

A NINETEENTH CENTURY ETHNIC GROUP
TRYING TO SURVIVE ECONOMICALLY
IN A TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD

A Seminar Paper
Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of Education
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

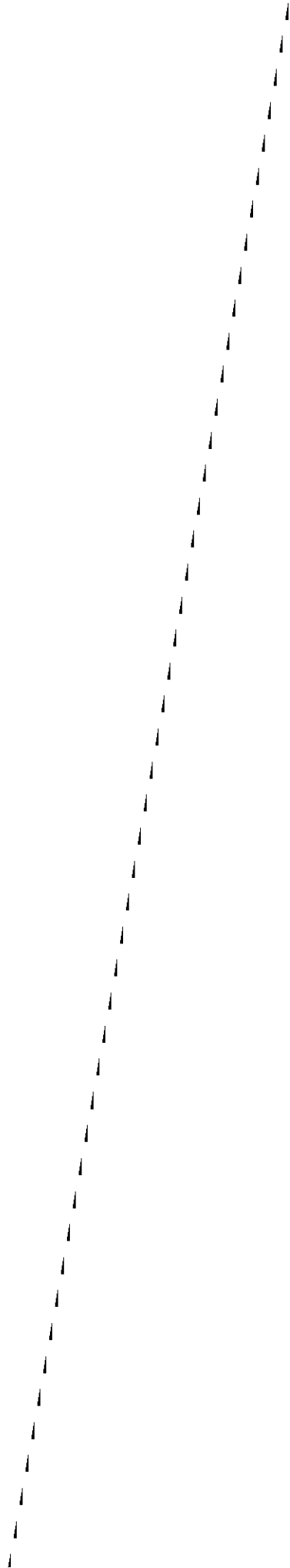
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Education - Professional Development

by
Gale Keith Grahn
May 1988

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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - LA CROSSE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

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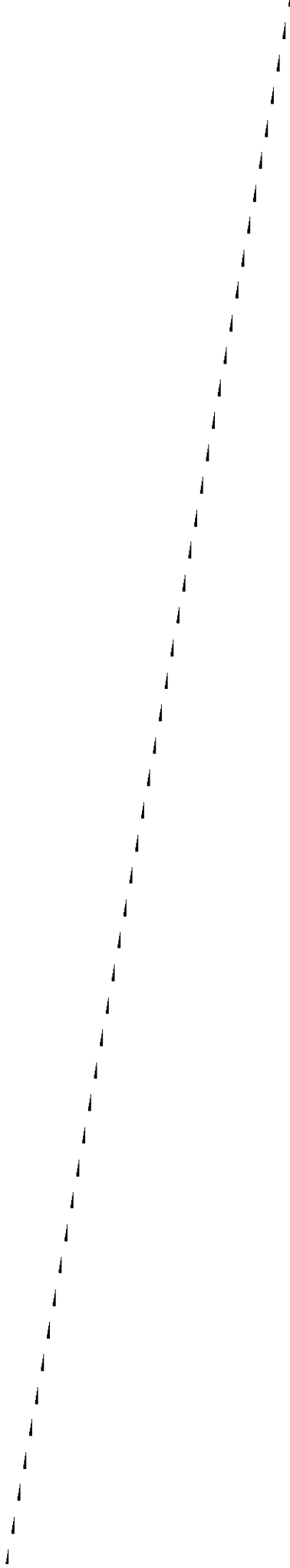
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ABSTRACT

GRAHN, Gale K. A Nineteenth Century Ethnic Group Trying To Survive Economically in a Twentieth Century World. ME-PD, May 1988, 35 pp. (Dr. Donald Davis, advisor).

The purpose of this research project was to identify how the Amish, living a nineteenth century lifestyle, survive in a world filled with technology and mechanization. It was hoped that such a project would help other communities understand that these two diverse groups of people can live and work together.

The Research identified various views about the Amish and their presence near the community of Cashton, Wisconsin, held by members of the Cashton community. The majority of those interviewed accept the Amish for who they are. They respect the people and their ways. There were a few residents interviewed who opposed having the Amish living near them for various reasons.

The research also identified that those interviewed believe that the Amish have had both a positive and negative impact on the businesses of Cashton. According to the interviewees, the businesses that have profited from the Amish are the feed elevator, grocery store, banks, and the cheese factory. Businesses that have lost revenue because of the Amish include the automobile dealers, appliance store, electric company, and the local taverns.

It is hoped that the results of this research project could give other communities with Amish neighbors ideas of how relations between the two groups could be improved.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Donald Davis, my project advisor, for his encouragement and assistance. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Robert Wingate for providing me with many excellent sources for the project and for raising my level of interest in the Amish.

My special thanks go to my wife Renae for her continued support and understanding.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Background

A few miles south of Cashton, Wisconsin, lies a small community of unique people. These people are a quiet group who keep to themselves. They live life a little differently than most Americans, but they live it the only way they know it. This paper will examine the life of the Amish people and their interaction with the English community in the Cashton, Wisconsin area. (Note: 'English' is an Amish term given to the non-Amish people of a society.)

For the past few decades, Amish communities have been growing in midwestern states like Wisconsin and Minnesota. The Amish people live lives comparable to those of our grandparents or great-grandparents. They live off the land, have their own schools, and for the most part keep to themselves. But how can an ethnic group, leading a nineteenth century lifestyle, survive economically in a twentieth century world? Values and rules are different in each society, yet they must economically survive together. Can this ethnic group survive in a technology-filled world? This question guides the present investigation.

Purpose of the Paper

The purpose of this paper was to examine how the Amish ethnic group survives in the modern, technologically advanced world that we live in today. The paper will also discuss the perception of residents about the kind of impact the Amish have had on the businesses and community residents of Cashton, Wisconsin. The results of these findings may prove beneficial to people in other areas where the Amish have relocated, for the purpose of improving relations between the Amish and the English.

Research Design

The subjects for this paper were the Amish people in the Amish community near Cashton, Wisconsin, as well as business owners, school administrators, and other residents of the city of Cashton and the surrounding area. The subjects were interviewed on a one-to-one basis, answering questions about their interaction with the Amish, how the Amish have changed their business or life, and if the Amish have had a positive or negative impact on their livelihood. Members of the Amish community were also interviewed for information on their lifestyles, their interaction with the English people, and their methods of survival. The data from the interviews comprise the majority of the data for the paper. Questions used for the interviews are shown in Figures 4 and 5.

Along with the personal interviews, selected references dealing with the Amish have been included to provide additional information about this ethnic group.

A random sample was also used to gain information on residents feelings towards the Amish. The results of the sample are found in chapter four of the paper.

Limitations

This paper examines the positive and negative interaction that takes place between the Amish and the English people of Cashton, Wisconsin. However, the results reported in this paper do not include the views of every Cashton resident about the Amish. This paper takes the opinions of those interviewed, giving a sample of the views of the residents of Cashton about the Amish. Further, this paper does not offer a final judgement as to whether the Amish should be allowed to live near Cashton. This paper only reports the data collected from the interviewees and interprets it in terms of positive and negative impacts upon the larger community.

Explanation of Terms

The following definitions will clarify terms used in this paper:

1. Amish: Rural, agriculturally based people who live under religious rule.

2. Barn-raising: Community effort to build a new barn, house, or shed.

3. Cheese factory: A factory where milk is taken from the farms and through a specific process is made into cheese.

4. Consumerism: A modern society term where the majority of the people are consumers rather than providers.

5. Cooperative: A working partnership between two or more people or groups of people.

6. English: The Amish term for a non-Amish society.

7. Modern Society: A society that uses electricity, the combustible engine, and other modern conveniences.

8. Settlement: A community of Amish families.

9. The Budget: The Amish Newspaper.

10. Traditional Society: A society that does not use electricity; engages in subsistence farming, using what goods they raise for themselves.

CHAPTER 2
DISTRIBUTION AND SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMISH

Distribution

The Amish community described in this paper is located in an area approximately four miles south of Cashton, Wisconsin. The city of Cashton is thirty miles east of La Crosse, Wisconsin. Figure 1 is a map of the state of Wisconsin showing where Cashton is located in relation to the larger cities in the state of Wisconsin. The main highway through Cashton is state highway 33. Just south of Cashton, one would take highway 'D' off of highway 33. This road leads through much of the Amish community, including the cheese factory, furniture shop, a school, and many Amish farms. Most of the Amish farms are located in the township of Chilton in Vernon County (Figure 2). Cashton is located in the southwestern part of Monroe County, and the majority of the Amish farms are south of Cashton.

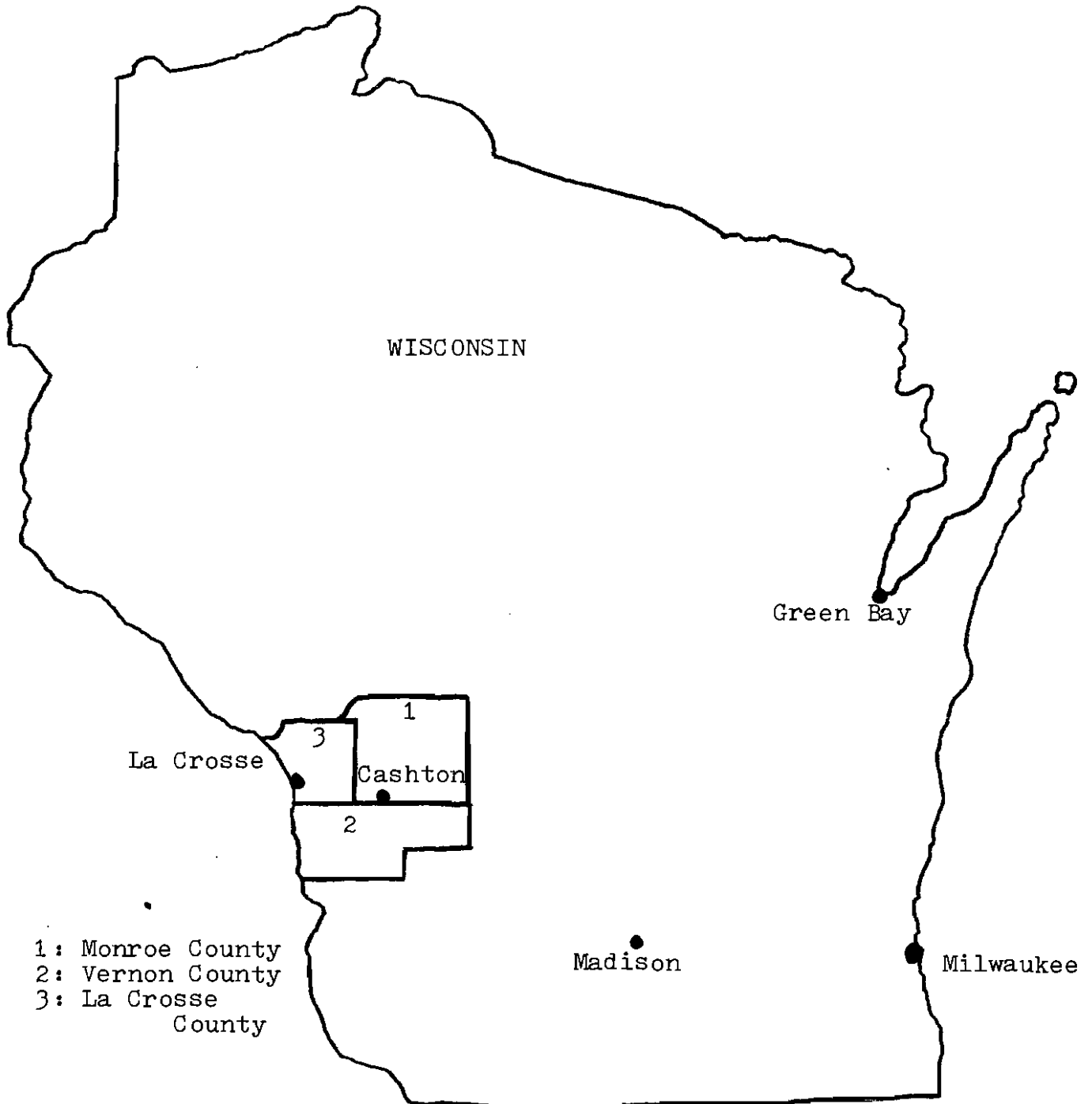
The Amish settled in this area for several reasons. One such reason is the land. The land is rolling and in some places very hilly. Modern day farmers sometimes have a hard time working this type of land. The Amish, however, are well suited to the hilly land. In fact, it was the Amish who invented the idea of contour plowing and strip cropping (Zielinski, 1975). Another reason the Amish settled in this area was

the abundance of forested area. The Amish use the woods for collection of burning materials, maple syrup collection, and other purposes. The wooded and hilly land also tends to isolate the Amish, and while they are not seeking total isolation, they do like to keep to themselves as much as possible (Miller, 3-28-88).

The farms in the Amish community are all located within an eight mile radius (Figure 3). This enables the Amish to travel between farms with their horses and buggies in a relatively short amount of time. The Amish are a very close-knit group of people. As is discussed later, when something happens to one member of the Amish community, the rest of the neighbors converge on that farm to help out in the time of crisis.

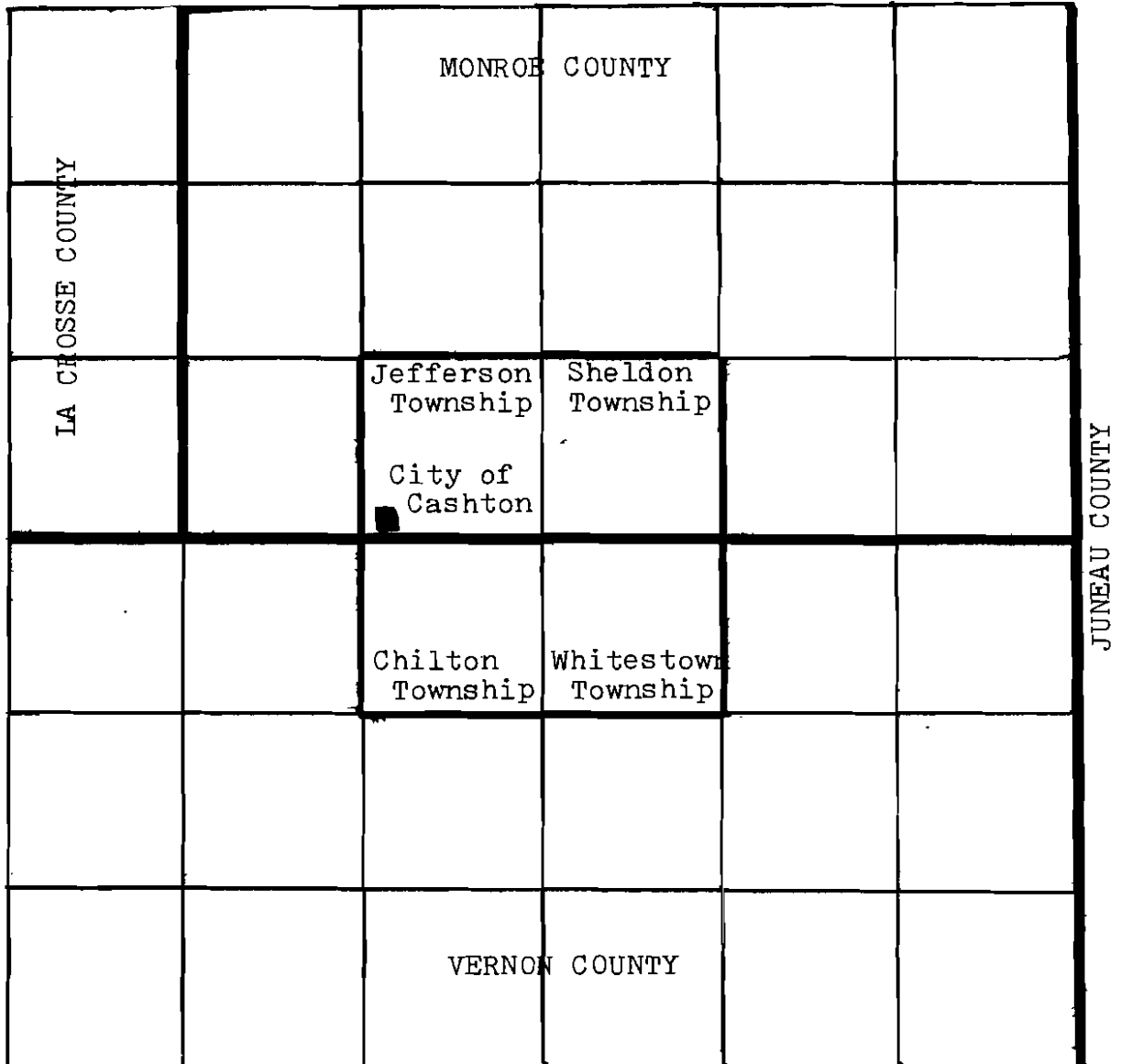
The Amish are distributed in a region that also includes numerous English farms. It is not uncommon to find only one Amish farm among four or five English farms on a particular road. From the information given by an area farmer, there are no major problems between the Amish and their English neighbors, except for an occasional slow ride behind an Amish buggy. This is not always the case for other Amish communities around the country. In some areas there have been serious conflicts between the Amish and the English over roadway rights, clean-up of the roads, and other matters that cause tension between the two groups. In fact, the Amish and the English near Cashton have started a cheese factory together that has provided an economic lift to both groups of people. This will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 1: State Map of Wisconsin



*Scale: One inch equals approximately 42 miles

Figure 2: Condensed Area of Study



*Scale: One inch equals approximately 6 miles

Short History of the Amish

The Amish originated in Switzerland in the 17th century. Jacob Ammann, a Mennonite minister, was the leader of a group of people that split from the Baptist Church in 1693. They made their new home in Canton Bern, Switzerland. Ammann believed in living apart in a separate community. Here, members could pursue lives of simplicity, humility, love, and submission to each other. Unfortunately they were persecuted for their beliefs. By 1750, all of the Amish left Bern and moved to other European nations including Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Russia. A few hundred Amish emigrated to America before the American Revolutionary War. During the Napoleonic Wars, more Amish fled Europe to come to the United States. Today there are 112 Amish settlements in the United States. Seventy-three percent of those were established after 1940 (Zielinski, 1975).

According to Jakob Detweiler (4-4-87), most of the Amish came to the Cashton area from Iowa, Ohio, and Missouri in the late 1960's. Detweiler, who is a member of the Amish settlement, also came from Ohio. He came to Cashton because of the overpopulation of his former settlement. Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri, and Minnesota have provided new homes for the Amish since 1945 (Crowley, 1978).

The Amish came to America in search of religious freedom and a new land in which to grow. The Amish live a plain and simple life, but within the harmony and bounds of nature. They work with the seasons, not by the hour. The pace of Amish life moves at a different rate from

that of the modern world. They are living, for the most part, in the role of our great-grandfathers. While the majority of society has pursued the 'Great American Dream of Consumerism', the Amish have continued to base their lives on necessities rather than luxuries. They are indeed a unique ethnic group in the Cashton area.

Everyone in the Amish community is considered a neighbor. Although the Amish believe in private ownership of property, their custom of helping each other makes them a semicomunal society. An example of this help is the custom of barn-raising. If a house or barn is destroyed or if there is a need for a new structure, the Amish will all work together to build one. A saw mill will be set up on the site and the work will be accomplished. With approximately 200 men helping, a barn can be raised in a single day. While neighbors help each other whenever they can, they do try to remain financially independent. They obtain loans from the bank to pay for their farms and land just like other English farmers. They search for the best interest rates and marketing strategies as do the English (Detweiler, 3-16-88).

Next to the Bible, land is the most important possession of the Amish. Land is considered a gift from God that is given to man for his safe-keeping. The Amish believe they can live closest to God by farming the land. The Amish invented the method of crop rotation to get the most production from their fields year after year. Their main source of horsepower on the farm is just that, the horse. The saying goes, 'A horse reproduces, a tractor produces nothing but debts' (Zielinski,

1975, p.76). They use the horse for transportation as well as power for running machinery and fertilizing fields.

The Amish family consists of mother, father, and large numbers of children, plus grandparents sharing in the same household. It is the plan of Amish societies, that like their mothers and fathers, the boys will become farmers and the girls will become mothers and farmwives. They are instructed in and then practice farm skills. All of the children work and play together and are taught strong morals, including non-aggression and non-competition. The children attend Amish schools through eighth grade. In 1972, a Supreme Court decision (Yoder vs. the state of Wisconsin) exempted the Amish from state compulsory attendance beyond that point, ruling that 'forcing them to attend high school would violate their religious rights' (Lake, p. 9). In their own schools they are taught the three R's. They go to school from September to May, for the same amount of days as public school children. They do not take two week vacations over Christmas like most public schools. On Friday afternoon, the children are instructed in German so that they can read the bible in German (Detweiler, 4-4-87).

Life of the Amish is centered around religion. Church services are held on Sundays. Since there is not a church structure, the Amish rotate homes on various Sundays to hold services. In the Cashton community there are four Amish church groups. Each group consists of approximately twenty-five families. Each church group has a bishop, a deacon and two ministers. The church services are conducted in German and consist of Bible reading, singing of hymns, and a sermon. After the

recent years, some changes have taken place in the Amish lifestyle. To add to their income they are permitted to sell their produce, work in the furniture shop, sell their woodwork to other Amish and English buyers, and engage in other endeavors. Some of these are described in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3
AMISH ECONOMIC ENDEAVORS

Overview

Although the Amish rely mainly on dairy farming for income, they also have other ways of bringing income into their homes. These other methods of supplemental income help to provide extra money needed to buy more land, purchase a new plow, or make a cattle transaction. Except for the cheese factory, a modern facility, the other three economic endeavors are more traditional ways of producing income. These endeavors are carried out with all members of the family helping in one way or another. The four economic endeavors to be described are the cheese factory, maple syrup, the furniture shop, and quilting.

Cheese Factory

In 1982, the Amish in the Cashton area decided that they could become more economically efficient by constructing a centrally located cheese factory to process their own milk. They got the idea from a similar plant that was constructed by an Amish group in Ohio (Detweiler, 4-4-87). Previously, the Amish took their milk to a dumping station where the milk was put in bulk trucks and transported elsewhere.

The Amish contacted Michael Everhart who was working in a cheese factory in Cadott, Wisconsin, at the time. His father was a cheesemaker, and Michael learned the trade from him. Although not Amish himself, Everhart was sought out by the Amish, through mutual friends, and agreed to come to Cashton and manage a cheese factory for the Amish community (Everhart, 12-15-86).

The Wisconsin Hill and Valley Cheese Factory was built on a parcel of land owned by the Amish, and the major construction work of the cheese factory would be done by the Amish. Because the Amish constructed the building, the cost was kept to a minimum. During construction, Everhart purchased the necessary equipment for the daily operation of processing milk into cheese. Everhart owns all of the equipment that is used in the factory. The Amish own the building and have approximately \$160,000 invested in the project. They received loans from the local bank for the structure (Everhart, 1-23-87).

Production capacity at the factory is presently 125,000 pounds of milk per day. Everhart (2-10-88) stated that the average production was 92,000 pounds per day or about 70% capacity. All milk is delivered to the factory in cans and is Grade 'B' milk. One hundred percent of the milk goes into cheese. Seventy percent of the cheese is made into the Monterey Jack variety. Semi-soft marble cheese makes up 25%, and the remaining amount is made into Colby cheese. The factory ships one and one-half semi-loads of cheese a week (Everhart, 1-23-87).

The cheese is made into forty pound blocks. The blocks are then shipped to three major purchasers, Sargento, Kraft, and Safeway. The

companies cut it into smaller chunks and put their own labels on the cheese. Although the Amish do not allow a private label on the cheese, the logo for the factory incorporates an Amish buggy. In addition, a small amount, less than one percent, of the cheese is sold through a retail store located at the cheese factory. The store is run by Everhart as a separate business, and the customers consist of both Amish and English visitors. Also sold in the store are syrup, eggs, and other goods provided by the Amish.

There are 165 farms that cooperatively market their milk with the cheese factory. Of the 165 farms, 147 are Amish, and only 18 are English. Most of the farms are within a seven mile radius of the plant. There are thirty-three patrons who live in another Amish community in the town of Wilton, northeast of Cashton. The English farmers sell to this cheese factory because of the lack of creameries that still accept Grade 'B' canned milk (Everhart, 2-16-87).

The Wisconsin Hill and Valley Cheese Factory is run by a five-member board of directors. The directors are all Amish and include a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and one member-at-large. Once a month, the board and Everhart meet to discuss the business of the cooperative. Each year an annual meeting is held for all the patrons.

Michael Everhart, the manager, is paid by the cooperative through gross receipts of the factory. Everhart's share is approximately thirteen percent of the gross profits. Everhart then pays for all manufacturing and energy costs of the factory. The Amish pay the

property taxes and maintenance on the structure. They also pay for the quality and butterfat testing, and the local hauling of the milk (Everhart, 2-16-87).

Together, the Amish and the English are running a very successful cheese factory. The cheese factory pays dividends to members of both groups. The cheese factory is a living testimony that two diverse ethnic groups can cooperate in an economic endeavor.

Maple Syrup

Another way the Amish have found to produce income is by collecting sap from maple trees and then selling it as maple syrup. According to Detweiler (3-16-88), many of the Amish, when moving to a new area, actually look for maple tree groves when purchasing land for their new home. This is one reason for their settling in the Cashton area. The land is hilly, but contains numerous forested areas, many that are covered with maple trees.

The season for the maple syrup industry is from approximately March 1st to April 1st, varying with the length of the winter and arrival of spring. At the start of the season the Amish put taps into the trees to collect the sap. Usually each tree will be tapped three or four times. They then hang a pail on the tap to collect the sap that comes out of the tree. A good tap will yield about one quart of sap. Detweiler (3-16-88) stated that at one time he may have up to 1300 pails hanging from the maple trees on his land. Detweiler shares his forested area with

his neighbor. This is done quite often by Amish neighbors, as the boundary line dividing their farms go through wooded areas so both farms can use the maple trees close to the lines.

After the sap is collected, it is then turned into syrup through a heating process. Much sap is needed to make one gallon of syrup, as the ratio of sap to syrup is about forty to one. During the 1987 season, Detweiler sold 220 gallons of maple syrup. The average price of a gallon of syrup was sixteen dollars. This came to about \$3500 of combined income for Detweiler and his neighbor (Detweiler, 4-4-87).

The maple syrup industry provides the hard-working Amish with a way to earn additional income in the spring of the year. It takes a lot of work, but that is never a problem for the Amish.

Furniture

In the Amish community there is a furniture shop. This shop is owned and operated by one of the Amish families. In the shop they make various wood products, including chairs, stools, and other furniture needs.

Their main product in the furniture shop is the hickory-bent chair. This chair is made by bending hickory wood at a high heat into the shape for the chair. Smaller, flatter pieces are then used for the seat and the back of the chair. The chair is then stained and varnished by the buyer. These chairs sell for around seventy dollars and are very comfortable. The chairs are sold to English people as well as to other

Amish in the community. Some are sold as far away as the Twin Cities or Chicago (Miller, 3-28-88).

Quilting

The Amish women also are involved in quilting as an economic endeavor. The women get together and work on these large, beautiful quilts for their own use or sell them to people outside their community.

Amish quilts are known for combining many different colors in one quilt. The Amish church does not permit the depiction of flowers, animals, or people in the quilts, so the women have to resort to ideas sparked by everyday objects, chores, or farm scenes. They have a keen-eye for taking the commonplace and turning it into a design of triangles, rectangles, and squares. The design does not duplicate or imitate the object, it merely suggests it. Some patterns that the Amish make are: fan quilt, sawtooth diamond, hole in the barn door, sunshine in shadow, windmill, and split-rail fences (Lake, 1987). This endeavor gives the women in the Amish community a sense of accomplishment as well as helping supplement their family's income.

Summary

The Amish, like the English, have various ways of earning extra income to supplement their main source of income. By making cheese, collecting maple syrup, producing furniture products and quilts, they earn extra money to buy parts for machinery, the building of new homes, and other items they need. Put very simply, the Amish and the English have much in common.

CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC IMPACT: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

Overview

Since the Amish started coming to the Cashton area over twenty years ago, they have been making an impact on the residents of Cashton and the surrounding area. Some of the economic impact has been positive, while other has been negative. This chapter examines selected businesses in the city of Cashton that have been affected either positively or negatively by the Amish.

Positive Impacts

Cenex Cooperative Elevator

The business in Cashton that has probably felt the most positive impact from the Amish relocating there is the Cenex Cooperative Elevator. The elevator is a feed mill that grinds corn and other grains, provides other seeds and fertilizers to the area farmers, and also has an in-store business that supplies veterinary and other supplies the area farmers may need.

Amish use of the elevator was slow at first, according to Robert Bbye, manager of the Cenex Cooperative Elevator in Cashton. They were reluctant at first to get involved with the elevator, using it only to

obtain the necessary supplies they could not get from their own farms. Brye says that way of thinking has changed over the past few years, especially in the last eighteen months. This is when Brye took over as manager of the elevator and made some changes which affected their attitudes. Brye realized that in order to gain the Amish business the elevator would have to extend services that would be advantageous to the Amish (Brye, 3-28-88).

When Brye began as manager, the first major change that the elevator made was to include in their weekly activities a 'free delivery day'. On this day, the workers at the elevator would provide delivery of feed supplies free to the Amish farmers. One reason the Amish farmers did not do business with the elevator, at first, was the lack of good transportation for getting the feed home from the mill. This new idea allowed the Amish to come into town, tell the workers at the elevator what they need, then go home and work on something else while the feed was being prepared. The workers then delivered the feed. This saved the Amish a lot of time that they previously had spent transporting the feed to their farms. The English farmers at first were upset at the fact that only the Amish could take advantage of this opportunity. But now, as Brye (3-28-88) noted, the English farmers also may make use of the 'free delivery day'. Brye also stated that other supplies are sold through the use of this day. The farmers can call in their order and then have it delivered along with their feed, without them taking time out of their schedule to go to town themselves.

While the 'free delivery day' has helped the elevator the most, there are many other things the elevator has done to gain the Amish business. The elevator provides many extended services to the Amish. One of these services is soil sampling. Like other farmers, the Amish want to get the most productivity from each acre of land. The elevator worker goes out to the farm and takes the samples from the soil for testing. The soil is tested for it's salinity, fertility, and other chemicals. The only fee the Amish must pay is for the laboratory testing of the soil. This soil sampling then will tell the Amish farmer what kind of fertilizers to use on that land to get the biggest yields from their fields.

The elevator also supplies custom spreading of fertilizer for the Amish. For a small fee, the elevator will spread the fertilizer on the land for the Amish. The Amish can then quickly work the fertilizer into the ground for it's optimum effect. The elevator also has started to handle 'cob corn'. Brye (3-28-88) noted that previously there was not a need to handle it, but the Amish use a large quantity of it and now purchase it from the elevator.

Brye also noted that since he has been manager, the elevator has stocked more supplies in the store part of the elevator that the Amish may purchase. Some of these supplies are animal health needs. The Amish are starting to use the store more for some of the supplies they lack at home (Brye, 3-28-88).

The Amish do not attend the meetings of the elevator, but they do receive the reports in the mail. Although they do not attend the

meetings, the Amish are starting to have more input into the operation of the elevator. They will discuss their needs with Brye and work on the situation together. A good rapport is starting to grow between the Amish and the elevator management. The Amish are invited and do participate in tours of other farms. They also have taken a large interest in the seed plots sponsored by the elevator. These plots show various kinds of grains in a real growing situation. The Amish then can decide what brands to plant for the next season, since they want to get the most out of their fields (Brye, 3-28-88).

According to Brye, his most important job as manager of the elevator, is to keep good relations with the Amish, especially the elders. The Amish have very high respect for the elders in the community. They look to them for knowledge and for help with any problem they may have. Brye (3-28-88) states that if he can keep a good trusting and working relationship with the elders of the community, the Amish and the elevator can continue to do a large business for years to come.

Cashton State Bank

According to Mr. William Burke, an officer at the Cashton State Bank, the bank also has a positive working relationship with the Amish.

Contrary to what some may believe, the Amish do not keep their money in jars burried in their backyard. They use the bank just like the English people use the bank. They obtain real estate loans, personal property loans, like other members of the community.

Approximately 50 percent of all the bank's loans are farm loans. Of these farm loans, about 15 percent go to the Amish. The Amish repay their loans the same way the English farmers do, by designating a portion of their milk check each month to pay off the loan. Usually a loan is given to a younger farmer and is co-signed by his father or another farmer in the community. Burke (2-22-88) noted that the bank 'has never lost a dime' on an Amish loan. If for some reason a farmer is having difficulty paying off the loan, a neighbor will help him out until he able to assume the responsibility again. Although this is a rare instance, it is good to know that support is there if needed. Because of this loyalty and support, the bank sometimes will make a loan to an Amish farmer who may be under-secured. But the bank can count on the other Amish in the community to help that farmer if a problem occurs. Burke says that they will continue to do this, based on the good record established by the Amish (Burke, 2-22-88).

Grocery Stores

The Amish have had a positive impact on the grocery stores in two ways. One way is through their purchasing of the stores products. The Amish buy various goods from the stores for baking and cooking, and also sell some of their products to the grocery stores. The stores then sell these products to the other residents of Cashton and the Amish then receive a certain percentage of the sale price. These products usually include the Amish home grown vegetables and fruits (Miller, 3-28-88). This relationship also helps strengthen the ties between the Amish and the English.

Negative Impacts

Vernon Electric Cooperative

The Cashton area is supplied electricity from the Vernon Electric Cooperative. Their main office is located in Westby, Wisconsin. Merle Holden is the manager of the cooperative. Holden (2-10-88) stated that although he feels the Amish are good people, they do indeed have a negative impact on the company he works for. The Amish do not use electricity. They heat and light their homes with kerosene or wood burning equipment. Therefore, all the Amish farms in the area are customers lost to the electric company. The average electric bill for an average size farm in that area was \$1,027 in 1987. There are about 120 farms in the Amish community, resulting in approximately \$123,000 in lost revenue for the electric company (Holden, 2-10-88).

To keep good relations with the Amish, the company will remove lines whenever possible that cross Amish land. This is an extra expense to the company for that procedure. When they must install new lines on Amish property, the company pays for surface damages. Holden stated that the Amish do not object to them crossing their land, and are very cooperative in that way (Holden, 2-10-88).

Cashton Public Schools

One area of the public sector that has felt a definite negative impact is the public school district. Because the Amish have their own schools, the Cashton School District has lost not only those children that were living on the farms before the Amish moved in, but also those

Amish children who do not attend. Mr. Joe Collington is principal at Cashton High School. Collington (4-13-88) noted that in 1970 there were around 300 students in the Cashton High School. For the school year of 1987-1988, there are 190 students in the high school. Collington estimated that the loss of high school students due to the presence of the Amish has been about 40-45 students over the past ten years. This would translate to about 130 students for all the grades in that time period. At one time the Cashton School District had two complete bus routes to the township of Chilton, the area where the Amish are located. Presently, there is only a part of one route that goes to that same area (Collington, 4-13-88).

There were at one time two Amish children attending the Cashton Public Schools. The two children were handicapped, and the school put them in a reading program to help them learn reading skills. However, Collington (4-13-88) noted that after about six months, the Amish parents took their two children out of school.

Automobile Dealerships

There are two automobile dealerships located in Cashton, and the Amish have had a definite negative impact on those dealers. As the Amish moved on to their new farms, each farmer who left was a potential customer lost. According to the manager of the Cashton Motor Company, approximately sixty percent of the area residents, including the area farmers, buy their new vehicles from either of the two dealers. The dealers have been able to stay in business because they also sell farm machinery along with the automobiles. The Amish do a very small amount

of business with the dealers, buying only some small parts for their old machinery. The manager (3-28-88) stated that he does not have any ill feelings towards the Amish, but that he is hoping for the day that they begin to use automobiles and become potential customers.

Cashton Appliance Store

The appliance store is in approximately the same situation as the automobile dealers. The Amish do not have modern appliances and therefore do not need parts or need to purchase new equipment from the store. They do, however, purchase small amounts of paint from the store to paint some walls or floors in the homes. But this does not amount to much, and the impact the Amish have on the store is definitely neutral, if not negative.

Taverns

The taverns in Cashton also suffer because of the Amish relocating nearby. The Amish religion forbids them from going into a tavern and drinking alcoholic beverages. This has damaged the business of the taverns in Cashton. Previously, some of the English farmers patronized the taverns at some time or another. Now, the taverns have lost all of those potential patrons.

Interviews

On March 23, 1988, twenty-five Cashton pedestrians were asked four questions in regard to the Amish. The questions asked and the results of the interviews are shown in Figure 4. Only 24% of the interviewees

had ever had any contact with the Amish. Sixty-eight percent said that it made no difference to them if the Amish were living nearby. Sixteen percent said they were against the Amish living near Cashton. When asked if the Amish helped or hurt the economy of Cashton, 76% said the Amish made no difference, 8% said they helped the economy, and 16% said they hurt the economy. Only 8% feel that other communities look down upon the Cashton area because of the Amish living there.

These figures are only a sample of the feelings of the residents of Cashton. It does, however, give an indication of the feelings that the residents have towards the Amish.

Figure 4:

INTERVIEW
QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

Interviews were conducted with a sample of 25 pedestrians in Cashton,
Wisconsin, on March 23, 1988

1. Have you ever had any contact, casual or business, with the Amish?

	Yes	No
Responses	6	19
Percentages	24%	76%

2. How do you feel about the Amish living near your community?

	In Favor	No Matter	Against
Responses	4	17	4
Percentages	16%	68%	16%

3. Do you feel that having the Amish living near your community, other communities look down upon yours?

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Responses	2	6	17
Percentages	8%	24%	68%

4. In your opinion, do the Amish help or hurt the economy of Cashton?

	Help	No Difference	Hurt
Responses	2	19	4
Percentages	8%	76%	16%

Figure 5:

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONS ASKED IN INTERVIEWS

Have the Amish had a direct impact on your life?

Has that impact been a positive or negative one?

Do the Amish do business with you?

What type of business do they do with you?

How does the kind of business the Amish do with you differ from that of the English people?

Have you had any specific problems with any of the Amish?

Do you buy or obtain any service from the Amish, such as: furniture, quilts, eggs, syrup, etc.?

Do you interact socially with the Amish in any way?

Do you accept the Amish way of life?

How does the lifestyle of the English affect you?

Do you like to interact with the English when you are in town?

Have you had any problems with the English people?

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The overall conclusion drawn from this research project is that two diverse ethnic groups can, under certain circumstances, survive together in the twentieth century. The Amish survive by simplicity and self-sufficiency, while the English survive by supplying and serving others, as well as themselves.

Although there have been differences between the two groups, and economically some businesses in Cashton may have been hurt, these businesses have either made adaptations, such as the Cenex Cooperative Elevator, to coincide more with the Amish needs, or they have suffered minor losses.

The Amish have also made adaptations in order to survive in contemporary America. Their new economic endeavors have given them the opportunity to add extra income to their main money-making source of dairy farming. They have followed the lead of the English farmers who do other things besides dairy farming today to survive in this world.

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