

Second session - Interview with Fred Oswald, Fort Morgan, Colorado  
May 14, 1976 - by Timothy J. Kloberdanz - Rough Draft

TJK Today is May 14, 1976. This is Timothy Kloberdanz and I am about to continue the interview with Mr. Fred Oswald at his home in Fort Morgan, Colorado. Our last interview that was four months ago and at that time we touched on many of your recollections and experiences in the Old Country, also the trip from Russia to the United States and your early experiences in Wisconsin, in Ohio, and in Berthoud, Colorado. When I came earlier this morning we talked a little bit more about the Old Country and some things that you remembered, some other things. For instance we were talking--and I don't think you had mentioned that before, but that you parents had left [Kauts (sp?)] in 1890 because of what you said was a drought.

FO Yes, a famine really. It was so extensive that many people couldn't find enough to eat. That they dug up roots along the creek beds and used that. It was something that my grandfather told quite often, was about a wealthy man that couldn't buy enough feed for his livestock, that he took his money, the greenbacks that he had, and threw them into the corral and said, "eat this, I can't get any more feed for you," and he went and committed suicide. That's how severe the famine was. It was during this time then that there was nothing left for them to do but move on. They told of actually going out and begging for anything to eat that they could get and grandmother said that she did actually cook the potato peelings that came from other people. When they finally found a place where they would settle, they were dependent upon charity until they could produce a crop of their own. I think in my previous inter-

view with you, Tim, I made the statement that the villagers had gone into a program of savings, a certain percent of their grains, so that during the winter or in times of scarcity, there would be grains available. Well, it was from this source that my grandparents, and their sons and daughters, drew of grain from so that they might survive and also to get seed for that summer. They were now down at the [Coupon (sp?)] River. Had gotten hold of some land, they had their horses and their farm equipment loaded on these wagons that they went down with. So it was a pretty small operation that they undertook that first year. But here again they failed to make a good crop, there was enough to provide food for them, but they were, there were bugs that come in--the pinch bug [chinch?] I believe was responsible for it and sucked the sap out of most of the grain so it didn't fill in. So they decided to move on further south. This time they went down into the [Don (sp?)] River area, joining up with another group of people that had also came down and organized themselves and rented some land and built a little village of their own. The land had been rented for 7 years. At the end of the 7 year period they could not get their contract renewed and so they had to move on again and this time they moved to the village of [Matriitska (sp?) (Margritska?)] why it was called that I don't know except that possibly one of the original families, or maybe the leader of the group, his family name might have been [Margrits (sp?)]. This is only a supposition on my part, I don't know.

TJK Um hum. Now, this would have been the area that we were talking about earlier--the Leanya? (sp?)

FO Yes.

TJK Across the [(?) Leanya? (sp?)]

FO Yes. It is down the [Leanya (sp?)], it is called. Your, now new homes were constructed out of adobe, bricks. It was a small village, maybe 34-40 families, I don't know the size, I was too small to be able to remember the size of the village, although even as a child I could walk from one end to the other, which we quite often did when we drove our pigs, geese and ducks out to graze (chuckle) behind the village along the creek bed. Now the children was [as?] everywhere, they had to entertain themselves, make their own entertainment. They were healthy, had plenty of time to improvise and the whole village seemed to be quiet except for certain periods--say in the spring of the year when they had a festival similar to May Day festival and then the fall of the year when they had their harvest days. At that time the village seemed to come alive with activity for young people. And some of the not so young would have a high old time. I can, I think that this is something that I've stated before, how they rejoiced at the fulfillment of their harvest, the completion of their harvest, and how they carried on. Also when they had weddings the little village seemed to liven up. Otherwise life went on quite normal, the women worked and the men loafed after the crop was planted. (Laughter) Visiting and enjoying life as such. The youth were very much like the youth in our country. Sometimes there was a little pilfering going on. I can recall an instance where a family had made some fresh sausage and hoped that this would tide them over for a considerable time but when they went out to look at it the next day it was all gone but three sausages were left hanging for them. (Laughter) Some time later a group of young men were going along

the street and singing a song about the stolen sausage. But it encourages the people not to feel too badly because three of them were still left. (Laughter) In their behavior they were very considerate of their elders. Anyone that was older than 10 years would be called "Uncle," or the equivalent of that in German. Everyone had to show a certain amount of respect for the aged, so there was no problem in this respect.

TJK Was this the term, now, [ Feather, (sp?)] like you would say [ Feathers? (sp?)]

FO Yes, Yes.

TJK Okay.

FO Yes, [ Feather. (sp?)]

TJK And everyone, regardless if they were your uncle or not?

FO Yes, oh yes, and regardless, it was [ Feather. (sp?)]

TJK What about a neighboring Russian, for instance, would he be called by this term too?

FO Uh, I cannot recall that we had any neighboring Russians in our village. I can remember seeing a Russian coming to town but it was only to trade. They would come in with loads of grapes. That was a 2 wheeled cart with a kind of a woven bottom to it and this was piled high with bunches of grapes, and they would trade for something that our German people had. Once in a great while also a fellow came to town, again a Russian, with the same kind of an outfit loaded with fish. I think I mentioned that before. They looked like they might have been [croppies, (sp?)] but I'm not sure--they were not too long, but quite deep in body, so like looking back now

and comparing them to the fish that we have, I would say they were probably [croppy (sp?)]. They were fish that they would trade for....

TJK Smoked fish, or...?

FO No, these were fresh fish.

TJK Oh, fresh fish?

FO Yes. These were fresh fish. They must have [seined (sp?)] them in the river at some distance and brought them to town early in the morning. I can remember the women going out and trading for the fish. Other than that there was no relationship between the Russian villages and our German villages. I can't recall of any action on the part of a court or a police force, other than what was the arrangement on the village ever having appeared in our village. I had heard some stories though about some German men, different individuals, that had been incarcerated in a Russian jail and had been badly beaten in the process of being in jail. So, I guess that's one reason why some of our population didn't visit the Russian jails too often.

TA Um hum. In your time then did you ever hear of a single murder, at all--among the Germans, now?

FO No, I can't say that murders were committed, uh, for the sake of murder. I can recall stories, not anything that we experienced in our little village, but I'd heard stories about village fights between family factions, where the whole relationship became involved, even to second, third and fourth cousins. They would not be fist fights--they would be using clubs, hammers, anything at all that

they could lay their hands on, There I can remember having heard of an individual that had been killed with a blow on the head.

TJK Now, would this have been in [Kauts (sp?)], possibly, or...?

FO No, no. Down in the [Leanya (sp?)].

TJK Oh, in the [Leanya (sp?)], then?

FO Yes, yes. I, uh, can't say anything about the, about the [Kauts (sp?)]. The only thing I can recall are little stories that would be spoken sometimes when a group would be gathered. They would be trading thoughts and this is the time you, as a child, set by-- you're not supposed to be part of the group at all--but you listen and it makes an impression and it stays with you. So, I guess I just had an inquisitive mind, because when ever the old ones were together I had one ear tuned to them. That way you could hear things.

TJK Fortunately, now, yes.

FO Yes. well . . . one other thing that I'd like to say about the youth--they didn't get an education as such, but still every one of them was prepared to make his living in one manner or another. Some of them learned woodwork, but they were an apprentice to a woodworker, and worked for nothing until they learned the trade. Others became weavers. Again, apprenticeship was important. Now my own father was a shoemaker. He learned the trade from his father, and when you were a shoemaker you had to do the whole job. You made your own shoe lasts, you pitted the last, made the last so that the shoe would fit the person that you were making shoes for. Since they were mostly boots that they were making, each shoemaker made a

special design with his boot that no one else was supposed to duplicate. Now, I, myself, wore shoes and I guess my father hadn't quite shaped the shoes to my feet (chuckle) because I, in time they kind of hurt. (Laughter) But they didn't buy any leather. They tanned their own hides, and when they said they were a shoemaker they could really take credit for having done it all, they tanned their own hides and cut the leather and shaped it, and sewed, using wooden pegs to put the sole on. well, Tim, that uh, was about....

TJK Well , I wanted to ask you, while we are on the subject of the Old Country yet, and we're talking about the youths and the elderly, one thing that comes to mind, and I've heard this, and I myself have mixed feelings about it, but critics have said in looking at the social history and the culture of our people, that many times our people came off as a very stoic bunch of people who very seldom showed affection, even within a family--children and adults--and I wondered what you would think on the basis of your experience?

FO I think that impression that you got is true. I cannot say . . . that as we in America use the word love, that I'd heard it used in the same manner in Russia. Yes, I'm sure that they loved each other but there was no outward expression of love. I knew just from watching my parents that they cared for each other and ... even more, that they lived for each other, there was no separation there. Night life was nil. My parents were together all the time. And yet no outward show, or no expression of love, and yet you had a feeling that you were secure in that love, that uh, that was well by the way the family lived, you would just tell that home was a

place where everybody belonged. (pause) Now, another way that one can tell is when you study these people and see to what lengths they went to show their loyalty to each other. I think on another tape I stated about the husband and wife that had a quarrel, and that were fighting and the brother to the man tried to intervene. He had had the upper hand of the woman's husband when the woman grabbed a pitchfork and stuck him in the back (chuckle)--this sense of loyalty to her man overcame the hatred she had for him and she hated the man that was abusing her husband to the point where she used a pitchfork on him.

TJK Um hum. On her own brother, then?

FO Yes. (Laughter) No, her brother-in-law. It was his brother.

TJK Yeow, brother-in-law. Right.

FO Yes. I know also of some of the abuses that were heaped on women in Russia. Especially the fellow that drank to excess. He would beat his wife mercilessly, for any reason whatsoever, but she would never leave him. He was her mate, through thick and thin, whatever.

TJK For better or worse.

FO For better or worse, yeow, yes. I think maybe that some of the reason for it might not have been love, there was no other way out. There were no provisions made for welfare for a woman who was abused by her husband, so that she might have a way of living without him. So she stayed put. I did hear also that parents would tell their daughter, "You just stay, he'll get better by and by.

TJK That was the advice then?

FO That was the advice, parental advice. It's hard to understand. But where conditions are so primitive as they were there this is about the way it went. I'm sure that in other areas, in other countries where condition is as primitive as it was where we lived that would also be true. Young people getting married had no chance to start out on their own, they had to rely on the family. So the father, no matter what age, he was the lord of the family and every one else under him. He belonged in the family, there was food, there was clothing, there was shelter, where else could they find that? So they stayed put.

TJK In many ways then it was a very mundane existence, I mean shelter, clothing, you ate your meals, and worked, and that was their life.

FO Right, right. There were no theaters to go to, no shows, there was no telephone, no radio, no automobiles. So, it was to those that grew up in this kind of situation or environment, it was just the usual. Nobody seemed to think that that was so terrible. As we look back now we think those people just existed, they didn't live. But if I was to say that there was unhappiness because of the economic condition, I couldn't say that. People seemed to be happy. They appreciated their friends, there was more neighborliness than you find even today.

TJK Well, now we'll move a few thousand miles then across the ocean to the experience then in America. And where it may tie in I think is that earlier this morning you said before I turned on the tape recorder that sugar beets were not grown in Russia as they were in this country,

the large crops.

FO Yeow, yeow. Not for sugar. There were, probably had some beets there but they were grown more for livestock feed. But that would have been just in the garden, no large fields.

TJK Yeow. You wouldn't have found people crawling in the beet fields in Russia, then.

FO No, no, no. No, no. The beet work, as such, was an entirely new experience for us when we came to this country. As a matter of fact, we had to be taught how to block and to thin those beets. The sugar company field man came around to show us how the beets were to be blocked, how to space them, and leave one single plant. The fact that our people were people from the land, I'm sure had something to do with us going to the farm working beets. Here again our economic condition was such that we couldn't start at the top, we had to start at the bottom and thinning beets was about as low as one could get. Father and mother worked as a team. The first year they had a beet contract of 20 acres. I was 7, sister was 5, another brother was 4, and baby now was 2.

TJK Did the baby go into the field too, now?

FO Yes. When we went to the field, we all went to the field. We were down, the children were down at the end of the field. I already started to thin beets. The other children were kept down to the lower end of the field. Stakes were driven into the ground and a little blanket was hung over the top for shade. They had water there and shade. This is where they stayed until every round we'd come and stop, and at noon we'd have our lunch. That was taken along out to the field.

TJK Hum. Now what was the beet work like in those times, because someone looking at sugar beets being grown today and how they are harvested, how they are thinned, I think would be quite surprised in thinking how it really began.

FO Yeow, well, the sugar beet industry in its beginning was very -- well, backward you might say. It was a new crop, that required a lot of attention and care. Our farmers were ill equipped to give the kind of care to the big crop through the cultivation. I can remember in Ohio the farmer tried to cultivate and he had one horse hooked up to between two shafts. He had handles on the back end of this cultivator, like on a plow. He was trying to guide the tools here-- well, the tools were not even designed to cover the 16 or 18 inches of width between the rows that should have been taken care of. A lot of weeds grew out, too far from the row, that the farmer was unable to cut out with this type of a cultivator. So the beet labor, using a sharpened hoe would even scrape the sides, right next to the beet row, that the farmer could easily have cut away with the right kind of tools. The beet labor couldn't really make any money at all in working beets. Because his time was consumed he could only cover such a small acreage a day, and we were getting \$18.00 an acre, but if they made a quarter of an acre or a third of an acre in a day for 2 people at that time that was about all that they could do. You see when they planted their seed, they planted anywhere from 20 to 25 pounds of seed to the acre. The seed itself was a multigerminant seed and when the weather was just ideal every germ would sprout so that the beets would come up about 2 inches wide in the row and as thick as the hair on a dog's back. Now this was the old

method. After years of trial the sugar company had developed a beet drill that planted a beet seed, one seed, every 10 or 12 inches, which was optional with the farmer. We used that for a few years, but that still was not satisfactory. Some of the seeds didn't come up and it would cause wide spacings. During later years they developed a mono-germ seed which is presently being used by the farmers and now these mono-germ seeds are being dropped at regular intervals, say every 2 inches, or maybe 3 inches. But the plant itself comes up single. So now the beet labor can take a hoe and go on down and just by using the hoe he can block all of the beets single, because they are singles. Where before the beet had to be thinned, little bunches of beets would be left between these block spacings, and a child had to crawl along on his knees and pull up all of the plants that the blocker had left, except for 1. Usually we tried to leave the healthiest plant in the bunch, which again we had to use a certain amount of judgment to keep the healthier plant. There's a tendency to reach out and pull all of them away except just one, so, irrespective of whether it was healthy looking or not. Whenever we did that why the farmer would look over our shoulder and say, "woop, wait a minute, you left the wrong one." We were always careful to try and leave the healthier one.

TJK Um hum. What were the relations like with the early beet growers now, the American beet growers?

FO Well, that relationship was not too bad. I can't recall of any problems we had with the landlords or farmers. They would come and inspect the field and see what kind of work you were doing and sometimes they would say it's alright and sometimes they wouldn't say anything, they'd just go on. Now in that way there was no

problem at all. But in many other ways you were felt that uh, you were made to feel that you was only the beet worker and somewhat lower than the farmers on the economic and social rung of the ladder.

TJK Um huh, hum. Now, you described then the bunching, the planting of course was done by the farmer himself, right?

FO Yes. Yes.

TJK Then a family would be contracted, right?

FO Right.

TJK When was this done, the contracting?

FO It was usually done maybe in the month of March. The sugar company's representative would come to the.....

**TAPE #3, SIDE B**

FO .....for, but I can recall over in Nebraska when in the month of April, towards the latter part of April, or maybe even the first week of May, a special day would arrive when a train, a whole train load of people from Lincoln and Hastings and other places along the way, the families would get on to this train and come west into the beet field. That was a sort of holiday, at which time the farmers would all come to town with their trucks or wagons and get to haul their beet labor home. I saw families meeting there that it looked like a family reunion. They would embrace and kiss each other and so happy to have each other back again, or come together again. Now these people that did that were more the German people themselves. Many of our families that began their life here in this

country as beet workers after two, three or four years they became beet farmers. Of course then the picture changed somewhat.

TJK what were the reasons for that, why the sudden rise in status?

FO well, our people were a hard working, thrifty group of people. They looked down the road and figured the only way to get somewhere is if they would hang onto some of their earnings. If a man would work for a dollar a day he would try to save fifteen cents of it, for the future -- and if at all possible whatever money he made during beet harvest work in the summertime he would hang onto that and go into the savings. Now, the reason they could do that, because there were no demands made on father for spending money. If he gave you a nickel, you accepted it. If he didn't give you anything you accepted it. We could just get along with hardly any money, they seemingly knew how to prepare food without going to a lot of expense. Our mothers learned to make, oh maybe 10 different or more kinds of food, using nothing but a potato and flour and milk, and an egg now and then. Of course, milk and butter were no problem. If you were on the best of grounds with your boss why he'd give you the milk and sometimes even butter. Eggs. It just seemed like the neighborliness that existed back in those days has disappeared. Seldom do you see families looking after each other as we did during those times.

TJK what would be the reason for that in your opinion?

FO well, I think we've all become a little more materialistic. In our efforts to acquire more material things we have had to change and we've become more selfish and greedy, I think. (pause) we

have less time to devote to other people. Sometimes, what I don't know won't hurt me. I have no reason to find out how the other fellow is getting along. You may live in the same block in town but you don't know who lives there. You lost track of each other. It used to be that you knew everybody and everybody was your neighbor if they lived 10 miles away from you. I can recall incidents where someone was slow in getting their work done, getting their contract completed, that was in thinning, or even in topping, and before you knew it your mother and your father had you packed up and you were walking down the road maybe a mile or two to help somebody. There wasn't a question of will they pay us? It was simply helping. I had one uncle that always took ten or twelve or fifteen acres more beets than he had help for. Invariably every year when thinning was completed, my mother would pack the three of us up and we would have to go over there and help him and I resented it very much, but we had to go. I was always concerned about working for nothing, but mother wasn't. She said come on, they need help.

TJK This was done free of charge?

FO Oh, yes. Oh, yes. Sure. No thought for pay. That was just a friendly gesture. You'd work two days, three days, never a thought of pay.

TJK Hum. Okay, now back to the beet cycle. The planting and of course the contracting--the contracting, by the way, was that done just for the planting, I mean just for the bunching and the thinning, or was that for the whole....

FO For the whole summer, yes. And it was for a stipulated price.

TJK Determined before you....

FO Oh yes.

TJK . . .were in the field?

FO Oh, yes. I told you we started out getting \$18.00, it got up to....

TJK Oh, that covered everything?

FO That covered everything.

TJK Topping as well?

FO Oh, yes. Everything. Everything that had to be done. Right. Now comparing that with the prices paid today, there's just no comparison. Even though it is a simple matter now to thin beets, block and thin beets, where before it was so much piddle work connected with it, this thinning and hoeing and plus all of the weeds that the farmer couldn't get that he should have, today our farmer goes down there--he has a tractor-cultivator and he can cut within an inch of each side of the row. Sometimes even closer than that, so that when you block the hoe will remove that section, complete section that is in the row there that he is blocking out. Makes the work much easier and simpler. The plant is already singled, it doesn't require a thinner. When you watch these people blocking now and compare it to what it used to be when we first started, there is just no comparison. One man can do three times as much work, cover three times as much work. Yeow. And do it easy.

TJK Now, after the bunching and thinning, the uh, what process is ...

FO The first hoeing.

TJK The first hoeing?

FO The first hoeing. When you're through thinning, then you can start out going over the field again, again you use the hoe. You go over, you start out just the way they've been thinned. The beets that were thinned first, you go in there and you remove what new weeds have come up, plus if there are any doubles. Sometimes the ground is hard and the thinner would pinch the top of the beets and wouldn't get the roots off and it would start growing again. Now, you had to go through and we had to remove our doubles. Today if there are any doubles there they stay. I have followed a beet topper and I have found that one big beet would be entwined with two and three smaller beets that have twisted right around the big beet trying to make a go of it, where when we were thinning beets to begin with, it was not tolerated. They had to have singles or a boss would come along and say, there is a double, there is a double, there is a double and want you to use more care. I had an experience of my own when I was growing sugar beets. My beets had gotten a little large. The people I had were not beet workers really and the beets had gotten too big. I went out and got a bigger bunch of people to come in and do a field right quick. I walked out to see how they were doing. Well, most of them were just doing a real fine job but the mother in the family, she didn't want to, this was before the mono-germ seed was developed, the mother didn't want to stoop down to pick out the double beets, so she just kept blocking. She would chop out the beets until she could find a single one and leave it which would make a very erratic stand of beets. Sometimes

they would be six or seven inches apart and then the next one would be twenty inches apart. So I complained to him, to the man. He said, well we'll try and do better. I waited about an hour and went back and I said she's still doing the same thing. He said, Mister, we're doing the best we can. He says, you see how far it is to the end of the field? He says, when I get up to the end of the field if you're not off the field I'm going off. (pause) So I went off the field, I let them work as best I could, because there was only one out of seven that was doing a bad job. I quit raising sugar beets six years after that. (Laughter)

TJK Right. Now were these some of our own people, or not?

FO No, no. These were Mexican people.

TJK Okay, yeow.

FO Come up here from Texas.

TJK Alright. Now, in regard to the, well, the second hoeing, and then you said sometimes the ...

FO The third hoeing, yes.

TJK Alright.

FO In the mid-summer you walked by a field and you see a few weeds sticking out over the top, well, our people were very proud of the beet fields that they had worked, so we would go right back out there and walk through the field. Maybe we would take six rows this time instead of taking one. We would walk down, each had their six rows and every weeds grew in those six rows we would pull by hand. This was usually done shortly after the farmer had the crop irrigated

when the ground was nice and soft. So the weeds were pulled by hand, so we would not disturb the ditches. (pause) The weeds were then laid parallel to the row so they wouldn't interfere with future work.

TJK During the summer, for instance, between the different hoeings, would the German-Russian people every help with the irrigating or hay stacking, or....

FO Well, my father, of course, he's the one that I remember most, by the time thinning was over then my father would start working for the boss, and the family would, you see we had grandfather with us, he'd work...

TJK In the field with you?

FO Oh, yes. Yeow.

TJK He would have been how old?

FO Well, he was in the later fifties, maybe sixty. Somewhere in there. But anyway, we done the hoeing ourselves, and dad worked. He would do whatever work was assigned to him. He had worked before, he worked in the spring of the year for the landlord, hauling manure and whatever came up. Then he, during the summer he not only worked for the boss he worked for other men. Dad was a good hay stacker and whenever they could get a hold of him they always, he was never out of work during the summer months. Then when beet harvest started he was back home with us. After beet harvest was over there was no other work. There was no corn grown and so there was no other work Our landlord did feed some sheep when we were here in Colorado but he wasn't, dad wasn't working as a sheep feeder. The farmer, he

done that himself. I can remember father and mother, after the beets were out, taking a big cross cut saw and going down and felling cottonwood trees to provide the necessary wood to fuel our stove for the winter months.

TJK When the harvest time came, now this was done quite differently, as we know it today too then, right?

FO Yes, yes. When harvest time came and it was usually the last 2 or 3 days in September. I can remember one year they had changed it and we started quite early in September, I believe it was around the 15th of September. Generally speaking the beet harvest started back up there in the last week in September. The beet harvest began by the farmer using a walking beet puller to lift the beets, which pulled the beets up and so that the farmer or the beet laborer then could take them and pile them. Now usually there were 12 in the larger families there were 16 rows piled. Where there were 16 there would be 8 piled to each row, then. The beets themselves were placed so that the root of the beet extended toward the center so that the topper could top the top off of the beets to the right of him. The beet then would be in his left hand to throw to the pile. The ground had to be prepared so that the beet hauler then could get his fork under the beets without scooping up a lot of sod. So a rake was used to flatten out an area about 6, 7 feet in diameter on which these topped beets would be thrown into a pile. The beet farmer then would come along with a wide scoop like fork and load them onto his wagon to haul to the beet dumps. Any beets remaining in the field over night after frost made its appearance would have to be covered. A couple of the little kids would be started off a little bit earlier to walk down the rows and picking

the straight beets and around these piles and piling them upon each other and so later on the old ones then would come along and grab these beet tops and cover that pile of beets with the beet tops to keep them from freezing. The farmer in the morning, next morning then, when he got ready to load these would have to remove the beet tops himself. This is one job that he had to do. I can recall a year, well, one in particular was probably oh, 1914 or something like that I believe. No, it must have been earlier than that. We started our beet harvest that year on the 14<sup>th</sup> of October. We had just oh, maybe we had 15 or 18 acres harvested, when a fall storm came in and it gave us about 20 inches of snow. It got cold. But before the snow storm had hit we had gone out, that is the boss had gone out and started pulling beets and we just stayed right behind him and kept piling, not topping. Then those beets froze down and later on a Chinook wind came and thawed them out. We went out there and topped those beets and they loaded them. When they were driving the road there was a black juice dropping out from each side of the wagon. The sugar company didn't hesitate at all, they just took them. (pause) Now today if you have a load of frozen beets, they can reject them. If they had to take beets like they took way back then, I tell you I think they would shut the factory down.

TJK Then the people who were working the field, too, were really feeling the whole range of the weather in Colorado, too, from the hot weather during the thinning, all the way to the cold weather in the harvest?

FO Oh, yes, all the way, right. Later on, after we had become farmers, there was I believe in the fall of 1915 or 16, I can't recall exactly

the date anymore. Again a big storm hit and we had piled 23 acres of beets but we never got those Chinook winds, they never completely thawed out. Yet we kept plugging away each day during the warmest part of the day we'd go out and we would top a few of the beets and load them and haul them to the beet dump. We kept at it and it was 2 days before Christmas before we completed the beet harvest that year. I can remember my father using the pick, trying to pick the beets loose so that they would thaw a little more and that we could load them then on our wagons. They grew tired and I saw my mother take the same pick and work. She was a strong woman and she worked out there. The moisture, the snows would scatter on her dress and I remember seeing her dress bunched out like that frozen solid. (pause) But in our efforts to get ahead this is one way of doing it, the hard way.

TJK My, yes. Now, during these years, these early years, the child labor controversy became very big. For instance, you can go into the college libraries and you can find pamphlet and book after book on the conditions of children working in the beet fields in these early years written by social workers from the East, often New York, who were shocked. Was it that bad?

FO No, no it wasn't. As a matter of fact sometimes I wonder whether we're not pampering the youths today to their own detriment. Now, I started out when I was 7 years old working the beet field. Again, I must use the word primitive, under the most primitive of condition, poor as we were our diets were limited to a few staples, there was no such thing as a balanced diet with us. I've worked hard, I was eager to work. The same as most other young people of that period.

I grew up to where I was 6' and 2" tall so I don't believe I was stunted, either by the hard work or by the meager diet that we had. It developed in us, this working, it developed in us a relationship or a friendship with work, we never shied away from hard work, and I think this has gone with us through our whole life. Today I no longer care to associate with work. I've done my share of it. I find this, that when I look around at some of our children, that won't do anything for their parents without being paid for it, and I think it is so wrong as it can be. They have lost a sense of responsibility to their family, and themselves for that matter, when we grownups become materialistic in our outlook and in our behavior towards each other, that can be partially understood, but when the youths have become so materialistically minded at as early age as 4 or 5 years old that they can insist on being paid for every little thing they do around home I think it's very bad, very bad.

TJK Um huh, hum. Then you probably still, oh I remember a long time ago, well not that long ago, but back uh, reading an article, it was in the Fort Morgan Times, it was in 1968, July 31st, and oh, the headline on it was "Ostwald Concerned with New Generation Traces Background"...

FO Yes.

TJK ...in which you talked about these things. For instance, you said that the beet industry never could have developed without the help of the Russian-German people, which I think you pointed to in this [and this seems true ?]too, and that it took many years for the Russian-German people to feel that they were fully accepted and the younger generation did not realize

this.

FO Yes, right, right.

TJK Right. That there is this gap of ...

FO Yes, well, today of course you have to philosophy a little bit, about the change that has come about. I said a little while ago that our people were hard working, thrifty kind of people and that if they worked for a dollar a day they had to save 15 cents of it for another day. At that particular time I made the statement that I regret that our young people have forgotten some of these things and that today they are spending their money faster than they can make it. That is within integrated and taken up habits and customs that I wish we, our young people didn't have. If you follow me right. If you get what I mean.

TJK Right, uh, perhaps like the loss of German might not have been so terrible, but the loss of the work ethic.

FO Right.

TJK In other words you'd be very selective about things that were valuable to retain.

FO Yes, yes, right. Our people want to enjoy things they can't afford. The same as the children of other people. I've always been kind of proud of the fact that right here in Morgan County we could always point with pride at this is where a German family lives. He has worked his way up from a beet worker where he owns this beautiful farm and you can tell it, you can see it. Now this didn't fall into his lap, he had a goal in life to reach, and he has reached

it. You see? Today our young people, they want to be paid for what they do, but they don't take care of what they get. They spend it faster than they can get it. When a young man gets married today he wants to start out where his father has finally come to after fifty years of hard work. There's no thought, well I can make do until I can make my own way. This is the thing that I think we are losing. (pause) I've got to have it and I want it today, not tomorrow, today. As I look, now I don't mean to imply that these kids aren't any good, they are good, but they are in a hurry to get to the top before they have earned it. That goes with this.

**TAPE 4, SIDE A**

TJK What would you say, for instance articles are coming out now because of the rekindling of the interest in the history of the Germans from Russia, why they made it, why they have, so many of them as you've just pointed out, become successful? For instance, some writers are saying you can look at communities in Colorado that are made up of people who have American origin, you know English, and then there may be a number of people of German-Russian ancestry, there may even be Japanese-Americans in that community and then there are the Spanish-Americans, or the Mexicans. Often looking at it economically, one finds that the Americans are sitting pretty well, and the German-Russians are doing amazingly well, and Japanese many times may be doing better than all of them, which may put the discrimination myth aside. And then again and again finding that the Mexicans are at a lower economic level. Now, what would your opinion be on that concerning it, because some Mexicans today, some leaders will say that the reasons for this is purely because of discrimination. They alone have been kept down, they have been discriminated against and never had the chance to rise.

FO well, Tim, of course I've got thoughts and ideas about it all and this idea of discrimination is being overlaid. Because we've come through the identical situation as the Mexican people.

TJK You have?

FO Yes.

TJK In what way now, for instance.....

FO when we first came to this country there was a form of discrimination, you see, because we had well these people had to work right down here at the most menial of all jobs, you couldn't get any more. But there's a certain something. We were not tied to our past as much as our Spanish people were. We have Spanish people living in the United States earlier than our white settlers, you see? But they're hanging on to the Mexican-Spanish traditions, customs, language. There's not thought, seemingly, on the part of the majority of those people to ever fully become integrated into our society. They want to retain their society within the American society. And in this sense, you see, they are placing themselves into a position where they cannot be integrated like they should be. There must be a willingness on the part of the people to become integrated. Sure, I pride myself on the fact that I speak German, and quite fluently. Never forget it. But I don't hang on the German and neglect English. I was proud when I came home at the age of 9 and I'd passed from the first grade into the second. Before very long when I came home my sister and I, we talked English. Grandfather said, "You speak English in school all the time." He says, "When you're home you talk German." He said we were not to be denied, we wanted to become Americans, we wanted to become

integrated, and with this, don't you see, along with a little spark of ambition, feeling that with the acquisition of property, we would be more acceptable. To be accepted within the integrated society. Now apparently this little thing is missing on the part of the Spanish-American people. You send them to college and they come back and when they are in the company of an English speaking audience, why they are educated people. But put them with two or three other Spanish people and they talk Spanish. Now to them it is more important, I guess, to hang onto the Spanish traditions and customs. They still celebrate the uh...well, the September, what is it, their 4th of July they celebrate... their....

TJK Oh, their independence...? Mexican independence...?

FO Independence Days, was what I tried to think of. I don't care what happens in Germany...whether they have an independence day or not, it's immaterial. Same goes for Russia. This is my country. When we celebrate 4th of July, it is the independence of my country. So, if these people could reach that point, where they could remember that this is their country, and it is my country, and it is our country, that sure they can continue to talk Spanish, but they must also recognize that the language of our country is English. Once they have reached that point then they become even more acceptable. We've got some families now in Fort Morgan that intermarry. This is fine. A few years ago the Mexican village out here made an application to get federal funds for sanitation and water. Well, they were living out there in mud houses. I said that should not be granted. They should be removed into the city. People said well, they destroy property. But they've got to learn how to maintain property. In society. They've got to become a part of us.

Not up there. Our people used to live on the other side of the railroad track, they built up a wall between themselves and the native population here. It was unseen, but nonetheless it was there, of their own choice. It was only as we moved in closer together, intermingled, that this full integration could take place. I have 4 son-in-laws, and only one of them is of Russian-German birth. So what? I got married to a lady that is not German. Someone supposedly is to have said, well, how could Fred find it possible to get married to this lady? She's not German. well, what difference does it make to me? I express myself in English and she expresses herself in English and we are talking the same language. (laughter) Getting along beautiful.

TJK what would you say, for instance, if a Mexican-American would say, "Mr. Oswald, you'll never understand our story because your people never knew discrimination.", what would you say?

FO Oh, I'd say, "Mr., I've gone through that." I think I told you before the first day I attended school I was, a little kid kicked me in the rump and said, "Rooshun." And how often we had to hear "the dirty Rooshun." Even up to the time of 1959, I believe, was, yeow, 1959, when I started campaigning for County Commissioner. Even then, one man walked into the pool hall and said, "we don't want any Rooshuns up there in the court house." Now he didn't say it to me, but he said it to others. One fellow grabbed him by the necktie and was going to drag him out into the alley and they had to use force to separate them. So, ....

TJK what about world war I , for instance, do you remember anything of that time?

FO well, yes, I can remember world war I. I think I've told that

on the other tape, though. The...but locally here there was a burning of books.

TJK Of German books?

FO German books, yes. Yeow, German books. There were the burning of crosses, which was indirect threat again to us because at that time there were only 2 or 3 Mexican families around here. There were mostly German people so the threat was against us. Several people were struck on Main Street for speaking German.

TJK Now, this was not allowed, the speaking of German on the street?

FO Well, there was no real pressure on them except by individuals. Yeow. We had some super patriots that insisted that you speak English when you walk on the street, well some people couldn't and they were struck. Another man was threatened with his life because he retaliated. He struck one of these super patriots, knocked him down on the sidewalk and he got up and he says, "we'll get you," and so he went home and prepared himself that if they were going to come and get him he'd take as many as could go, as he could get. So those were all things... I also remember young people becoming involved in an exchange of words and threats at the city park. One night a gang fight was to take place and they had come prepared with clubs, and hammers, and that was never pulled off, and I don't know what ever stopped it. They tried to get me involved in it and I said, "No, that's not the time nor the place."

TJK You'd mentioned burning a cross, would this have been in association with the Ku Klux Klan activities?

FO Yes.

TJK And you did have that in Fort Morgan, as well? oh yes

FO Yes, on yes, there was quite a group and it well didn't last too long, maybe 2 or 3 years. Then they seemed to disband, the people became aware there was no risk involved with our people. We were loyal Americans.

TJK Yeow, but this must have terrified our older people who might...

FO well, sure, sure, it was something that nobody appreciates, you know. When these things go on. It was considered a threat even though there was no direct personal threat. It was an overall things that's hanging above you. The Ku Klux Klan was in here for 2 or 3 years, it was a clandestine affair, I was told about it, I knew some of the people that were involved, I knew of their meetings, where they were held at different places. Basement of the elevator, and things like this. I knew it was going on. Like I say I knew some of the people that were involved in it. They were fine upstanding people that were caught up in the emotions of the moment when they were concerned about this country.

TJK what about world war II? was there much ill feeling?

FO No, by the time the world war II came along most of the feeling was gone. We had so many boys that were in the war now, even in the First world war for that matter many of our boys were gassed and so many of them died, so that we had a record of support. In the Second world war we didn't have any problem to speak of. Oh, we could still sense a little undercurrent, but nothing that came out into the open.

TJK were there German-Russian boys who gave their lives in the First

world war?

FO Oh yes, yes.

TJK Oh, there were?

FO Yes, yes.

TJK And then in the second world war?

FO The second as well.

TJK Now when did the loss of German begin, for instance like, did the churches here have German up to a ...

FO There are a, let me think back now ... my second daughter was born in 1926. She was confirmed at the age of 14, so that would be '38. Up to 1938 all of our children were confirmed in German. Our daughter, Elsie, came along and was confirmed and she couldn't speak German. I was the first one to ask that my daughter be confirmed in English. The minister was agreeable, there were three girls took the English training.

TJK Now, what church would this have been?

FO [First?] Christ Congregational Church here at Fort Morgan. From that point on more and more children were confirmed then in English. So this was the beginning. Along the way somewhere, maybe about 1940 or '41, agitation started, that we could have some English. So we finally decided to go half and half, one Sunday English, one Sunday German. From that point on then it just kept improving until eventually we got around to all English except on special holidays. Maybe on four or five occasions through the year there were German services given to the older people. But now our older people are

all gone. We haven't any more that can't speak English, and understand it. So it is strictly English now.

TJK Did that bother you at all, or is that the way things are, or loss of German, as a language?

FO No, that don't bother anymore. No, that's gone. No. We've had, oh it took maybe fifteen years I think before we went completely over to English. And it's becoming more difficult to find ministers who speak and can still speak and preach in German. We've outgrown it. In our church there are going to be two or three people who are older than I am. They are not too much older so they really have no educational background in German. It was just that they speak German, and that's it. The handicap to our older people was a serious thing, see, and their whole education consisted in the study of the New Testament and the Old, plus their prayer book and their [Bote de song booch (sp?)] so when that change came about see, they had to turn back on all of their education, the benefits of the education, see. Some of our older people could take the Bible and chapter after chapter, you to just repeat it. Then when [inaudible] to English you see, this is all lost, it's taken something away from them. You can understand why they opposed going to the English for that reason. It took, of course, some time before our children who were confirmed in the English then, to come to the forefront, so that the training that they had received now could become effective in church work. See, there's a period there and first it developed into sort of a balance and then after awhile they overcame that balance and the English then commenced to ....

TJK would you find any credence then in the remark that was made oh some time ago by an individual, said something about here in Colo-

rado, bilingualism has become a matter of knowing Spanish and English?

FO Well, yes, and that is because of the insistence of the Spanish people to not learn English. Yeow, yeow.

TJK And then that many overlook the fact that so many, many of Coloradoans spoke German as a second language as well.

FO Personally, I'm not at all in favor of proceeding along that pathway. I would much prefer to have our Spanish people be more fully grounded in the English, this is our national language and you adjust to it, living in this country. Now, I don't like this idea of having everything printed bi-lingual, the ballot even bi-lingual. Let these people that live here become truly Americanized. Now, as the older ones die off the younger people certainly, with the education they are getting, does not require that we be bi-lingual. It's the wrong approach to a problem. This way it can never be resolved. It will always be with us. The time has come when people that have for 200 years or longer, you see, or as long as that, have lived in this country and still rely on their native tongue. The time's come when they should become Americans. This is our language. This is the way we conduct our affairs, if you want to participate, alright--learn it. If every ethnic group in our country would insist on remaining and having our country print everything in their language, well, what is there--a hundred or more different? I think there is a 104 nations of the world, isn't there, and 104 different languages. Why, it's, it don't make good sense to me.

TJK Um hum. Sure. I want your opinion, then, too, on more recent happenings. This would be because you were born in Russia and

many of the incidents in your life experiences, and this would be concerning the whole question of detente, with the Soviet Union. The selling of grain to the Soviet Union. Now, you come from Russia, and perhaps your insights there would be helpful.

FO Alright, yes. Alright. I have an insight. The world has shrunk in size. The interest of the human race is at stake. Other considerations must take a back seat to the needs and the uninterrupted trend of human life. For too long, people have been played upon by the differences, the theological differences, between the two systems as being so important that we could risk blowing ourselves into eternity, in the defense of what we call Democracy and the Russian people in the defense of their Communistic system. This kind of thinking can only lead to trouble. The time has come when we have to give other people the same rights that we have and want to retain for ourselves. And that is the freedom of choice. We say yes, but they don't have the freedom of choice. But if they can elevate themselves under that system as they have done from a backward nation into one of the foremost nations of the world today there must be something that those people are getting that they didn't get before. Now, God has not designated us as a country to impose our thinking, our way of ideology, or government, on others. They have a right to believe as they want, to operate as they want, and we have a right for ours. I wouldn't, having lived over there, wouldn't exchange our way of life for anything in the world to live under that kind of system, but by the same token, that's their privilege. Now, if we can produce food and fiber in here in surplus, we are not in a position where we can live unto ourselves. Russia has things that we can use. As a matter of fact we are buying from Russia. So, I cannot

for the life of me see why we should continue our political disagreements and restrict our trade on political grounds. I said the human race is the most important thing in this world. It is not government. It is people. The people of Russia, they want the same things as we want. Food, clothing, shelter, and a reasonably good life. We want food, clothing, shelter, and a reasonably good life. We get it our way, they get it theirs. We are, it's not been ordained that we can impose our will on other people. We have attempted ...some of the past wars were fought, even though it was not stated that way, for material things. Lives have been lost and wealth of this world has been squandered. No one benefited from it. Tim, there is a sort of a war psychosis I think is the word, that exists in this world. The basis for it is simply the part of vested interests to play on the fears of the people, that puts them in the frame of mind where security is actually put into jeopardy, instead of protecting it, it is putting it into jeopardy. Unless we can get rid of this psychosis, you cannot visualize any period of time in the future where true peace can again become a part of the thinking of this world.

TJK Then you have no quarrel with detente, as such.

FO No quarrel whatsoever. It's been overdue for 25 years. Our worst enemies were Germany and Japan, according to the events of histories of that date. We learned to understand those people after the war was over. We helped them to build up their cities. We have financed them and we still are. We are spending billions of dollars in Germany

a year maintaining our forts over there which flows into the economic mainstream of their society. We've rebuilt Japan. There aren't any second thoughts as to what will happen shall they ever become our enemy again. Now, if we can do that to our conquered enemies, why couldn't we have done it to our friend? Russia was our friend at that time. But it seems like if there isn't someone or some country we'd have to manufacture one to keep our people in a frame of mind where they would support the huge expenditures of our military. If as a nation we could find within our interest to curb the influence of militarists all over the world, it would be to the benefit of all mankind, not only of our people, the whole ... right now three hundred and fifty to three hundred and sixty billion dollars are being expended on an annual basis by the countries of the world. \$350 billion expended for something of more practical value would make this world almost into a Garden of Eden. And yet we are feeding the moths of war, the implementation [inaudible].

TJK Despite that would you say you are at all optimistic about the future?

FO I'm going to get--I'm not at all optimistic. The framework that we have built and sustains this program, it's so deep rooted in our system and our society that there's no way to get out of the rut in which nations of the world find themselves. It's going to take some bold action on the part of some bold leaders that would call a halt to this madness, and turn about the direction of our ship of state as well as foreign countries, they must do the same of course.

This is one reason that as I look into the election coming up that I could not find myself voting for those who have in any way been connected with the commitments that our present administration is involved in. I feel that Jimmy Carter, not having said anything, if he can be elected, he is not bound by as stringent a rules and previous involvement, that he might be the man that would sort of redirect the direction in which we are going as a nation. Now that is just a slim chance that he can be the man, but it's a chance worth taking. We need someone who is not tied to all of these previous commitments, and programs.

TJK I would say then that you do sound optimistic. You're saying that if things do happen right.....

**TAPE #4, SIDE B**

FO ...'cause love can't kill people. We don't kill a million people by dropping a bomb out of love. This is what's wrong. We need to reassess our relationship to other people in a different light, not by force, will you lead people, but using the other--we've made enemies all over the world because we use the wrong approach. We made Castro into a communist because we failed to make a friend of him. We can spend billions of dollars to prepare for war but we can't spend billions of dollars to make friends. This is life for you.

TJK Certainly is as well as the ironies and everything involved...

FO Yes, yes. Yes. If we would of said, "Castro, we don't like what you're doing down here in Cuba, but we're still neighbors.

If there's any way that we can have a reapproachment here, let's look for it. But instead we tried to have him murdered.

TJK Finally, then, as I pointed out earlier, that like the tapes we're making, and we're taping individuals of our German-Russian ancestry all over the state of Colorado and that these tapes are later deposited in the University Libraries with the hope that some day when someone compiles this massive history of the German-Russians, from the very beginning in Russia onto the present that they will rely on some of these tapes. And the tapes will also be used, I am sure, by young scholars many, many, many years in the future. And who knows some of your own descendants many, many years in the future may go to these too.

FO I won't have any.

TJK You won't?

FO No. (pause) There, I have one more brother left carrying, and I have one nephew, carrying the Oswald name. Of my grandchildren [inaudible], when that's gone, that's it. That's it. I had four daughters. The off-spring there, you see, carry a different name. So my branch of the Oswald family is going to be gone, well my nephew is what 47 I think. They won't have children. So, that's the end of it. Whenever he reaches the end of the line, that's it.

TJK Does the end of the Oswald legacy bother you at all?

FO No, no. No. No. We are only here by chance. When I am gone

the world will not be any the worse for it. Nor better. I've contributed a little to it, hopefully to make it better, but it's going to go on and our successors will carry on.

TJK You sound like you're saying then like some of the philosophers were no more than a spark on the Great Anvil, then?

FO You're right. You're right. Right. It's just a fleeting moment in God's eternity that has been allotted to us--that little space of time. We've gone across the stage of life and that's just about it. The kind of a mark that you make is so insignificant. I'm not all puffed up with my importance. There's some people that say this'll make history for a thousand years, no. (laughter) Or that Mr. Ford feels that the destiny of this nation requires that he be reelected. I have yet to see the indispensable man. There's not--nobody. Like Mansfield is retiring. I admired that man, he is one of my ideals. He was in a position where he could use a lot of influence, yet he remained a humble man. He never got the big head. Really a wonderful person.

TJK I'll bet then that you admired Adlai Stevenson, too then, possibly.

FO Yeah, yeah. Anyone at all that has a sense of humanitarianism about him, a feeling for people. They're my ideal. This is what life is all about, you know. Whether they accumulate a million dollars or not, that's immaterial. Whatever I've done to my fellow man or with my fellow man, that's the important thing. Sure. The rest of it, that's just something else. (laughter)

TJK What words then would you leave all these budding young scholars in many years listening through these tapes in terms of...is there anything in a nutshell that describes the pursuit, the history of our people, or life in general, or whatever-words of closing.

FO Well, words of wisdom are hard to come by (laughter). I haven't any words of wisdom, but I do hope that the younger generation will learn to appreciate all people. (pause) Forgetting small differences, but remembering that we are all human with the same hopes, same desires, same needs, (pause), and I don't know what else that I can convey to anyone that is more important than forgetting one's self and thinking more of others. I think that's the only important thing.

TJK Ah, yes. Well, now then, thank you, Mr. Oswald. These two interviews have been a pleasure and a learning experience both for me.

FO Well, I don't know that you've learned anything Timmy. This is just a friendly--you go along and you think about some of the important things of life and then you see how impossible it is to change the course of events, as a lone individual. Society itself must have the veil removed so they can clearly see the end result of the momentum that is carrying us along toward events that would be terrible. People right now are still endorsing all of the military preparations. They've got to reach the point where they can see beyond force as a motivating element in the human race. It is the other that's the more important, and the more lasting. without

faith, there's no hope. We have to have faith in the other people. Right now--you, you can set up barriers. I can look at you, I can't say what you have up here, you see. I can fear your intentions, your good intentions and putting that over on the national scale, you see, I could be afraid of everything. I would be afraid to go out into the dark because of the unknown. I could conjure up all kinds of ideas as to that would happen, and this will happen. If this happens, then that will happen. Sure. And you can get yourself into the frame of mind where you have lost all faith in our institutions, in our people, and the good relationships between nations. And some people are very adept at swaying public emotions. The word is mightier than the sword, and it is true, there are people that can be so convincing they can make you believe that the water is running uphill. There are people that are such good salesmen they could sell deep freezes to the Eskimos they say. (Laughter) Yeow, and it's true. There are people that have that talent and they are being paid handsomely for that talent, to sway public opinion. So you don't know, or the average person doesn't know when he is being taken in. Now some of us, we're aware of it, but again, we can't do anything about it. But the average person is being taken in and he swallows all the propaganda that is being fed us, the gospel truth. So he is not yet ready to change things because he is so convinced that his leaders are telling him the truth and he is willing to sacrifice. We do believe in law and order. We believe that whatever change will come has to be done lawfully. Now, we had a few people going around the country burning and destroying, that's not the way to change. There the medicine is worse than the disease. The world can still straighten up. It's got plenty of time. It's only about 6 and a half billion years old

and it's got about as much life left in it. So if it took 6 1/2 billion years to reach where we are in 6 1/2 billion more, who knows what it will be like then. You know, I've had a blood vessel break in my eye and it causes me a little problem. Makes the water run a little bit too fast and then I'm doing this rock polishing and little dust and maybe even spray material gets in my eyes and they are watery. (Laughter) I'm having a lot of fun at it.

TJK well, good. And enjoying life, now?

FO Yeow. Oh, more than ever. I've got time to do the things that I always wanted to do, and that's loaf. (Laughter)

TJK But well earned.

FO It's part, it's part of our trip, it's just the idea of going down the road, meet new faces, talk to new people and exchange ideas, and enjoy this beautiful world upon which we are. wonderful country that we have. Every section is beautiful. In it's own way. We've gone through the desert in the spring of the year when the cactus are in full bloom and the prairie was just one great big beautiful field of flowers. So beautiful. Didn't have much money in our pockets, but we enjoyed it, just the same. We, as long as we can live with our income, we don't care whether they are going to give us something along when they bury us, or not. The kids said go ahead and enjoy it and so that's what we're doing.

TJK Can I ask you what you see as, what comes after death?

FO What comes after death?

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TJK Because so many, many times during the interview you sounded, there have been overtones of Unitarianism, of Pantheism, Christianity, in a very fundamental sense, and then, uh, just for my own enlightenment.

FO Alright just for your own enlightenment and not going on record.

TJK Okay. (pause)

**196 - meter reading - end of tape. END OF INTERVIEW**

## N O T I C E

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