. Throughout time, however, the major full-time occupation has been farming although young men follow a great variety of pursuits as they approach adulthood and the time when they find a farm of their own.

If farming has such an important role in the Amish settlement, it should be valuable to obtain some data on the quantitative aspects of agriculture as a full time employer. Hostetler observed that only 47 per cent of the household heads in Geauga County, Ohio, were engaged in farming.¹⁴¹ An additional 29 percent were engaged in occupations which would legitimately fall within the realm of those fully accepted by the Amish, and only 27 percent were engaged in occupations related to factory work, day laboring, railroads, and others.

A complete census of two church districts at

Nappanee (West and Burlington, (Figure 16), compiled for the writer in 1966 by an Amish resident) revealed that farming on a full time basis involved less than half of the economically active household heads. The results of the census were as follows:

total households.	54
retired, widows	14
economically active households.	40
full time farming	13
full time factory work.	18
other non-farm occupations.	9

Only 32 percent of the Amish household heads in the economically active category were engaged in full-time farming. More significant, however, was the rate of employment in factories. In Geauga County, Hostetler found only 17 percent engaged in factory work.¹⁴² In the two church districts at Nappanee this rate was 45 percent. Nearly five out of ten working Amish household heads were employed in industry. In addition, there were eight children (including 5 girls) and two Amish wives working in factories.

This shift to industry has been a recent trend, probably since World War II, and has become most active within the past 15 years. It is not without explanation. Since the war, Elkhart County has become one of the nation's leading production centers for mobile homes (trailers), and the Amish settlement at Nappanee is ringed with cities and towns which contain one or more of these trailer factories: Elkhart, Goshen, Wakarusa,

Bremen, Syracuse, and Bourbon (Figures 1 and 4). It is near legend in the area that Amish money and skills in cabinet work laid the foundation for this enterprise. Whatever the truth of this belief, the fact is certain that the trailer factories have prospered through the conscientious application of the wood and metal working skills of their Amish employees. Most of the trailer shops are small, employing from 15 to 200 persons, although there are some extremely large corporations in the business. The Amish prefer the smaller shops, many of which are owned or managed by Mennonite or other denominational members sympathetic with the Amish views against unions, social security, and community involvement, and tolerant of their need to be absent occasionally for helping on farms of relatives or celebrating a holiday. All of these items are important in the Amish philosophy and in their religious calendar, but are absent in the secular world at large. Practically all Amish persons in the two Nappanee church districts surveyed that were employed in factories were involved in the trailer business.

Of the 28 Amish persons employed in factories, 12 worked in Bremen, six in Wakarusa, five in Nappanee, and five in Syracuse. Since the two districts studied are quite close to Bremen, this might represent a simple distance relationship which would also be operative

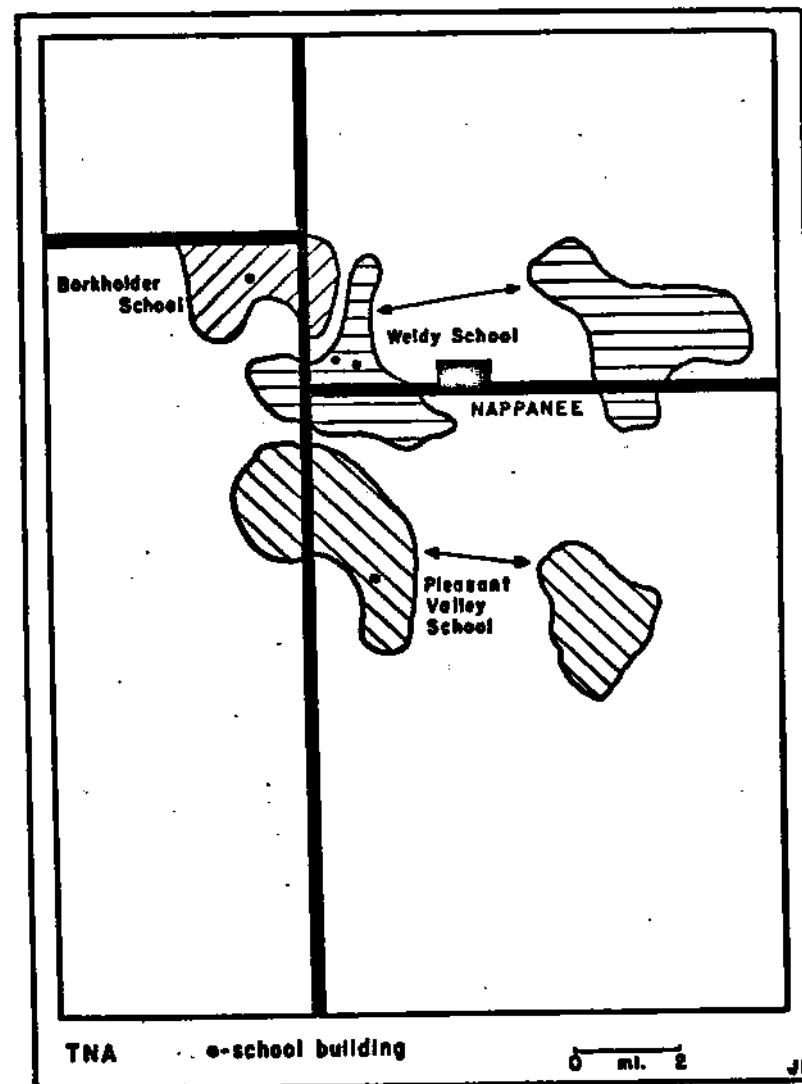
for other church districts located closer to different trailer centers.

From information obtained through enrollment cards of 144 children attending Amish parochial schools, it was possible to regionalize the impact of industrial employment on the Nappanee settlement. There were three parochial schools serving Amish children, and they had non-overlapping attendance areas depending on the church district in which the students resided. The attendance areas, as of December, 1966, for the three schools, Borkholder, Weldy, and Pleasant Valley, are shown in Figure 20.

In the Pleasant Valley School area, which served the southern and southeastern sections of the settlement, it was found from the school enrollment information that 49 percent of the household heads were employed in industry, and only 41 percent in full-time farming.¹⁴³ In the Weldy area, the west and northeast sections, 39 percent were employed in factories and 51 percent in full-time farming. In the Borkholder district, a school attended only by students in the Northwest and Beech Road church districts, 19 percent were employed in factories, and 62 percent in full-time farming. This revealed a progressive increase in full-time farming from the eastern and southern margins of the settlement toward the northwest section, a

Figure 20. Location of Amish parochial schools, and their attendance areas, in the Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee in December, 1956. The ninth grade students in the Weldy attendance area met at the Old German School on the Bremen-Nappanee road (Figure 4). The school building is located one-half mile east and one-quarter mile south of the Weldy School. Various shadings are used to differentiate between the several attendance areas. Many Amish children in these areas, as well as in other sections of the settlement, attended public schools in the Bremen and Nappanee school districts. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: the locational information on which this map was based was provided by Amish students in the parochial schools with the assistance of the following teachers; Willis Yoder, Barbara Helmuth, and Andy Gingerich.



spatial relationship shown in Figure 21, and a concomitant decrease in industrial employment in the same direction. The average for all three school districts showed 42 percent employed in industry, a figure not greatly different from the two church districts surveyed, and 47 percent employed in full-time farming. The remaining 11 percent were employed in non-farm occupations other than industry. No study of the Amish has yet revealed such a dramatic industrial impact.

Certain of the spatial changes in the Nappanee settlement have been a direct result of this impact of industry on the Amish at Nappanee. The striking slowdown of areal expansion along the periphery of the settlement since 1940 has paralleled the shift of employment from agriculture to industry. This occupational trend has lessened the need for land, thus perpetuating a limited land control pattern in the settlement, concentrating more persons on each Amish-controlled square mile, reducing the area of the church districts, and reorienting the agricultural focus of the settlement. The recent division of three church districts in the northwest area reflects the growth of industrial occupation as a major employment outlet in the zone where it had traditionally been weakest. The low densities of Amish persons per Amish-controlled square mile in many of the church districts of the settlement, as indicated in

Figure 21. The percentages of family heads employed in full-time farming in the Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement in 1966. The settlement boundary is that of 1966, taken from Figure 13. The heavy lines are the county boundaries. The percentages employed in full-time factory work were inversely proportional to the percentages of full-time farmers.

Source: the occupational information on which this map was based was taken from enrollment data of 144 students in the Amish parochial schools as described in the text.

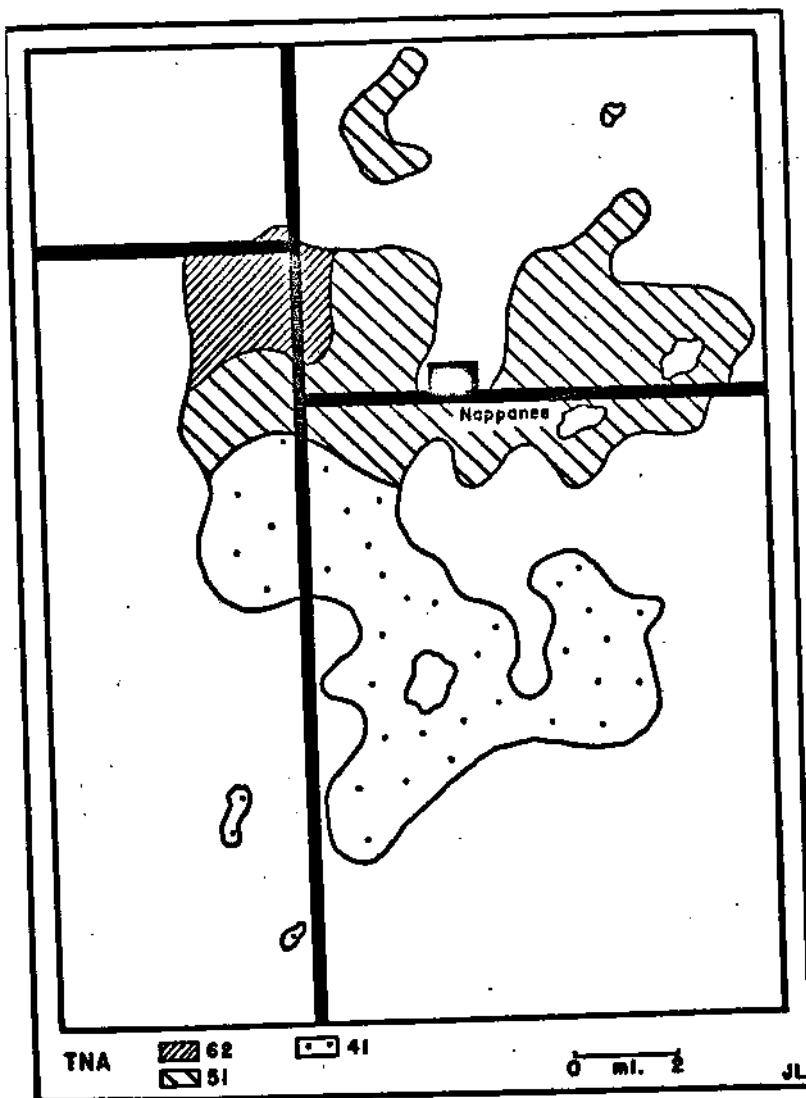


Table 5, can be expected to increase as industrial employment gains greater momentum in those areas.

Whatever the relationship might be between the future of Amish society and the role of industrialization, the economic base of the Nappanee settlement has been considerably strengthened. The trailer factories offer greater financial returns (\$3 to \$5 per hour is not unusual) than small farm operations, more regular hours, and considerably less physical demand than farming.

At least superficially, the social structure of the Nappanee settlement seems also to have been strengthened. The traditional Amish church Ordnung, which has placed the full-time farmer at a premium disadvantage compared to his non-Amish neighbors, does not militate so strongly against the non-farm family. Released from the time and effort constraints of a horse-dominated agriculture, and economically stabilized by a regular income from a nearby small industry, more and more Amish children are staying within the group. They marry, build a home along the edge of a farm owned by a father, father-in-law, grandfather, or other close relative, and work in industry as well as part time on farms in the area as the needs of the season dictate.

Young Amish couples were building many new homes in the Nappanee settlement. They were quite conventional

according to modern styles, favoring two-story square structures with oversize rooms for Sunday worship services, but are generally beautifully appointed within. Bottled gas, now accepted in many of the homes, has brought modern kitchen ranges, refrigerators, centralized heating, central plumbing and water supply, and a host of other appliances within the Amish home. A small barn, generally styled with a sloping Dutch roof, was built somewhere behind, and is just large enough to accommodate several buggies, some hay, a horse, and a few extra stalls to be used when the family hosted the Sunday church service. The traditional Amish garden plots are maintained. With a rising income, and no need for agricultural machinery, the non-farm family finds itself in a unique position of security and stability.

Along with the change in economic activity has come an increased strength in the freundschaft (family kinship). It is not unusual to find an Amish farmer who has three or four sons, all employed in trailer factories, now married and with families, and all living within a short distance of the parental home. Each new non-farm family has limited land space needs and can be accommodated without tension or crowding. For such a family-directed society as that of the Amish, the

significance of this closeness can not be underestimated. Needless to say, some of the boys will leave the factory and return to farming, either because a farm becomes available or due to dislike of factory work. But already some established Amish farmers in the Nappanee settlement have given up the agricultural life in favor of the greater security and income of the trailer shops. As their industrial seniority increases, the possibility of a return to farming probably lessens. Whatever the ultimate outcome, the industrial occupation has now achieved full acceptance in the Nappanee settlement and will soon engage more than half of the household heads. The Nappanee settlement, although rural in appearance and located in an agricultural setting, is today distinctly industrially oriented.

It was felt that the movement to industry has been a spatially differential one in the Nappanee settlement, and that this has been related to the operation of the Ordnung in space through time. Some spatial patterns related to the Ordnung are examined in the following sections.

Interaction between Nappanee and Other Amish Settlements

Not all Old Order Amish church districts are in fellowship with each other. In central Ohio, after a

cleavage in the 1930's, the Swartzentruber Amish districts withdrew from fellowship and now form a conservative bloc on the northern periphery of the settlement. There is almost no interaction between the Swartzentruber districts and those of the other Old Order Amish.¹⁴⁴ The Old School Amish of Big Valley, Pennsylvania, have no fellowship with any other Amish settlement, and normally have two ordained bishops for each district to insure succession without the necessity of calling on their fallen-away brethren for ministerial assistance.¹⁴⁵ "Amish history is a history of divisions."¹⁴⁶ At Nappanee, following the Samuel J. Christner difficulty, a conservative reform movement, many of the families moved to Jay County, Indiana, or Mercer County, Pennsylvania, where the conservative policies were maintained. Although the Jay County settlement is now extinct, the remaining families now reside near Jamesport, Missouri, where they perpetuate the conservative tradition. The Amish settlements in Tennessee, Arkansas, Buchanan County, Iowa, and many of those in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Ontario, also have conservative traditions.

There have not been as many settlements of liberal Amish, unless one includes the Beachy Amish groups, to come into existence as there have been ultra-conservative. But the Amish settlements near

Guthrie, Kentucky and Kalona, Iowa, the Clinton area of Elkhart County, Indiana, and the King and Stutzman districts in the Holmes County settlement in Ohio, are all noted for their extreme tolerance for change and innovation. The majority of Amish, however, particularly in the larger settlements, are in the mainstream of the society, eschewing either the ultra-conservative or ultra-liberal segments. Somewhere, at some time, every Amish family will be able to find a settlement, or a section of a settlement, which satisfies its needs of the moment.

Much of this cleavage and splintering between Amish groups has resulted from disagreements involving the Ordnung, especially with regard to the policy of Meidung, the shunning of a non-conforming member.¹⁴⁷ It is extremely difficult to classify Amish settlements as conservative, middle-of-the-road, or liberal without resorting to detailed analysis of the Ordnung, not only in its formal context but also in its daily significance as it operates in separating the community from its non-Amish neighbors. So complex is the Ordnung in its total ramifications that it can hardly be understood by the outsider. It pervades the entire Amish existence and is, in essence, a formulary for a way of life. To each church district, to each settlement, the Ordnung gives a special sense of identity,

one which the Amish scrutinize quite carefully to make certain their sense of identity corresponds. If disagreement ensues, migration has been a common manner of resolving disputes about the Ordnung. Over the years, this has resulted in a gradual drift of like-minded families to certain settlements, or to certain sections of settlements, where personal satisfaction within the Old Order can be fulfilled.

Realizing the significance of a somewhat similar Ordnung in creating interaction between Amish settlements made it possible to assess the Nappanee area without a detailed point-by-point analysis of the restrictions and modifications of the Ordnung. One would expect the interactions between Nappanee and other Amish settlements to be strongest in those cases in which their Ordnungen were somewhat similar, resulting in frequent visiting, migration, and intermarriage, and thus strengthening the kinship bond. One would expect interaction to be minimal with those settlements with which the Nappanee Amish had little in common, thus reducing the amount of visiting, proscribing intermarriage, and resulting in a weak kinship link.

Interaction patterns between Nappanee and other Amish settlements have been surveyed by several different

methods. The importance of visiting among the Amish has been well recognized. Both Hostetler¹⁴⁸ and Huntington¹⁴⁹ discovered a dominance of interest in social visiting by analyzing the content of articles from Amish correspondence in The Budget, published weekly at Sugarcreek, Ohio.¹⁵⁰ This same technique was utilized to determine the settlements with which the Nappanee Amish had most frequent contact. Although this methodology has definite limitations, it was felt that the results were suggestive enough to be presented in Table 6.

The strongest interaction patterns were between Nappanee and the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement in Indiana (Figure 3) and the Holmes County area in Ohio. Over half of the visitors to Nappanee came from those two settlements. A possible explanation for the rather limited number visiting the Elkhart-Lagrange area from Nappanee would be that, due to the proximity, visits were quite numerous and frequently went unchronicled. Other settlements in Ohio that had fairly strong interaction with Nappanee were those in the Geauga County, Stark County, and Plain City areas. In Indiana (Figure 3), the Miami-Howard, Allen County, and Adams County settlements had fairly strong interaction patterns.

Practically all the visits to Iowa were to the Kalona area, Buchanan County having a very weak tie

Table 6

Social Interaction between Nappanee and Other
Amish Settlements

Settlement	Visits to Nappanee	Visits from Nappanee
Elkhart-Lagrange, Indians	159	34
Holmes County area, Ohio	111	28
other settlements in Ohio	35	23
Florida	6	18
other settlements in Indiana	39	18
Iowa	25	15
Michigan	19	14
Wisconsin	6	11
Pennsylvania	14	11
Illinois	22	10
Missouri	9	6
Kansas	8	5
Oklahoma	4	2
Canada	5	2
Delaware	9	2
Maryland	4	1
New York	0	1
Kentucky	0	1
Total	475	202

Source: The Budget, Nappanee correspondents, issues of June, 1963, to October, 1966, inclusive.

with Nappanee. In Missouri, most visiting was with the Amish settlement at Bowling Green, not the conservative area near Jamesport and, in Michigan, the strongest tie was with the Amish near Centerville, not with the more conservative group farther east near Camden. Most of the Pennsylvania visiting was in Lancaster County, although Mercer County received some visits from Nappanee, probably resulting from the move of families after the Samuel J. Christner split. Conspicuously absent were visits to conservative Amish settlements in Arkansas, Tennessee, and many in Ontario. If the visits mentioned in The Budget are a valid indication of Nappanee Amish interaction patterns, it indicates strong kinship between only a few settlements elsewhere and a minimal amount of contact with the ultra-conservative communities.

In the complete census of two church districts at Nappanee, information was gained concerning the home settlements of 54 married couples. Of this total, 29 couples were both Nappanee natives, two couples had neither partner from Nappanee, and the remaining 23 had only one partner from Nappanee. Of the either marriages involving Nappanee men, they found their wives in Oklahoma (3), Elkhart-Lagrange (2), Illinois (1), Ohio (1), and Missouri (1). The Nappanee Amish women found their husbands in Elkhart-Lagrange (8), Ohio (3), Kansas (2),

nd Wisconsin and Illinois (1 each). Thus, 10 of the 23 marriages involving a single Nappanee partner connected Nappanee with the settlement at Elkhart-Lagrange.

There is some indication of a weakening of this interaction pattern. Information on 15 Nappanee marriages since October, 1963, revealed six involved both Nappanee natives and six in which the girl was from Nappanee (husbands came from Kansas (2), Iowa (1), Missouri (1), Michigan (1), and Plain City, Ohio (1)). The remaining three involved Nappanee boys (wives came from Elkhart-Lagrange (2) and Michigan (1)). Of these 15 marriages, not a single one involved an Elkhart-Lagrange Amish boy.

The intensity of the interaction patterns between Nappanee and other Old Order Amish settlements, sparse as the above data might be, seemed to justify the conclusion that the Nappanee settlement occupied a position slightly on the progressive side of the conservative-liberal continuum. The great bulk of interaction, both in social visiting and intermarriage between settlements, indicated that the Nappanee settlement had its strongest links with the major stream of Amish society and had minimal contact with the ultra-conservative or ultra-liberal settlements elsewhere.

With this knowledge, it was possible to make a more realistic appraisal of the differential operation

of the Ordnung at Nappanee and to understand its impact on the structure and function of the settlement.

The Ordnung and the Settlement

Much of the study done by others concerning the operation of the Ordnung in Amish settlements has been concerned with identifying the church rules and understanding their impact on Amish individuals and families. The case study approach, i.e., analysis of the Ordnung operating in a real life situation, has been developed extensively by both Hostetler¹⁵¹ and Huntington.¹⁵² Although the significance of a differential Ordnung, both in relationship to various individuals in a church district and between church districts, is well recognized,¹⁵³ little attention has been paid by other researchers to the spatial effects of differential sets of church rules operating within an Amish settlement. Changes within the Amish society should be most manifest in those sections of the settlement with an Ordnung which is mildly tolerant of change and mildly permissive of innovations. If the settlement is large enough, there will probably be a section with less tolerance in which old customs and traditions are maintained for a greater length of time. This, in turn, should result in a study diffusion of innovations from

the more tolerant sections toward the less permissive. The resultant effects of this differential operation of the Ordnung should be recognizable in all dimensions of the settlement -- developmental, structural, and functional.

The early development of the Nappanee settlement evidenced a strong conservative tradition in the original western nucleus of Amish settlement along the Marshall-Elkhart county boundary (Figure 2). The schism of 1854, which intensified this tradition and concentrated the like-minded families in a smaller area (Figure 8), also resulted in the placement of more liberal Amish families, those which joined the Amish Mennonite church, along the eastern margin. There were only non-Amish families along the southern border.

Slow growth and loss of families, both by migration and withdrawal to other churches, kept the settlement small until just after the beginning of the twentieth century. Since that time, growth has been fairly steady and expansion has been oriented both eastward and southward. During this time, the growing edges of the Nappanee settlement apparently began to take on characteristics of a slightly more progressive nature than that in the original nucleus, a generalization that can be substantiated from observations of a number of developments involving the withdrawal of families from

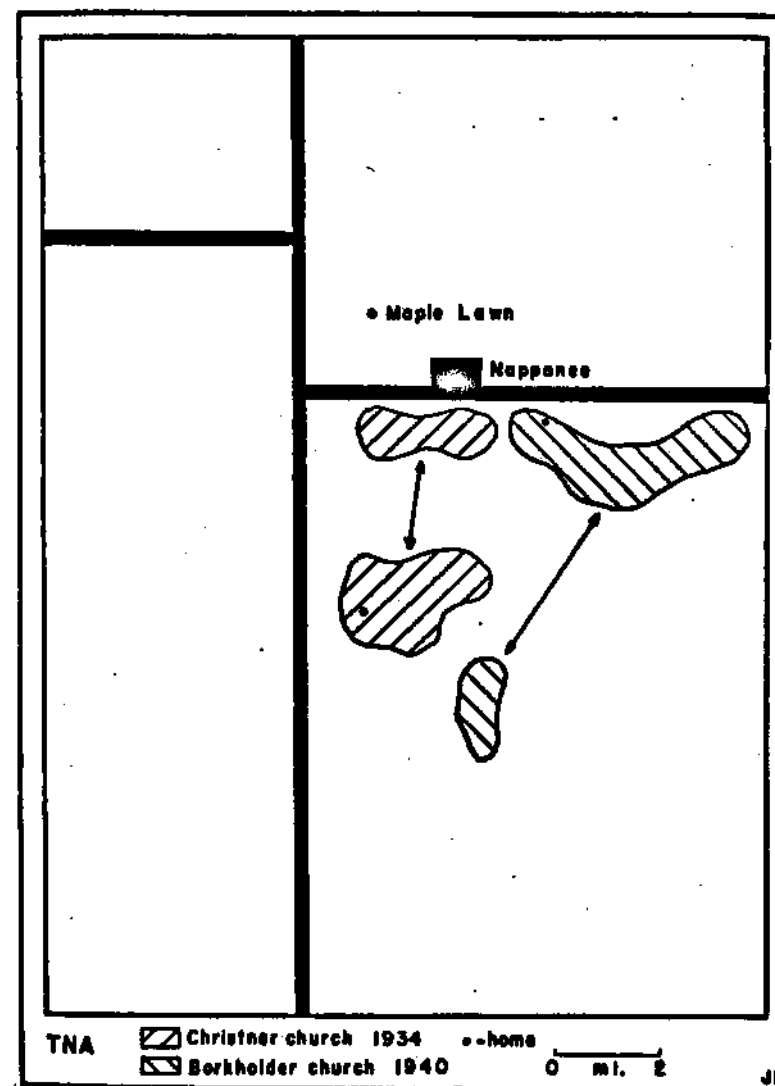
fellowship with the Nappanee church districts.

The Samuel J. Christner Movement. The Christner movement in the Nappanee settlement was one of conservative dimensions. This was a reaction against practices which Christner termed too worldly and threatened the traditions of the church. If such a movement had been born in the original settlement nucleus, historically conservative, it would have indicated dissatisfaction with the status of the northwest area, but Christner lived, at the time, along the expanding southern edge of the settlement, nearly six miles southwest of Nappanee (Figure 22). His concern was undoubtedly directed against the Amish families in his immediate area, an indication that the southern edge was becoming too liberal. It has already been told that this was the time that many Amish families from the western states were settling in this section. Not only did they bring with them a more tolerant Ordnung, but they undoubtedly recognized this area of the Nappanee settlement as one in which their personal satisfactions within the Old Order could be fulfilled with a minimum of conflict. Apparently, then, by this time, the growing southern edge of the Nappanee settlement already had manifest an Ordnung slightly more progressive than that in the northwestern nucleus.

Christner found his only support from families in

Figure 22. The location of residential territories of 26 Old Order Amish families involved in the Samuel J. Christner (1934, 10 families) movement and the David O. Borkholder (1940, 10 families) movement in the Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee. Most of the families in the Christner church left the Nappanee settlement. By the time the Borkholder group built their meeting house, Maple Lawn, in September, 1943, the congregation had expanded considerably northwestward. It soon involved families from all parts of the settlement. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: the locational information on which this map was based was provided by Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church, Steve Yoder, Bishop, Maple Lawn Church, and Ervin Miller, Minister, Maple Lawn Church. Additional information was provided by the following residents of the Nappanee area: Peter Graber, Harley Miller, Edward Graber, and Jake Mast. Family names are not revealed in this study, but they are available from the writer for any person with a legitimate research interest.



two sections of the settlement, the southern edge, where he lived, and along the expanding eastern edge. The location of the Amish family territories of those who withdrew from fellowship with the local districts is shown in Figure 22. Christner received no support from families in the northwest, but perhaps he might have had he not departed from Amish traditions so quickly. His unwarranted ordination of a minister, since Christner was not an Amish bishop, undoubtedly crystallized sentiment against him. Whether or not such an assumption is valid, the Samuel J. Christner movement indicated a regional localization of what he felt were too progressive tendencies. These conditions were concentrated along the growing eastern and southern edges of the settlement and, by that time, these areas had become distinctively different from the original nucleus in the northwest.

The David O. Borkholder Movement. Although Bishop David O. Borkholder was silenced by the consent of the Old Order ministry on April 28, 1940, his movement did not develop overnight. His sense of mission-mindedness had been growing for some years, and his progressive attitudes were, in the early stages, contemporary with the conservative ones of Christner. Borkholder was the bishop in the Milford Amish church

district (Figure 16), and it was along the eastern and southeastern margins of the settlement, which had greatly expanded since 1914, that Borkholder got his original support (Figure 22).

After being silenced, he began holding services for 10 families that followed him away from the Old Order. They eventually built Maple Lawn Church (Figure 22) and merged with the Beachy Amish churches. Since that time, the Maple Lawn congregation has been enlarged primarily by the addition of Old Order families, and membership once included, until the Fairview and Berea withdrawals (1962 and 1963), families from every portion of the settlement (Figure 11).

On the surface, it would appear that the occurrence of both conservative and progressive movements along the growing edge of the settlement would be a contradiction in fact. If the growing edge of the settlement is more progressive, and appears to some Amish families as if it were becoming too worldly, this section would be expected to manifest conservative dissatisfaction. The Samuel J. Christner movement was an understandable one. But why would David O. Borkholder, already living along the more progressive margin of the settlement, express dissatisfaction with tradition? A rational answer would appear to be that innovations in

Amish society are most likely to appear among those families where it would create the least conflict. In the Nappanee settlement, this was, apparently, along the growing edge of the settlement. The Amish families living in this section, conditioned to a more tolerant and permissive Ordnung, were the very ones most likely to effect more innovations. It was not the growing edge of the settlement that made David O. Borkholder more progressive, it was men like David O. Borkholder that imparted to the growing edge a sense of greater tolerance and permissiveness. As the settlement continued to expand the sentiments of the main body were carried on and slightly modified in the major direction of cultural change. At Nappanee, the growing edge continued to modify in the direction of increasing permissiveness.

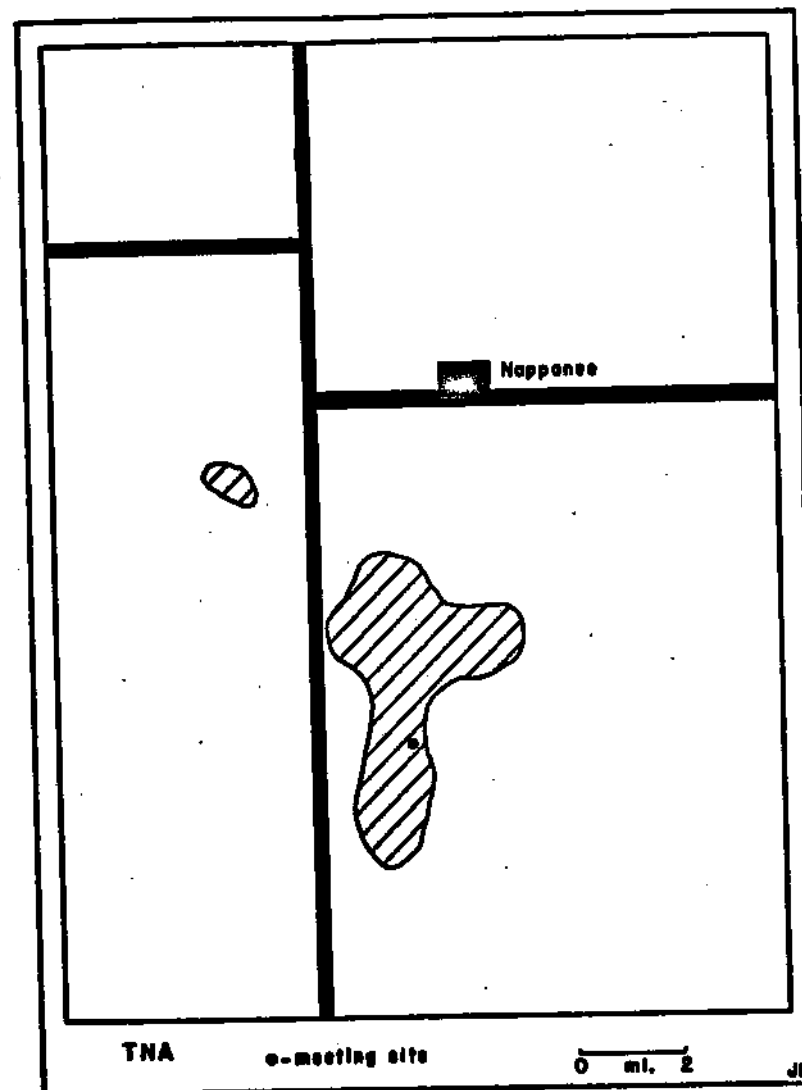
The Borkholder split also made it possible to assess some of the dimensional changes which take place in the Old Order settlement pattern when the automobile, accepted by the Beachy churches, becomes institutionalized. At the time of the split, the Milford church district, in which D. O. Borkholder was bishop, covered an area of approximately six square miles and had a baptized membership of 110 persons.¹⁵⁴ By 1962, before the Berea and Fairview withdrawals, the Maple Lawn

congregation, composed entirely of ex-Old Order families, covered an area of nearly 45 square miles (Figure 11) with approximately the same membership. Some families lived as far as three miles north of the village of Southwest (Figure 4), nearly 15 miles from the Maple Lawn Church. The obvious increase in mobility of the Beachy Amish congregation is apparent. Despite this mobility, however, the great majority of families were concentrated in the eastern and southern sections of the Old Order settlement.

The Amish Mission Movement. The Amish mission movement had its origins in the late 1940's, and found some of its most vigorous leadership in the Nappanee settlement. When the mid-week Bible study sessions were started in 1951, most of the meetings were held in an Amish home just west of Millwood Chapel (Figure 23), seven miles south of Nappanee. The fact that ministers participated in these Bible study activities was further indication of the innovative nature of the expanding southern margin of the settlement. Although this activity was short-lived, lasting less than two years, at least 10 families were involved, all of which were located near the southern boundary of the settlement (Figure 23). But such a departure was too drastic for the settlement as a whole, and the Bible study

Figure 23. The location of residential territories of ten Old Order Amish families involved in the mid-week Bible study sessions held in the Nappanee settlement in 1951 and 1952. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: the locational information on which this map was based was provided by Harvey Graber, Pastor, Maple Grove Mennonite Church, Topeka, Indiana, and Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church. Family names are not revealed in this study, but they are available from the writer for any person with a legitimate research interest.

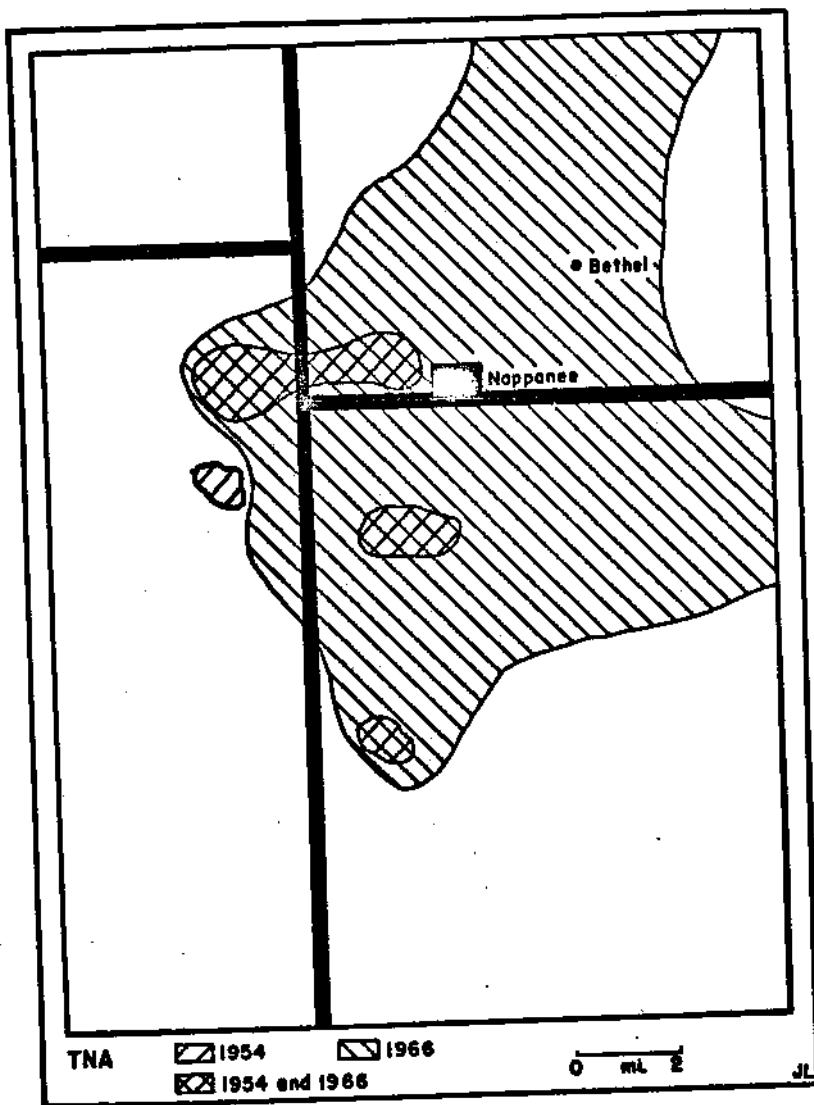


sessions were rejected. The group, however, continued its activities and all but a single family eventually withdrew from fellowship and joined other churches, the majority going to a Conservative Mennonite Church quite a distance to the east.

This shift to Conservative Mennonite affiliation led to the founding of the Bethel Church (Figure 24) in 1954 to serve families in the Nappanee area.¹⁵⁵ By this time, many of the families involved in the Bible study sessions had joined other Mennonite churches or moved from the community, but additional support for the Bethel congregation was received from families in the northwest section of the settlement. A movement that had originated along the expanding margin, like the Borkholder split in 1940, had diffused quickly northward and eastward, then slowly northwestward, gradually involving families in all parts of the settlement (Figure 26). By 1966, the Bethel congregation, nearly 100 baptized members, covered an area of nearly 23 square miles and families were living as far north as Wakarusa and east to Indiana highway 15, almost nine miles from Nappanee (Figure 24). The distribution of families involved in the charter formation of Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church in 1954 and the distribution of the congregation in 1966 are shown in Figure 24.

Figure 24. The location of the residential territory occupied by the Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church congregation, at its founding in 1954, and in 1966. The Bethel church, constructed in 1954, was located so far north since it also served ex-Amish families from the southwestern area of the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement. A few families lived east and north of the area shown on the map. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: Homer D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church. Family names are not revealed in this study, but the names of the 1954 charter members are available from the writer for any person with a legitimate research interest.



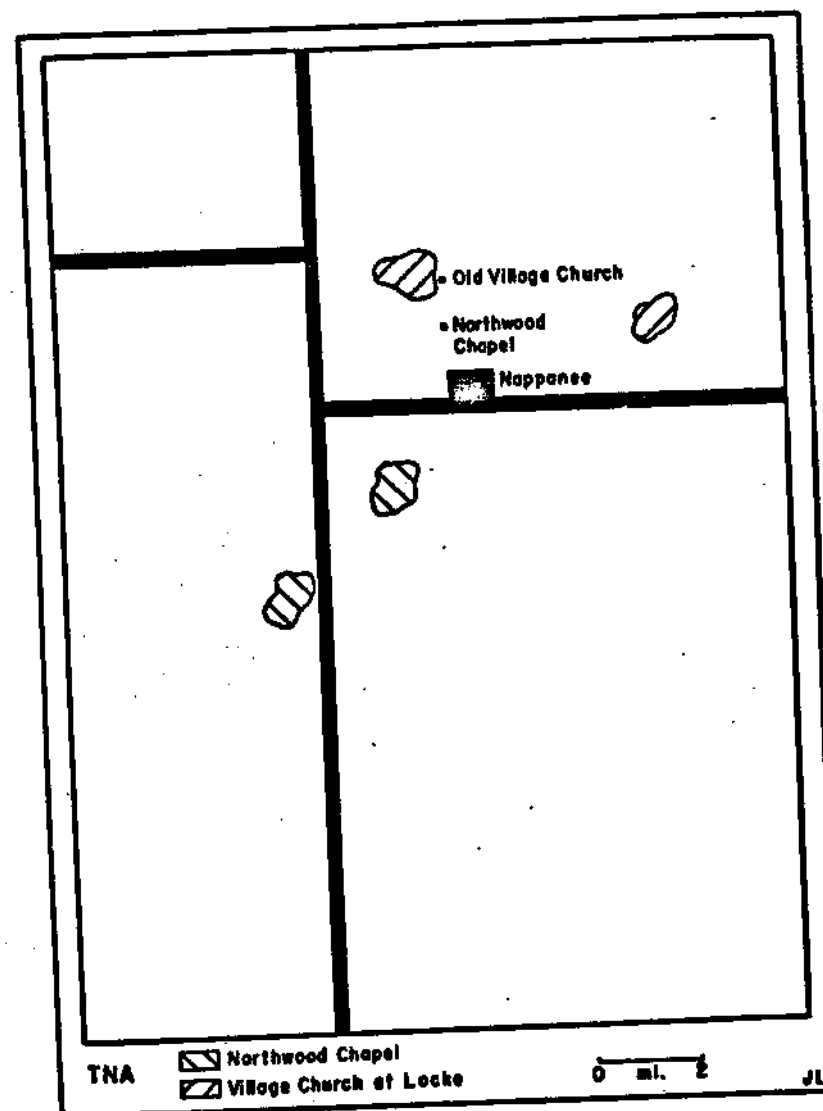
The Village Church and Northwood Chapel.

Through all of Amish history, individual families have withdrawn from fellowship and transferred their membership to other churches. This has happened also at Nappanee. Between 1938 and 1952, three Old Order families withdrew and became members of the Village Church at Locke (Figure 25), a Brethren in Christ denomination with doctrines and traditions similar to the Mennonites. More recently, three families withdrew from the Old Order and joined the Gospel Light Mission, an interdenominational but strongly Pentecostal group meeting at Nappanee. Since that time, the congregation has expanded and built a new church, called Northwood Chapel (Figure 25), along the northern boundary of the city. The distribution of the land holdings of these six families at the time they withdrew from the Old Order is shown in Figure 25. As was the case with those just mentioned, the families were located in the eastern and southeastern sections of the settlement. Again, the northwest furnished no support for this trend. In the case of these innovative movements, however, no wide acceptance was given by the Amish, and the movements did not spread.

The Ordnung and the Growing Edge. The evidence gained from the spatial locations of the 42 Old Order

Figure 25. The location of the residential territories of six families that withdrew from the Old Order Amish and joined the Village Church at Locke (Brethren in Christ) and the Gospel Light Mission (now Northwood Chapel) at Nappanee. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: information on which this map was based was provided by Charles Fletcher, Pastor, Northwood Chapel, Rev. Warren Sherman, Pastor, Village Church at Locke, and by the involved families through Homes D. Miller, Bishop, Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church. Family names are not revealed in this study, but they are available from the writer for any person with a legitimate research interest.



Amish family territories involved in the movements described above made it possible to arrive at some generalizations concerning the geographical operations of a differential Ordnung in the Nappanee settlement.

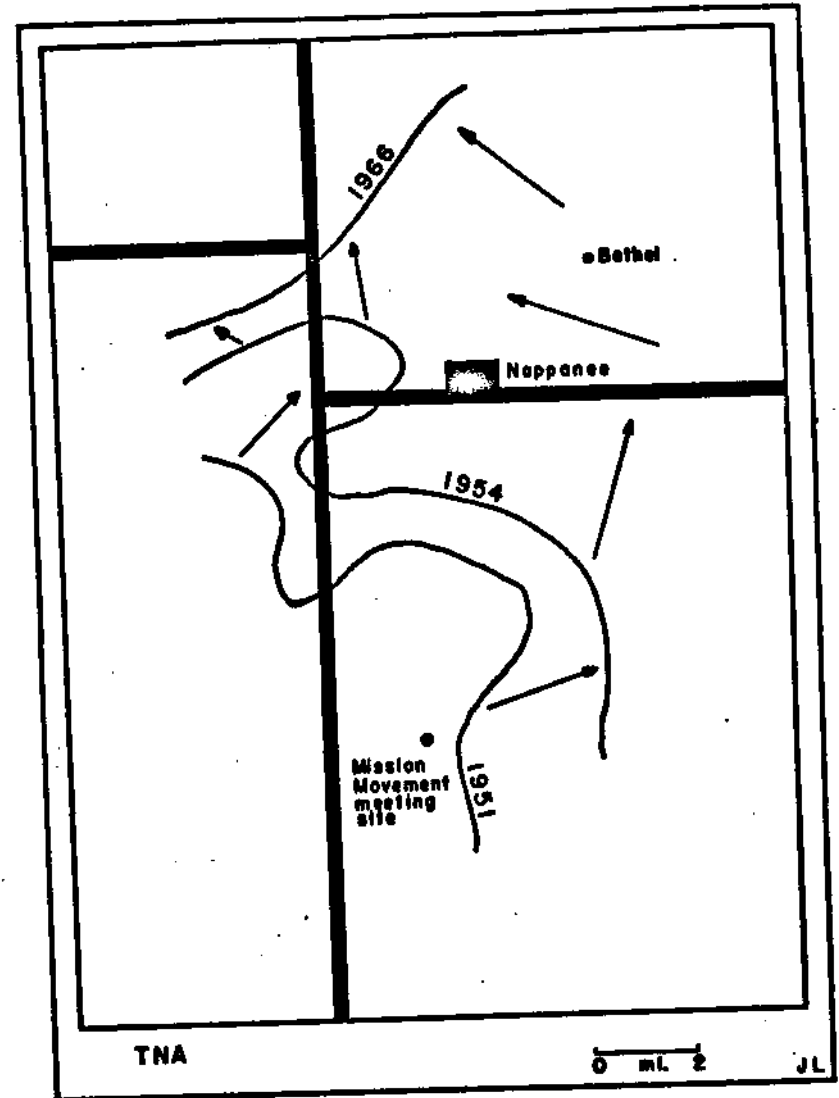
Sometime in the early part of the present century, the expanding margin of the Nappanee settlement began to take on cultural characteristics slightly different from those in the original northwest nucleus. This is understandable since, as was pointed out in the preceding section, the Nappanee settlement had its greatest interaction with other settlements of a middle-of-the-road or slightly progressive background, with a minimum contact with the ultra-conservative settlements elsewhere. The addition of numerous western Amish families to the southern section of the settlement between the late 1920's and the early 1940's accentuated this growing trend along the margin for increasing tolerance and permissiveness. By 1930, a differential Ordnung was already in operation, creating subtle, occasionally major, distinctions between the districts along the growing edge and those in the northwest. "The more contradictions there are within a small society, the more favorable are the conditions for the rise of marginal persons."¹⁵⁶ This writer will make little comment concerning marginality in the sociological sense, but already the contradictions were in existence. This

was dramatically illustrated by the rebellion of Samuel J. Christner and his followers against the progressive trends in the southern section of the settlement. The locations of families involved in the D. O. Borkholder movement in 1940 (Figure 22) and the mid-week Bible study sessions in 1951-1952 (Figure 23), indicated a strong localization of innovation along the eastern and southern margins of the expanding settlement. Neither movement gained initial support in the northwest but, with the passage of time, the ideas diffused slowly in that direction gradually involving families in the entire settlement (Figure 26). The extreme northern edge along the eastern expanding margin was slightly more conservative and had stronger cultural ties with the northwest nucleus. These began to weaken with the recent northern expansion involving mainly families moving from the eastern and southern sections.

The growing edge of the Nappanee settlement has been basically characterized by an increasing progressiveness. Once established, the growing edge continued to expand and carried with it the traditions of the main body, gradually changing them in the direction of majority family sentiment, which was progressive in the case of Nappanee. The growing edge, then, was not

Figure 26. Diffusion of an innovation wave across the Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee. The arrows denote directional movement. The mission movement, originating about 1949, involved 10 Nappanee families which began meeting for mid-week Bible study in 1951. Many withdrew from fellowship and joined the Conservative Mennonite Church, resulting in the founding of Bethel church in 1954 to serve the Nappanee families. By 1966, the congregation included families from all portions of the settlement except the extreme northwest. A similar pattern occurred with the spread of the Beachy Amish movement from the southeast to the northwest. In both of these cases, however, the Old Order rejected the innovation, and accepting families had no alternative but to withdraw from fellowship. The heavy lines are the county boundaries.

Source: the 1951 line is based on the territory involving families in the mission movement as shown in Figure 23; the 1954 and 1966 lines represent the northern boundaries of the Bethel congregation territory for those years as shown in Figure 24.

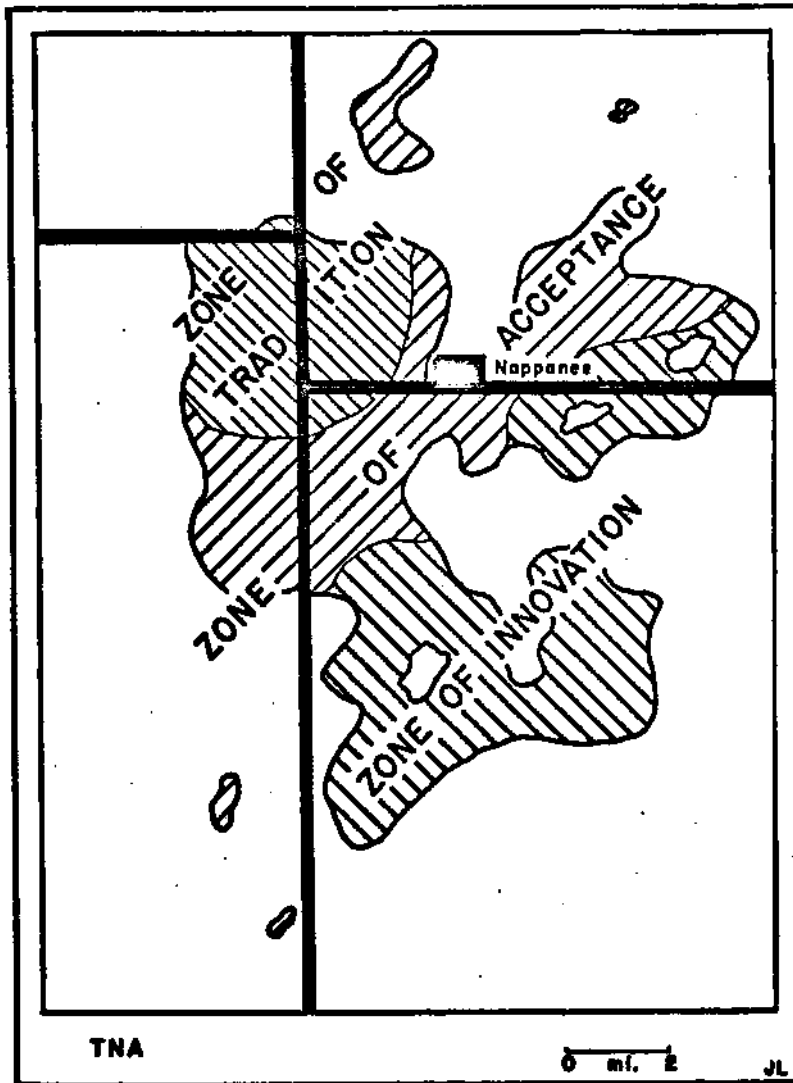


only a response to the need for space for a growing population, but a response to the need for release from the more demanding Ordnung in the northwest. Had there been less geographical difference between the church rules, the eastward and southward expansion of the Nappanee settlement might not have been so vigorous, or else a new growing edge might have originated along the northwest and the dominance of Amish land control in the northwest area would certainly have increased more than the present levels.

The localization of families involved in the Christner, Borkholder, and mission movements at Nappanee, made it possible to structure the 1966 settlement into three fairly well defined cultural zones (Figure 27). The first, and largest, was the Zone of Innovation. It included the bulk of the southern and eastern sections of the settlement. It was in this area that David O. Borkholder gained initial support for his Beachy movement, and it was in this area that the mid-week Bible study group met, eventually resulting in the formation of Bethel Conservative Mennonite Church. It was in this area, also, that tractors for use in the barnyards and gas supplied from large tanks (as opposed to the smaller canisters, or bottles) were first approved. And it was in this area that industrial

Figure 27. Major cultural zones in the Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee in 1966. The heavy lines are the county boundaries. The settlement boundary is that of 1966, taken from Figure 13.

Source: the division of the Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement into cultural zones was done on the basis of interpretation of data described in the text.



employment as an Amish career met the least resistance. It was in this area, in 1966, that full-time farming employed the smallest percentage of Amish family heads. It was in this section that areal expansion was slowed as more and more men turned to factory work and away from farming. It has been in the Zone of Innovation that ferment for change has been demonstrated most consistently and most strenuously, and it has been from this zone that the diffusion of new ideas and practices has slowly crept across the settlement, in many cases to be accepted by the entire Amish group (Figure 26).

The second cultural area was the Zone of Tradition. Change has been slowest here, and the traditions maintained for greater lengths of time. Some have not yet altered appreciably. It was in this section that innovations met the strongest resistance. It was in this section that Amish families gave no initial support to D. O. Borkholder or the mission movement, but it was gradually swept by the influence from the growing edge and has lost numerous families since. It was in this section that a break from the Old Order created the greatest family conflict.

It was the Zone of Tradition that maintained full-time farming to the highest degree and in which factory work as a career had found the least acceptance.

As a result, a greater percentage of boys had to leave the area to find farms of their own, thus reducing the density of population on Amish-controlled land in the zone, a trend now being reversed as evidenced by high densities in the Burlington and North church districts (Table 5). It was in this zone that Amish families were least likely to give support to innovative processes, but quite likely to move directly into a more tolerant environment. This may be effected by a switch to a Beachy Amish or Conservative Mennonite Church or by a family move into a slightly permissive church district. Such moves, continuous in time, created the centrifugal mechanism which, to some degree, has sided in the development of a differential Ordnung along the growing edge of the Nappanee settlement. David O. Borkholder, for example, was born and raised in the Northwest church district.

The laborious documentation of the localization of the Zone of Tradition could have been done quite easily from the standpoint of Amish intuition and experience. So characteristic is the steadfastness to tradition in the northwest section, that local Amish families refer to it as the "Borkholder Corner," as much a tribute to the biologically prolific nature of this patriarchal family, still heavily concentrated in that area, as it is a caricature of conservatism. The

Borkholder Corner and the Zone of Tradition are one and the same (Figure 27).

The third cultural area was the Zone of Acceptance. It was a transitional area, buffering the Zone of Tradition from the rapid changes in the Zone of Innovation. It was an area which received the constant reminder to remain steadfast from one direction, yet seeing the possible advantages to be gained from change in the other direction. It was the zone where the marginal Amish family found itself in emotional conflict, unable to choose its path with clear conscience.

The Zone of Acceptance was an area where innovations were not likely to originate but quite likely to be assimilated and quietly accepted.

The Amish attitude toward innovation is to ignore it, to pretend that nothing they can do or think is new; they imply this is the way it always has been and always will be. They never proclaim a change, rather they underline in what ways they will remain steadfast and resist change. And while they talk about their steadfastness in the ways of their fathers, new ways creep in around the symbols of separateness.¹⁵⁷

The acceptance of innovation passed gradually from family to family and, if it met wide acceptance in this zone, it was quite likely to permeate the entire settlement. It was a testing ground for change. If the ideas were rejected in the Zone of Acceptance, the innovators would have to reconsider their course. The ideas of D. O. Borkholder, Samuel J. Christner, and the mission

movement met no wide acceptance in this zone. Instead of reconsidering their course, involved families chose to withdraw from fellowship, thus eliminating the necessity for Amish families to make a definite choice. Acceptance, if it came, was unobtrusive, and the quietness avoided strong censure from the Zone of Tradition on the one hand and total involvement with the Zone of Innovation on the other. The Zone of Acceptance was the vital link which connected the two unlike groups in space and, through its intermediary position, provided the unity which allowed the settlement to continue in time.

It is likely, based on the Nappanee evidence, that all Amish settlements in which a differential Ordnung is in operation will have some semblance of this structure. There will be a region of innovation, characterized by more rapid change and increasing tolerance and permissiveness. And it may be along the periphery of the settlement, but it need not be. The growing edge is as likely to be conservative as it is progressive, since it acquires its characteristics from the residents. The idea that

. . . conflict is most noticeable on the fringes of the large Mennonite settlements where greater conflict is had with English speaking neighbors . . . liberalization does seem to take place more extensively on the fringe of the Mennonite community that is less isolated--i.e., not a large, compactly

settled community. The Old Order Amish around Nappanee, Indiana, a smaller colony, are experiencing much more disorganization than is present in the large community east of Goshen¹⁵⁸

is an oversimplification of the geographic nature of the margin. At Nappanee there have been essentially two margins, one on the east and south which continuously expanded, and one on the northwest which remained stationary. The first became increasingly progressive, the latter remained traditional and steadfast. The location of the margin is less important than its character. The above quoted remarks, stated in 1942, were also slightly unfair to the Nappanee settlement. The "disorganization" referred to was undoubtedly a reference to the D. O. Borkholder break, but the stage had long been set for similar movements east of Goshen in the Clinton area of the Old Order Amish settlement, the largest in Indiana. Less than five years from the time the above comparison was made, one of the largest Beachy Amish churches (Fair Heaven, Bishop David Bontreger) in North America emerged in the Clinton area, the very section of the settlement in which it most likely would have appeared, along the more progressive western margin of the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement. It has since been joined by another (Woodlawn, Bishop Elam Hochstetler), and by several conservative Mennonite churches. The developments in the Clinton area seem not

to have differed greatly from those at Nappanee.

The spatial attributes of an Old Order Amish-Beachy settlement have a common thread with its developing history. As the settlement expands it changes. If it changes in such a way that a differential Ordnung operates on a spatial basis, the structure and functions in different areas of the settlement also begin to change. But this change is not necessary continuous, either in time or space. The margin of the settlement may contract during periods of stress, and expand, rapidly or slowly, during periods of harmony. The nature of the Amish exclaves and non-Amish enclaves provides clues about the vigor of the movement. So the margin waxes and wanes and provides an areal setting within which the various centers of innovation operate, causing the settlement to continuously re-evaluate its functions. As new functions are accepted across the settlement the structural elements are re-appraised and altered. Thus, the developmental, functional, and structural aspects of an Amish settlement form a unity which operates through time in a spatial setting. The examination of one phase of this pattern, whether it be through the eyes of the anthropologist, sociologist, historian, economist, or geographer, provides a perspective from which other phases can be better understood.

Summary

The agricultural orientation of the Old Order Amish has been long known and understood. Throughout time, however, non-farm occupations felt to be of value to the inherent interests of Amish society have been tolerated. In many settlements, the percentage of non-farm employed heads of households has slowly increased. A survey of two church districts in the Nappanee settlement revealed that 68 per cent of the employed household heads were employed in non-farm occupations and 45 per cent were employed in industry. In some areas of the settlement, especially the east and south, the percentages of factory employed household heads reached half the total number. For the settlement as a whole, 42 per cent were employed in factories and 47 per cent in full-time farming.

This shift to industrial employment has come largely since World War II, stemming basically from the growth and expansion of the mobile home (trailer) industry which is centered in Elkhart County. The Amish prefer the smaller factories, many of which are owned or managed by persons sympathetic with their way of life and tolerant of their special needs. The factories are good-paying and closely located in reference to the Amish settlement.

It was suggested that a number of the spatial and structural aspects of the Nappanee settlement, as described in Chapter II, can be attributed to the rising importance of industrial employment among the Amish. The slowdown of areal expansion since 1940 has paralleled this shift to industry, resulting in a lessened demand for land which perpetuates a rather limited pattern of Amish land control, concentrates more and more Amish persons on each square mile of Amish land, reduces the size of the church districts, and refocuses the traditional agricultural orientation of the settlement. Industrial employment in the northwest section of the settlement has been traditionally quite weak, but the recent church divisions in that general area without a parallel increase in land control, indicated that industry as an occupational outlet was gaining momentum.

The economic base of the Nappanee settlement has been strengthened by this shift to industry. Young Amish men, with stable incomes and secure positions, released from the demands of a horse-dominated agriculture, find the Amish society more congenial, and the holding power over the children has been considerably increased. The only advantages the Beachy Amish have are electricity and automobiles, and the non-farm Amish

family needs neither. With more boys staying within the group, new homes were continuously being built along the edges of Amish farms to house the non-farm families. This resulted in a much greater strength in family kinship patterns, with quite a number of fathers having all their married sons living on the same farm or within a short distance. Since the space demands of the non-farm family are quite limited, this closeness is facilitated without overcrowding or undue economic strain on the farmstead. Industrial employment had reached the full acceptance stage in the Nappanee settlement and will soon engage over half the heads of households.

There is considerable difference in the Ordnung, or established church rules, between Amish church districts and settlements. Much of the cleavage that has occurred among the Amish can be found related to attempts to adjust the Ordnung to the satisfaction of all the members. Many of the withdrawing liberal groups have gravitated into the Beachy Amish church, but the conservative districts and settlements maintain a strong sense of identity with resultant decrease of interaction with the major stream of Amish society.

Interaction patterns at Nappanee, involving social visits to and from the settlement and inter-marriages between Nappanee and other settlements, strongly

suggested that the Nappanee Amish occupied a position slightly to the progressive side of the conservative-liberal continuum. There was minimal contact between Nappanee and either the ultra-progressive or ultra-conservative Amish settlements elsewhere.

The original Old Order Amish settlement area at Nappanee, along the Marshall-Elkhart county boundary, was quite conservative, but not ultra-conservative, as the interaction patterns involving the Nappanee settlement indicate. In time, resulting from migration of families from other states and the centrifugal attraction of families to the outer margin, the growing eastern and southern edges of the settlement began to take on more progressive characteristics than those in the northwest. This set in motion differential Ordnungen, increasingly tolerant and permissive along the growing edge, especially to the south and southeast.

Both the Christner conservative movement and the D. O. Borkholder progressive movement had their setting, and drew their support, from families located along the growing edge. The first was an understandable reaction to the increasingly differential nature of the Ordnung in the southern area. The latter was a logical outcome of the increasingly tolerant nature of the same area. As the growing edge expands, it

takes the traditions of the parent body with it, gradually modifying them in the direction of major family sentiment. At Nappanee, this was in the direction of liberalization of the Ordnung. But the growing edge of the settlement does not make the Amish families more progressive, it is the Amish families that impart to the growing edge its particular set of characteristics.

The Amish mission movement also found its initial support along the southern edge of the settlement. Although the Borkholder and mission movements were rejected by the Old Order, the ideas slowly diffused across the settlement and eventually involved families in all sections. An examination of the spatial locations of nearly 50 families involved in innovative movements in the Nappanee settlement made it possible to generalize a tripartite structure of cultural zonation. The first, the Zone of Innovation, was located along the southern and eastern margins of the settlement. It was in this zone that original ideas and movements were first tried and widely accepted. It was the zone where change met the least resistance and where industrial employment first became institutionalized. The second, the Zone of Tradition, the northwest area, was one in which the traditions were maintained for the greatest length of time. It was the

zone of greatest resistance to innovation and change, the section in which industrial employment had found the least acceptance and full time farming was still maintained to the highest degree. The intermediate Zone of Acceptance was the buffer zone between the other two. It was the area which drew its traditions primarily from the northwest nucleus, but slowly changed them through interaction with the Zone of Innovation. It was a crucial zone, since changes that gained a hold were likely to flow across the entire settlement. Changes that were rejected were a warning to innovators to slow down and re-evaluate. The Zone of Acceptance receives a steady stream of ideas and stimuli for change and, whether they are accepted or rejected by the Old Order, they pass from family to family eventually involving all sections of the settlement. If the change is rejected, it may necessitate the accepting family to withdraw from the group. But the more families that become involved in the change process, the greater likelihood the change will be accepted and become permanent. Examination of the congregational residence patterns of Amish families involved in innovative movements in the settlement indicated that the major diffusion flow has been from the growing edge. Innovative movements passed quickly

through the Zone of Innovation, more slowly through the Zone of Acceptance, and very slowly across the Zone of Tradition.

It was suggested that most large Amish settlements with differential Ordnungen will have a somewhat similar spatial cultural structure. Although the Zone of Innovation need not necessarily be located near the growing edge, in the Nappanee settlement that was the case. It was not the location of the settlement margin that was important, it was its character.

With the completion of the two major objectives of the study -- (1) identification of the spatial nature of the Nappanee Amish settlement; and, (2) an identification and examination of selected cultural processes which were primarily responsible for the developmental and structural aspects of the settlement -- it was revealed most convincingly that the developmental, structural, and functional aspects of an Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement form a unified pattern that operates uniquely in a specific spatial setting through time. Understanding one of these aspects of the settlement resulted in better understanding of the others.

Chapter IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Old Order Amish settlement at Nappanee, Indiana, is one of nearly 60 settlements found in North America. Within the settlement are located three Beachy Amish churches, representing congregations composed entirely of ex-Old Order Amish families. The Amish are direct descendants of a conservative division that took place among the Swiss Brethren groups in Europe in the late 17th century. Shortly thereafter, the Amish began emigrating to the United States, a movement which, although not continuous, continued well into the 19th century.

The first Amish settlers arrived in the Nappanee area about 1840, and a number of families were established on the land by 1842. They arrived in two different streams, one group representing Ohio Amish families with ancestral roots in the older settlements in the east, especially Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The other group was composed largely of Amish families from Ohio, and many of these persons had been born in Europe and had only recently come to the United States. The kinship ties and social interaction between the

two unlike Amish groups were not very strong, and an irreconcilable separation between them took place about 1854. The 19th century emigrant Amish families were concentrated around the area now occupied by the city of Nappanee, and are represented today in the congregation of the West Market Street Mennonite Church (General Conference). The Amish families with ancestral roots in the older, established settlements in Pennsylvania were largely concentrated along the Marshall-Elkhart counties boundary, remained aloof, and are represented today in the congregations of the 12 Old Order Amish church districts. Both groups were represented at the Amish minister's conferences (Dienerversammlungen) held between 1862 and 1878, but reunification was never achieved.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of trial for the Nappanee Old Order Amish. About 1874, Bishop David H. Hochstetler and a number of families moved to Newton County, Indiana. This necessitated the Nappanee Amish calling for ministerial assistance from the settlement in the Clinton area of Elkhart-Lagrange counties. About 1890, a controversy involving the utilization of windmills and other mechanical devices resulted in the loss of many families to other church groups and other settlements.

The settlement survived, however, and the population had increased sufficiently by 1906 that the original Marshall church district was divided. At this time, the Old Order families were still largely confined to the Marshall-Elkhart counties boundary area. By 1914, a conspicuous pattern of eastward and southward expansion of the settlement boundary was evidenced, and has persisted to the present day. Since the original settlement in Marshall County, there has been practically no northward or westward expansion of the settlement. Only recently, however, a few families from the eastern and southern sections of the settlement have moved north and occupied property in the area near Wakarusa.

The decade of the 1930's was a period of great social change among the Nappanee Amish families. A large number of families from drought-stricken western states moved into the settlement, occupying property mainly along the expanding eastern and southern margins. They accentuated in this area what was already a trend toward a greater sense of freedom from the more restrictive Ordnungen, or church rules, of the northwest section of the settlement. There were two major, and opposing, results of this process. Reacting against the increasing permissiveness in the southern area,

Samuel J. Christner, a minister in the South church district, led a conservative reform movement which eventually took 16 families into a separate congregation. The Christner group was unsuccessful in obtaining the necessary Amish ministerial support for the ordination of a bishop and, after a period during which great ill-will and bad feelings developed, the movement dissolved when most of the involved families moved to other Amish settlements. Christner, himself, moved to Adams County, Indiana, about 1940.

The other movement was of progressive dimensions, and culminated in Paril, 1940, when Bishop David O. Borkholder was silenced by his fellow bishops. Borkholder, with a deep conviction for the necessity of Christian mission work, then withdrew from the Old Order, followed by a considerable number of Amish families. They later merged with the Beachy Amish churches and built Maple Lawn church just northwest of Nappanee. Since 1962, two groups have withdrawn from fellowship at Maple Lawn and have established independent Beachy Amish congregations.

By 1940, the Nappanee Old Order settlement had expanded to nearly 74 square miles, almost 150 percent larger than the area in 1914. Growth since, however, has slowed considerably and, in 1966, the settlement

covered an area of about 88 square miles, an expansion rate increase of only 15 percent over 1940.

In the early 1950's, the Nappanee Amish settlement contributed vigorous leadership to the nationwide Amish mission movement. Midweek Bible study groups were established in the southern section of the settlement, and met originally with ministerial support. When the movement was rejected by the Old Order, most of the participating families withdrew from the Old Order and joined the Conservative Mennonite Church. In 1954, some members of this mission-minded group were responsible for the building of Bethel Church northeast of Nappanee. The 1966 congregation of nearly 100 baptized members was composed entirely of persons from the Old Order.

By 1966, the Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement had expanded far enough northward to begin overlapping the area occupied by the Wisler (Old Order) Mennonites, a group sharing similar traditions and ways of living. An intermarriage between children of the two groups has already been reported and increasing cultural contact can be expected in the future.

Three church divisions were made in the Nappanee settlement in late 1966. Despite the expansion of the settlement toward the east and south (only recently to the north), these three divisions took place in

the northwest section of the settlement. Since there has been practically no areal expansion in this section of the settlement, more and more Amish families were occupying the same space. It was discovered that nearly 35 percent of the Old Order settlement population occupied a conspicuous zone of high density population in the northwestern section of the settlement which amounted to only 17 percent of the total settlement area. Both the areal expansion pattern and the concentration of Amish population were highly asymmetrical.

Examination of land control patterns in the Nappanee settlement made it possible to assess the homogeneous nature of the area in a quantitative manner. In 1966, the Amish controlled only 26 percent of the total land area of the settlement, although the percentages were higher in the northwest section. In one church district only two square miles in area, the Amish controlled less than 60 percent of the land. A zone of dominant Amish land control was found in that section which was the oldest and had the greatest population density for total area.

Expansion of the Amish settlement at Nappanee has been strongly centrifugal, and the idea of centripetal movement toward the original Marshall County nucleus with resultant land scarcity and high land values was rejected since even the oldest sections of

the settlement contained large quantities of non-Amish controlled land. The centrifugal mechanism was attributed to the movement of Amish families toward the expanding edge of the settlement primarily in search for release from the more rigid church Ordnung in the northwest. The small size of the church districts, the rather minimal Amish land control, the extremely high population densities on Amish controlled land, the sudden population increase in the northwest where there has been little areal expansion, and the slowdown of total settlement expansion in area as compared with preceding time periods, was related to a loss in the agricultural orientation of the Old Order settlement.

The shift from an agricultural focus has come largely since World War II. A survey in two church districts indicated that 68 percent of the employed household heads were engaged in non-farm occupations and 45 percent were employed in industry. In some areas of the settlement, especially the east and south, the percentages of factory employed household heads exceeded half the total number. For the entire settlement, 42 percent were employed in factorywork, and 47 percent in full-time farming.

The industrial focus has been centered primarily on the many small mobile home (trailer) factories

located in and near Nappanee, Elkhart County being one of the dominant centers of this activity. The factories are good-paying, and most are quite tolerant of the special Amish needs and their sympathies against unions, community involvement, social security, military defense commitments, and other secular matters.

A number of the structural attributes of the Nappanee Amish settlement were related to this shift toward industrial employment. The slowdown of areal expansion since 1940 has paralleled the shift to industry, resulting in a lessened demand for land. As land needs have diminished the minimal Amish land control pattern is perpetuated, more and more Amish persons are concentrated on each square mile of land, the area of the church districts is reduced, and the traditional agricultural orientation of the settlement is refocused. Industrial employment in the northwest section has been traditionally quite weak, but the recent church divisions in that area without a parallel increase in land control indicated that industry as an occupational outlet was gaining momentum.

The economic base of the Nappanee Old Order Amish settlement appears to have been strengthened by the shift to industry. The stability of high incomes, release from the constraints of horse dominated agriculture, and the increasing security of an ever-expanding

trailer industry, have resulted in the young men finding the Amish society more congenial. The resultant increase in holding power over the children has strengthened the family kinship pattern, many married sons living on the family farm or within a short distance. Since the space demands of the non-farm family are limited, this closeness is facilitated without crowding or undue economic strain on the farmstead, and the pressure to search for land to farm is considerably diminished.

The Ordnung, or church rules of the Amish district, varies considerably between settlements and even within settlements. Much of the cleavage that has resulted among the Amish can be traced to attempts to establish an Ordnung that would be satisfactory to all the involved families. Many of the withdrawing progressive groups have gravitated into the Beachy Amish and Conservative Mennonite churches, but the conservative districts and settlements maintain a strong sense of identity with resultant decrease of interaction with the major stream of Amish society. Interaction patterns between Nappanee and other Old Order settlements strongly suggested that the Nappanee Amish, on the whole, reject the position of the ultra-conservative Amish settlements and maintain major contacts with only a few settlements elsewhere which are representative of districts

with slightly progressive Ordnungen. Conspicuous examples were pronounced interaction patterns with the Clinton area of the Elkhart-Lagrange settlement in Indiana and the more progressive church districts in the Holmes County area in Ohio. In Iowa, the conservative Buchanan County Amish settlement had very weak ties with Nappanee, but the interaction with the more progressive settlement at Kalona was much stronger.

Over time, resulting from centrifugal attraction of Amish families toward the expanding edge of the settlement and the migration of families from western states, the southern and eastern margins of the Nappanee settlement began to manifest Ordnungen slightly more progressive and tolerant than those in the original nucleus in the northwest. The specific historical origin of the manifestation of this differential Ordnung is obscure, but it undoubtedly became accentuated in the early part of the century as the settlement increased in population and numerous church divisions were made.

The major innovative movements at Nappanee originated along the growing edge. The Christner conservative movement and the D. O. Borkholder and Amish mission progressive movements had their setting and drew their support from families located along the growing edge. The first was an understandable reaction

to the increasingly differential nature of the Ordnung in the southern section, and the latter two movements were logical outcomes of the tolerant and permissive nature of the southern and eastern edges of the settlement. As the growing edge expands, it takes the traditions of the parent body with it, gradually modifying them in the direction of major family sentiment. At Nappanee, this was in the direction of liberalization of the Ordnung. But the growing edge of the settlement does not make the Amish families more progressive, it is the Amish families that impart to the growing edge its particular set of characteristics. The fundamental reason underlying the lack of expansion along the northwestern margin in Marshall County has been the reluctance of Amish families to move into a church district with the most conservative and restrictive Ordnung in the settlement. The basic expansion has been eastward and southward and has been primarily a search for release from the pressures of restrictions. The directional movement was probably triggered by the easterly location of the progressive 19th century Amish immigrant families involved in the 1854 split and it has persisted to the present day.

An examination of the spatial locations of nearly 50 Amish families involved in innovative movements

in the Nappanee settlement made it possible to generalize a tripartite structure of cultural zonation. The first, the Zone of Innovation, was located along the southern and eastern margins. It was in this zone that new ideas and movements were most likely to be tried and accepted. It was the zone where change met the least resistance and where industrial employment first became institutionalized. It was the zone in which the conservative followers of Christner were quite discontent, but it was also the zone in which Bishop David O. Borkholder and the Amish mission movement gained their original support. It has been the zone in which ferment for change has been demonstrated most consistently and strenuously, and it has been from this zone that the diffusion of new practices and ideas has slowly crept across the settlement. Although the Old Order may reject an innovation, the diffusion mechanism does not necessarily cease to operate. Following the rejection of the D. O. Borkholder and the Amish mission movements, the ideas continued to diffuse across the settlement. Accepting families, however, had no alternative but to withdraw from fellowship.

The second zone was the Zone of Tradition, located in the northwestern section of the settlement. Change has been slowest here, resistance to innovation strongest, and traditions maintained for greater lengths

of time. Some have not yet altered appreciably. It was in this zone that a break from the Old Order created the greatest family conflict, and it was this zone that gave little initial support to Christner, Borkholder, or the Amish mission movement.

The families in the Zone of Tradition have maintained full-time farming to the highest degree and have resisted career factory work. As a result, a greater percentage of boys had to leave the area to find farms of their own, thus reducing the density of population on Amish-controlled land, a trend that is now being sharply reversed as factory work becomes increasingly accepted. It was in this zone that Amish families were least likely to support innovative processes, but quite likely to move directly to a more permissive environment. This could be facilitated by affiliation with another church group or by a spatial relocation in a church district with a more permissive Ordnung. Such moves, continuous in time, created the centrifugal mechanism which, to a large degree, sided in the development of a differential Ordnung along the expanding edge of the Nappanee settlement.

The third cultural area was the Zone of Acceptance. It was a transitional area, buffering the Zone of Tradition from the rapid changes in the Zone of Innovation. It was a zone in which innovations were not likely to be

originated but quite likely to be assimilated and quietly accepted. The acceptance of innovation passed gradually from family to family and, if it met wide acceptance in this zone, it was quite likely to permeate and entire settlement. It was a testing ground for change. If the ideas were rejected in the Zone of Acceptance, innovators were thus cautioned to reconsider their course. The time lag, however, frequently resulted in the existence of a bloc of families in the Zone of Innovation which had already accepted the change and refused to give it up. In such a case, they had no alternative but to withdraw from fellowship. Such a process occurred during the Christner, Borkholder, and Amish mission movements.

Acceptance of ideas and new practices in the Zone of Acceptance is quiet and unobtrusive. The quietness avoided ensure from the Zone of Tradition on the one hand and total involvement with the Zone of Innovation on the other hand. The Zone of Acceptance was the vital link which connected the two unlike groups in space and, through its intermediary position, provided the unity which allowed the settlement to continue through time.

It was suggested that all Amish settlements of any size will have some semblance of this tripartite cultural zonation. There will be a region of innovation,

characterized by more rapid change and increasing tolerance and permissiveness. This zone may be along the periphery of the settlement, but it need not be. The growing edge is as likely to be conservative as it is progressive since it acquires its characteristics from the residents. At Nappanee, there have been essentially two margins, one progressive and expanding, the other traditional and stationary. The location of the margin is less important than its character.

It was discovered that the spatial attributes of an Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish settlement have a common thread with its developing history. As the settlement expands it changes, and if the changes set in motion a differential Ordnung the structure and functions in different parts of the settlement also begin to change. Such change, however, is continuous neither in time nor space. The settlement expands or contracts, slowly or rapidly, depending upon the conditions of the moment. As the settlement expands, providing an areal setting within which zones of innovation may begin to operate, settlement functions must continuously be re-evaluated. As new functions are accepted, the structural elements of the settlement become increasingly altered. Thus, the developmental, functional, and structural elements of an Amish settlement form a unity which operates through time in

a spatial setting. The examination of one phase of this pattern, regardless of the disciplinary approach, provides a perspective from which the other phases can be better understood.

Some Considerations on Amish Settlements

Understanding the major functional elements of an Amish settlement such as that at Nappanee answers fewer questions than are left unanswered. Does the areal size of the settlement disturb the innovation flow in any significant manner? If the Nappanee settlement were twice the area without any increase in population would the relationship between the functional and structural aspects be undisturbed? Does a differential Ordnung begin to operate as soon as there is some social tension in a settlement? Is the Ordnung affected by simple distance relationships, or is the problem more complex? Just what is the minimum size for an Amish settlement to survive, or is total population an important factor? Is the innovative center absent in a very small Amish settlement? What will be the eventual outcome of the Nappanee Amish shift to industrial employment with its accompanying changes of the long accepted traditions of agricultural life? Is this reducing the possibility of assimilation or is

it simple hastening the process with what appear to be short range advantages?

Such considerations are valid ones, and represent only a few major problems that analysis of an Amish settlement from the perspective of cultural geography might aid in providing new insights. There are, scattered over North America, nearly 60 such settlements, each with its own subtle shade of identity. As long as Amish persons can find personal satisfaction and fulfillment within the confines of Amish society, such settlements will continue to exist. Understanding the mechanisms of the society of a group of people like the Amish, as constructive and beneficial as their contributions to our country have been, would appear to be an asset for the world community as a whole.

FOOTNOTES

¹D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals, Association of American Geographers, vol. 55, no. 2, June, 1965, p. 195.

²Ibid.

³E. M. Bjorklund, "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," Ibid., vol. 54, no. 2, June, 1964, p. 227.

⁴Dr. John A. Hostetler states that "the Amish have become so well known in the United States that no longer can a graduate student select the Amish as a thesis project and get it approved on grounds that information is lacking or because of novelty of the subject;" in C. G. Bachman, The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, vol. 60, Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1961 (a reprint of vol. 49, 1941), p. 111. As evidence of this is Dr. Hostetler's own bibliography on the Amish: Annotated Bibliography on the Old Order Amish, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1951.

⁵M. Gascho, "The Amish division of 1693-1697 in Switzerland and Alsace," Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 11, no. 4, October, 1937, pp. 235-266.

⁶M. A. Mook, "Nicknames Among the Amish," Mennonite Life, vol. 16, no. 3, July, 1961, pp. 129-131.

⁷e.g., R. Gehman, "Plainest of Pennsylvania's Plain People: Amish Folk," National Geographic, vol. 128, no. 2, August, 1965, pp. 226-253.

⁸e.g., J. A. Hostetler, "Folk and Scientific Medicine in Amish Society," Human Organization, vol. 22, no. 4, winter, 1963-1964, pp. 269-275.

⁹J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1963. The same author's pamphlet on Amish Life has gone through repeated printings. The most recent is the 17th, 1965, Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

10C. G. Bachman, op. cit., see footnote 4.

11W. M. Kollmorgen, Culture of A Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Rural Life Studies: 4, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, September, 1942.

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14K. H. Baehr, Secularization Among the Mennonites, B. D. thesis, Chicago Theological Seminary, June, 1942. Chapter III of this thesis, "Secularization Among the Mennonites of Elkhart County, Indiana" appeared in the Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 16, no. 3, July, 1942, pp. 131-160.

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16W. I. Schreiber, Our Amish Neighbors, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1963.

17The Mennonite Encyclopedia, 4 vols., vol. 1, 1955, vol. 2, 1956, vol. 3, 1957, vol. 4, 1959. Published jointly by the Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas; the Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas; and the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. The much smaller work, The Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary, D. Kaufman (ed.), Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1937, is also valuable.

18J. C. Wenger, The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan, no. 10 in Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1961. The only work done on the Nappanee settlement is the anthropological study done by P.C.W. Gutkind, Secularization Versus the Christian Community: The Problems of an Old Order House Amish Family of Northern Indiana, M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1952.

Although Gutkind makes some observations pertinent to the theme of spatial organization and development of the Amish settlement, he provides almost no factual data with which to work. His treatment of the historical development of the Nappanee settlement (pp. 87-89) is brief and incomplete and the Beachy Amish group, which had existed since 1940, receives only a single mention (pp. 205-206).

19A. J. Beachy, "The Rise and Development of the Beachy Amish Mennonite Churches," Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 29, no. 2, April, 1955, pp. 118-140.

20R. J. Yordy, A Survey of Land Ownership Trends Among Amish and Mennonites in the Mennonite Community East of Goshen, Indiana from the Years 1913-1915 to 1937, Mennonite Church Problems Seminar paper, Goshen College, March, 1946. The paper and two large accompanying maps are on file in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

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²⁷E. L. Smith, Studies in Amish Demography, The Research Council, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, 1960.

²⁸E. D. Zook (ed.), Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania. The Yearbook first appeared in 1906, was published in 1907, 1908, 1913, and an issue dated 1914-1915. It has been published annually since 1916. The 1966 edition was vol. 57.

²⁹J. A. Raber (ed.), Der Neue Amerikanische Calendar, Baltic, Ohio. The Calendar has been published annually since 1937. Mr. Raber died in 1967, but the family will continue to publish the almanac.

³⁰C. P. Loomis and Z. K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories: Selected American Writers, D. Van Nostrand Co., Princeton, New Jersey, 1961, pp. 8-19; C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1957, pp. 48, 189, 229-231; and C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, Rural Social Systems: A Textbook in Rural Sociology and Anthropology, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, pp. 11-14, 341-342, 409, 411-412, 789.

³¹N. Gross, "Sociological Variation in Contemporary Rural Life," Rural Sociology, vol. 13, no. 3, September, 1948, pp. 256-269 with additional comments on pp. 269-273; and, N. Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 53, no. 2, March, 1948, pp. 344-350.

³²An excellent example is My Life Story by Eli J. Bontreger who served as an Old Order Amish bishop for 57 years. He died in 1958, but the book is available from the family at Rural Route 2, Shipshewana, Indiana. The book first appeared in 1943 and has gone through several editions, the most recent in February, 1960.

³³"The extraordinary Amish preoccupation with genealogy and kinship solidarity is reflected in that well over sixty family histories have been published;" J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 19n.

³⁴Three family genealogies have recently been prepared by Amish residents of the Nappanee settlement: Mrs. E. L. Hochstetler, Andrew Hochstetler and Elizabeth Lehman: Family History, R. R. 2, Nappanee, Indiana, 1964;

and J. F. Yutzy, Yutzy Family History: 1819-1964, R. R. 3, Nappanee; Mrs. A. Hostetler, Descendants of David J. Hochstetler, Nappanee, 1953. The writer of the first history is now compiling a genealogy of the Lehman family. Other family histories which include many Nappanee Amish persons are: J. D. Schmucker, S. J. Schmucker, A. Schmucker, History of Seth J. Schmucker and His Descendants, 1839-1905, available from I. D. Schmucker, R. R. 1, Box 255, Nappanee; and, R. Hershberger, Family Record of John J. Borkholder and Anna Schmucker, 1842-1900, being a 2nd edition of a history originally compiled and published in 1942 by Andy Borkholder, available from Noah Borkholder, R. R. 3, Nappanee. Additional genealogies are listed in The Mennonite Encyclopedia, vol. II, pp. 458-463.

³⁵Levi D. Christner, Old Order Amish Church Districts of Indiana, R. R. 2, Topeka, Indiana, c. 1945.

³⁶Eli E. Gingerich, Old Order Amish Church Districts of Elkhart and Lagrange Counties, Ind., January, 1963; and, Nappanee Church Districts, March, 1961, R. R. 2, Middlebury, Indiana. Each map includes a list of ministers for each church district.

³⁷Amish Farm and Home Directory of Lancaster and Lebanon Districts-Penna., Old Order Map Committee, c/o Joseph F. Beiler, R. D. 1, Gordonville, Pennsylvania, 1965. The map is separate and is titled Old Order Amish Church Districts.

³⁸Ervin Gingerich (ed. and compiler), Ohio Amish Directory: Holmes County and Vicinity, Star Route, Millersburg, Ohio, 1965. This comprehensive directory, presented in a highly professional format, is an extremely valuable document for those interested in the Amish. A number of Amish church districts were not included since they would not cooperate with the compiler (see Directory, p. III). The previous edition, 1960, contained a supplement which listed the heads of households of the Swartzentruber, Stutzman, Hostetler, and Lodi church districts, none of which were included in 1965. Volume 2 (1959) of the previous edition listed all Amish church districts elsewhere in the state of Ohio, and a Holmes County area map was also available.

³⁹H. F. James, "The Kishacoquillas Valley: A Study in Human Geography," The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, vol. 28, 1930, pp. 223-239.

40 L. R. Fletcher, The Amish People of Holmes County, Ohio: A Study in Human Geography, M. A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1932.

41 R. A. Murdie, "Cultural Differences in Consumer Travel," Economic Geography, vol. 41, no. 5, July, 1965, pp. 211-233.

42 W. Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals, Association of American Geographers, vol. 51, no. 2, June, 1961, pp. 139-193.

43 Ibid., p. 167.

44 P. Fickeler, "Fundamental Questions in the Geography of Religions," English translation in Readings in Cultural Geography, P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell (eds.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962, pp. 94-117.

45 D. W. Meinig, op. cit., see footnote 1.

46 E. M. Bjorklund, op. cit., see footnote 3.

47 J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 23; and, M. Gascho, op. cit.

48 A brief discussion of the various dates of Amish arrival can be found in: A. J. Beachy, "The Amish Settlement in Somerset County, Pennsylvania," Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 28, no. 4, October, 1954, p. 263.

49 J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 40.

50 J. A. Hostetler, "Old World Extinction and New World Survival of the Amish," op. cit.

51 G. M. Stoltzfus, "History of the First Amish Mennonite Communities in America," Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 28, no. 4, October, 1954, pp. 235-262.

52 J. A. Hostetler, "Amish Problems at Diener-Versammlungen," Mennonite Life, vol. 4, no. 4, October, 1949, pp. 34-38.

53 J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 249.

54 A. J. Beachy, "The Rise and Development of The Beachy Amish Mennonite Churches," op. cit.

55 A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., p. 101.

56 Ibid.

57 J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 9.

58 Ibid., p. 70.

59 M. A. Mook and J. A. Hostetler, "The Amish and Their Land," op. cit., p. 25.

60 This study is primarily one of functions within an established settlement and would not, therefore, qualify as a study in settlement geography as defined by Dr. K. H. Stone, "The Development of A Focus for the Geography of Settlement," Economic Geography, vol. 41, no. 4, October, 1965, pp. 347-349. For further comment on settlement geography, see: T. G. Jordan, "On the Nature of Settlement Geography," Professional Geographer, vol. 18, no. 1, January, 1966, pp. 26-28; and the reply, K. H. Stone, "Further Development of A Focus for the Geography of Settlement," Ibid., vol. 18, no. 4, July, 1966, pp. 208-210.

61 The Budget, Sugarcreek, Ohio, December 1, 1966, p. 1.

62 Ibid. The Paul Eichorn family, formerly of Mercer County, Pennsylvania, apparently represents the first Beachy Amish emigration from the United States.

63 John Stutzman, land grants #7700 and #7803, April, 1836, Tract Book C, Recorder's office, Elkhart County, Goshen. John C. Burkholder, from Canada, acquired extensive landholdings in both Marshall and Elkhart counties. Many of the early references to a John Borkholder (with the initial omitted) probably refer to this man. He was a member of the Reformed Church.

64 Illustrated Historical Atlas of Elkhart County, Indiana: 1874, Higgins, Belden Company, Chicago, 1874, pp. 63, 101.

65 H. E. Borntrager, Eine Geschichte der ersten Ansiedelung der Amischen Mennoniten und die Grundung ihrer ersten Gemeinde im Staate Indiana nebst Einer

Kurzen Erklärung über die Spaltung die in dieser Gemeinde geschehen ist, Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana, 1907. Comment on this small book, A History of the first Settlement of the Amish Mennonites and the Founding of Their First Congregation in the State of Indiana, together with a Brief Explanation of the Division which took place in this Congregation, is given in the Mennonite Historical Bulletin, vol. 3, no. 3, September, 1942, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁶History of Elkhart County, Indiana, Chas. C. Chapman and Company, Chicago, 1881, p. 1141. Christian Stely (Stehly), land grant #14430, October, 1841, Tract Book C, Recorder's office, Elkhart County, Goshen. It is possible that the Nappanee Amish settlement is older than the one in the Elkhart-Lagrange area. The Mennonite Encyclopedia (op. cit., vol. 4, p. 609) refers to two Stahl (Stahly) brothers, Johann and Jakob (the brothers of Christian and Henry Stahly), who settled in Elkhart County in 1839. Unfortunately, this could not be verified by any existing county land records, although the names of Jacob Stahly and Henry Stahly appear in the land grant records following that of Christian, who appeared at the federal land grant office at Winamac, Indiana, and signed for a presidential land grant on October 23, 1841. He moved on the farm the following summer, but it is not known if he stayed near Nappanee during the interim. There is even some question that the early Stahly families were Amish, but the accounts of S. D. Guengerich and Jacob Borkholder (see footnotes 67 and 68) leave little doubt, and the references to the Stahl (Stahly) families in the Mennonite Encyclopedia (op. cit.) and by Delbert Gratz in Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants (Herald Press, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1953, pp. 44, 49, 68, 126) also indicate Amish affiliation. W. B. Weaver mentions an Amish bishop named John Stahly who came from Switzerland and settled in Illinois in 1864: History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church, published by the author, Danvers, Illinois, 1920, p. 75. (This writer is continuing a search for family and historical records of Amish settlement near Nappanee).

⁶⁷The writer viewed the S. D. Guengerich materials which are on file in the Mennonite Archives, Goshen College.

⁶⁸The testimony of Jacob Borkholder, Sr., born near Nappanee in 1864, regarding the Stehly family, is presented in the short history by A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶⁹A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 1.

⁷⁰Ibid. Of these families, the earliest record is that of Valentine Yoder, Aug. 3, 1844, Deed Record Book 9, Recorder's Office, Elkhart Co., Goshen, p. 100. However, it is believed he was in the area much earlier, by 1840 (H. Hostetler, Descendants of Jacob Hostetler: The Immigrant of 1736, Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, 1912, p. 131).

⁷¹R. Hershberger, Family Record of John J. Borkholder and Anna Schmucker, 1842-1900, not dated, pp. 9-10. This is a revised and up-dated version of an original genealogy done by Andrew Borkholder covering the period 1842-1942.

⁷²John Borkholder, Jr., May 27, 1852, Deed Record Book G, p. 621, Recorder's office, Marshall County, Plymouth.

⁷³Tobias Hostetler (Hochstetler), land grant #21709, April, 1854, Tract Book C, Recorder's office, Elkhart County, Goshen.

⁷⁴J. A. Hostetler, "Old World Extinction and New World Survival of the Amish-A Study of Group Maintenance and Dissolution," op. cit.

⁷⁵Land grant records and deeds for all these families were located in the Recorder's offices, Marshall County, Plymouth, and Elkhart County, Goshen. David H. Hochstetler also acquired land adjacent to the boundary line in Elkhart County. His homestead was just east of Marshall County in Locke Township.

⁷⁶See footnotes 70 and 73.

⁷⁷David H. Hochstetler (Hochstetler) to Jonas Yoder, Original Tract Book, November 1, 1848, p. 13, Recorder's office, Kosciusko County, Warsaw.

⁷⁸C. A. Malott, "The Physiography of Indiana," Handbook of Indiana Geology, publication no. 21, Indiana Department of Conservation, 1922, pp. 120-121.

⁷⁹D. Burkholder, History of the Mennonite Church in Nappanee, Indiana, not dated, on file in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College. Condensed in J. C. Wenger, op. cit., pp. 79-84.

⁸⁰R. Hershberger, op. cit., p. 5.

⁸¹See footnote 67.

⁸²E. S. Mullet, "History of the First Mennonite Church at Nappanee, Indiana," Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac, General Conference Publication Board, Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana, 1929, pp. 32-34.

⁸³A. E. Weaver (ed.), A Standard History of Elkhart County, Indiana, The American Historical Society, Chicago, vol. 1, 1910, pp. 385-386.

⁸⁴For an account of the disagreement between the liberal and traditional Amish of the Elkhart-Lagrange county area, see H. E. Borntrager, op. cit.

⁸⁵J. C. Wenger, op. cit., p. 394.

⁸⁶See footnotes 65 and 84.

⁸⁷H. Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 266-267.

⁸⁸The references to the Culp schoolhouse are found in both E. S. Mullet, op. cit., and David Burkholder, op. cit.

⁸⁹J. C. Wenger, "The ordained men from Indiana and Michigan who attended the Diener-Versammlung 1862-78," Mennonite Historical Bulletin, January, 1965, p. 4 (see also footnote 52).

⁹⁰J. C. Wenger, op. cit., p. 178.

⁹¹A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 2. J. C. Wenger, op. cit., p. 397, gives 1872 as the origin of the Jasper County settlement. These families moved shortly to Newton County where they were joined by David H. Hostetler and his group of families. Hostetler had apparently left the Nappanee settlement sometime in 1864 or 1865, since he attended the Dienerversammlungen in 1864 from Bremen and in 1865 from Leo, which is in Allen County (see footnote 89). It is not known when he returned.

⁹²According to abstract held by Edward Graber, R. R. 2, Nappanee. Details given in the abstract which would help locate the courthouse (Elkhart County) records were: Deed Record Book 48, p. 123, and Deed Record Book 13, p. 128.

⁹³A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 2.

⁹⁴Illustrated Historical Atlas of Elkhart County, Indiana: 1874, op. cit., p. 3. Locke had previously been known as Wisler Town, J. C. Wenger, op. cit., p. 80 (quote from Bishop Burkholder).

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶J. L. Weygand, They Called It Nappanee, privately printed, 1944-1945, Nappanee, Indiana, pp. 1-4.

⁹⁷A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 2.

⁹⁸Some of this might have resulted from what is referred to locally as the "windmill incident" which occurred sometime about 1890 (Figure 7). The story is that Bishop Moses Borkholder excommunicated an Amish farmer, David Kauffman, for constructing a windmill. Later restrictions against hay loaders and manure spreaders apparently caused a number of families to leave the Amish and join the North Main Street Mennonite Church. An additional result was the out-migration of Amish families to more western states (see A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 2). Census figures, published in 1891 (Statistics of Churches, Census Bulletin No. 131, Dept. of the Interior, Census Office, October 29, 1891, p. 9), give a membership of 117 in the Marshall "Old Amish Mennonite Church." This figure is not greatly less than that reported by S. D. Guengerich (op. cit.) in 1904 (132 members) and helps substantiate the fact that there was some loss of Amish families to other groups and by migration about the turn of the century.

⁹⁹J. A. Hostetler, "Old World Extinction and New World Survival of the Amish-A Study of Group Maintenance and Dissolution," op. cit., p. 217.

¹⁰⁰Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, 1905, p. 52.

¹⁰¹See footnote 67. J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman (Mennonite Church History, Mennonite Book and Tract Society, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1905, p. 288) give the 1905 membership as 123. This account of the founding of the Marshall settlement is substantially the same as that of S. D. Guengerich, op. cit. Undoubtedly one source came from the other. It is quite

possible that the membership figure of 123 given by Hartzler and Kauffman was transposed by Guengerich to 132, or vice versa. The Mennonite historians, most likely, got their information from Guengerich.

102 A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 3.

103 Ibid.

104 Old Order Amish Church Districts (map), op. cit.

105 R. J. Yordy, op. cit., maps.

106 A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 3.

107 A. J. Beachy, op. cit.

108 E. D. Zook, ed., Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, vol. 57, 1966, pp. 89-91.

109 A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., pp. 317-320; see A. J. Beachy, op. cit.

110 A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 2. See also footnote 98. It can not be documented, but the writer is of the opinion that group migration of Amish families from Nappanee slowed considerably with the improvement of drainage conditions in the area, thus making more land available for production and lessening the desire to move west. The fact that many families that moved west left the Amish church was probably also a deterrent.

111 The importance of the Ordnung is treated extensively in J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit.

112 A. K. Yoder, op. cit., p. 3.

113 Ibid.

114 W. M. Kollmorgen, op. cit., p. 9.

115 Old Order Amish Church Districts (map), op. cit.

116 On the Maniaci episode, see J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., pp. 251-252. For an extensive account of the mission movement among the Amish, especially its impact in central Ohio, see A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., pp. 692-744.

117 An entire set of Witnessing is on file in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College. The background of the mission movement, written by one of the most active participants, is presented in H. Graber, Spiritual Awakening in the Old Order Amish Church, unpublished historical paper, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, June, 1956.

118 The story of this congregational exchange is given in J. C. Wenger, op. cit., pp. 85, 181. There are other Mennonite churches in the Nappanee area (Figure 10), but they have not been historically related to those under discussion. The Salem Mennonite Church area, located in eastern Union Township, is only now beginning to have Amish families moving into its area. Faith Haven, a Conservative Mennonite church related to the Ontario Conference, leased the South Union Chapel located due west of Locke about two miles for services in the autumn of 1966. Most of the families, however, do not live in the area, and the congregation drives to worship, some from as far as Middlebury. They had previously worshipped at the village of Southwest. When they vacated, their meeting house was taken over by the Conservative Fellowship, a splinter group centered at Wakarusa. All these church groups can be expected to have impact on the Nappanee Amish in the future. Blosser's Old Order Wisler Mennonite Church, located two miles west of Salem church, is the worship house serving the buggy-driving Old Order Mennonites who are historically related to the Yellow Creek area (Figure 4) congregations. Since their traditions and way of life are more similar to the Amish than those of any other group, the impact of their mutual expansion should prove illuminating. Already an intermarriage between their children has been reported, the young man moving south and being baptized in the Old Order Amish church (also bringing the name Martin into the Indiana Amish culture). The United Missionary churches have developed historically from the Mennonites, originating under Daniel Brenneman, a minister in the Yellow Creek congregation. They were known for many years as Reformed Mennonites. Bourbon Chapel was founded in 1962 with the oversight of the North Main Street Mennonite Church in Nappanee (Figure 7). Northwood Chapel, originally the Gospel Light Mission, although founded by a Mennonite, has few of the traditions, being strongly Pentecostal and revival minded, and is interdenominational.

119J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., pp. 60-76.

120Ibid.

121A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit.; almost the entire work concerns a single church district in central Ohio.

122J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., pp. 77-78. Information on the central Ohio Amish church districts since 1930 is given in Huntington, op. cit., Appendix, p. 13.

123Old Order Amish Church Districts, op. cit.

124This was the West church district, from which the Burlington district was formed (Figure 16).

125The yearbook was published in 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1913, 1914-1915, and annually since 1916.

126J. A. Hostetler, op. cit., Amish Society p. 80; E. L. Smith, op. cit., p. 45; M. A. Mook, 1954, op. cit., pp. 293-301. For Pennsylvania as a whole, however, Mook (1955, op. cit.) suggested 3 as a correction factor. A study in family size trends in the Nappanee settlement is feasible. Gutkind (op. cit., p. 90) refers to a study done by John Umble involving family size for the years 1926 and 1946 carried out in the Nappanee Amish settlement, and gives some data. Unfortunately, a search of the Umble materials in the Mennonite Archives, Goshen College, revealed no such study. Some figures on Amish family size trends, involving both the Nappanee and Elkhart-Lagrange settlements, were reported in H. Good, "A Study in Mennonite Family Trends in Elkhart County, Indiana," Proceedings of the 6th Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems, Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges, 1947, pp. 41-46. A family census of the Nappanee settlement is currently underway, and preliminary results indicate that the total settlement population is about 2,000 compared to the writer's estimate of 1,985.

127R. J. Yordy, op. cit. Maps showing the location of Amish and non-Amish property are given in Huntington, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 17, 18, 20, 21.

128M. A. Mook and J. A. Hostetler, "The Amish and Their Land," op. cit., p. 25.

129W. M. Kollmorgen, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

130C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beagle, op. cit., p. 189.

131P. C. W. Gutkind, op. cit., p. 89.

132R. J. Yordy, op. cit., p. 10.

133R. J. Yordy, op. cit., p. 10. Yordy concluded that subsistence agriculture was on the increase among Mennonite farmers since there were more farms on less acreage. He overlooked the fact that full-time factory work was increasing which allowed only part-time farming on smaller plots. What he interpreted as regression to subsistence levels was actually just the reverse. Yordy also refers to "unusual land pressures" (p. 10) on the Mennonites simply because the Amish were willing to buy the land Mennonites no longer wanted. Whatever the merits of his conclusions, Yordy put a great deal of effort into his task and he should be commended for it. It should also be mentioned that Hostetler does not emphasize the land problem theme in his interpretation of the Amish settlement; see Amish Society, op. cit., pp. 92, 313-314.

134G. D. Everett, "One Man's Family," Population Bulletin, vol. 17, no. 8, December, 1961, p. 161. In this article the writer, a religious reporter, makes a number of generalized observations about the Amish that are common, but incorrect. His statement that the Amish need more farms to insure the perpetuation of their society (p. 159) is challenged in chapter III of this study, and the implication that a switch from agricultural orientation creates a crisis situation (p. 159) is equally challenged in chapter III. Everett's comments on widespread Amish poverty (pp. 165-166) would be difficult for him to verify (many persons interpret the Amish disregard for external appearances above internal attitudes as an indication of poverty), although it is interesting that the most poverty-stricken Amish groups, the ultra-conservative settlements, live the way that, apparently, he feels all Amish should live. In his generalizations on population growth (pp. 167-169), Everett gives no consideration to normal rates of child attrition, defections to Beachy Amish, Conservative Mennonite, and other affiliations, and the documented evidence (see footnote 26) that Amish birth rates are declining. Everett's idea that Amish society

will "crumble" (p. 169) if the men work in factories is also challenged in chapter III of this study.

135W. M. Kollmorgen, op. cit., p. 93.

136Old Order Amish Church Districts, op. cit.

137K. H. Baehr, op. cit.; P. C. W. Gutkind, op. cit.; A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit.; D. P. Miller, Amish Acculturation, master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1949; E. L. Smith, A Study of Acculturation in an Amish Community, doctoral thesis, Syracuse University, 1955; J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit.

138J. A. Hostetler, op. cit., Amish Society, p. 90.

139A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., p. 277.

140Ibid.

141J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 229. Huntington (op. cit.) reported 32 household heads out of 49 engaged in full-time farming of some sort, Appendix, p. 19.

142J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 229.

143This did not take into consideration that some of the children had the same father. It was felt, however, that the percentage of duplicates would be equal in the farm and non-farm counts. Preliminary census results verify a strong localization of industrial employment along the eastern and southern edge. The pattern is changing quickly, however, as factory work and other non-farm labor increases almost daily (see footnote 126).

144A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., p. 311.

145M. M. Mook, "The Nebraska Amish of Pennsylvania," Mennonite Life, vol. 17, no. 1, January, 1962, p. 29.

146J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 288.

147This topic is covered extensively by both A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., and J. A. Hostetler,

Amish Society, op. cit.

148J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

149A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., Appendix, p. 131.

150The Budget is owned and published by a non-Amish family at Sugarcreek, Ohio. The bulk of the paper is made up of news articles sent in by Amish and Mennonite correspondents throughout North America (including some foreign missions). A history of The Budget can be found in A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., pp. 54-57, and H. Yoder, "The Budget of Sugarcreek, Ohio, 1819-1920," Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 60, no. 1, January, 1966, pp. 27-47.

151J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., especially pp. 47-69.

152A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., especially pp. 101-229.

153Ibid., pp. 219-229; J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 287.

154Mennonite Yearbook and Directory: 1940.

155For information on the Indiana Conservative Mennonite movement, see O. Troyer, "A History of the Conservative Mennonite Churches in Northern Indiana," Mennonite Historical Bulletin, vol. 20, no. 2, April, 1949, pp. 1-2, 4, 6.

156J. A. Hostetler, Amish Society, op. cit., p. 213.

157A. G. E. Huntington, op. cit., p. 229.

158K. H. Baehr, op. cit., thesis, pp. 60, 131. This is a minor point, and should not be taken to imply any lack of merit in this excellent work. Baehr recognized the innovative nature of the periphery of the Nappanee settlement. Although he characterized this process as one of "social disorganization," he was at least aware of the different character of the growing edge. Gutkind, op. cit., however, who studied in the Nappanee area between 1950 and 1952, makes no mention of the mission movement, and placed no emphasis

on the Beachy movement or the shift to factory employment. These have been the three most important secularization processes (perhaps public school attendance would be a fourth) operating in the Nappanee settlement since 1940.

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