

A COMPARISON OF OLD ORDER AMISH AND
HUTTERIAN BRETHREN FAMILY SYSTEMS
AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT

A COMPARISON OF OLD ORDER AMISH AND HUTTERIAN BRETHREN FAMILY SYSTEMS AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

By

Russell Earl Lewis

This thesis is an attempt to compare in detail the form and function of the family systems of both groups in question, along with a detailed analysis of community integration among both groups.

By doing so it may be possible to decide if one society has a better chance for survival as a distinct cultural group in North American society than the other and thus reach conclusions about the future of each society being studied.

This study is also taking a critical look at the relationships between technology and human values. The capability of a society to cope with new technologies without altering its value structure to a major degree is an important asset for small group survival. In this respect the Hutterian Brethren have succeeded while the Old Order Amish have failed.

The comparative method is used throughout the thesis. By comparative method we mean that we shall take three aspects of each cultural group and describe them in depth and then proceed to compare and contrast these various aspects. The three aspects of

each cultural group which will be covered in depth are: (1) the family system; (2) community integration; and, (3) the uses of modern technology.

The data used is taken from the ethnographies and other studies which have been made of the two cultural groups.

Both the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren have obtained an extremely high level of integration among their communities, but the Hutterian Brethren communities have in fact reached a higher level of integration. This higher level of integration coupled with the fact that the Hutterian Brethren are capable of harnessing a greater amount of energy due to their acceptance of modern technology, lead us to the hypothesis that the Hutterian Brethren will indeed have a better chance for survival as a distinct cultural group in North America.

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Russell Earl Lewis

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RUSSELL EARL LEWIS

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This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Catherine, for
her constant encouragement and understanding.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is a comparative study of two North American cultural groups that have largely been ignored by anthropologists in the past:¹ The Old Order Amish and The Hutterian Brethren.

The precise objectives of this study are to compare the form and function of the family systems and to compare the different methods of community integration found in these societies. By doing this it may be possible for us to decide if one society has a better chance for survival as a distinct cultural group in North American Society than the other and thus reach conclusions about the future of each society being studied.

This study is also taking a critical look at the relationships between technology and human values. Both the Amish culture and the Hutterian culture derive most of their values from the same source: The Holy Scriptures. However, the Amish have rejected all but the most basic technologies, while the Hutterian Brethren have accepted most modern technologies. It appears that when the Amish have attempted to accept a new innovation that their values have in turn been altered. An example of this is when some Amish adopted the automobile. This led to other innovations until a new

sect, the "Beachey Amish," was fully developed. On the other hand, the Hutterian Brethren have adopted the most modern technology and have experienced very little change in their value structure.

This paper is by no means going to answer the cause for these differences, although that is one of our long range goals, but it is going to point out some of the implications of these different abilities to adopt technology.

A further reason for the study of these groups is to learn more about migration, and cultural change caused by this social phenomena. The Amish and Hutterians have both migrated at various times, first to this country (U.S.A.) from Europe, and later within its limits and to Canada; now the Amish are migrating to Central and South America.

One will immediately recognize two weaknesses of this study: (1) No field work has been undertaken by the author (except for brief visits to one Amish community); and, (2) the author does not have a command of the German language, the language in which many of the original documents about these groups were written.

A third weakness is not so readily apparent. This is the fact that one must rely on a relatively small number of authors for the source of this study.

Most importantly though, one should note that this paper is not intended to be an end in and of itself. Rather, it is just a

beginning, a slow start down the long road to understanding these two cultural groups in a more complete, anthropological sense.

CHAPTER ONE

A Brief History and Ethnography of the Old Order Amish

The Amish are older than the Industrial Revolution and were among the early settlers in colonial America. The Amish took their name from their leader, Jakob Ammann, during the religious division that separated them from their parental group, the Swiss Anabaptists. This division occurred from 1693 to 1697. This division was not over fundamental Anabaptist beliefs, but rather over conformity to specific norms of practice such as the practice of shunning. Ammann was the epitome of conservatism and believed that people should be totally shunned or avoided when they made transgressions against the Church, but other leaders of the Swiss Anabaptists thought this to be too harsh.

To restore primitive Christianity the Anabaptists took literally the Sermon on the Mount as a code for Christians, they renounced oaths, reveling and drunkenness, the use of the sword whether in war or civil government, economic rewards, and personal adornment (Hostetler 1963:26).

The Anabaptists also believed that the church should not

depend on baptism administered during infancy, but on regeneration and change of character. For them the Church was to be a voluntary adult group of disciplined and committed people.

The first Amish to arrive in North America settled in Pennsylvania as early as 1727. These people had migrated to North America from Switzerland due to economic and social factors such as the scarcity of land and religious persecution found in Europe at that time. Later arrivals to America were: Amish from Germany, who had in turn migrated to Austria and Russia, reached Kansas and South Dakota after 1873. The Alsatian and Bavarian Amish came to North America in large numbers from 1815 to 1840 and established communities in Ontario, Illinois, and Ohio (Hostetler 1963).

Due to the scarcity of land in Europe the Amish were unable to purchase large tracts of land in a distinct geographical area to set up closely knit communities. It is doubtful that the Amish would have survived if they would have remained in Europe due to their inability to set up self-sufficient communities.

But when the Amish came to America in the eighteenth century they found conditions favorable for growth and development. They could live adjacent to each other on family farms and maintain relatively self-sufficient and closely knit communities. Under these conditions an integrated folk culture could develop and maintain its identity. Thus the Amish survived in the New World, emerging as

distinctive, small, homogeneous, and self-governing communities (Hostetler 1963:44).

Today the Amish comprise a distinct ethnic group comprised of some 50,000 members. Eighty (80) per cent of the members are presently living in Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. The most common surnames to be found in these areas are Bontrager and Miller in Indiana, Yoder and Miller in Ohio, and Beiler and Stoltzfus in Pennsylvania.

The Old Order Amish are an agricultural people and reject all modern machine technology. At certain times a limited amount of modern technology is utilized. An example of this would be when a building must be rebuilt in an emergency, power tools are sometimes utilized. Also, if a long distance must be traveled an Amishman will make use of public transportation.

The Amish must participate in farming or some directly related activity such as milling or buggy making according to their interpretation of the Bible. They live on individual family farms in a geographical community comprised of mostly Amish. These communities are known as church districts and are the functional units of the entire Amish population (see chapter entitled Community Integration).

The family farms are usually comprised of a form of the extended-family system. Each farm may have up to three generations living on it, with the oldest male being the patriarchal leader.

The second generational male may be the actual leader and supervisor of the farm but he would be greatly influenced by his father.

The horse is the main item used by the Amish to harness energy and transform it into food and conveyance. All farm work is done by horse-drawn implements. The horse-and-buggy is the only means of conveyance used by the Amish, although there may be up to three types of buggies found on an Amish farm: the family buggy used for church, an everyday vehicle, and an open air courting buggy. Although the Old Order Amish still use horse-drawn implements, their farms are known for their fertility and productivity.

The Old Order Amish have found it necessary to know three different languages: Pennsylvania Dutch, High German, and English. The Amish that are presently migrating to Central and South America are finding it necessary to learn an additional language; either Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon where they settle. Pennsylvania Dutch is the dialect of High German which is used by the Amish in their homes. This has not been reduced to writing because the High German is the written language used by all Amish in the functions of worship. The High German is necessary to be able to read the Bible in Luther's translation, to understand the preaching service, praying, and for the singing of hymns. English is the language used by an Amish man when he must

converse with an English (non-Dutch-speaking) person. When a child enters school he must learn to speak English so he will be capable of communicating, only when necessary, with the outside world.

Clothing styles of the Old Order Amish have changed very little since their arrival in America. The styles are similar to those which were found during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the parts of Europe which the Amish migrated to America from (see above). This accounts for some regional variation, however, conservativeness in dress is true of all Old Order Amish. All men must grow a beard when they become married or else at the time of baptism. This varies according to regional practices. Mustaches are taboo. Buttons are worn on men's shirts, trousers, and underwear, and may be work on children's dresses, but hooks and eyes are required on men's coats and vests. Women wear solid color dresses which are full length and home sewn. The colors may be black, purple, maroon, or blue, as long as they are solid colors. All women, even very little girls, wear a white cap or bonnet as part of their daily dress. The Amish men and boys wear specially made hats of Australian rabbit fur that are manufactured for them by special firms. Hats are made to fit males two years of age and older.

The Amish do not think that it is necessary that their

children be educated by the State past the eighth grade. They feel it is more necessary for their offspring to learn the practical arts of farming and home management at home rather than theoretical learning in the schools. However, this does not mean that the Amish are unknowledgeable concerning the world around them. Most Amish read a weekly newspaper entitled The Budget. Some members additionally subscribe to a local daily or weekly newspaper. The Budget is the main means of communication between communities to keep all members of the Old Order Amish informed as to what is occurring in each community.

The issue of how much control over education among the Amish the State should have has been a principle cause for community disintegration. In some areas where the State has become too restrictive the Amish have decided to migrate. These migrations have been from one state to another and are now being extended to Central and South America.

The Amish have a strong attachment to the soil and to the Bible. They have no ambitions to possess the whole world or to convert it. There will always be politicians, policemen, and military personnel, and enough people to perform these functions, they contend; but candidates for the Biblical way of life which non-resistant Christians alone can fulfill are altogether too few (Hostetler 1952:37).

CHAPTER TWO

A Brief History and Ethnography of the Hutterian Brethren

The Hutterian Brethren are also an offshoot of the Swiss Brethren. They originated in Moravia in 1528. Like the Old Order Amish, the Hutterian Brethren believed in Adult baptism, separation of church and state, and peaceful non-resistance. But the Hutterian Brethren interpreted the New Testament literally, insisting on a complete community of goods among its members. It is this principle of communal living which readily distinguishes them from other Anabaptist groups such as the Old Order Amish and the Mennonites.

Because of their religious convictions the Hutterian Brethren were the subject of much persecution in Europe. Their members were burned at the stake and driven from one location to another until they finally sought religious freedom in the United States. Today the only locations where Hutterians may be found are the United States and Canada. As with the Amish, there are no surviving Hutterian Brethren to be found in Europe.

The Hutterian Brethren spent approximately one century in

Moravia until attacks from the Catholic Church and the Emperors forced them to flee to Hungary. For a century and a half they wandered around Hungary and the neighboring countries struggling for survival until they migrated to Russia upon invitation from the Russian Count Romanzov in 1770. They settled in the Ukrainian frontier and were leading a very peaceful existence until an edict nullifying their military exemption was issued in 1871. The Hutterians decided to migrate to North America rather than relinquish their pacifist policy.

Between 1874 and 1879 approximately 100 Hutterian families arrived in Yankton, South Dakota. After their arrival these families broke up into two equal groups. One group decided to take advantage of the Homesteading Act and live on individual family farms. This group has now been assimilated into the Mennonite Church. The second group chose to continue their communal living patterns which had been established as early as 1533 by their leader Jacob Hutter.

The first Hutterian colony was established 18 miles west of Yankton, South Dakota, in 1874. This colony was named Bon Homme. All of the people of Bon Homme and their descendants have been called Schmieden Leut (the smith's people), because the initial leader of Bon Homme was a blacksmith by trade.

The second colony was started by Darius Walter in the same

1. The first step in the process of the scientific method is to ask a question.

2. The second step is to do background research on the topic.

3. The third step is to form a hypothesis.

year at Wolf Creek Colony, which is about 12 miles west of Freeman, South Dakota. The descendants of this group are called Darius Leut (Darius' people). The third and final of the three original colonies was established in 1877 near Parkston, South Dakota. This was called Old Elm Springs Colony and was founded by two teachers, therefore, the descendants of this group are referred to as Leher Leut (teachers' people).

The Hutterian Brethren were experiencing rapid growth and expansion until by 1913 there were 17 colonies in South Dakota. But once again the Hutterians were forced to migrate. Due to cultural pressures and additional persecution from the greater American society during World War I, they moved to Canada. Because of their German language and refusal to participate in any war related activity they were the subject of much persecution. Finally their corporation charters were annulled and all but Bon Homme colony migrated to Canada. In 1935 the Communal Corporation Act was passed which allowed the colonies to become fully incorporated. After this was passed seven colonies migrated back to South Dakota from Canada.

Today Hutterian Colonies may be found in South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, and the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The greatest number of colonies are found in Alberta, South Dakota, and Manitoba. The present

population of Hutterian Brethren numbers approximately 17,300 persons.

Like the Amish, the Hutterian Brethren are an agricultural people who believe that agricultural activities are prescribed and sanctioned by the Word of God. But unlike the Amish, the Hutterian Brethren do not abstain from using even the most recent advancements in modern technology. They interpret the Bible in a way that allows the use of technology as long as it is for the good of the community. Thus the Hutterian Brethren are more efficient harvesters of energy than the Amish.

The Hutterian colonies are comprised of from 90 to 130 people in most instances. The colony usually occupies 4,800 to 5,400 acres of land and is nearly self-sufficient. The members practice total community of goods, including eating in a communal kitchen. For an example of how self-sufficient colonies are see Table 1 below.

Table 1. Number of Hutterian Colonies participating in various self-sufficient enterprises as of July, 1968.

<u>Enterprises</u>	<u>Number of Colonies Participating (Total 27)</u>
Making shoes	2
Repairing shoes	27
Planting garden and home canning	27
Making laundry soap	27
Making majority of clothing	27
Keeping bees	23
Cultivating an orchard	20
<u>Broom making (for domestic use and for sale)</u>	<u>13</u>
Source: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1970	

Most colonies use the most modern farm machinery and have one specialist that is in charge of this equipment. They use the newest conservation practices to increase yields and conserve the soil. They also use fertilizer and irrigation to increase their yields. Although there is a degree of similarity between the colony farms of the Hutterian Brethren and large corporation farms in physical appearance and size there is large difference in their operations. Besides the different value systems, the Hutterian Brethren operate very diversified farms in contrast to the large specialized farms found in the same areas which are owned by non-Hutterians. One colony may raise beef and dairy cows, chickens, geese, ducks, turkeys, swine, and sheep. The crops are usually as diversified. Corn, sorghum, wheat, oats, barley, and alfalfa may all be raised by one colony. Even though there is much diversification it is not uncommon for a colony to receive a major portion of its income from one or two of these items. For example, a colony may raise all of the above mentioned items but just sell turkeys and wheat for their cash income.

Although the form of the Hutterian Family is a monogamous, nuclear family it has many different functions than the Amish family (see the section on Family systems for further explanation). Many family functions have been taken over by the entire community. Due to the patrilocality of the Hutterian Brethren kinship is

very important. Some colonies are actually one extended family with all male members consanguineously related.

A dialect of German, which is similar to that which is still used today in Tyrol, Austria, is the language that is still used in common conversation among the Hutterian Brethren. They also use High German in religious associated activities such as: the church service, praying, and singing hymns. English is used in all dealings with non-Hutterians and is at times used by colony members when conversing among themselves. Many farm journals and magazines are read in English, therefore, a reading knowledge of English is also important.

Most clothing is colony made by each individual wife or a seamstress. The women wear full length skirts and long sleeved blouses. They also wear headscarves. The men wear denim work clothes and must grow a beard when they marry. The clothing patterns are not as rigid as those found among the Amish society, although they would still be classified as conservative by most standards.

As the Amish, the Hutterian Brethren have had their disputes with the state on education of their children. The Hutterians have had more success in reaching agreements, however, especially in Canada. The goal of all Hutterians is to educate and socialize all of their children to accept their values and beliefs and

teach them to be capable of practicing the various agricultural and home making skills which are the necessary means of reaching this end. Once a youngster has reached the age of fifteen he is considered to be an adult and no longer needs formal secular education.

The Hutterian Brethren comprise a religious sect living in agricultural colonies in the prairie states and provinces of North America. They are presently the only communal religious sect on the continent. Although the strong boundary maintenance of the social system limits their contact with the outside world, they maintain extremely modern and efficient agricultural enterprises (Agricultural Experiment Station 1970:5).

CHAPTER THREE

Conceptual Framework

Methodology

The methodology we have chosen to use to study the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren is the comparative method. By comparative method we mean that we shall take three aspects of each cultural group and describe them in depth and then proceed to compare and contrast these various aspects. The three aspects of each cultural group which will be covered in depth are: (1) the family system; (2) community integration; and (3) the uses of modern technology.

By limiting the number of variables to be compared we should be able to do a more comprehensive comparison than if all aspects of these cultural groups were compared. Also, we have chosen three aspects of each cultural group which should give the reader a fairly comprehensive view of what each cultural group is like.

The three aspects were chosen because we think that they are the most logical choices to shed light on the main problem or objective of the study: to discover which cultural group has a

better chance for survival, as a distinct cultural group, in the larger North American society.

The data used is taken from the ethnographies and other studies which have been made of the two cultural groups. Short one-day field trips have been made to one Amish community, Shipshewana, Indiana. At Shipshewana, a minister, a school teacher, buggy maker, and three farmers were interviewed. Although this information was used to check the ethnographic accounts it will not be used further in this study due to the relatively small sample interviewed.

Definitions

It is very difficult to give a definition of the family system which is applicable to both the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren, therefore, an extensive definition will be given of each family system.

The basic unit of the Old Order Amish society is the nuclear family, however, in most cases this is developed into a more complex form. The nuclear family is the family of procreation, orientation, division of labor, and to some degree is status-giving. In most cases the Amish have a more complex form of family system than the nuclear, or conjugal family. Most families have a form of extended family containing: ego and his spouse, ego's offspring, and ego's parents. In the cases where one's parents are already being

cared for by one's brother he is, of course, alleviated of this responsibility, however, the oldest male in the patriarchal group has influence over him. Descent is bilateral but it is a patriarchal system. When the eldest son gets married usually an addition will be built on for the couple and they will live in this addition until all of this son's siblings have moved away, at which time they will exchange residences with the son's parents. Much of the status is derived from the entire kin group, rather than just the nuclear family.

In defining the Hutterian family system one runs into more difficulty. The Hutterian Brethren are a totally communal society. Thus the conjugal family does not have the responsibility of supporting its members, rather they are supported by the entire colony in which a family lives. The entire colony, in many instances, is one entire extended kinship system through male consanguineal relationships. The Hutterian Brethren are bilateral, but they are patriarchal, patrimonial, and patrilocal. The conjugal family has its own apartment, in a long house containing four apartments, where all of its members sleep and take snacks, but all meals are taken in the community dining hall where all women cooperate in food preparation. Much socialization and education are outside of the conjugal family, also. The nuclear family is the family of procreation and to a degree is the family of orientation. The main

points to keep in mind are that the economic responsibilities have been transferred to the entire colony, along with many of the responsibilities of education and socialization.

In more precise terms the Old Order Amish family system is a form of extended family system which is bilateral, patriarchal, patrimonial, and to a large degree patrilocal. The Hutterian Brethren family system is classified as a clan which is related through male consanguinity and is patriarchal, patrimonial, and patrilocal. The members of a male consanguineal group, or sib, live in one area as a residential group and are integrated into one operating social and political unit.

Phillips' (1969:67-68) definition of socialization has been adopted for this study, we have only made minor alterations.

Socialization is the process by which the individual develops a personality as a result of learning much of the content of a given culture, and culture is transmitted from one generation to the next.

1. Socialization is a process which continues throughout life. Not only is the individual continually being shaped by his culture, he is continually transmitting it to others.

2. As a result of the socialization process, the biological individual develops a personality. In both the Amish and Hutterian cultures it is the goal of the group to repress heterogeneity and encourage homogeneity in all individual personalities.

3. Socialization is a learning process. Not just in formal learning situations, but in all places and times it is a process of learning.

4. No one individual learns all of the content of his culture. Every individual has a unique history of interaction experiences, thus no two individuals learn exactly the same things about his culture. However, by making socialization the explicit duty of all members of the community both the Amish and Hutterian Brethren have been able to develop a very homogeneous society.

5. As a result of socialization, culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. The individual is shaped, but he also shapes others. This is the basis for continuity of a culture.

In his article on community integration Landecker (1955) distinguishes four types of community integration: cultural, normative, communicative, and functional integration.

I. Cultural Integration. The concept of cultural integration can be restricted to a relationship among traits which constitute cultural standards in the sense that they require adherence (Landecker 1955). One might use the proportion of alternatives in a culture as a negative index of its integration. The larger the number of alternatives in a culture the lesser the integration of that culture. By restricting alternatives a culture can maintain a high degree of integration.

II. Normative Integration. Integration in relation between standards and persons is called "normative integration," and it varies with the degree to which conduct is in accord with such norms. Obedience to societal norms is the difference between a mere society and one that possesses elements of moral community (Landecker 1955:22).

III. Communicative Integration. The extent to which communicative contacts permeate a group, the degree of communicative integration, will bear some relation to the integration among its cultural standards and the integration of conduct with these standards (Landecker 1955:23).

IV. Functional Integration. Functional integration is the degree to which there is mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labor (Landecker 1955:25).

In summary, four types of community integration have been described: cultural, or consistency among the standards of a culture; normative, or conformity of conduct in the group to cultural standards; communicative, or exchange of meanings throughout the group; and functional, or interdependence in the group through exchange of services. In each of these four respects, integration may range from high to low (Landecker 1955:27).

Even though the methodology to quantitatively measure these four types of integration is not used in this study, we should be able

to make judgments as to which cultural group does have the greater degree of integration, if one does.

The above distinctive types of integration would also help one delineate the precise area where one community may have a greater amount of integration than another.

Before one is able to compare any one group with any other group, it becomes necessary first to classify the various groups which will be compared.

There have been many types of classifications used by anthropologists and sociologists in dealing with small societies, but some are more appropriate than others. Ferdinand Toennies designated the 'Gemeinschaft' as "the social order which being based upon consensus of wills rests on harmony and is developed and enobled [sic] by folkways, mores, and religion;" while he designated the 'Gesellschaft' as "the order which being based upon a union of rational wills rests on convention and agreement, is safeguarded by political legislation, and finds its ideological justification in public opinion" (Hostetler 1963:4-5). For other models of polar types of social organization, see Figure 1.

Folk	Urban	Author
*Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft	Ferdinand Toennies
Organic Solidarity	Mechanical Solidarity	Emile Durkheim
Sacred	Secular	Howard Becker
Primary	Secondary	Charles H. Cooley
*Folk	Civilization	Robert Redfield
Instrumental Action Pattern Variables: (universalism, func- tional specificity, affective neutrality and achievement of performance)	System-integrative Action Pattern Variables: (diffuseness, parti- cularism, ascription or quality and affectivity)	Talcott Parsons
*Covenanted Commu- nity	Secondary Commu- nity	Page Smith

*Discussed more fully in text

Figure 1. Folk-Urban continuum as represented by various authors

The model we have chosen to use for classificatory purposes is a combination of three models mentioned in Figure 1: those of Toennies, Redfield, and Smith.

The models of Redfield and Smith need to be further explicated. In explaining what he means by a "folk" or "little community" Redfield writes the following:

I put forward, first, the quality of distinctiveness: where the community begins and where it ends is apparent. The distinctiveness is apparent to the outside observer and is expressed in the group-consciousness of the people of the community.

Second, the community we are here concerned with is small, so small that either it itself is the unit of personal observation or else, being somewhat larger and yet homogeneous, it provides in some part of it a unit of personal observation fully representative of the whole.

Third, the community to which we are to look in these chapters is homogeneous. Activities and states of mind are much alike for all persons in corresponding sex and age positions; and the career of one generation repeats that of the preceding. So understood, homogeneous is equivalent to "slow-changing."

As a fourth defining quality it may be said that the community we have here in mind is self-sufficient and provides for all or most of the activities and needs of the people in it. The little community is a cradle-to-the-grave arrangement. A club, a clique, even a family, is sectional or segmental contrasted with the integral little community (Redfield 1955:4).

So for Redfield the four major characteristics of the "folk type" of culture are: distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, and all-providing self-sufficiency. Although both of the above mentioned models (those of Redfield and Toennies) have contributed much to our anthropological knowledge and most communities can be categorized satisfactorily by one, or a combination of both (see Hostetler 1963), of these models, we think that Page Smith's ideas on the covenanted community fill a gap in the classificatory model which is needed to describe such religiously oriented

groups as the Amish and Hutterians.

Page Smith has the following to say on the subject of covenanted communities:

Indeed, one of the most important attributes of the covenanted community was that it could reproduce itself to infinity once its essential form had become fixed. Each new community was simply a congregation produced by fission from the old community. As such, it stood in the same relation to God as did its parent community. There was no suggestion of subordination. It lay in the power of two or three faithful members to establish the nucleus of a new covenanted community. The covenanted group understood intuitively that its life depended on preserving the delicate and complex structure of community life. It was only a common faith, a shared covenant, that held the community together, that preserved it from disintegration (Smith 1966:6-7).

Before making our classificatory model explicit, community and extended-community² must be defined and explained.

The community may be defined as a social system encompassing a territorial unit within which members carry on most of their day-to-day activities necessary in meeting common needs (Loomis and Beegle 1957:22). In the above discussion, Page Smith was referring to this type of a covenanted community. In the following discussion, community will be used to refer to Hutterian Bruderhof and to the Amish district, each of which is a community in every sense.

The extended-community is a symbolic community comprised of all Old Order Amish or comprised of all Hutterian

Brethren who live in any of the dispersed settlements. This fits Toennies model of 'Gemeinschaft' quite well and definitely has three of the attributes of Redfield's model: distinctiveness, homogeneity, and all-providing self-sufficiency. It also fits into the structural definition of covenanted community given by Smith where he explains that a covenanted community is one which "is composed of individuals bound in a special compact with God and with each other"(Smith 1966:6).

Although an Amishman or Hutterite may spend all of his life in a district or Bruderhof, respectively, this is just the functional unit of these cultural groups. There is the more symbolic group which will be referred to as the extended-community in this study. An understanding of one cannot be obtained without a knowledge of the other, for in reality they become inseparable. The Amish and Hutterians are at the same time members of both communities and would find it difficult to make the above distinctions. But for the outside observer, such a distinction would be easier to grasp and helpful in a study of this nature.

Now the classificatory model can be made explicit. The first problem is what to call a new model. We have chosen not to add new names to the roster of pole community types. Instead, Page Smith's phrase, "covenanted community" will be adopted, with additions made from Toennie's and Redfield's work. Most of

the following attributes are true of both the community and the extended-community. Where it is just true of one of the two, it will be noted.

The covenanted community is characterized by the following attributes:

- (1) Social Order is based upon consensus of wills and rests on harmony.
- (2) Social Order is developed and enabled by folk-ways, mores, and religion.
- (3) Distinctiveness.
 - A. Self-consciously maintained
 - B. Isolation knowingly produced³
- (4) Smallness
 - A. is itself the unit of personal observation⁴
 - B. it provides a unit of personal observation representative of the whole⁵
- (5) Homogeneity
- (6) All-providing and self-sufficient
- (7) An ability to form a new community by merely splitting the old community
- (8) A special compact (the Covenant) is made with God and with all other members of the symbolic community.

As can be seen in the above model, both the community and

the extended-community have basically the same attributes.

Although one must remember at all times that these groups are virtually systems within systems, it will not be necessary to distinguish between the two, for the most part, in this study. When the distinction must be made, it will be made quite explicit.

Therefore, when we are referring to the Old Order Amish in general, they will be referred to as the Amish, which encompasses the above meaning of Covenanted community; but, when we are referring to a particular community it will be designated as a certain district. The same general scheme applies to the Hutterian Brethren. They will be referred to as Hutterians and a particular community will be designated as a certain Bruderhof.

CHAPTER FOUR

Family Systems

Form and Function of the Amish Family System

The family system is strictly monogamous and patriarchal. The father is vested with complete authority. He is not an abusive authority, however. There is co-operation between husband and wife, although this varies in degree between spouses. The wife is able to exert her power in child-rearing and is often consulted during familial problems, although the husband has the final word in all domestic matters.

"But I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ, the head of a woman is her husband, and the head of Christ is God" (I Corinthians 11:3). Thus, as with many other aspects of Amish life, social behavior is sanctioned by the word of God. The woman realizes that the Bible states in Genesis that she is man's helpmate and not his equal; therefore, in most cases the Amish woman lives up to what is expected of her by being willingly submissive (Hostetler 1963:148-149).

The sexual division of labor in the Amish family is quite pronounced, although the dividing line is more exacting for the

men than it is in case of the Amish women. An example of this is that if harvesting needed to be done or some painting in preparation for a special occasion had to be finished, the Amish woman would not hesitate to help out even though these tasks are not usually considered as women's work. In contrast to this, a man does not help with routine duties such as cooking and washing dishes.

The following are usually considered as the duties and privileges of men among the Amish: household head; major transactions concerning the purchase or sale of property; purchase of livestock or farm machinery; banking, writing checks, and depositing money; heavy farm work (e.g., field work, milking, machinery repair, barn cleaning, carpentry); serving as church officials; leadership in public affairs.

The following are usually considered the Amish women's duties and privileges: considerable authority in child rearing; the purchase of household supplies, groceries, and clothing; cooking; cleaning; preparation of produce for market; making clothes for the family; preserving food; and gardening. The women are never allowed to participate in the Rat (council) of the church.

The Amish woman's role is well defined, circumscribed by duties involving home and family. The man, as husband and father, is expected to assume the leadership role (Hostetler 1963).

The attribute of authority comes from a basic difference between men and women in every society. The role of men as men is defined as that of having authority over women and children, as contrasted to that of women as women, which is responsibility for the care of children (Schneider 1961:6).

According to Hsu (1965:640-645) a society which displays certain dominant relationships (Husband-Wife, Father-Son, etc.) will in turn display certain attributes that will in turn affect all social relationships in said group. The Amish have as the dominant kin relationship the Father-Son dyad, which should display the following attributes as shown in Figure 2.

Relationship	Attributes	Definition of Attributes
Father-Son	1. Continuity	The condition of being or the attitude of desiring to be, an unbroken sequence, or connected with others.
	2. Inclusiveness	The act of incorporating or the attitude of wishing to be incorporated.
	3. Authority	Personal power that commands and enforces obedience, or the condition of being under such power.
	4. Emotionally inhibited	The condition of showing very little emotionality among other members of the community.

Source: Adopted from Hsu, 1965.

Figure 2. Father-Son relationship attributes

It appears that the Amish do tend to fit into the above scheme quite well. Most of the community members do desire to have the attributes of continuity and inclusiveness. As has already been stated above, authority patterns are quite explicit in Amish society. The man has authority over his wife and children, but when an Amish son has been accepted as a member of the Amish church, he is then looked upon as both a son and an adult member of the community.

What we mean when we refer to emotional inhibition is that emotionality should be kept to a very personal level rather than be expressed by gestures in public or the community at large. This can be seen in the Amish society. Personal relationships between husband and wife are quiet and sober, with no apparent demonstration of affection. Patterns of conversation vary among Amish mates, but terms of endearment, or gestures which would indicate any overt expression of affection, are conspicuously absent (Hostetler 1963:151-152).

The husband and wife tend to be held together in marriage by both mutual respect and mutual need to a greater extent than they are due to romantic love. More importantly is the fact that the husband and wife are not individuals connected only by personal sentiments, but they are members of a group who must maintain the standards and dignity of that group (Hostetler 1963:152).

Hostetler (1959:12-13) also characterizes the family as being a strong and stable social unit with contented members. He goes on to explain that divorce is not allowed in the Amish community and that separation is almost unknown. Personal relationships between the husband and wife are made quite explicit in the Bible and all Amish are aware of this fact. Therefore, the Bible also controls and influences this relationship to a great extent. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husband, as unto the Lord ... so ought men to love their wives as their own bodies... and the wife see that she reverence her husband" (Ephesians 5:22, 28, 33).

Children are never thought of to be a debit to a family (or to the community at large) rather they are definite assets to any family. Even though each member is deemed as being important on purely personal reasons; e.g. each new male is another potential farmhand, the most important reason for having children is to increase the church membership and thus increase the strength of the Children of the Lord.

The child's first two years of life are characterized by general permisiveness on the parents' part and much love and affection towards him by all of the child's kinsmen, in contrast to the lack of outward affection shown in later years. After about the second year, restrictions and exacting disciplines are continuously imposed upon the child until well into adolescence. He must be taught to respect the authority of his parents and to respond

properly to their exactness. The child is considered sinless since he does not know the difference between right and wrong. It is the duty of parents to teach him the difference, so that he will realize his moral inadequacy and choose the "right way" of the Amish religion (Hostetler 1963:154-155).

The best description available on Amish child socialization and indoctrination may be that of an Amishman turned anthropologist:

A participant realizes very clearly that he is different from members of the surrounding culture and that his parents and community demand specific actions. The notion of being "different" is continuously stressed to the young **Amishman** by a process of gradual indoctrination. Induced anxieties, along with other factors of the Amish socialization process, motivate almost all of the youth in the direction of the culture's values and social goals. A youth learns early in life that there is both an "Amish" and an "outsider" method of obtaining satisfaction. He learns that deviant behavior will result in a painful clash with his conscience and with his peers and adults.

The Amish parents spend considerable time in shaping their children's thinking and actions so that they correspond with the "right way" of the Amish culture. However, there is no sudden or rude awakening for the Amish child that he is different. Basic aspects of their culture, such as their religion, their German speech, their manners, and their clothes are a constant reminder of their way of life. Therefore, the child very gradually learns need-dispositions that conform to the expectations of the adults and the values of the Amish culture (Wittmer 1970:1063).

Wittmer goes on to explain that one of the many cultural factors which brings about desired child behavior is the strict

obedience to parents that is stressed in the Amish community.

This profound teaching is emphasized by Amish parents and ministers, and is a principle based upon several Biblical passages.

An Amish lad who runs away from home, or even an adult who leaves the Amish Church, is held guilty of parental disobedience.

This strict obedience never ends, not even after the parents are dead (Hostetler 1963:156-157).

In reference to authority of elders over the younger generation, Hsu has the following comments which further explain the authoritarian practices among the Amish:

Authority can be exercised generally in one of three ways. First by brutal power on the part of the superior over the subordinates. Second through what Max Weber would designate as charisma or what is popularly known in the United States as sex appeal of the superior. Third by conviction on the part of the subordinates of the superior's right, duty, or privilege to exercise authority just as it is their right, duty, or privilege to obey it. It is obvious that the first two ways of exercising authority are likely to be less permanent than the third. In the third way, since the subordinates are taught to respect the superior's role of authority, revolts are much less likely.

The lines separating these three ways of authority are relative, but the third way is more likely to characterize authority in the Father-Son relationship especially since the attribute of continuity enables the sons to cooperate, because they themselves expect to exercise it in the same way when it is their turn to do so. In this situation the idea of authority permeates the relationship and is not tied to the accident of brutal power or the special qualities of a single person. Under such circumstances authority does not disappear

with the death of the person in authority; it tends to continue after his death in the form of the cult of the dead (in the kinship sphere) or worship of the past or tradition (in the society generally). Furthermore, on the basis of what we said before of the relationship between continuity and inclusiveness, we can say that the more continuous the worship of the ancestry of a kinship group or tradition of a society, the more inclusive that authority is likely to apply to wider circles of human beings (Hsu 1963:644-645).

As can be seen by the above comments on Amish behavioral patterns, parental authority plays a large part in the socialization of Amish children. This authority is taken for granted by most members of the group and is seldom questioned due to the fact that it has been sanctioned in religious beliefs and practices. But there is another important cultural force at work to socialize the child which may have an even greater impact on him. That is what is commonly known as "shunning." The excommunication from the church is known in German as Meidung. It refers not to mere spiritual excommunication, but rather to complete avoidance of the "shunned" individual by every member of his district. In addition to this local "shunning" the individual is also tormented by the fact that he is no longer a member of the symbolic extended-community during this period. The practice of Meidung is deeply imbedded in Amish history and tradition.

In mate selection the young Amishman find himself considerably limited by his value system. He must marry a girl from

his own faith, but not necessarily from his own district. For if he even marries a girl from a less conservative group (such as a New Older Amish group) than his own, she must join his district. If he were to join a less conservative group, he would be "shunned" by his home district and his family. Due to the minimum contact with other districts, marriages are usually restricted to one's own district if it is large, or to the adjoining district if it is small. All first-cousin marriages are taboo while second-cousin marriages are discouraged (Hostetler 1963).

The main medium for boy-girl association in the Amish community is the Sunday-evening singing. This is not a devotional meeting, rather it is a social gathering in which only unmarried young adults participate. It is usually held at the same farm as the Sunday worship service. Young people from several districts are usually in attendance, thus enabling the marriageables from different districts to widen their acquaintances.

Courtship, called *rumspringa* (running around), begins at about 14 to 16 for the girls and at 16 for the boys. If a boy has a steady girl he may see her on Saturday nights in addition to the singings. The boy does his best to keep his courting matters a private affair, as it is a matter for teasing among his family and his peer group if they know too much about the relationship.

Courting is also usually conducted mainly inside the girl's home

for similar reasons. The Amish feel that it is none of the "outsider's" business how their courting is conducted (Hostetler 1963:160).

Bundling, one of the old ways of spending time together, is no longer the common practice among the Amish. This practice of a boy and girl lying in bed together without undressing, which is known as Bei-schlof (or with sleep), has disappeared in most areas where there has been much contact with the outside world. Another cause of its disappearance is the large influx of modern home conveniences, such as living-room suites.

This custom has unfortunately been exploited by many writers and by enemies of the Amish. This has led to a popular misconception that the Amish participate in pre-marital sexual relations. Premarital relations are disapproved of and condemned by the church. Transgressors are expelled from the church and shunned for a period of several weeks or until confession is made before the church and the members are able to be reinstated.

A wedding in Amish life is an elaborate affair, for the whole district has a stake in each marriage. For the district it means a new home, another place to have the preaching when the couple is located on the farm, and another family to raise children in the Amish way. Due to this importance to the district

(and entire Amish community) each marriage must be officially approved and sanctioned by the church district in which the couple will be living.

Marriage also means that the young couple is ready to part with their juvenile and sometimes wild behavior and to settle down to keeping the faith in a mature way. For the couple itself, marriage is a rite of passage marking the passing from youth into the age of adult responsibility (Hostetler 1963:173).

It is an important task of every Amish family to provide a dowry for the newlyweds. This is contributed to by both families. It is also a custom that all friends and relatives invited to the wedding are to bring gifts with them for the newlyweds. In addition to household goods, furniture and livestock are given to the newlyweds by one or both families.

Hostetler summarizes Amish marriage patterns in the following manner:

Marriage in Amish life, in summary, is not simply a romantic affair. The preoccupation with personal likes and dislikes so common in Protestant Christianity, where even the sermon content and sometimes the ceremony are dictated by the couple, are conspicuously different in Amish life. The dress of the bride and bridegroom are made in traditional styles. Marriage is bonded by the community. The expectations allow no room for divorce and separation is almost unknown. The ceremony is elaborate because much is expected in the way of community conformity and responsibility. In marriage all institutions of the community obtain reinforcement (1963:182).

Old age and eventual death are not feared by the Amish, instead these are looked upon as the culminating points of a life of devotion to God, and the final entrance to his Kingdom. Furthermore, old age is not a disgrace in the Amish community, because not only are the older members the most respected members, but also these same members have the authority vested in them.

This arrangement naturally lends itself to increased control of life by the aged. Preservation of the religious ideals and mores is thereby insured, and the younger people who are inclined to introduce change can be held in check (Hostetler 1963:162).

A strong consciousness of kinship is peculiarly favorable to gerontocracy, or social control by the older members of society. As in the ideal type of the little community, this control is informal rather than formal or obvious... (Hostetler 1963:162). The part which the older generation has in drawing forth and molding the character and life-policy of every younger person in the kinship group makes the necessity for direct control much less frequent in isolated culture than in more accessible communities (Becker and Barnes 1961:11).

Not only are familiar relationships characterized by the respect for the aged, but the entire Amish community is characterized by this trait. The older ministers and bishops have more

authority than do the younger ones. Also, all older persons are respected by all persons younger than they are.

The aged are provided for by "their own." A farm will have a dwelling for the male's parents when they retire. The older couple moves into this house (or house annex), and they pass the farm on to their eldest son. Theoretically the son has control of all farming operations at this time, but due to the authoritarianism of the old which penetrates the Amish community, the older people do in reality influence all major decisions. Even though the young couple does not have to carry out the wishes of their parents, this advisory relationship not only stimulates economic stability but also religious integrity (Hostetler 1963).

The respect for the aged in Amish life seems to be connected with the permanence of residence, and a conservative attitude stemming from a religious concept. Respect for the aged is thus consistent with the social and cultural behavior patterns in the little Amish community (Hostetler 1963:164).

The Amish family is the most fundamental and functional unit in the Amish district, which in turn is the functional unit of the entire symbolic Amish community. The Amish home is connected to all other homes in a district by ceremonial means, for ceremony in Amish life is a function of the district rather than the family. By allowing the district to take over religious

ceremonies the family is constantly integrated with other members of the district, and never loses its identity with the symbolic extended-community.

The Amish home is the center of life and place of belonging for all the family members. Home is a place of security. It is a center for decision-making with respect to work, play, and exposure to the wider community and to the outside world (Hostetler 1963:170).

Form and Function of the Hutterian Family System

Like the Amish family, the Hutterian nuclear family is strictly monogamous in form, but aside from this there are many functional differences between these two family systems. Family property is transferred to the Bruderhof (community). Family support and socialization of individuals becomes the responsibility of the Bruderhof first and of the family second.

The roles of the sexes are well defined in the covenant of the Hutterian Brethren. Peter Rideman has the following to say concerning the division of labor:

Since woman was taken from man... man hath lordship, but woman weakness, humility, and submission; therefore she should be under the yoke of man and obedient to him, even as the woman was commanded by God when He said to her, 'The man shall be thy lord'... The man, on the other hand, as the one in whom something of God's glory is seen, should have compassion on

the woman as the weaker instrument, and in love and kindness go before her and care for her (Bennett 1967).

Although the above quote was taken from 1565, there has been no significant change in this dominance-submission pattern since the beginning. Hutterian life might be described as a society of men aided and assisted by women (Bennett 1967).

It is the duty of the males to work in the fields, raise the stock, do the milling, repair the machinery, and do any other tasks which are too heavy or hard for the females. It is also the duty and the privilege of the males to run for colony (Bruderhof) office and to exercise their decision making powers as to how the colony should handle its affairs.

The females, on the other hand, have the responsibility of doing the cooking, baking, sewing, gardening, and household chores. The young girls are often in charge of doing the painting for the Brudershof. Unlike the male family members, the females have no formal connection with the administrative functions of colony life. The females do express quite candid and frank opinions to their husbands in the confines of the nuclear family, and although these opinions are never asked for publicly they do indeed have some influence on the decision of the male members as to which course to pursue in colony affairs.

The amount of emphasis given to the role components of the sexes in Hutterian culture may be expressed thus: Hutterian

men are colony citizens first, executives and managers second, and laborers third; Hutterian women are housewives and mothers first, light laborers second, and citizens third. All facets of male and female role behavior follow logically from these role classifications (Bennett 1967:114).

Although the Hutterians consider the nuclear family the basic social institution, they limit its functions to domestic services (excluding the cooking and serving of meals for most members of the family) and to the socialization of children from infancy to the age of three. At this age the family relinquishes its duties to the greater colony as a whole. The individual child lives in his nuclear home until marriage, but he is usually associated with his peer group instead of his other family members.

One of the most important aspects of Hutterian social organization is the socialization processes of the young. Without this very intensive procedure the community would very likely fail. There is no room for the highly revered American ideal that the individual is the most important component of society. The individual will must be broken.

According to Hostetler and Huntington:

This is achieved early, primarily during the kindergarten age, and is reinforced continually until death. In place of self-fulfillment there must be self-denial. The individual must be humble and submissive. After approximately twenty years of intensive indoctrination, the individual is expected

to accept voluntarily the teachings of the colony. When he is able to express the remorse, abasement, and loathing associated with his sinful self, he will receive baptism. Individual identity must be fused with the community.

Self-surrender, not self-development, is the Hutterite goal. The communal will, not the individual will, becomes important. The good of the majority governs the stages of life from birth to death. Since human nature is sinful from birth, Hutterites value education as a means for "planting" in children "the knowledge and the fear of God" not for self-improvement.

Since "God worketh in surrendered men," the individual must submit to the will of the community because community is the will of God.

The individual must never pray "My" Father but "Our" Father. Thus, one prays for the common good of the majority and not for the good of the individual. Since the community is the body of Christ, God dwells in the community.

The individual has a proper, defined place in the community. By divine order male is over the female, husband over wife, older over younger, and parent over child (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:10-11).

The Hutterian Brethren have been the only group to make a communal society work so well and last so long (over two hundred years). We hypothesize that there are two main reasons for their success: (1) the basis of their community is religious rather than economic, and; (2) they have an efficient system of socialization which encourages most members that the Hutterian way is the right (if not the only) way. There are two parts to the socialization of members: (1) the socialization and indoctrination of children, and (2) the constant socialization of adult members.

As in the Amish community, children are a wanted item. There is no form of birth control, as it is taboo. A child is a gift from the Lord. Medium family size is 10.4 children. Children are an important asset to the Bruderhof. Every new child is an eventual worker and church member.

Socialization begins very early in a Hutterian child's life. When solid food is introduced into the baby's diet (sometime between three weeks and three months) religious training begins. The mother folds the baby's hands in hers and prays with him before and after meals. A baby under a year will clasp his hands in prayer position when he sees food being carried in (Hostetler and Huntington 1967).

By the time the child is three years old, he has acquired a degree of independence from his family. He roams around the colony in the summer, visiting the kitchen, kindergarten, and other longhouses. By the time the child is ready to enter kindergarten at age three, he has learned four major realities of Hutterian life: (1) the colony takes precedence over the individual; (2) the individual has little control over his environment; (3) the pattern of living is unchanging; and, (4) each individual must act positively with every other person (Hutterian) which he comes in contact with (Hostetler and Huntington 1967).

The next stage in the socialization process may very well

be the most important one. This is kindergarten, for children from three to six years of age. The child is no longer considered to be a baby and must now learn to act according to the norms prescribed to him by the colony. To accomplish this goal they are the most restricted and regimented age group with the least amount of variation in their program. They spend the entire day in a small school house and its play-yard with their peer group and one adult female.

It was wise to choose the three to six age group for such rigorous socialization because it is this age that is so psychologically important to a child. The reason that this is so important is that it is in this age group when a child is rapidly developing a concept of self and is quickly learning his relationship to others. The cause for this rapid development is that the child has usually acquired a good grasp of language by this time and many of his most basic ideas about himself come from others (Dewey and Humber 1951). Due to the importance in the Hutterian community of suppressing the individuality as much as possible, this is a crucial time. By making each individual understand that he is very similar to all others the Hutterians are able to accomplish their goal.

Hostetler and Huntington see the kindergarten as having five very important and primary functions. These five functions are:

(1) To help wean the child from his family, and, to some extent, wean his family from him. (2) To introduce the child to his peer group and to teach him how to function in this group. This is of great importance, for the boys will remain in this group throughout their lives, and the girls will grow up in this same peer group. At the age when children in North American society are exerting their growing individuality and developing a concept of self, the Hutterite child is placed in a setting that minimizes treatment of him as an individual and maximizes his identity as a member of a group. (3) The kindergarten teaches the child to respect the authority of the colony in addition to that of his parents and babysitters. (4) In the kindergarten the child learns to tolerate a limited, restricted environment. (5) He is rewarded for a cooperative, docile, passive response to correction and frustration (1967:62).

The next stage of socialization is mainly intended for preparing all children for adulthood. The school children (six to fifteen years of age) become more and more refined until all are members of the Bruderhof first, and individuals second. It is a period when individuals must learn certain tasks that will contribute to the good of the colony. The boys are allowed to do light farm work and the girls may help in the kitchen. Both males and females do babysitting during this period. The children now eat in the children's dining hall, just one step away from the adult dining hall.

The nuclear family plays a minor role in the school age child's life. More and more significance is put on the peer group and the colony.

Hostetler and Huntington (1967) have eight significant aspects of socialization listed for the above age group. We have modified these categories (due to overlapping aspects) to the three aspects of socialization listed below:

1. For the majority of the day, the children are under close supervision by someone in an authority position--a parent, the German teacher, or a work supervisor. When a child is free from authority he is working with brothers and sisters or with his peer group. It is important for the brothers to learn to work together because they will work together in the colony for the rest of their lives. It is also important that children learn how their peer groups and sibling groups are complementary, and that the peer group will one day encompass the entire colony.

2. Authority patterns are learned during this period. They are taught unquestioning obedience to Hutterite authority--their parents, teacher, the colony, to any Hutterite older than they are, and to all Hutterian teachings, traditions, and religion practices. They are taught to accept punishment meekly if they disobey. They learn not to discipline themselves; rather they learn that they must listen to those in authority because they are the ones that will watch over, protect, and punish them. They also master the basic ritual of Hutterian life. They do so because they have been told that the Hutterian way is the "right way"

and they must obey.

3. The children do not develop a strong sense of guilt.

It is a child's nature to be sinful; therefore, when a child errs it is not considered to be his fault for he is just a child. The children also learn to accept their place in society. They learn to enjoy hard, physical labor, to begin to appreciate a life without many material objects, and accept the cleansing process of pain and punishment with pleasure.

At age fifteen childhood comes to an end and the fifteen year old becomes an adult. He is now considered to be one of the people. Hutterians remain in this category of young people until they are made full members of the group through baptism (age nineteen or twenty for most females and age twenty to twenty-six for the males).

This is a "liminal phase" (Turner 1969) for the young person. He eats with the adult members, but attends Sunday school with younger persons because he is still considered to be a child religiously. Psychologically and emotionally he vacillates between being a child and an adult. This period is referred to by Hutterians as "the inbetween years" or "the foolish years," because individual loyalties have not been completely crystallized.

The young person no longer does the work of a child (such as babysitting, gathering potatoes, or cleaning up the colony grounds). He no longer attends the German school or the public school. The

formal education has ended but preparation for colony life still continues in the form of apprenticeships. The young person does assigned colony work with colony members of his own sex.

Soon after the fifteenth birthday young people are given gifts which they will need in colony life. Both males and females are given a wooden chest for their personal belongings. Males are given the following functional gifts: a spade, a pitchfork, a hammer, a saw, and in some colonies a spoon. The females receive the following: a scrub pail, a paint brush, a hoe, kitchen knives, a broom, knitting needles and in some colonies a rolling pin, and, until recently, a spinning wheel.

Both the colony and the family expect a certain amount of deviant behavior. Much of this takes place within the peer group who participate together in forbidden activities of singing English songs and playing mouth organs, but the peer group tolerates only certain approved activities. If an individual deviates too radically, he is socially excluded by his peers (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:76).

The above quote contains a very important element of Hutterian social organization. The Hutterian Brethren have given young people in this liminal phase a chance to be somewhat deviant for a period of time (until baptism). Young people might try various aspects of "the outsiders" material culture, but by the time

they are baptized they have personally decided to give up the things which they might otherwise always be curious about. This is extremely important for it gives the young people a chance to try the other world to a limited degree, and by ~~them~~ personally rejecting it and joining the church, they are stronger members of both the Bruderhof and the extended-community.

The liminal phase among the Hutterian Brethren has two important functions: (1) it is a transitional period where members learn to become adults (both physically and religiously); and, (2) it acts as a "safety valve" enabling members to release certain energies that have the potential to disintegrate the entire colony if allowed to build up.

Baptism is the major rite of passage in Hutterian life. All of the individual's life has been planned around this major goal. By the member accepting baptism he is symbolically stating two very important Hutterian ideals: (1) he is being submissive to the church thus expressing the power of this institution; and, (2) he is becoming a member of the colony (indeed, even the extended-community) as members of his peer group.

This is what the socialization process was intended to do, and it succeeded. The individual accepted the colony as more important than his age group, his nuclear family, and himself. The socialization process is not over, though, for now each member

must be constantly socialized to keep him a good member and a happy member.

Though the baptized member has accepted the entire colony as his symbolic family, he is even closer to his nuclear family than before. According to Hostetler and Huntington:

With baptism, the relationship between the parents and the child becomes closer. The child has become a member of the colony and his parents treat him as a colony member as well as an offspring. They, with the help of God and the colony, have accomplished their task of raising this child, "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and now that he has become part of the Gemein they can enjoy him. The children have become the spiritual brothers and sisters of their parents and they can work together almost as peers and can identify more closely with one another. The child remains emotionally dependent on his parents, but there is no longer the sharp division between parent and child that existed earlier. Within the hierarchical power structure of the colony, the sons tend to cooperate closely with their father and with their biological brothers, and in a highly integrated colony, these patterns are extended to include all the baptized men of the colony (1967:82).

Courtship among the Hutterian Brethren begins young and lasts a long time. Dating usually begins while in the "young people" age group. A particular courtship before marriage will last anywhere from two to six years. Long courtship periods are not uncommon.

It is difficult for a young person to find someone to date in his home colony, because all of those in his own age group are usually his first cousins (this may be explained by the patrilocality

of the Hutterian Brethren). If there are members that are not his first cousins, the number is small and they are usually going with someone else.

Usually members of one colony marry into a neighboring colony (although not a colony that has branched off). Young people are given opportunities to meet other young people when their families visit other colonies or when they are sent to other colonies to help them out in time of need.

One couple had known each other for five years before getting married, but they had only seen one another six times at the most. This is not uncommon in a society where it is difficult for members to take time off their daily routine to visit a colony where their future spouse may be, nor is it possible to go in one's spare time due to lack of transportation.

There are three basic units of social organization in Hutterian society which are ordered by kin and perceived as being so ordered by the Hutterians themselves. These three units are: (1) the nuclear family; (2) the patrnomial family, which is often equivalent to the population of one colony and its daughter colonies; and, (3) the intermarrying group of patrnomial families, usually equivalent to a specific group of colonies that consistently intermarry (Bennett 1967).

As can be seen above, kinship plays an important functional

role in Hutterian society. It integrates each colony through consanguineal relations and each colony is integrated to a number of other colonies through affinal ties. These kinship ties are constantly reinforced by the symbolic "oneness" of all Hutterian Brethren.

The Hutterian Brethren are patrilocal. This makes it much harder for the bride to adjust to married life than it does for the bridegroom. She must leave her nuclear family and her symbolic family behind and become used to a new symbolic family.

Both communities must help furnish the newlyweds with various articles. The bride's colony furnishes her with such items as: a bedspread, flatware, an electric steam iron, plates, a laundry basket, pillow cases, extra cloth for bedding, dresses, and a new electric sewing machine. The bridegroom's colony will furnish them with a place to live, food, and additional small articles.

The wedding is a ritual which strengthens intercolony ties by making their relationships explicit through their members' marriage. It is as though the colonies themselves were marrying each other. The wedding is also an individual rite of passage to a new stage of life. For the male, this change is minimized, only becoming eligible for a more responsible position in the colony. But for the female it is a major change. She must get used to a new colony, and new work patterns. The main place a wife can

find support and information is from her husband. Although, she also can seek support from other young girls in the colony and at times this can indeed be an important source of information and comfort, sometimes sisters marry into the same colony thereby enabling them to help each other in a strange environment. The marriage patterns function to support the husband in his dominant position and to emphasize the dependence of the wife (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:85).

As among the Amish, marriages must be officially approved by both colonies due to the importance of such a step. The future of each colony depends on making sure its members make the proper choices throughout their life, including marriage.

Socialization is a constant process. The constant interaction among individuals, coupled with the individual's fear of rejection from his colony serve to keep the adult Hutterian within the confines of the social norms. In reference to adult socialization, Hostetler and Huntington summarize their views as follows:

A successfully socialized adult Hutterite gets along well with others, is cheerful, and has a kind word for everyone. He is submissive and obedient to the rules and regulations of the colony. He is a hard, responsible worker. A woman may be praised by the statement, "She is always first in the kitchen when the work bell rings." An adult Hutterite must never display anger or hostility or precipitate quarrels. Intensity and imagination are not admired as are a quiet willingness coupled with hard work. The constant pruning that adapts

each individual to the group leads to a minimizing of differences and the mating of emotional expression. The subduing of individuality is implied in the Hutterite saying, "No man with rights has a right to all of his rights." The elimination of extremes and the imposition of a strict order enable the members to find satisfaction in the "narrow way" that leads to salvation (1967:86-87).

Old age, as with all other categories, is well prepared for by the colony, both psychologically and economically. Each member is a member of the colony until after death and is therefore taken care of by the entire colony until such time. Although older members are unable to contribute much to the colony in economic terms, they are able to contribute much advice and their authority becomes increased in old age. This enables an individual to accept aging because it is psychologically important to himself. This respect for the aged acts to help maintain stability in Hutterian society.

Death is not a fearful or shocking event in Hutterian society. It is a period of transition from one life to another. From the natural biological life, to the super-natural, spiritual, eternal life. Eternal life is a time which everyone looks forward to; a time when all members can be together in the Community of the Lord. There need not be any worry or grief accompanied by death. All remaining family members will be provided for by the colony and one does not have to worry about losing his worldly riches when one has none.

All that is taught in life is fulfilled in the heaven envisioned

by the Hutterian Brethren, so that in the final rite of passage there is fulfillment.

In summary, the family system of the Hutterian Brethren is a nuclear family with a monogamous form. Hutterian Brethren practice patrilocality and exogamy outside of their particular patrinal Bruderhof. Kinship is traced bilaterally but there is an emphasis on the patriarch. The males have dominance over the females, and the old over the young.

Families are usually large due to the taboo against birth control and the fact that children are wanted. The mean size of the completed family is 10.4 children.

Although the Hutterian family has the form of the nuclear family, some of the functions of the nuclear family are lacking.

According to Murdock (1949) the nuclear family has four essential functions which it always fulfills. These four functions are:

(1) socialization of children; (2) economic cooperation between husband and wife; (3) procreation; and, (4) sexual relations.

The first function is not entirely the responsibility of the nuclear family, except during the first three years. After the child reaches the age of three the responsibility of socialization is mainly placed on the entire colony. Socialization remains the duty of everyone in the Bruderhof throughout an individual's life.

The second function is not found at all in the Hutterian nuclear

family system. Every member is provided for by the colony, not by the family. It is true that members of each family cooperate on a larger colony scale, but the economic well-being of one's mate does not depend directly on one's production.

The third and fourth functions are the primary functions of the Hutterian family system. Sexual relations are a totally private family matter, while the procreation of children is seen as both a privilege and a duty to the colony. The children resulting will be a positive asset to both family and the colony, and in turn to the extended-community.

Not all functions are performed in the nuclear family. The functions which can be removed without becoming dysfunctional to the entire society are removed from the nuclear family. Sexual relations and reproduction taken out of the nuclear family may become dysfunctional, therefore, they are retained as functions of that unit. However, in a society where group oriented socialization is so important to its maintenance and continued existence, it is more functional to make socialization and economic production the function of the entire group instead of having each family unit try to function independently.

Analysis of Both Family Systems

Both systems have the basic element of the nuclear family

in form. However, this element seems to differ in function in the two societies. We must now carefully compare these functions to see if one family system is more compatible with a high degree of community integration than the other, or if both family systems allow the same degree of community integration. Allowing the highest degree of community integration as possible is extremely important in these two cultural groups, for without an highly integrated community the members of each cultural group could easily lose their group identity and become assimilated into the larger North American society.

As the functions have already been stated in the foregoing pages, the best way of comparison is to list the functions in a figure devised specifically for this study. Using Murdock's four functions of the nuclear family, we shall compose a figure to find out whether these functions are carried on in the nuclear family or in the community or in the extended-community. In addition to Murdock's four functions, two other categories have been listed (see Figure 3).

	Socialization	Economical	Reproductive	Sexual	Religious Ritual and Ceremony	Rites of Passage
Old Order Amish						
Nuclear Family	Main Area	Main Area	Main Area	Main Area	Fringe Area	Sub Area
District	Sub Area	Sub Area			Main Area	Main Area
Extended- Community	Fringe Area	Fringe Area			Sub Area	Fringe Area
Hutterian Brethren						
Nuclear Family	Sub Area	Fringe Area	Main Area	Main Area	Fringe Area	Sub Area
Bruderhof (symbolic family)	Main Area	Main Area			Main Area	Main Area
Extended- Community	Fringe Area	Sub Area			Sub Area	Fringe Area

Figure 3. Functional Relationship of Amish and Hutterian Societies

As can be seen four of the six categories appear to function identically in both societies (although there are slight variations which cannot be noted on such a general figure). Reproductive and sexual functions operate only in the confines of the nuclear family in both societies. The religious rituals and rites of passage find the major emphasis in the community with minor emphasis in the extended-community and even less emphasis in the nuclear family. This is very important for it brings all of the members together into a symbolic whole that could not be achieved if all members put emphasis on individual or family worship. Birth, marriage, and death are all community matters first and family matters second which also helps keep the community well integrated.

The two categories that one can see major differences in may turn out to be the most important ones for the two groups under consideration.

For the Amish, most socialization and economic production occurs in the nuclear family. Some socialization is done outside of the home but the main impetus is from the family. If an Amish family needs economic aid, the others in their district would not hesitate to come to their aid, but the Amish society is not structured to perform this function for an extended period of time.

The Hutterian Brethren base their system on familiar interdependence. It is the duty of everyone to help socialize every person

in the Bruderhof, thus maintaining its strength. Economic aspects are not an area of concern for the family. The family depends on its equal share of the Bruderhof's production. If one Bruderhof is in financial trouble, the extended-community is willing and able to complete the Bruderhof's call for assistance. The entire society is structured to function in situations calling for cooperation and mutual aid.

After dealing with community integration we shall come back to the above functions and try to reach a conclusion on the effectiveness of the two systems and their future.

CHAPTER FIVE

Community Integration

Old Order Amish Community Integration

In this chapter we shall be dealing with community (for definition please see page 6) integration of the Amish and Hutterians. The Amish community integration will first be examined in three parts: (1) ideological basis for integration, (2) the spatial aspects of integration, and (3) the ritual aspects of community integration.

The ideological basis of Amish society can best be seen through a series of postulates and corollaries. These develop out of the Amish covenant or charter. The Amish covenant is known to its members as the Ordnung. A covenant need not be reduced to writing to be effective in the community; it may be thought of as the common purpose of the community, corresponding to a desire or set of motives embodied in tradition. Although Amish life is oriented to absolute values, there is an almost automatic reaction to habitual stimuli that guides behavior in a course which has been repeatedly followed. Behavior is traditionally oriented by belief and the habit of long experience (Hostetler 1963:45).

POSTULATE NUMBER ONE: The world is dualistic. The good and pure coexist with evil and impurity, while truth and light coexist with falsehood and darkness.

Corollary number one: If the world is dualistic, the logical Amish corollary which develops is to separate from the world. This is based on two biblical passages. The first of these is: "Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God" (Romans 12:1). The following sub-corollaries are based upon this passage.

Sub-corollary one A: Dress not of the world.

Sub-corollary one B: Behave not like the world.

The second passage also has two sub-corollaries which are derived from it: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness?" (II Corinthians 6:14).

Sub-corollary one C: Amish must marry only Amish.

Sub-corollary one D: An Amishman must not enter into close business partnership with a non-Amishman.

POSTULATE NUMBER TWO: The Amish are the "chosen people." This postulate is based upon I Peter 2:9: "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of

darkness into his marvelous light." This postulate also has a set of corollaries which reinforce it.

Corollary number one: Separate from the world. This also includes the above listed sub-corollaries which need no further explanation.

Corollary number two: The Amish must live by the Bible. The Amish do so almost literally due to the belief that they have not the right nor the ability to interpret the word of the Almighty.

Corollary number three: One must vow obedience. In order to assure the level of purity is sustained in the Amish community, one must vow obedience to the Lord and to the other members of the community. This in turn has a sub-corollary.

Sub-corollary three A: One who breaks this vow must be shunned from the community. This fear of possible rejection helps to keep people obedient and keeps the "chosen people" pure by shunning all those who have strayed away.

POSTULATE NUMBER THREE: Nature is Godly while technology is worldly. This postulate is derived from another biblical passage, "replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth" (Genesis I:28). The Amishman believes that technology (if too developed) tends to destroy nature and what it reveals about God, thus it is worldly.

Corollary number one: Amish must limit their lives to agricultural or closely related activities. The ideal of most Amish is to farm, but closely related occupations such as operating a saw mill or owning a buggy shop are acceptable.

Corollary number two: The Amish must limit their usage of modern technology or they will be in conflict with the teachings of the Lord.

The Amish are a traditional agricultural people perpetuating a distinctive way of life in strong contrast with the surrounding majority culture. This distinctiveness is based on strong religious convictions (Wittmer 1971:146). As both Wittmer and Hostetler have pointed out, the Amish base their ideological beliefs on religion and tradition. As long as this tradition is able to be maintained the Amish will be able to retain their distinctiveness.

In addition to the ideological basis of integration the spatial aspect of community organization is also very important. As stated above, the most important spatial aspect is the need to be close to nature. As one Amishman put it, "The Lord told Adam to replenish the earth and to rule over the animals and the land - you can't do that in cities" (Hostetler 1963:67). The Amish are agrarian communities found in twenty states and one Canadian province.

The two most important space-related units in Amish society are "settlement" and "church district" (Hostetler 1963:70). The

settlement consists of all Amish families living in close proximity to one another. This population is not necessarily ceremonially related. If a settlement is large it will have more than one church district and each settlement will have at least one church district. When a settlement does have more than one district they are usually delineated geographically by roads, creeks, hills, etc.

As with the Hutterian Bruderhof, the Amish church district is limited in size by the number of persons that it can manage efficiently. The church district is a manageable ceremonial unit within the Amish settlement. The size of the district is determined and conditioned by the number of people who can meet for the preaching service in one dwelling place. It is a self-contained governing body with ceremonial and institutional functions associated around the bi-weekly preaching service. Baptisms, marriages, ordinations and funerals are functions of the district (Hostetler 1963:71). The size of the districts is easily accessible by the Old Order Amish means of transportation--the horse-and-buggy. The average size of sixteen districts in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, is 4.3 square miles (Hostetler 1963:71-72).

The distribution of the Amish population is another important spatial element. The Amish population is continually growing in size (see Table 2).

Table 2. Old Order Amish Population Size, 1905-1970

Year	1905	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Population	8,200	13,900	18,500	25,800	33,000	43,300	50,000
Source: Computed from Hostetler, 1963 and Wittmer, 1971							

The average number of persons per district in Ohio is 208 persons. The average number of households per district is 42. The average number of children per completed family is seven to nine, thus maintaining the Amish population growth-potential (Hostetler 1963).

The age and sex distribution is different for the Amish than it is for other rural populations. This age distribution has important bearings on social and economic problems. In the Amish communities only half the proportion of people are over sixty-five as compared to the rural communities in general. This will cause less economic burdens on the Amish society. There are twice the number of persons under age twenty in the Amish communities. This is a definite asset because hands are needed to do the manual labor in the Amish community.

The actual spatial layout of Amish farm buildings and the spatial relationships of one farm to another differs little from rural American farms. The main difference is found in the construction of homes. A house may be added onto for a parent or grandparent to

live in when he retires. Some Amish homes in the Shipshewana, Indiana, church district have up to two additions with a new separate house next to them (personal observation).

All farms have a large garden area where most vegetables are grown. There are usually the following buildings on the Amish farm: the barn, chicken coop, grainery storage, corn crib, buggy garage, tool shed, and possibly a smoke house. Most Amish farms are somewhat smaller than non-Amish farms. Amish farmers are well known for their neat, orderly, and productive farms.

The community is spatially held together by one main aspect: the church district. The church district is the social and ceremonial center of the community. A district is usually well-defined by geographical boundaries. A district's size (roughly equivalent to that of an Hutterian Bruderhof) is limited by the number of people that can be efficiently handled in a church service. The district is also small enough to allow communicative interaction to occur very often, thereby increasing community integration. The district is the center of social organization. Two or more districts located in close geographical proximity is known as a settlement. The districts in the settlement are not ceremonially related except that they are all members of the symbolic extended-community.

The last category of community integration is ritual integration. The Amish community is a ceremonial community. The ceremonies of

one district tie all families together in a common sense of Gemeinschaft, where a common will becomes reality. The group sentiments exercise and support the individual member in his beliefs. Intensive participation provides the individual member with a sense of order and destiny. The rites associated with life such as baptism, marriage, ordination, and death serve to integrate personality with culture (Hostetler 1963:101).

The most pervasive ritual of the Amish community is the church service. It is held in each member's home on a rotating basis. This symbolizes the importance of each individual family by giving them an opportunity to share their home with all other members of the community. It also symbolizes the unimportance of a building, for it is not the church building that makes a community of the Lord, but the church members. It is an opportunity for all members to reaffirm their mutual covenant with the Lord and with one another. In addition to hearing the sermons and proper way to live during the Sunday service, the community eats a communal meal together after the service. Although it is just a light snack, it is a way of symbolically sealing the oneness of the community.

Communion services also bond the district together and strengthen community integration. These services are only held twice each year and are of significant importance to the community. It binds the community together with explicit ties instead of informal,

implicit ones. Each member must be in good standing in the community to partake of communion. If a member has been shunned this is an opportunity for him to come forward and admit his errors and renew the covenant. This service is therefore of utmost importance for evaluating personal behavior, of achieving unanimity of opinion, and of bringing deviating persons into conformity (Hostetler 1963: 121).

In summary, the Amish way of life is integrated through the interrelated aspects of ideology, ritual, and space. The Amish world view calls for separation from the world and this is reinforced by their rituals and the covenant. Due to the necessity of keeping a manageable ceremonial unit each district must maintain a limited size and geographical area. All three aspects are interrelated, each supporting the others.

We, too⁶ must disagree with Schreiber's (1962) thesis that the Amish are primarily simple 16th century Germans who transplanted their peasant community to America and because of geographical isolation and innate conservatism have maintained their Old World folkways.

In explaining the Old Order Amish distinctiveness Huntington (1963) argues that the reason for the distinctness of the Amish cannot be their ethnic unity, nor the environmental situation, nor their economic pursuits, for these are shared with non-Amish. They are

distinguished by their religion which structures their life. Religiously sanctioned behavior and religiously prescribed material culture rather than a peasant mentality function to isolate the community from the larger culture of the world outside.

Hutterian Brethren Community Integration

"And all who believed were together and had all things in common; and they sold their possessions and goods and distributed them to all, as any had need.

And day by day, attending the temple together and breaking bread in their homes, they partook of food with glad and generous hearts, praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to their number day by day those who were being saved" (Acts 2:43-47).

The above passage shapes every member's life of the Hutterian Brethren. As the Amish, most ideology is sanctioned by, and imbedded in traditional religious beliefs. The above passage is interpreted literally by the Hutterians and this is where they derive their basic principle of community goods.

Hutterian Brethren community integration will also be studied in three parts: ideological, spatial, and ritual aspects of community integration. There are many similarities between the Amish and the Hutterian Brethren; therefore, the description of

Hutterian Brethren ideology will at times be identical with that of the Amish. However, there are ideological differences as well as many spatial and ritual differences between the two groups.

The Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren are both classified as covenanted communities. A covenanted community is one which is composed of individuals bound in a special compact with God and with each other (Smith 1966:6). The covenant is what has shaped ideology in the Hutterian community. It is based on Acts 2:43-47 and is reinforced by daily behavior which is in a large part ritualistic. Ideological aspects will be examined by a series of postulates and corollaries which have been derived from the Hutterian covenant (Peters 1965:193-201) and from the ethnographic data presented in Bennett (1967), Hostetler and Huntington (1967), and Peters (1965).

The first postulates to be examined will be the ones which are identical (or nearly so) to the Old Order Amish postulates cited above. Following these will be the ones which set the Hutterian Brethren apart from the Old Order Amish, and all other groups.

POSTULATE NUMBER ONE: The world is dualistic. The good and pure coexist with evil and impurity, while truth and light coexist with falsehood and darkness.

Corollary number one: The Hutterian Brethren must be separated from the rest of the world.

Sub-corollary one A: Dress not of the world.

Sub-corollary one B: Behave not like the worldly.

Sub-corollary one C: An Hutterian must marry another Hutterian.

Sub-corollary one D: An Hutterian must not enter into close business partnership with a non-Hutterian.

Sub-corollary one E: Hutterians should be educated by other Hutterians.

POSTULATE NUMBER TWO: The Hutterians are the "chosen people."

Corollary number one: Separate from the world. This also includes the above listed sub-corollaries, which need not be repeated.

Corollary number two: Members of the Brethren must live by the bible. Complete dedication in the work for the aims and objects of the church is expected from all members thereof.

Corollary number three: Members must vow obedience to, and be joined together in a common covenant which binds all members to a complete devotion to the community and to the church.

Sub-corollary three A: Members who break the covenant must be expelled from the community. The importance of the covenant can be seen in the following passage from the Articles of Association (Peters 1967):

Any member of a congregation or community may be expelled or dismissed therefrom at any annual or general meeting of that congregation or community upon a majority vote of all the members thereof, or upon the request of such member, or by his or her having left or abandoned the congregation or community, or having refused to give and devote all his or her time, labor, services, earnings and energies to the congregation or community and the purposes thereof, or to do and perform the work, labor, acts and things required of him or her by the congregation or community or to attend and engage in the regular meetings, worship and service of the members of the congregation or community.

As can be seen above, the foregoing postulates and corollaries are very similar, indeed sometimes identical, to those cited for the Amish. However, the following postulates and corollaries are different in kind from those of the Amish and are extremely important to note when considering the future of the two groups (which will be considered in the "conclusion").

POSTULATE NUMBER THREE: To obtain for its members one entire spiritual unit in complete community of goods (whether production or consumption) in perfect purity in mutual relationships, absolute truthfulness and a real attitude of peace, confessing and testifying by work and by deed that Love, Justice, Truth and Peace is God's will for all men on earth. All the members are responsible for carrying out the objects of the Church by following exactly the spontaneous direction of the Holy Spirit and by mutual stimulation and education (Articles of Association, Peters: 1965).

Corollary number one: The community is more

important than the individual.

Sub-corollary one A: The individual must give up rights to all but the most intimate personal possessions for the good of the group.

Sub-corollary one B: The individual must commit everything he can, physically, biologically, mentally and materially to the community.

Corollary number two: Individuality must not be encouraged, but rather must be suppressed.

Sub-corollary two A: Education and socialization are structured expressly to carry out the above mentioned function.

Sub-corollary two B: It is the duty of every member to constantly stimulate and socialize every other member.

Sub-corollary two C: Socialization is continuous and community wide. It starts at birth and continues until death. It is not the job of a select group of people; such as the family, a teacher and a minister.

Corollary number three: All individuals are equal.

Sub-corollary three A: Individual luxuries cannot be tolerated in this egalitarian society.

Sub-corollary three B: If one is beneficial to one, one is beneficial to all.

POSTULATE NUMBER FOUR: Technology is not in itself bad;

if it is put to proper use for the community (not for the individual) the covenant has not been broken and the church has not gone against the will of God. This is a very important difference between the two cultures. It is of definite survival value for the Hutterian Brethren as long as the acceptance of technology is exercised with great care and only allowed for community well-being.

Corollary number one: Farming can become more efficient through the use of heavy farm machinery.

Corollary number two: The economy of the community can be maintained.

Sub-corollary two A: Hutterian Brethren are able to compete with the prevailing society and survive in its market system.

Corollary number three: Expansion and branching out are facilitated by advanced technology.

Sub-corollary three A: A better economy means more funds for land purchase.

Sub-corollary three B: Machinery can be loaned out to a new colony, thus enabling it to exist with less manpower.

Corollary number four: Technology must only be used when it will, in turn, increase the possibilities of attaining the objectives of the covenant. It must never be used for purely individual ends.

The ideology of the Hutterian Brethren pervades every aspect of their life. Their ideology is mainly based upon religious teachings

of the Bible, though tradition also plays an important role in some areas. The two distinctive differences which exist between the Amish and the Hutterians, are the beliefs by the Hutterians that: (1) community of goods must be practiced, and (2) that technology in itself is not bad.

Ultimate good is achieved in life only by surrender of the individual will to the will of God as manifest in the believing community where all material goods and spiritual gifts are shared in common. Only by living in the "ark of safety" can the individual overcome the selfish desires of his carnal tendency and be confident of eternal life after death (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:16).

The spatial aspects of the Hutterian Bruderhof are influenced by their world view. They believe that all happens and flows in an exact order; therefore, there must be a correct place for all buildings. The buildings must be in proper relationship to one another and squared with the compass (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:18).

The Hutterians do not have a distinct architecture and their buildings have changed little since the 16th century. There is a distinct colony lay-out however, which is a concrete expression of their belief system. The center of every colony is the communal kitchen where food is prepared and the communal sharing of foods occurs three times daily. Next to this kitchen is the food storage and the bell which signals that it is meal time or that an emergency has

occurred. Oriented towards the kitchen to its East and West are the living quarters. The living quarters are longhouses, with individual family apartments, which have been designed on a sixteenth-century floor plan. The rest of the farm buildings are also oriented toward the center of the colony whenever possible, although they are usually located a few hundred yards away from the center. Buildings are usually designed and built with their "backs" to the state road symbolically shutting out the world.

Hutterians consider life in this world to be transient, temporary, and of no consequence where it is lived, for they are always "in strange lands under Jews and Gentiles." In these strange lands they create their own physical environment which is remarkably uniform. The colony is the concrete expression of the Hutterite belief system and the social environment in which the beliefs are transmitted to the children. What gives a Hutterite identity is not the place he has lived, nor having lived in one or many places, but rather that in spite of geographic moves the pattern of his life has always been the same, even to the floor plan of his house and the position of his home relative to that of his neighbors. A specific place is not important--specific orientation is of utmost importance (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:21).

When the Hutterian Brethren first settled in South Dakota in the period from 1874 to 1877, there were less than eight hundred

Hutterians in the United States. Of these eight hundred members, only four hundred settled in communal colonies, the rest took advantage of homesteading and joined the Mennonite Church.

In less than one hundred years the Hutterian Brethren have grown to a population size of 17,300 persons (Agricultural Experiment Station 1970). This has been accomplished through an extremely high birth rate and relatively low death rate (see Table 3).

Table 3. Comparison of Hutterian Brethren and other North American groups' rate of increase

Population	Period	Birth rate per 1,000	Death rate per 1,000	Rate of Increase
Hutterians	1946-1950	45.9	4.4	41.5
Canada	1946-1951	27.4	9.3	18.1
United States	1949-1951	24.0	9.7	14.3
Mexico	1949-1951	44.9	17.0	27.9

Source: Peters 1965:152

According to Eaton and Mayer (1954) the median family size in the Hutterian Brethren church is 10.4 children. This high rate of increase coupled with the fact that few people leave the Hutterian Brethren has enabled the population to increase at such a rapid rate.

Colonies vary in size from 45 to 186 members, although a colony will usually split and a branch colony will be formed when it reaches a population of 130-150 people. This process is facilitated by the fact that close kinship ties are maintained with members of the

mother colony. When the daughter colony is in trouble the mother colony can usually be counted on to help out. According to the covenant, all communities must be set up the same, so members need not to get used to a new structure or system, but rather just to a new geographical location.

As among the Amish, ritual integration of the community is very important in the Hutterian Bruderhof. Unlike the Amish, who have a biweekly church service, the Hutterians help keep their community integrated through a daily service in addition to the regular Sunday worship service. After each day's work is finished all of the adults and children follow the preacher to the school house for the evening service. This is an extremely important difference.

In an analysis of the Hutterian church service, Hostetler and Huntington (1967) conclude that it characterizes six aspects of their life style, all of which help integrate the community. First, there is no church building. The specific place of worship is unimportant due to the fact that sacred space encompasses all the central living space of the colony, and not just one building. Some colonies worship in the school house while others may worship in part of the kitchen complex. Second, the church service contrasts with the supplements of daily life. Special clothing is worn and women are given a chance to raise their voices above the men's in singing.

Third, the church service emphasizes the importance of right

order both in seating of the members and in the sequence of the service. Fourth, the church service makes visible the authority pattern of the community and emphasizes its supernatural rightness. The men and women are separated and families do not sit together. When leaving the service, the men and boys leave first and are followed by the women and girls. If anyone is absent his place is left empty and the community is incomplete. He knows that his absence is noted and that he is missed. Thus the church service corroborates the hierarchical structure of the colony, and reaffirms each individual in his God-given place in church, in the colony, and in the universe. Only he can fill his place; he is an intrinsic part of the larger whole.

Fifth, as among the Amish, the church service not only serves a ritual function but also a didactic one. During this period members are instructed in their discipline, their faith, their history, and the reason for their existence. Sixth, the church service is followed immediately by a community meal, by breaking bread together.

Temporal bread immediately follows spiritual sustenance.

In concluding their section on the church service, Hostetler and Huntington summarize with the following remarks:

The church service reinforces the basic pattern of Hutterian life and simultaneously gives relief and depth by setting the sacred against the secular and thus permitting behavior and responses on a different plane. Within the service--protected, surrounded by, and observed by every other colony member--life becomes predictable, time is no longer fleet, each

individual is essential, and women may raise their voices in singing above those of the men. The words of the sermon are believed to flow from God and to remain part of God. Their message teaches anew and reinforces the values the full members have internalized. The church gathering is the highest moment of integration in the life of the community; it encompasses and gives meaning to all of life (1967:35-36).

The ideology of the Hutterian Brethren calls for all members to be bound together in a communal society which is sanctioned by religious beliefs and held together by the covenant. The spatial aspects of the society are concrete examples of how the Hutterians view their world--all must be orderly. Ritual is the greatest integrator in Hutterian society. The members must be continually socialized and the daily service allows a high degree of socialization in the colony. All three aspects--ritual, ideological, and spatial--are interrelated and give support to one another and to community integration.

CONCLUSIONS

Both the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren have obtained an extremely high level of integration among their communities, but the Hutterian Brethren communities have in fact reached a higher level of integration. This higher level of integration coupled with the fact that the Hutterian Brethren are capable of harnessing a greater amount of energy due to their acceptance of modern technology, lead us to the hypothesis that the Hutterian Brethren will indeed have a better chance for survival as a distinct cultural group in North America.

We shall discuss this hypothesis in two parts: (1) community integration, and (2) technology. The following factors are not meant to be conclusive proof that the Hutterian Brethren communities have reached a higher level of integration, rather they are just indicators of integration among both the Amish and the Hutterians which need further research.

Defection is not necessarily a sign of instability, for it is sometimes necessary to retain community integration. But defection is an indicator as to the effectiveness of the socialization methods used by the two cultural groups under consideration.

Cultural and normative integration appear to be nearly equal in both cultural groups, but communicative and functional integration are at a higher level in the Hutterian Brethren communities. Communicative contacts permeate the community daily in face-to-face contact while one is working, eating, or in the daily church service. There is much more opportunity for communication in a cooperative society than in one where individual families are nearly self-sufficient. Functional integration is also much greater due to the high amount of mutual interdependence found in a Hutterian Bruderhof.

The lack of precise statistics as to how many people defect from the Old Order Amish makes it difficult to determine exact numbers, although it looks as though defection is more common among the Amish than the Hutterians. In Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, it was found by Hostetler (1963) that 30 per cent of the offspring did not join the church. This is an extremely large number of members to lose. In contrast to this large percentage the Hutterian Brethren had only lost 2.5 per cent of all persons 15 years of age and older. Of these deserters, 106 were males and 8 were females totalling 114 deserters since their foundation in the New World between 1874-1877 (Eaton and Weil, 1955:41).

Without precise numbers of defectors one can still see the greater degree of defection in Amish communities by comparing the population growth of the two groups between the years 1950-1970.

Due to the fact that the birth and death rates are approximately the same for each group, one may deduce the fact that if population growth is greater among the Hutterians there must also be less defection among them.

In 1950 the Old Order Amish population was 33,000 and it had reached 50,000 by 1970 (see Table 4). This is an increase of approximately 50 per cent in twenty years.

On December 31, 1950, the Hutterian population was 8,542 (Eaton and Weil 1955:47) and had reached 17,300 by 1970 (Agricultural Experiment Station, 1970). In twenty years the Hutterian Brethren were able to more than double their population.

With the difference in birth rates known between the two groups only one thing could explain the greater increase among Hutterians--that their rate of defection is considerably less.

Divisions and migrations can make the community stronger and more integrated once it is reestablished in its new location, but they are signs of weakness and instability in the larger group in which they occur. Amish history is a history of divisions (Hostetler 1963:288). Today Amish migrations are once again beginning to occur on a large scale. In December of 1966, the entire community of St. Joe, Arkansas, sold out and moved to British Honduras (Wittmer 1971). There have also been recent settlements in Brazil, Costa Rica,

Paraguay, and other Central and South American countries. It appears that migrations will increase in the future, not decrease.

Except for their initial United States to Canada migration at the close of World War I, the Hutterians have not found it as necessary to migrate as the Amish have. Indeed, they have since been able to reestablish colonies in five states of the United States of America.

We must ask what is it that makes the Hutterians more capable of keeping their society integrated and more capable of dealing with the larger North American culture than the Amish are capable of doing? We see two areas that help the Hutterian Brethren integrate their society that are missing in Amish society.

The first of these is the exacting, continuing socialization process which encompasses the entire Hutterian Bruderhof. By making it the responsibility of all colony members to socialize all other colony members the Hutterians have accomplished a system of socialization which the Amish have been unable to obtain.

The second area is ideological. While the Hutterites have adopted with considerable success, modern agricultural techniques and equipment, the structure of their communities and their beliefs have remained relatively unchanged (Cone and Pelto 1969:140). They will readily adopt anything for the good of the community. The Amish have been unable to do this due to a different interpretation

of the Bible. They either reject technological innovations altogether, or accept them with a concurrent change in ideology. Thus for Old Order Amish to remain Old Order Amish they must reject technology.

We must conclude that based on present ethnographic accounts of the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren it appears that the Hutterian Brethren have achieved more highly integrated communities than those found among the Old Order Amish.

It must also be added that due to this stability, and the ability to harness more energy by using modern technology, the Hutterian Brethren Church will continue to grow in number and to maintain their positions in North America. It is probable that the Old Order Amish will continue to migrate to Central and South America and that the problem of defection will continue to weaken the communities which do not migrate. Until a more efficient means of socialization can be achieved, along with an acceptance of advanced technology without the concurrent change in ideology, the Amish will likely have the above problems and a bleaker future than the Hutterian Brethren.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Ideas for Future Research

One idea for further research was mentioned in the paper itself. This is to use Landecker's four types of community integration and attempt to construct a scale whereby one could rate each community on a statistical basis as to its degree of integration. All four types of integration could be rated and one could discover the strong points and the weak points of a community's system of integration.

This would not only help clarify and support some of the propositions put forth in this paper, but it would also be of great benefit to all researchers in the fields of anthropology and sociology.

Another idea would be to formulate scales which measure group characteristics and group dimensions on a statistical basis. Hemphill and Westie (1955) have experimented with this type of measurement. Using the following group characteristics they concluded that the scales have adequate reliability and may provide tools for the objective study of variation found among social groups. The group characteristics measured were: Autonomy, Control, Flexibility, Hedonic Tone, Homogeneity, Intimacy, Participation,

Permeability, Polarization, Potency, Size, Stability, Stratification, and Viscidity.

Further research on the Amish and/or Hutterian Brethren should involve the following. An understanding of German should be achieved so documents not yet translated into English could be read. Also more work on the historical backgrounds of the various groups could be researched, because this seems to be an area where more work is needed.

Extensive field work should be done in both cultures if the comparison is to be further validated. Field work could also be undertaken in one of the Old Order Amish communities which have migrated to South or Central America to learn more about cultural change.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Only three anthropologists have done extended field work among these two groups: Hostetler, Huntington, and Wittmer. All three have studied the Amish. Hostetler and Huntington have studied the Hutterian Brethren, also.
- 2 Although we realize that anthropological literature is already inundated with unnecessary jargon, we feel that this distinction is both valid and necessary.
- 3 "Unlike a peasant society (or the conceptual model of a folk society) the Amish community is self-consciously maintained and the isolation knowingly produced" (Huntington 1963:435).
- 4 This is traditional of the community.
- 5 An example of this would be the distinctive clothing and grooming styles which characterize the entire extended-community.
- 6 See also Huntington 1963:435.

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