

THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL STABILITY: A POLITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY  
OF THE HITTITES OF NORTH AMERICA

(Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University,  
1969)

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## Introduction

This is a study of the attempts of members of a small society, the Hutterians, to perpetuate their social and cultural systems in a setting they perceive as fundamentally alien and hostile. Collectively, the members of this group seek to be independent of the control of outsiders although perfect autonomy and self-sufficiency are, of course, precluded. The group stands inextricably involved in the political and economic affairs of the larger society.

The Hutterians are communally-organized Anabaptists living on the Northern Great Plains. They are noted for their rapid rate of increase, their highly developed and successful agricultural technology and their apartness from the World. They have experienced a 33-fold population increase during the past 100 years. This expansion has precipitated varying feelings of antipathy and recurrent attempts or threats to legislate restrictions in every state and province in which they reside.

Each Hutterian community exists as a legally constituted corporation with a book value of between \$400,000 and \$1,000,000. That the expression of this value is commonly made by members of the colonies suggests a degree of economic and symbol integration with the larger society. Yet they are perfectly endogenous and perceive themselves as a group apart.

In the most obvious sense, the communities exist as geographic divisions within political districts. As such they receive the benefit of public goods, e.g., the benefits of law and order, freedom from invasion, and more mundane items such as roads and boards of health. Thus the Hutterian communities, or colonies as they are commonly called, are semi-autonomous systems enmeshed and articulated with a variety of exogenous systems.

The most general level of social system with which social scientists are concerned is the society. In this work, my focus is upon the patterns of behavior within one small-scale society and the largely successful efforts to contain patterns within traditional parameters.

In contrast with traditional societies, one of the most theoretically significant features of a modernized society is the large number of institutions constituted to accomplish specified ends. If established on a rationalized basis, a criterion exists for the evaluation of an institution. This criterion is the degree to which the institution in question contributes to accomplishment of the ends for which it was established. This is in marked contrast to the situation in many traditional societies. Often the functional institutions of a traditional society are not justified in terms of these functions. The practices which have evolved over generations

are often maintained, not on the basis of rational analysis, but rather on the basis of ascriptive qualities justified by tradition. A summary statement descriptive of the Hutterite social constitution outlines a set of such institutions.

The Hutterites regard themselves as Christian believers maintaining the proper social order and not as a rationalized experiment in communal living. The continued existence of their society is secondary to obedience to God. They are, therefore, willing to become extinct as a society rather than compromise or lose the communal pattern of living, which is equated with the proper worship of God. The child is raised and the adult lives by a social pattern believed to be divinely ordained, apart from any cause and effect relationship that might be evident to an anthropologist or a worldly observer.<sup>1</sup>

There are, as far as I know, no Federalist Papers for the Hutterites. Although their system is of proven viability, this success is not the result of a conscious effort to rationally manipulate the social order. The alleged source of their order is such as to preclude the legitimacy of deliberate restructuring of the rules under which rules are made. The implications of the Hutterian charter, considered at the level of the person, are such that a Hutterite's best general strategy is to perform in a manner consistent with the well-being of his colony. The core of their charter, being divined rather than designed, is not subject to tinkering. Given this source, their program for social organization enjoys an ascribed sanctity. From this, legitimacy arises. Yet aggregated behavior under this set of presumptions and proscriptions must not be inconsistent with viability in a modernized and alien setting.

The possible merit of the following study results from its accounting for the capacity of a traditional society to find a set of successful accommodations in a modernized context. My material is offered as an explanatory sketch of this accommodational process.

As a small but essentially complete society, the Hutterite system includes political organization of wide jurisdictional scope. There are structures for the recruitment of persons into political roles as well as structures for the generation of policy decisions. A substantial proportion of these decisions are relevant to accommodational propensities. Thus, any account of the viability of this society includes continual reference to politics.

Regardless of the pretense or desires of their members, the colonies are not independent of exogenous political systems. There are political transactions between the colonies and persons enacting political roles in the larger society. Stated in a more direct manner, decisions made on the outside impinge upon the colonies in certain ways. Although non-involvement with the outside government is upheld as a Hutterian ideal and is often claimed as the accurate description of their relationship with the outside, it is clear to all concerned that some externally determined, overtly political matters are of immediate and substantial consequence to the welfare of the colonies.

To be examined is the degree to which such issues receive attention roughly proportional to their import. This aspect merits consideration given that colony adjustment to exogenous affairs is of central concern.

To arrive at an empirical generalization one must have reference to some data. Data, if of good quality, is both accurate (valid and reliable) and relevant to the questions at hand. The data upon which this study is based was obtained from multiple sources. In my opinion, it deserves to be treated with some reservation. First, all of the standard English sources on the Hutterites have been employed (and are listed in the bibliography). Next, fugitive material such as M.A. and Ph.D. theses have been obtained and read. In addition, I have spoken with or written to a number of social scientists and historians who have worked with Hutterite material. This background provided what I believe to be a useful introduction to the Hutterites.

My first contact with the Hutterites was in the spring of 1967 when I visited seven colonies and established contacts renewed during later visits in 1967. During a portion of that summer, my wife and I lived on one colony and visited several others in Montana and South Dakota. We were always hospitably received and commonly spent the night on the colony visited. My visits were continued during 1968 and 1969.

While in the region, considerable time was also spent talking with university personnel, agricultural extension workers, government officials, salesmen and implement dealers and sundry persons who are occasioned to deal with members of the colonies. Although a substantial number of these meetings involved focused questionnaires, the majority involved unstructured -- although probing -- conversations.

The Hutterites were usually hospitable, but their preference for an apartness from the World constitutes at the minimum a temporary barrier. Up to a point, access to a colony is readily available. Unfortunately for my purposes, however, the set of issues with which I was primarily concerned was often beyond this point. There are types of social science research that inherently violate standards of propriety. My interest in the stability of the Hutterite social and cultural systems led to questions regarding deviation and defection from the colonies. And although there are relatively few private acts on a colony, it is considered poor taste to probe regarding variations from standards. Thus, since a private interview is most difficult to arrange on a colony, many of my interviewing efforts were blocked.

Whenever it could be arranged, and this too was often difficult, my initial visit to a colony was in the company

of a baptized male from another colony. Unless there were a particular person with whom I wished to speak, we would visit with his nearest kin and the preacher and the manager (or boss). The members of the host colony would usually take great interest in (1) seeing that we were well fed (the record was seven meals in one day), (2) gossiping about people on my guide's home colony, and (3) showing me the newest, most elaborate and most expensive addition to the technical inventory of the colony. Aside from an occasional explanation of my presence (and prayers before and after meals), conversations with me or conversations carried on in my presence were in English.

I harbor few illusions about the perfection of this effort to account for the stability of Hutterian society. Yet I hope to provide an understanding of a largely successful effort to accommodate the demands of tradition and modernity without violating traditional norms or jeopardizing systemic viability. And nothing contributes to understanding as an universal generalization.

In the social sciences, this type of generalization is common indeed. There are a great many statements that are relevant, universal, empirical and true. But the conjunction of these attributes does not guarantee that the statements are scientifically interesting. While the preceding cluster of attributes constitutes necessary conditions for scientific

contribution, alone these attributes remain insufficient. For a generalization to significantly contribute to the reduction of indeterminacy, it must, in addition to being true and empirical, be logically related to other generalizations. It is only when this occurs that theoretical significance develops.

Statistical (or probabilistic or tendency) statements abound in social sciences, but to the degree that they depart from exhaustive claims their capacity for determination is diminished. In contrast, universal statements of the type, all A's are B's, leave little room for doubt regarding any B's status should it be determined that that something is indeed an A.

Empirical, universal, theoretically relevant generalizations are rare in the social sciences. Those which are offered as candidates for this status usually turn out to be trivially true, false, or analytic rather than synthetic statements. We have excellent inductive evidence that all men die -- in the common sense of the term die. Further, it is equally clear that death is a socially important occurrence. Yet, I know of no theory explicitly and primarily reliant upon this universal generalization. Thus, it seems clear that however "proper" a universal generalization, utility and interest are not guaranteed. True empirical universal generalizations enmeshed within theories are evidence of significant

progress in any science. Their scarcity augments their value in social science.

Thus, when I find a social scientist (for whom I harbor a great deal of respect) offer a generalization claiming the necessary and sufficient attributes, my sense of expectation shows a marked increase. If the generalization gives evidence of no logical (structural) inadequacy, the serious business of attempting disconfirmation may proceed. The term "offer" used above is to imply the candidacy status of the proposition. To be considered a serious candidate, the generalization must in principle be subject to disconfirmation, i.e., it must in principle stipulate relations among observables that can be brought to bear on the issue at hand.

It is within this context that a central proposition of Levy's Modernization and the Structure of Societies offers its great promise. Given the source of the statement and its obvious and compelling relevance, serious consideration is merited.

"Society", for Levy, consists of a composite of individuals of a species "whose actions are primarily oriented to the system", who are recruited to some degree by sexual reproduction of the members, a composite that is theoretically self-sufficient and is capable of existing beyond the lifespan of a single individual. This definition was slightly modified in Modernization and the

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Structure of Societies by the addition of the requirement "...that is capable of existing long enough for the production of stable adult members of the system of action from the infants of the members."<sup>3</sup>

"Structure", to Levy, refers to "...a pattern, i.e., an observable uniformity of action or operation."<sup>4</sup>

The third term that requires reference is "modernized". The distinction between modernized and nonmodernized is purported to be the most important distinction involved in Levy's discussion of social structure and modernization.<sup>5</sup> For Levy "[a] society will be considered more or less modernized to the extent that its members use inanimate sources of power and/or tools to multiply the effects of their efforts."<sup>6</sup> While it is clear that no society has either of these elements absent, the variation along the continua is great indeed. The cutoff point on the composite continuum is judged to be vital for the distinction between the relatively modernized and the relatively non-modernized.<sup>7</sup> Levy does not claim that position on the power-tool continuum causes all of the other characteristics of relatively modernized societies but only that the aspects are sufficiently interdependent to serve as indices (or "defining elements").

Although I do not think the use of different sources of power and kinds of tools causes all or even most of the other characteristics of relatively modernized societies, given the setting of such societies and the characteristics of societies in general, such elements are interdependent

enough with the others to be used as the defining elements for more reasons than the possibility of relatively simple and precise measurement.

With this minimal vocabulary and assuming the absence of major confusion regarding "ordinary" words, we may turn to Levy's universal generalization.

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All societies have certain structural forms in common, but there is something peculiar about the exogenous impact of structural forms or patterns of the relatively modernized societies, i.e., they tend to dissolve the structures of relatively nonmodernized societies. Further, any modernized society is more like any other modernized society than it is like any nonmodernized society. For example, Levy has claimed that "the social structure of Tokugawa Japan has more in common with that of eighteenth-century United States society than with that of modern Japan. Modern American social structure has more in common with that of modern Japan than either has with either that of eighteenth-century United States or Tokugawa Japan."<sup>10</sup> Thus, it is clearly the case that for Levy modernization is an important variable.

In every single instance in which there has been contact between the members of relatively modernized and relatively nonmodernized societies, apart from a brief meeting and the extermination of the representatives of one society or the other, a single general type of social change has ensued. Whatever the basis from which change took place has been, the structures of relatively nonmodernized society have begun to change and that change has always

been in the direction of the structures of the relatively modernized society. Furthermore, the contacts of members of these different types of societies have now reached such a state of development that there is not a single example of any relatively nonmodernized society of any considerable scale whose members have not experienced some such contacts and whose social structures have not begun to dissolve and change.<sup>11</sup>

Levy claims that as a society becomes relatively modernized the structures of that society undergo radical change. Radical, while not necessarily meaning violent, does mean important. During the past one hundred years, the Hutterian Brethren of North America have moved, in terms of Levy's criterion, from a relatively nonmodernized to a highly modernized condition.

Levy has made the obvious point that an agricultural enterprise may be as industrialized as manufacturing. This condition indeed attains for the Hutterites. Until 1905 the Hutterites' only sources of inanimate power were gravity, the ever-present wind of the plains, water power for several grain mills and two steam engines. Electricity and vehicles were, with great trepidation, introduced in 1928.<sup>12</sup> Since then their utilization of and expertise with inanimate sources of power has been such that agricultural engineers from state universities and engineers from John Deere have studied the Hutterites' techniques. One Hutterite commune, for example, with a population of approximately 75 was reported by its manager to have 60 self-propelled vehicles. These include according to my inspection: one Mitchell All-Wheel Drive Versatile tractor with a

replacement value of approximately \$40,000, several bulldozers or caterpillar tractors, a self-propelled, dual-engined, ready-mix concrete truck, one tandem-axle, diesel-powered, over-the-road tractor-trailer unit, several self-propelled combines and a variety of lesser tractors, trucks, jeeps and similar conventional farm and ranch machines. As a conservative estimate, I would suggest that there is at least 100 advertized horsepower for every man, woman and child on the colony. This, I submit, is in Levy's terms, a manifestation of a highly modernized society.

Levy states that the propositions that he advances about society apply primarily to large-scale societies. The Hutterites consist of nearly 20,000 individuals and approximately 200 communities on an estimated acreage of 1.4 million, with a book value of approximately \$160 million. Thus, they constitute only a "small scale" society. His basic propositions regarding the "universal social solvent", however, apply to social structures generally. Our aggregations stop at the community level. Thus, while his statements about societies may not encompass the Hutterites, the predictions regarding patterns or relationships within the society clearly apply unless rescued by ad hoc exceptions.

It is with these considerations in mind that I approach an analysis of the Hutterites' efforts to preserve their traditional

patterns of role differentiation, of solidarity, of political and economic allocation and of integration and expression while maintaining their viability in a highly modernized environment.

Notes

- 1 John A. Hostetler and Gertrude Enders Huntington, The Hutterites in North America, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, p. 57.
- 2 Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Structure of Society, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 112-113.
- 3 Marion J. Levy, Jr., Modernization and the Structure of Societies, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 20 and 21, footnote 10.
- 4 Levy, Modernization, p. 51.
- 5 Ibid., p. 9.
- 6 Ibid., p. 11.
- 7 Ibid., p. 13.
- 8 Ibid., p. 14.
- 9 See Levy, Modernization, pp. 178-186.
- 10 Ibid., p. 89.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 743-744.
- 12 See Emerson Deets, The Hutterites, A Study in Social Cohesion, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939, pp. 48-52.

An Ethnographic Sketch of the North American Hutterites

From the Tyrolian section of Germany and of Anabaptist origin, the Hutterites immigrated to the Dakota territories from Russia during the period 1874-1879. The Hutterites have divided themselves into three leut or people. This division into endogenous groups derives from the pattern adopted upon settlement in the Dakota territories. About half of the families homesteaded and are referred to by the Hutterites as Prairieleut. For a few years, there was some movement from the homesteads into the colonies, but the bulk of the independent Hutterite settlers affiliated with Mennonite groups. The remainder of the Hutterite immigrants established three compounds. The respective preachers of these colonies were a blacksmith, a teacher and a dairyman. From these leaders the names of the three groups have arisen. They are the Schmiedenleut, the Lehrerleut and the Dariusleut. Today branches of the Lehrerleut are located in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Montana; the Dariusleut in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana and Washington (1 colony); and the Schmiedenleut in Manitoba, South Dakota, North Dakota (1 colony) and Minnesota (1 colony). Although I lack overarching kinship data, Hutterite elders are of the opinion that leut endogamy has increased substantially, i.e., it is increasingly likely that marriage occurs within leut. Among the Schmiedenleut, perfect endogamy is said to prevail.

By 1970 these people will be organized into nearly 200<sup>2</sup> communities. The mean size of each colony is about 95. The Hutterites have only minimal personal property, all significant holdings being in the name of the corporate group. Their religion, as well as their manner of dress, somewhat resembles that of the Amish. In contrast with the Amish, however, the Hutterites are eager to adopt technological innovations, and they view the Amish as extremely backward. Given the existence of a number of historical and ethnographic accounts of the Hutterites, in this chapter I will only attempt to sketch the outlines of the<sup>3</sup> Hutterite society.

#### Environment

For purposes of stability and from fear of "contamination", the Hutterites prefer relative isolation. The Hutterites are devoted to enculturating their children to serve as followers of Christ, i.e., to continue the communal Hutterite way of life. "In this task they know no compromise, and they withdraw intentionally from the temptations of a secular civilization into the peaceful islands of their more than one hundred farm-colonies called Bruderhofs."<sup>4</sup>

Colonies own or lease acreage that varies from a low of approximately 4,000 to a reported 23,700. Usually if their land is contiguous, near the center is the set of main buildings. These buildings are approached by an all-weather gravel road

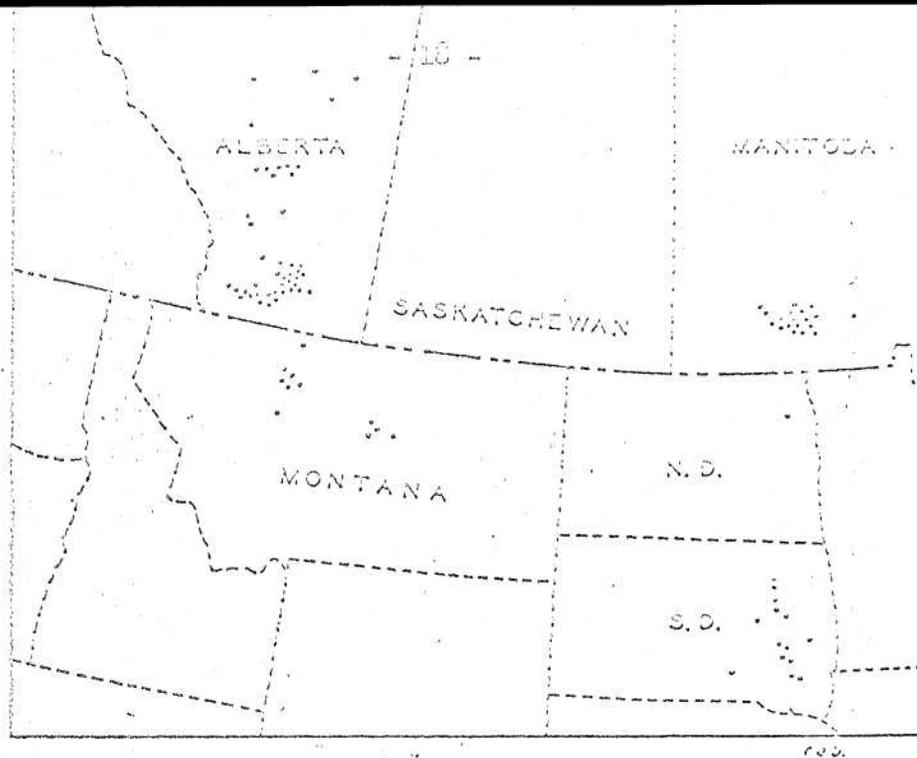
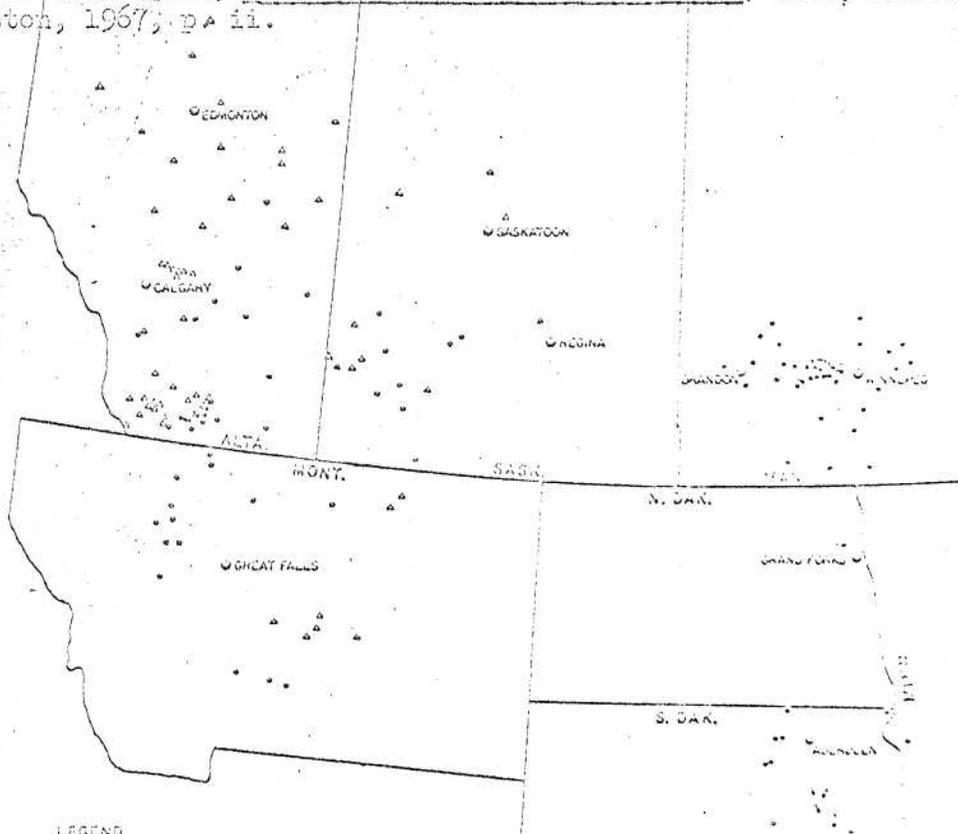
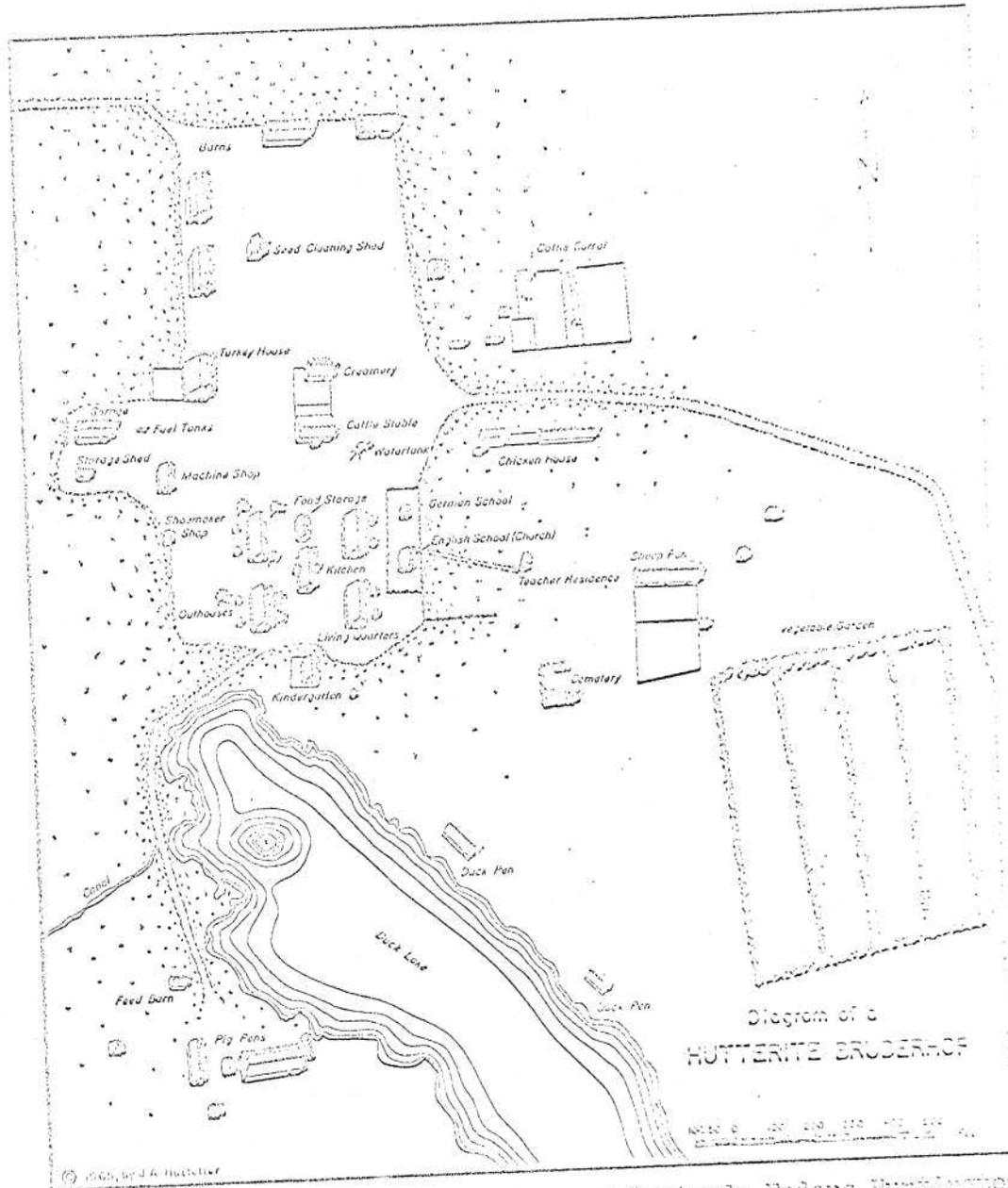


FIG. 1. Hutterite Colonies in North America: 1936.

These maps identifying the location of Hutterite colonies happen to have been made at a time interval equal to one colony generation, i.e., sixteen years. The above map is reproduced from Joseph Eaton and Albert J. Mayer, "Social Biology of Very High Fertility," *Human Biology*, vol. 25 (September 1953) p. 212. The map below is reproduced from John A. Hostetler and Gertrude Enders Huntington, The Hutterites in North America, Holt, Rinehart Winston, 1967; p. ii.





Reproduced from John A. Hostetler and Gertrude Enders Huntington, The Hutterites in North America, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, p. 20.

leading in from the public road. In the center of the compound, are the kitchen and dining facilities flanked by parallel rows of apartment buildings. Often there is a small shed behind each unit of the apartment buildings. Beside the shed is an outhouse. A Hutterite preacher has said the long houses "are squared with the compass. You don't walk crooked to the earth, you walk straight; that is how our buildings should be, straight with the compass and not askew."<sup>5</sup> From a distance, the colony may look like the regimental headquarters of a rather slovenly military establishment. Folktales to the contrary, a colony very rarely presents a paradigm of neatness, order and symmetry. Within easy walking distance of the residential quarters are the various farm buildings. These always include a substantial machine shop (called the blacksmith shop) and laundry with showers. Generally, one also finds a modern milking parlor with attached loafing shed for the dairy cows, a hog barn, a feed mill, and a chicken-laying house as well as a broiler house. Near the lane leading to the public road is the schoolhouse. A teacherage is often appended to the English school and the kindergarten is sure to be near the kitchen.

Once an individual has visited a colony he is most certain to recognize any other colony, for continuity is strongly expressed in the material culture. As Hostetler and Huntington have said, "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.<sup>6</sup>

#### A Demographic Sketch

Although the actuary tables for the Hutterites are nearly parallel those of other North Americans, their birth rate remains extraordinarily high.

While birth rates throughout the world appear to reflect levels of living and literacy rather than religious beliefs, there are in the United States two Protestant sects whose traditional high fertility can be attributed largely to religious dogma. The Hutterites, predominately of South Dakota, Montana and Canada, and the Amish, formerly centered in Pennsylvania and Ohio, have birth rates of 46 and 33 respectively.<sup>7</sup>

Their growth in the U.S. has resulted in a 33-fold increase in less than a century.<sup>8</sup> Were the colonies to continue expansion at their current rate, they would number 64,500 by the year 2000, slightly under a million in a century and more than 55 million by 2168.<sup>9</sup> The population of the Hutterites for the year 2302 is extrapolated to be 20,594,432,000.<sup>10</sup>

Because of its high birth rate and broad-based population pyramid, every colony is virtually overrun with children. "In 1951, for example, 51 percent of the Hutterite population was under 15 years of age...; 39 percent was in the reproductive ages of 15-44; and a mere 10 percent was 45 or older."<sup>11</sup>

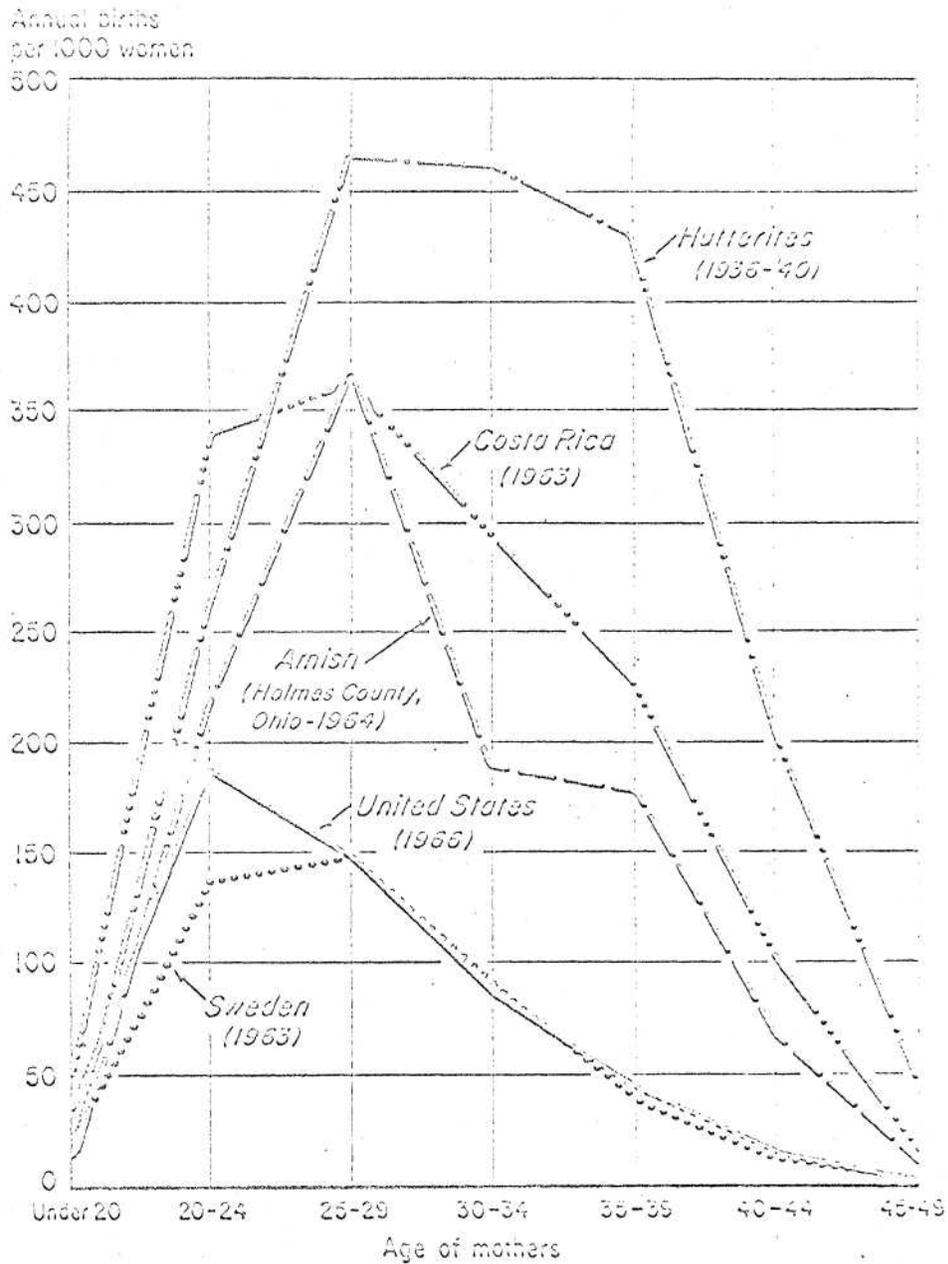


FIGURE 1: AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES FOR HUTTERITES, AMISH AND OTHER POPULATIONS

At ages over 24, Hutterite women display a fecundity unmatched by any national population in the world.

Reproduced from Population Reference Bureau, *Population Bulletin*, "Pockets of High Fertility in the United States", vol. xxiv, no. 2, November 1968, p.26.

The Hutterites are very strongly opposed to birth control and believe that its practitioners will, on Judgment Day, meet all of their would-have-been children and be accused of their murder. Couples accused of practicing birth control have had to make a public confession and stand through a church service. The primary social factor limiting Hutterite population results from the prohibition against marriage before baptism, a ritual undertaken in the early 20's.

In addition to the prescription to be fruitful and multiply, there are structural variables to be taken into account in an explanation of the maintenance of the unique birth rate. Upon the birth of a child, a Hutterite mother is given a house helper, usually a young female relative, and she is excused from work assignments for from 2 to 3 months. On a colony children may represent one luxury. It is children who will vote in future elections and who are the toys of the aged, i.e., grandchildren.

Many of the ideal structures of family life have in fact been preserved because some of the actual structures varied considerably from the ideal ones...Enormous pressures are exerted on the ideal structures specifically because, for the first time in the general history of the society, the actual structures, in terms of the availability of the individuals called for, approximate the ideal structures. This sort of problem of population explosion for the maintenance of the general social structure is at least as far-reaching in its implication for social change as the problem of increased mouths to feed.<sup>12</sup>

The population checks common in traditional societies (e.g., poverty, disease and war) have not been operable among the North American Hutterites. Further, barring the possibility of a more

generalized disruption, it is not especially likely that these factors will operate among the Hutterites in the near future. In spite of the fact that rates of population increase are inversely related to modernity, the Hutterites have effected counter-forces. Not only do the Hutterites regard birth control as murder, but they experience no economic pressure for planned parenthood.

The communal colony of the sect provides equally for all families, regardless of size. The birth of another child in no way lowers the standard of living. The carpenter just makes another bed. The family may be given an apartment with an extra room and if the mother needs additional household help, a relative or neighbor comes in to share the work. The colony pays all medical bills.<sup>13</sup>

It has even been suggested that "possibly the considerable degree of inbreeding in the isolated Hutterite population and the near-maximum fertility over 16 generations have combined to produce a superfecund strain of the human species."<sup>14</sup>

In past centuries when mortality rates were consistent threats to social viability, it made good sense to incorporate fertility as a sanctified prescription. Yet only the most naive or the most faithful would expect the extrapolations cited above accurately foretell the future. This period of Hutterian history is known as their "second golden age".<sup>15</sup> Their success is unquestionable. This very success, however, augurs ill for their "efforts to preserve a status quo medievales in a world of accelerating change."<sup>16</sup>

The Hutterite Family

Marion Levy defines the family unit "as any membership unit of the kinship structure for which in addition to other orientations, sometimes equally if not more important for the members, the membership of the units and the nature of the solidarity among the members is determined by orientation to the facts of biological relatedness and sexual intercourse." <sup>17</sup>

On a Hutterite colony, each nuclear family occupies one section of a four family unit. Assignment is on the merit basis, i.e., a newly married couple is assigned one room, a bedroom is added upon the birth of the second child, a second bedroom when six children have arrived, etc. Meals are taken in the common dining room. House children excluded, meals are binarily segregated by age and sex. The food is plentiful and freely offered. Three meals are taken in the refectory with each meal followed within several hours by a snack served in the apartments or the fields. The cooking is done on a rotational basis and is supervised by a female kitchen boss.

Even among this communally-organized society, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this unit as defined above. Separation and divorce are very rare among the Hutterites. For them, "until death do us part" is an actual description of the relationship between husband and wife. Since the Hutterites are patrilocal, the groups of male siblings are associated in the running of the enterprise throughout much of their adult lives.

Speaking to this point, Bennett has stated that "underlying the structure of Hutterian social organization is a paradox: the paradox of a closed kinship society with egalitarian and brotherly ideals that nevertheless accepts a high degree of functional role differentiation, with its accompanying dangers of status, and an elaborate kinship system, with its dangers of factionalism."<sup>18</sup> It is this latter set of dangers most directly related to the existence of family units.

Although the economic well-being is ideally -- and nearly actually -- uniform throughout the colony, the distribution of power and responsibility is asymmetric. There is a structure of inequalities. Further, it is commonly the case that the roles attributed with the greatest power are concentrated in one family. For example, I know of one colony where the manager, the field boss and the junior preacher are all sons of the preacher. Such concentration of political power in one lineage is not rare in the colonies. Such arrangements, if not most carefully managed, can lead to charges of preferences and favoritism.

Hostetler has reported that "internal leadership problems characterized by a breakdown of social structure are apparent (even to outsiders) and take the form of unresolved power struggles between extended families."<sup>19</sup> His studies indicated that all excommunicated colonies had experienced this problem.<sup>20</sup> This

condition is evidenced by Hostetler's finding that of the 37 cases of defection from the colonies, 27 were from such "dis-<sup>21</sup>organized" [his term] colonies. On several of the colonies where I have interviewed, family-based factions were disruptive of the coordination requisite to the running of a successful enterprise. Further, several informants have reported that the family as a unit is becoming increasingly important in colony life.

#### Life Cycle

In births following that of the first child little attention is paid to pregnancy. The pervasive religious orientation of the colony is introduced to the child before he is a year old. Religion is associated with food. "A baby under a year will clasp his hands in the prayer position when he is hungry and sees food being carried in."<sup>22</sup> While the child is still a baby (or a 'house child'), he learns that the individual is secondary to the colony. Although the child lives with his parents, the schedule of the colony takes precedence over individual preference.

At the age of about 3 years, the child is placed in kindergarten, a fenced-in 'little school' (Klein Schul) headed by a school mother and two young assistants. Meals and snacks, preceded and followed by prayers, are taken in the kindergarten. Formal instruction is devoted to the teaching of bible verses,

lyrics and prayers. These are memorized even if not understood.

The Hutterites view the inculcation of discipline, orderly progression and simple custodial activity as important. "To the Hutterites it is obvious that children of this age have stubborn wills that need to be broken; and kindergarten will help teach the children not to be stubborn or willful."<sup>23</sup>

At the age of 6 years, the child begins a dual system of education, i.e., German School and English School. With or without state and federal aid, the colony maintains a certified eight grade school on the colony's property. With two exceptions in the U.S. colonies, the teacher is an outsider who either lives on the colony or commutes. This exposure, however, is entirely too significant to be free of Hutterian control.

The social and cultural environment enfolds Hutterite children more completely than others by reason of their close communal communication. They would feel lost if separated, the same as sheep out of the fold. This environment compasses all the activities of daily life. As a large family in the home, kindergarten, their meals, prayers, games, noon naps, etc., are all part of a closely knit network, an organic whole. Our educational system is part and parcel of this network, and the mainstay of it. Our books and our history are evidence of our cultural achievement over the centuries. Throughout our history we have maintained first class schools. The school and discipline of the Bruderhofs for pre-school children was already in operation three full centuries before the modern European kindergarten (children's garden) was developed. Their main stress was that discipline should be practiced at home, and uniformly maintained throughout the child's developing years. The teachers and educators which they employed were from the best educated men available, mostly priests and educators who had joined the movement.<sup>24</sup>

The English school day is encysted among three time periods supervised by the German school teacher. German school is taught by a baptized Hutterite in the schoolhouse. "During the English school year the children meet before and after English school from an hour to an hour and a half. They meet a half day on Saturday and all day during vacations or when the English teacher is sick." <sup>25</sup> Their lunch hour is also spent with the German school teacher. During the summer the children are under the supervision of the German school teacher. This Hutterite male is also charged with the responsibility for the garden and thus requires a great deal of hand labor.

Upon completing the eighth grade or reaching the minimum age for leaving school, the young Hutterite is given a catechism and several traditional Hutterite books. From this point on, he eats with the adults. At this age the individual, with some pride, becomes a member of the colony work force. If a male, he will probably be assigned "his" tractor, a machine in which he evidences much pride.

The next significant transformation is into the status of adult. This change of status is marked by rite of passage called baptism. If one is a Hutterite and should happen to die prior to his baptism, he is guaranteed admission into heaven. It is not until he is baptized, however, that the individual becomes a member of the Church of Christ. Baptism represents submission to the Church. "The Church of Christ is the community

of the believing and the pious, the people of God, who do and have obtained from sinful life. Into this community we are brought into true submission: this is into the spiritual Ark of Noah, in which we can be preserved."

Given that the Hutterites are patrilocal and given their highly elaborated kinship system, it is highly advantageous for the girl's parents that she marry a "local boy" and thus remain in the colony. Like preferential cross-cousin marriage, however, this ideal may only seldom be attained. Marriage usually follows baptism by from 1 to 3 or 4 years. And only the deferred marriage pattern keeps the rate of population growth from being even higher.

Only after marriage and the concurrent attainment of an additional set of kinship obligations is significant responsibility given to a Hutterite male. Most of the physical work of the colony is done by individuals in their late teens and twenties. A man will usually move into an administrative position in his late twenties or thirties, and is almost certain to retire from physical work during his late forties. At this age a male will usually assume managerial responsibilities or will spend an increasing amount of time "pattering" around. A casual inspection of the colonies might suggest that Hutterites die at an early age. In spite of the fact that except for middle-aged females Hutterite actuary tables nearly parallel those of other white North Americans,

there is a marked scarcity of old people. This fact is accounted for by their extremely broad-based population pyramid.<sup>27</sup>

With the responsibilities of marriage and the accumulation of additional kin ties, increased confidence can be placed in a male. Although from 5 to 25 percent of the unmarried males will temporarily leave the colony and "try the world", it is viewed as unusual for a married Hutterite to leave permanently.

After being baptized and married, a Hutterite is, in one sense, "ready" to die. Death is "the termination of the earthly struggle and the beginning of paradise for those who have lived faithfully."<sup>28</sup> Due to the segmentation of colonies every 12 to 18 years, an individual is unlikely to be born and die on the same colony. It is most important to note, however, that wherever his physical location, as long as a Hutterite is on a colony, the patterns are recurrent, predictable and ascriptively sanctified.

#### The Economy of the Colonies

A colony may be viewed as a highly industrialized, highly diversified, highly mechanized and automated agricultural enterprise with an ideological stress placed upon self-sufficiency or adequacy. Hutterites as individuals are barred from trade and barter for these are both individualistic and competitive. Yet Hutterites peddle vegetables, eggs and honey in nearby towns. Two Alberta colonies have healers or "chiropractors" who serve

surrounding towns and ranches. The Hutterites practiced most crafts while in Europe, especially while in Moravia. Upon migration to South Dakota they focused entirely upon agricultural production although they still made most of their tools and household items. "With regard to diversification, the Hutterite economic system is said to be preadapted to the evolving form of Northern Plains agriculture."<sup>29</sup> Furniture, clothing, bedding and buildings are all manufactured on the colony. Although most colonies buy their lumber directly from saw mills, several saw their own.

Private property is severely restricted and individual wages absent. "The Hutterites", according to Bennett, "are the only group in North America who enforce consumption austerity on a collective basis."<sup>30</sup> Each member receives an allowance from the colony's funds controlled by the boss or manager. There are, however, some other opportunities for individuals to acquire funds. These include such illegal actions as stealing and selling colony property, "knocking down" in the sale of honey or fruit, as well as such marginal and largely ignored activities as trapping fur-bearing animals, guiding pheasant hunters or collecting bounty on coyotes.

#### The Constitution of Social Relationships

The constitution of a society may be viewed as the operationalization of its moral system. From this perspective, political organization deals with the ordering of rules. One

task of the political scientist is to draw out the implications of a specified body of rules. Often in traditional societies, these rules have not been consciously formulated to produce specified effects. This fact, however, does not preclude political analysis.

From the position cited above, I find Bennett's comments most useful:

In our study, the terms 'charter' and 'social charter' are used to indicate a blueprint for social organization and social relationships containing not only values but also practical procedures for institutional structure and daily living. The Mitterite society is a 'traditional' society in which values are extremely important, but it is also a pragmatic society that can adjust and confirm social arrangements by group decision, in a manner somewhat similar to that of English common law, i.e., by means of an accumulated "constitution". It is this cumulative body of definitions and practices that we call a 'charter'.<sup>31</sup>

In the above sections of this chapter, a sketch of the general features of colony life, some of which generate recurrent problems, was presented. It is the case that the colonies are manifestly successful as systems of social organization. At the minimum, this means that they have been able to effectively manage both their internal and external relationships in a way that is compatible with both their traditional culture and viability in a sector of a highly modernized economy marked by very narrow margins, intense competition and very high interest rates. The preponderance of decisions involved in this management are made at the colony level. "Although preachers from other colonies

are involved in the choice of a new preacher and there is a mechanism of control over deviant leaders by the larger Tent council, in reality there exists no [supra-colony] machinery<sup>32</sup> to act decisively in the affairs of an individual colony.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, to account for their successful accommodation to modernity, it is necessary that focus be upon the political structure of the individual colonies.

Notes

1

For commentary on the tribalization of this group, see Herman M. Blackburn, "The Tribalization of a Recent Immigrant Group," a paper read before the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, December 3, 1967.

2

Dert Kaplan and Thomas P.A. Platt, Personality in a Communal Society, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, 1958, p. 11.

3

For general accounts, see John A. Hostetler and Gertrude Anders Huntington, The Hutterites in North America, Holt, Rinehart Winston, 1967; John W. Bennett, Hutterian Hutteran, the Agricultural Economy and Social Organization of a Communal People, Stanford University Press, 1967; Lee Emerson Deets, The Hutterites, A Study in Social Cohesion, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939; and Victor Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, University of Minnesota Press, 1965.

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Robert Friedmann, Hutterite Studies, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1961, p. ix.

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Hostetler and Huntington, p. 19.

6

Ibid., p. 21.

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Population Reference Bureau, Population Bulletin, Volume LXXIV, Number 2, November 1966, p. 29. See also G.W. Eaton and A.G. Meyer, "Demography of the Hutterites in North Dakota," Geographic Review, Volume 45, October 1955, p. 573; and J.W. Eaton and A.G. Meyer, Man's Capacity to Reproduce, A Demography of a Unique Population, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954.

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William F. Pratt, "The Anabaptist Explosion," Natural History, Volume LXXVIII, Number 2, February, 1969, p. 10.

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Population Reference Bureau, p. 27.

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Rotows, p. 151.

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Population Reference Bureau, p. 34.

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Eaton and Mayor, Man's Capacity, p. 255.

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Ibid.

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Population Reference Bureau, p. 35.

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Bennett, p. 276.

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Marion J. Levy, Jr., "Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure," in Coale, ed., Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 3. See also, footnote 4, p. 3.

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Bennett, p. 109.

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Hostetler, Education and Masculinity in the Colonial Society of the Massachusetts, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1965, p. 92.

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Ibid.

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Ibid., p. 98.

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Hostetler and Huntington, p. 60.

23

Ibid., p. 66.

24

Paul S. Gross, The Historic May, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Freeman Publishing Company, 1959, p. 52.

25

Hosstetler and Huntington, p. 69.

26

Joseph J. Kleinsasser, The Hutterite Brethren of Montana, Augusta, Montana, p. 16. See also, pp. 18-20.

27

See Eaton and Mayer, Man's Capacity, tables 2, 3 and 4, and Figure 2.

28

Hosstetler and Huntington, p. 69.

29

Bennett, p. 162.

30

Ibid., p. 167.

31

Ibid., p. 106.

32

Hosstetler, Education and Marginality, p. 94.

Accommodation and Demands: Perspectives on  
the Coincidence of Two Systemic Requirements

For both theological and sociological reasons, it is essential to the Hutterites that they exist apart from "the World". A binary distinction is made between "We, the Christians", and "they", the residual category of all non-Hutterites or gentiles. The Hutterites believe, that they are uniquely chosen by God to fulfill His peculiar destiny. The Hutterites believe that their form of social organization is sanctified by God and that as a result of their peculiar relationship with Him, persecution is their lot. At least the latter claim rests on objective foundations.

From their perspective, man's government is God's mechanism for the regulation of the ungodly. For the Christian (read Hutterite) no such constraints are necessary. Yet the Hutterites' belief justifies at least token recognition of secular government, for it is a creation of God. The binary distinction, however, must attain.

Throughout much of their history, the Hutterites have been abused for their apartness. If religion is the opiate of the masses, then perhaps power is the opiate of the elite. Autonomous political structures may be perceived as a threat to the ruler's power, or as simply inconsistent with the legitimate pattern of things authoritative.

The communally-organized Hutterites, of course, have their micro-political systems. The overwhelming allegiance on the part of the Hutterites is to God via their specific *community* and the Brethren at large. Thus from the perspective of the governors, Hutterite communities may be viewed as not fully acceptive of the legitimacy of the state. Again from the ' same perspective, there appears to be a set of alternative political structures imposed between the state and the individual . One might interpret this fact as significantly contributing to the periodic decimation of the Hutterites under the auspices of governmental authorities.

#### History of Hutterite Non-Resistance

Non-resistance was one of the distinguishing marks of the Anabaptists of the 16th and 17th-centuries. This position, rooted in the Sermon on the Mount, was expressed in an early statement.

And ere we would strike our worst enemy with our hand, let alone with pike, sword, -or halberd, as the world does, we would rather<sup>1</sup> die and have our lives taken from. us. . Moreover, we do not possess material arms, neither pike nor gun, as anybody may well see and which is known everywhere. In summa, our message, our speaking, our life and conduct is this that one ought to' live in peace and unity in God's truth and righteousness, as true Christian disciples of Christ."

There were, of course, occasional exceptions to the radical pacifism-and nonresistance of the Hutterites, In 1633, for example, in violation of his contract with the Hutterites

a nobleman demanded horses from a bruderhof in Moravia. Due to the recent death of the boss (or house-manager) of the colony and the illness of the religious leader, there was no one politically competent to deal with the matter.

The impatient lord tried to get the horses from the stables right away, and ordered his servants to go ahead. The Brethren, who had not known the lord personally, took his servants for marauding hussars, and got excited. On the spur of the moment (with no leader present) they grasped whatever they could take hold of, sticks, flails, pitchforks, axes, and so on, and thus prevented the removal of their good horses. According to the narrative, no harm was done to the lord.<sup>3</sup>

This breach of non-resistance precipitated a meeting of elders and a formal resolution. On November 28, 1633, the doctrine of radical pacifism was adopted in the following terms:

We therefore command you by the power which the Lord has given us, that henceforth no brother should protect himself with violence.<sup>4</sup> Disobedience of the ordinance was to be punished with banishment.

The earliest migrations of the Hutterites were in part  
5  
necessitated by their refusal to support any form of war.

After several migrations, the Hutterites were driven back from Moravia to Hungary.

Much of the time the Brethren were compelled to live in cliffs and caverns. The magistrates gave them no protection and the Brethren never resorted to force to protect themselves. They suffered much from robbers who in not a few instances even stripped some of them of their clothes.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, dating from their earliest history the Hutterian Brethren acted as radical pacifists.

Swords were forged into pruning hooks, saws, and other useful implements. Never were there any weapons of defence or war, such as swords, muskets, spears, etc. and all lived together in harmony as a peaceful people who did not give assistance to the bloody business of war, whether with taxes, or as much as lifting a hand. Revenge was forever done away. Patience was their only weapon in all difficulties.<sup>7</sup>

In the twelfth year of the Austro-Torkish war, 16 Hutterite colonies were destroyed in 3 months, 81 Hutterites were murdered, 8 and 240 were sold into Turkish slavery. "At this time and in the later wars, the Brethren stood true to their principle of non-resistance throughout."<sup>9</sup><sup>11</sup>

To pay a tax in support of the war was in breach of their faith and thus the Brethren resisted any such tax. In consequence, property was confiscated.

The Thirty Years War broke out in 1618 and the following year the Hapsburg army destroyed 12 of the 40 remaining Hutterite colonies in Moravia, plundered 17 others, and murdered 30 Hutterites.

The plundering soldiers expected to secure in their houses money and valuables, which were, however, not usually to be found. Torture of all sorts was used to force the people to surrender their supposed treasures. All this seemed to the soldiers to be a mild punishment for a people who, in their opinion, deserved death. Many were murdered. Many of the houses of the Brotherhood were totally destroyed; others were repeatedly plundered. At times not only the bedding was taken but even the clothing was torn from the people's backs. In one night, in the year 1620, 56 people were murdered in the bruderhof at Pribitz by a Polish army, and sixty others wounded, of whom many soon died of their wounds. In the wake of the war came devastating plagues. According to the reckoning of the contemporary chronicler the Brotherhood in one year alone lost one-third of its members by death.<sup>12</sup>

These disasters continued throughout the following years. The Hutterites were plagued by Spanish, Wallon, Polish and German armies, yet they continually refused to defend themselves.

Women with child and mothers on their deathbed as well as virgins were most outrageously attacked\* The men were burned with glowing irons and red-hot pans; their feet were held in the fire until their toes were burned off; wounds were cut into which powder was poured and then set afire; fingers and ears were cut off, eyes forced out by inhuman torture; men were hung up by the neck like thieves; all sorts of such diabolical brutality and unheard of godlessness were committed, half the shame of which is not to be written. Such things were openly practised by the imperial soldiery who believed themselves to be the best of Christians <sup>13</sup>

In December of 1622, the Hutterites were living in Hungary. They were generally molested and burned out for two years and in 1624 they were, according to an edict by Cardinal von Dietrichstein, to be hunted down and killed

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like wild animals.

In 1759 the Jesuits petitioned the Empress Maria Theresa of Hungary to attack the Brotherhood. Accusing it of being an Anabaptist sect, they set out to make it comply with the Roman Catholic faith. With the support of Empress Theresa, an arch-Catholic and friend of the clergy, the Jesuits and soldiers decided to attack four of the Hutterite congregations

on the same day and seize their books. The day decided upon was <sup>15</sup> the 25th of November. The Hutterites, however, were informed

of this plan and hid their books. When the Jesuits attacked, all exits were blocked and the men were assembled and read the

Imperial mandate which stated that:

It was the earnest will and command of Her Majesty that, since the books of the Anabaptist sect teach open heresy and damnable errors, they should be collected and destroyed, and whoever should refuse to deliver up such books would soon find how he would be dealt with.

In the 1760's the New Russian Territory north of the Black Sea was being developed under Catherine the Great. In need of immigrants, foreign settlers were offered "virgin-lands, tax concessions, and privileges including complete religious freedom, but excluding the right to proselytize among members 17 of the Orthodox faith". The Hutterites accepted an offer and arrived on the Desna River in the autumn of 1770. "Freedom of religion was guaranteed to them, and a loan for the establish- 18 ment of a Bruderhof was promised."

A short time after arrival in Russia, the Hutterites demonstrated great success. Both their products and their reputation were held in high regard. This success, however, was short-lived. Each person twice enumerated by the General Census as being on the estate of a nobleman was regarded as his subject. The sons of Count Romanzov attempted to reduce the Hutterites who settled their estate to serfs. In response the Hutterites petitioned Czar Alexander and in 1801 were 19 awarded crown land.

After moving to this land, a series of new problems developed. A Russian official from the office devoted to affairs

of foreign settlers reported that

•••I found that the rules of ethics and indestructable single-mindedness which-the founders of the community regarded as a duty were not observed anymore. These duties were in full force and produced the rare example of unity between several dozen families as long as their number was smaller; as long as they did not have their own land and as long as they had to divert some of their earnings to pay their local nobleman.

However, when the brethren began to occupy their present location which put them into the possession of 775 Desjatines of good land (1 Desjatine = 2.7 acres) and produced several other advantages for them, surplus was created within the group. Under conditions of an increasing population, several persons began to discover that it was possible to live by the work of others. Among the 50 families several began to neglect their duties and lived on the products of the diligent. At this time the tendency emerged to obtain private property and secure the earnings of one's work to the advantage of one's own family....<sup>20</sup>

Thus the practice of community of goods was abandoned in 1819. In 1859 and 1860, Waldner and Walter (two names still common among the Hutterites) re-established the communal practice in two colonies,

The two colonies just mentioned, as well as ail the other congregations of the Kutterian Brethren, immigrated to the United States of America in the years 1874 to 1879, the Russian government having withdrawn the grant of freedom from military and government service.<sup>21</sup>

#### Hutterite Non-Resistance in the U.S.

These Hutterites - a total of 250 souls - settled in the Dakota Territory in 1874 and established the Bon Homme and Wolf Creek Colonies. In 1877, 17 additional families established a colony at Elms Springs. Another group came in 1879.

The Hutterites prospered in South Dakota. Settlement of the frontier demanded an extraordinary amount of human investment from all participants and few problems of a political nature were experienced. By 1915, however, the region was filled; towns and schools were established and the statement, "I am a Dakotan", had meaning\* The Hutterites were pacifists and had few pretensions toward being specifically American. Further, they had 'funny clothes' and 'strange ways'. In addition, they were relatively prosperous and had an easier lot than the homesteader.<sup>23</sup> This base for the development of animosity was further increased by the Hutterites' refusal to endorse or offer even token support of the United States' involvement in World War I.

The Hutterites would neither register for the draft nor support the war effort in any way. In consequence, in some areas the colonies' animals were driven to market and sold, the money going for war bonds. The Hutterites were harassed in town and several Hutterite boys who failed to register for the draft were arrested. Two of these were imprisoned at Alcatraz and eventually died from pneumonia.

During the World War the Hutterian Brethren were subject to peculiarly vicious attack by overzealous local patriotic officials for their firm maintenance of their four-century-old position of non-resistance. The only conscientious objectors to die as a result of persecution in the camps during the war were two young men from a Hutterian Bruderhof, Joseph and Michael Kofer. After the war all but three of the Bruderhofs migrated to Manitoba and Alberta, having "been promised complete freedom from military service by the Canadian government."<sup>24</sup>

In a perverse way these deaths were indeed fortunate. Generations of Hutterites had an event upon which could be hung a substantial body of folklore concerning their persecution in the United States. Thus the polarized relationship with the outside could be fostered and maintained in a new environment.

During World War II alternative service programs were established by the Mennonites in the United States, The Hutterites participated in this system. Hutterite boys chosen by the selective service system were sent to such places as Weeping Water, Nebraska. They worked in various societal; supportive but non-war specific activities.

Two problems resulted from this program. There remained a certain resentment among the neighboring communities. This feeling arose from the fact that Hutterites had the benefits of law, order and the provision of public services from the outside and yet did not fight for the country. For example, one still hears such comments as the following:

The Hutterite boys are good workers and I need one, but. I won't hire someone who won't fight for his country. I had to and my boy is over there now."<sup>25</sup>

To some degree this sentiment probably restricted the mobility of the Hutterites in the United States\* This animosity has helped to keep the boundaries fairly stable, for again it is a benevolent outside that is dangerous.

We read that twice the community of goods was abandoned in Europe due to spiritual decline. In these days It behooves us to inquire Into the reasons for this. It is not new machinery and modern cars and farming methods which causes the spiritual decline which we see in America, but security and freedom from the hatreds of the outside world. Sometimes one forgets in his business dealings with the world amid all the smiles and handshakes that we are still pilgrims and strangers in this world. But let some little thing of the faith come-up, and then we see who our friends are, and they are mighty few indeed. <sup>26</sup>

Increased exposure gained by young Hutterite men during their alternative service experience was at the age of young manhood. At this age the attractions of the outside are most tempting and the anchor of one's "own" family has yet to be developed. Thus, the boys learned that they could exist, and not too unpleasantly, apart from their colony.

Hutterites in the United States register for Selective Service at the age of eighteen. Those who receive orders undergo the mental and physical tests standard within the system. Those "who pass, and most do, are placed In draftable status -- when drafted, they must find service.

The problem of the Hutterites then become (1) "How may we fulfill our minimal obligations?"<sup>11</sup> and (2) "How may we do so without jeopardising the future and the soul of these boys?" A mutually satisfactory, solution to this problem was found In the 1950's.

In 1953 Hutterite leaders from South Dakota arranged; with the Director of Selective Service in South Dakota and Black Hills State Park Personnel to establish a Conscientious Objector camp run specifically for the Hutterites, Although the Hutterite population has more than doubled since the establishment of the camp, the number of Conscientious Objectors serving has remained constant. There are facilities for only 12 inductees and one minister. This seems to be the limiting factor. The cots., mattresses and array blankets are furnished by the Rational Guard units. The Hutterites supply their own clothing and food out of their \$60 a month salary. Checks are made out to the boys but are given to the preacher for deposit. (A preacher can sign on other Hutterite checks.) The home colony of each boy also arranges the inductee's transportation to the camp.

Occasionally, a Hutterite will leave the colony and find a suitable job in an approved agency or hospital. In this way his two year obligation may be served apart from other Hutterites. The ministers report that such individuals seldom come back to the colonies.

The placement of boys at the park is a cooperative venture. As vacancies occur, records are checked by the selective service personnel to select the next inductee. This is done state-wide rather than at the board level. The Kutterite. minister, who

keeps track of the potential C.O.'s, is then contacted to see if the boy selected is actually available. If the colony has split, the boy may be with the half that has branched into Canada.

A commencement time is established for the new inductee and the Hutterite preacher confirms transportation arrangements. As a Selective Service official has said, "it's a cooperative effort of the park and the Hutterite colonies. This headquarters 'gets it together' so you know what's going at all time and each keeps the other advised."

From the standpoint of the military there are very few disciplinary problems. There are, of course, some issues "just as you have with any boy or any group of boys. They might need a little disciplining now and again but it's usually handled by uncommon.<sup>1</sup> Were a 'major' problem to develop, the Selective Service personnel are confident the elders and preachers would get together and take any disciplinary action necessary, i.e., the ministers have found a satisfactory alternative to military conscription and are anxious to avoid jeopardising their system. No major infractions have occurred and the military and the ministers have conspired to maintain a strict discipline among the C.O.'s. "These people have a bed check and a kind of curfew." Also, they have a compulsory

religious service each night. If a boy stays out beyond the curfew, the minister will first warn him. If the warning is insufficient, he will then inform the Park Superintendent. The boy will receive extra duty or K.P. just as in the military. He might, for example, be taken off the truck he is driving and assigned cooking or clean up detail in the kitchen. These tasks, of course, are traditionally female in a colony and are disliked by the C.O's. The authority to assign such details rests with the park personnel.

Further control is maintained by placing the boys on 24-hour fire call. Whenever a Hutterite CO. leaves his work assignment or his barracks, he must check with the park personnel. Discipline, an attribute highly valued for different reasons by the Hutterite preachers, elders and park personnel, is maintained due to the mutual advantage that accrues to each of their interests. In this manner, the confinement of the boy is assured and his ex-pos\rrre restricted. The success of this program may be gaged by the fact that only one Hutterite has failed to return to his colony after completing his obligation to the U.S. government.

There are two impacts from the outside that the Hutterite society cannot tolerate. The first is a successful program of extermination. This worked with great success in Europe. The second is a benevolent and open outside\* Without enemies, Hutterite boundaries are much less secure.

We look back upon those days [in Europe] with some regrets at their passing, although they were times of terrible persecution of our people. The Catholics and Protestants united to maim and torture and slay the Christians, committing such inhuman atrocities that it cannot be told without trembling. But in the midst of this persecution the Church of God triumphed, and there was a spirit of peace and surrender. It is true that a few fell away, and were welcomed heartily by the state churches as soon as they slipped back into their old life of sin, but these apostates were very few in number and nearly always such men as would not want to work for their daily bread, but thought some other roan should work for them.<sup>30</sup>

With highly permeable boundaries, attrition of the young becomes a genuine problem and "successful" departure is highly contagious-In the U.S. and Canada, the advantages of an actively hostile environment have largely been denied the Hutterites. Thus, since boundary maintenance works best when supported on both sides, primary reliance must be upon the internal mechanisms which serve to inhibit successful defection. As I argue in the following chapters, defection, which serves among the Hutterites as an index or suimaary figure for the condition of a given colony, is the critical test of viability among the Hutterites in general.

1

Letter from Jakob Hutter to the governor of Moravia of 1535 in Robert Friedmann, *Hutterite Studies*, Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1961, p. 229.

2

A Hutterite confessed to this writer that in Lewistown, Montana during the late 1940's, after verbal harassment he had grabbed a local and nearly 'throttled' him. The Hutterite finished his confession with the statement that "although the Lord will never forgive me, and I shall always feel guilty, that fellow never bothered us again." Interview, August, 1967.

3

Friedmann, p. 232.

4

*Ibid.*, p. 233.

5

John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1931*, Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society, 1931, pp. 10-11.

6

Horsch, p. 18.

7

*Ibid.*, p. 21.

8

*Ibid.*, p. 52.

9

*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

10

*Ibid.*, p. 53. On numerous occasions, I have been told by Hutterites that during World War I property was again taken from them and sold in order to buy war bonds.

*Ibid.*

12  
Ibid., p. 54.

13  
Ibid., p. 55.

14  
Ibid., p. 64.

15  
Ibid., p. 79.

16  
Ibid., p. 80.

17  
Victor Peters, All Things Common, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965, p. 31.

18  
Horsch, p. 107.

19  
See Horsch, pp. 113 and 114; and Karl Andreas Peter, Factors of Social Change and Social Dynamics in the Communal Settlements of Hutterites 1527-1967, doctoral dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, pp. 280-281.

20  
A. Klaus, Unsere Kolnien, Odessa: Verlag der Odessaer Zeitung, 1887, p. 70; quoted in Peter, p. 281.

21  
Horsch, p. 115.

22  
Ibid.

23  
The Hutterite form of organization was highly conducive to success on the plains of the Dakotas. "With regard to diversification, the Hutterian economic system could be said to be pre-adapted to the evolving form of Northern Plains agriculture." John W. Bennett, Hutterian Brethren, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967, p. 162.

24  
Horsch, p. 115.

25  
Interview, July, 1968.

26  
Paul S. Gross, The Hutterite Way, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan:  
Freeman Publishing Company, Limited, 1965, p. 162.

27  
Interview, July, 1968.

28  
Interview, July, 1968.

29  
Interview, July, 1968.

30  
Gross, p. 162.

### Structures of Hutterite Colonies

Political problems involve the ordering of rules. Economic problems involve the ordering of inputs and outputs. In any traditional society, one finds that distinguishing the economics from the politics is a relatively difficult task. From a strictly economic perspective, a colony is a middle-sized, highly integrated, highly diversified, and highly mechanized corporate farm, marked by a peculiarly inefficient utilization of labor. Although John Bennett's Hutterian Brethren: The Agricultural Economy and Social Organization of a Communal People is earnestly recommended to the reader as the study of the economic system of the Hutterites, several aspects of their economy require attention here.

A special quality of the Hutterites (and the defining characteristic of communal groups) is their classification of all material goods – although not all rights – as public goods. Olson has written: "It is of the essence of an organization that it provides an inseparable, generalized benefit. It follows that the provision of public or collective goods is the fundamental function of organizations generally." Referring to political organizations, he contends that "a state is first of all an organization that provides public goods for its members, the citizens; and other types of organizations similarly provide collective goods for their members."<sup>11</sup> Although not a

state, a Hutterite commune exists as a total institution organised in accordance with the principle that among Christians goods need be public goods. Obtaining his support from the Book of Acts, a Hutterite minister has stated that "This apostolic Church (of Peter) was communal in its character and organisation; it taught through the Holy Ghost that all things should be held in common and shared by all as each had need.

2 It was the first Christian collective living." The Hutterites credit themselves with restoring this Church in 1528. As noted earlier, the constitution of the colony serves as the operationalization of the moral code.

There must be a rule for the classification of the public that is to enjoy the public goods. Olson argues that large organizations must either make membership compulsory or provide 3 some nonpublic goods to provide an incentive to join. For the Hutterites, initial membership is ascriptively determined. Individuals are born into a colony. In this manner, God implements the decision rule. The Hutterites freely acknowledge that "All wheat has chaff". Thus an individual can option out by refusing baptism and leaving the colony or by leaving the colony after baptism. Should this decision be made, however, he has no claim on the benefits provided by the colony, nor may he take any resources upon leaving.

The Hutterite system reflects an especially good understanding of social behavior. For example, the efficiency of their enterprise decreases if the size of a colony is much below 60 or above 150. The former relationship is accounted for by an inability to maximize the specialization and division of labor. The latter, however, may entail a less obvious explanation.

The relation between the size of a group and its productivity has been discussed in Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collec-*

5

tive Action, With reference to a committee meeting Olson has stated that "When the number of participants is large, the typical participant will know that his own efforts will probably not make much difference to the outcome, and that he will be affected by the meeting's decision in much the same way no matter how much or how little effort he puts into • studying 6 the issues." The implications of this are as follows: "The decisions of the meeting are thus public goods to the participants (and perhaps to others), and the contribution that each participants will make toward achieving or improving these 7 public goods will become smaller as the meeting becomes larger."

There is a saying commonly heard on a colony: "All colonies (especially "other" colonies) have their drones". Further, it is recognized that the number of drones increases disproportionately with an increase in colony size. Given that all goods are public

goods, individual economic incentives are absent and material differentials are outlawed, a rational, maximizing person would operate to maximize his pleasure, including leisure. Included in such self-seeking activities are trips into town or to a neighboring ranch to "check on" or "pick up" something allegedly relevant to his assigned task. In such circumstances, a necessary part is more likely to "need" immediate replacement when the boss and/or preacher are absent or otherwise engaged.

On a relatively small colony, the contribution of each member is proportionately greater. Likewise, surveillance of him by each of the others is more complete and an informal accounting of contribution is feasible. (On the Hutterite colony, there are no elaborate systems of formal controls, over a person's contribution.) Thus, in general., the incentive and surveillance structures of a medium-sized colony are more effective than those of a large colony.

As currently constituted, the existence of a colony is justified by the fact that it manifests ascriptively sanctified patterns of social activity. When the actual patterns of a colony clearly violate these standards, this colony is subject to excommunication. Several have been. Were alternative patterns adopted for reasons of expediency -- or perhaps even survival -- the basis for the legitimacy of authority might be seriously eroded. Yet beyond a certain size, rationality, in the modernized

sense of that term, must become the basis for the organization of a colony. Thus, were the individual unit to expand in population much beyond the established mean, it seems likely that the norms associated with viable participation in a modernized context must perforce invade and erode the traditional patterns of colony life.

Although the production and distribution of goods in a communal context is an immediately obvious issue, the distribution of power and responsibility, while less conspicuous, is no less important. In the following section, I attempt to show the manner by which the traditional Hutterite political structure operates to allocate access roles in their society. The basic argument has been that the structure of colony life is such that the best strategy for the individual colony member coincides rather well with the interests of the corporation. The individual is, in a sense, locked in a game but at least the game holds every promise of being a positive sum game for him.

Levy has stated that in general the recruitment ideally and actually of the leadership roles of the government on the basis of predominantly universalistic criteria is quite modern is to be viable<sup>18</sup> and quite rare". Yet if the Hutterite system in a modern setting, it is increasingly important that positions

of leadership are allocated on a rational basis. The Hutterites have demonstrated the consistent ability to make relatively rational decisions in two crucial areas: (1) the selection of the colony head and (2) the distribution of persons at the time of branching. Each of these decisions is pregnant with danger for the stakes are high and the decisions binding. Not only must the decisions be rational from a technical sense, but also they must not split the colony into warring factions. Thus, it is essential that conflict be managed if it cannot be eliminated.

This displacement of conflict by understanding and well-intended men has been a recurrent theme in social philosophy. <sup>9</sup> A recent edition of the New York Times included an article entitled "New Religious Cult Grows Despite Controversy". This piece describes the Ecumenical Institute, an evangelical communal union whose organization is predicated upon the quite plausible assumption that the world is becoming unglued. The members of this group seek a reformation of our "social context" and plan to achieve this end via a specialized educational process. Communalism is the analogue preferred to the individualistic ethic of nineteenth century America. Community rule, a term not explicated by the Times article, is to be by consensus. The Ecumenical Institute serves as an example of an effort to consciously manipulate the constitution of social relations.

It is reasonable to predict that this movement, like most such attempts, will fail to realize the consensual aspect of its goals. While the cataloguing of factors militating against the success of this enterprise might constitute a worthwhile activity, I consider only one set of issues — the features common to any aggregation of persons who must make decisions.

Even among those who should know better, there appears to be a generalized propensity to view conflict as potentially subject to elimination. It is my position that unless there exists a rather bizzare rationale for the formulation of decision rules, conflict, even among men of goodwill, is inherent in the decisional process. This is compounded by the expectation that the probability of conflict will increase with an increase in the scope and importance of participation within the social aggregation. In a colony, such participation is at a maximum. From this perspective, the central organization or political problem becomes not the elimination of conflict and the attainment of consensus, but rather the containment and/or management of conflict via prescribed structures. In brief, one may generally expect the costs of consensus to be higher than the costs of constrained conflict.

Members of the Ecumenical Institute wish to govern their community by consensus, Many intellectualized Asiatic Indians express a longing to return to the mythical days when village

decisions were by consensus. Similarly, the Hutterites have found that the absence of overt conflict is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for a smoothly running colony.

Throughout history nearly all groups seeking the elimination of conflict from their government have failed. The first group mentioned above is too young to be judged. The Hutterites, however, present an example of a society with a non-conflict-based decisional mechanism. Our question is: How is this obtained without incurring incapacitating decision costs?

Within any social organization of wide scope and importance, there exist differentials in the allocation of access, responsibility and discretion. That this is always true at the societal level is a true empirical generalization. Within any situation marked by interdependence of persons, coordinating mechanisms are required. Positions within the organization need to be ordered. This ordering provides a basis for the exercise of power in matters mutually relevant.

In any social system at the societal levels there are certain issues with a conflict potential; How are incumbents chosen for positions in the hierarchy? Given that decisions must be relatively rational if the enterprise is to be viable, how will a consensual basis for decisions be obtained? More directly, what are the costs of consensus?

Essentially, when discussing decisions among the Hutterites, we are referring to collective action within communities. In each commune there is a high degree of interdependence among members. Further, a very high proportion of total action is collective action. Under certain decision-making rules, choices contrary to any particular individual's interests might be made. When this is perceived as being the case, consensus is relatively difficult to achieve. We shall refer to the costs- incurred by an individual in terms of labor, drudgery or deprivation as external costs if these costs result from the action of others.

It is important to note that when the decision rule is such that unanimous agreement is required for action, the expected external costs for any individual approach zero. As a corollary, any individual has the capacity to preclude the enactment of a decision. We assume that the individual engages in a sort of felicific calculus that includes himself as a beneficiary.

Let us provide an example of the operation of the above. Let us assume that any given body of men constitute a decision-making group. The constitution is such that all decisions must be made on the basis of full consensus. While one member is distracted or momentarily absent, it is decided that this person, Jones, will treat each of the others to a beer. Since Jones is a nice fellow and since spirit of camaraderie runs high,

Jones might oblige. In this situation, then, the rule of consensus generates no great cost to any party. In contrast, were it decided that Jones were, after a heavy snow, to clear a path to each of the other's cars, the external costs imposed upon him would be high. Thus, we might reasonably expect that consensus would break down. Under our rule no collective action would be forthcoming.

In addition to the external costs borne by the person in a situation of collective action, every individual undergoes some costs in the form of effort in arriving at a decision. Leaving aside the subjective effort endured by an individual when making up his mind, there remains an additional cost. Anyone who has served on a committee will recall that when more than one person is required to agree upon any given decision, time and effort are involved. Again, committee members will recognize that the time and effort required appear to be exponential functions of the size of the group. When the consent of the entire group is required for agreement, these costs increase at a high rate. When consensus in this situation is required, any given member in an attempt to maximize his advantage may attempt to extract an exorbitant price

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for his agreement.

In dealing with the Hutterian communes, concern is with a society in which privacy is at a minimum and interaction is .

at a maximum. The enterprise is so structured that interdependence within each colony is high. In such a situation, conflict, competition and other factors likely to generate animosity must be minimised. Yet it is essential that certain important decisions be made.

The Hutterites have proven themselves to be viable corporate units. In contrast Vernon Serl found that cooperative farms operating in the same ecology as the communes are economically viable but flounder for social reasons. He has said that:

Support for my conclusions about the source of Hutterite economic success, is to be found in a consideration of the co-operative farms found elsewhere in Saskatchewan. As economic ventures these have proved eminently successful.

Diversification, specialization, efficient production and consumption size, plus permanent residence on the farm unit and an increased availability of labor, produce economic results comparable to those obtained by the Hutterites, Unfortunately for the cooperative movement, there are dimensions to human existence other than the simply economic. These the co-operative farm experiments have been unable to provide for. Personality clashes, inter-family disputes, and conflict between group and individual goals, become more frequent and more intense as the initial economic goals are achieved. Failure to provide an alternative motivation to co-operation has several times threatened to result in the dissolution of the farms.<sup>11</sup>

I now turn to an examination of decisions in Hutterite colonies and attempt an accounting of their decision costs and the basis for rational decisions.

Fearing God, having Him in our heart and constantly before our eyes, we shun all sin and evil. This is law enough.

\* \* \* \*

However, we maintain that wherever, there are people, especially so a group of different individuals, they

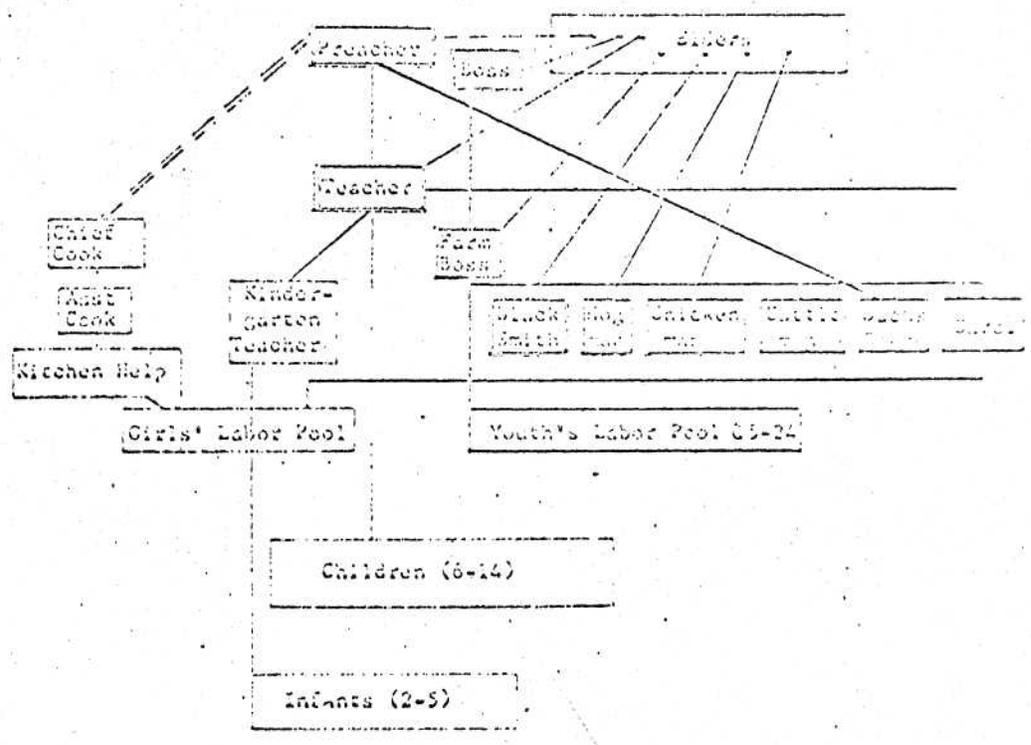
must have and keep rules and ordinances and a constant regulation for the affairs of daily life.<sup>12</sup>

The author of the above passage is Paul Gross, Senior Preacher at the Espanoia Hutterite Colony. Although there is some indication that Gross is regarded by the Hutterites as their analogue to the Reverend James Pike, his statement quoted above could serve as the preamble of the constitution of the Hutterite political system.

The dominant position in the colony hierarchy is that of preacher. He is charged with general responsibility including the settlement of personal disputes, the conduction of rites of passage, and political contacts with the world outside the colony.

Next in authority is the householder, or manager of "boss". The individual in this position manages the accounts and advises regarding the prudence of suggested purchases. It is either he or the preacher who negotiates with banks, implement dealers, feedmills, cattle buyers, insurance salesmen, realtors, tax assessors, and the buyers of produce. In the past, when relations with the outside could be restricted primarily to commercial transactions, the householder was commonly the only representative to the outside. He is also the person who receives the local and regional paper reporting grain and livestock prices.

FORMAL ORGANIZATION



Notes:

1. All individuals above age 15 have an economic role to perform.
2. Main authority positions are religious.
3. Religious supervision extends throughout organization.

Reproduced from Vernon Claude Serl, Stability and Change in Hutterite Society, doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, Department of Anthropology, 1964, p. 22.

The field boss is next in line. His work is closely coordinated with that of the manager and is roughly comparable . to that of the foreman on a large ranch.

Below the field boss are the various department heads, e.g., cattle boss, hog boss, chicken boss, each in charge of his own enterprise.

On approximately this level is the German school teacher, who in addition to his teaching duties before and after the regular school day, is assigned responsibility for the gardening —a major activity for the colony.

Individuals in the above positions plus several of the department bosses form the council, the voting body of the colony. It is members of this group that weigh the relative advantages of a \$12,000 tractor or an addition to the milking parlor.

Judged upon the criterion of success in meeting problems, and given the premises from which they operate, the major political question faced by the Hutterites becomes: How do we make God a rational decision-maker?

It was noted above that the Hutterites on a colony are continually in very close contact. Meals are communal and the other fellow's privacy has a negative value. If such a society is not to break up due to excessive tension, competition and conflict must be minimized. If leaders were to compete for

office, substantial maneuvering for winning coalitions could be expected.. And there is little that could do more to create factions than attempts at coalition building. Thus, we find that if tranquility is to be preserved, an alternative mechanism to protracted negotiation must be found for the selection of leaders.

Every political system must identify the actors who are assigned primary decision-making roles. There are, of course, methods which deny those subject to the decision responsibility for the selection of decision-makers. Given a relatively simple system with little coordination of roles necessary, selection may be based upon ascriptive characteristics, commonly sanctified by God.

As an alternative, the decision may be left up to God if a mechanism is activated which will enable Him to render an opinion via a random generating device. Given the existence of differential competence and ambition among individuals, it is necessary that there be a mechanism of constraint operative in the selection process. Purely ascriptive or purely random criteria for leaders seem unlikely components of any viable political system in a highly modernized context.

For the Hutterites, all authority originates from God. Governmental authority is believed to have been ordained by God in his wrath to take vengeance on the evil and to discipline

the godless. The granting of the franchise is consistent with this orientation. Baptized members have received the spirit . and therefore have a measure of power and responsibility. Only the baptized males are eligible for departmental positions such as hog boss and only they can vote.

With the very important exception discussed below, positions are filled by election. The council, which is also elected, initiates changes in appointments to lesser positions, executes justice, and determines who can go into town.

Due to the rapid growth in population and the upper limit of 130 to 175 persons who may live in a single compound, each colony must bifurcate each fourteen to eighteen years.

Upon splitting, a parallel structure is established and a new preacher selected. It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of the preacher's position. This is especially the case given that one commonly finds the preacher. holding the householder's position during the first few years of a colony's existence.

Although there is some variation among the three leut, the following is representative. At the time for selection, a group of preachers from nearby colonies assemble at the colony where the selection is to be made. Nominations of the baptized males of the local colony are offered. If deemed satisfactory by the visitors, these individuals are entered as candidates.

After all nominations are in, votes are cast by the; local males and visiting preachers. The persons receiving five vote's or more are entered in the runoff where, from the perspective of the Hutterites, God casts the deciding ballot.

For each individual in the final round there is a piece of paper put into a hat. On one piece is inscribed the word "preacher"; the remainder are blank\* Each candidate then draws' a slip. After all have been drawn, the papers are unfolded and the preacher is known.

Given the relatively stable-resource base common to agriculture-, an increase in population puts a strain on existing facilities. Thus, only one of the boys could stay on an Irish farm during the last century and in the U.S. today. Even one is usually one-half too many. Thus, it is essential that provision be made for population increment. Among the Kutterites the technique is called "branching out". In addition to providing additional resources, the split permits a solution to factionally aligned conflict. For example, a colony that I visited in August, 1967 had recently acquired land 100 miles away. The expected to "put out" a daughter colony in 1970. When I returned in June, 1968, the branching had already occurred and half of the original colony was living in partially completed apartments on the new colony. It seems that a serious disagreement had broken out among the elders. The closeness and

frequency of contact on the colony was such that an early departure was the viable alternative to paralysis by disharmony. Given that a very large capital outlay (about \$800,000) is required to capitalize a fully equipped colony, fragmentation is prevented. Further, departure by malcontent persons is severely inhibited by the fact that an individual has no claim to the corporate assets after leaving.

As suggested above, political matters may be at least as important as economic necessity in creating a decision to branch. There are only a limited number of managerial roles available within any colony and election is for "good behavior". Thus, when the population of baptized males exceeds the number of such poles by an unknown but potentially predictable margin, problems involving the coordination and allocation of responsibility increase. Eventually severe strain is generated. Hutterites realize that branching should occur before the organization becomes unwieldy.

The life cycle of a colony goes through three stages. First is the period just after branching. During this time debts are large and resources small. Therefore when a new colony is established, Hutterites (who are somewhat allergic to work) must labor only slightly less diligently and energetically than their neighboring farmers and ranchers. In addition, new methods of farming must be worked out for what

is a more or less different terrain, new accommodations must be sought with new neighbors and within a new political district, and an environment with substantially less in the way of creature comforts must be accepted.

The second stage is that of consolidation, capital improvement and increases in comfort. For example, running water is sometimes brought to the homes. The third, fourth and fifth combines are added so the harvesting shift may be reduced from 18 hours to ten, and additional labor-saving machinery is added in the kitchen.

The third stage is devoted to the selection, funding and building of a daughter colony. The actual division, like that of the selection of a new minister is of sufficient importance to merit the direct intervention of God. By the time this stage is reached, in from eight to 14 years of the last branching, the colony is often divided into two kin-based factions. For the reasons cited above, there are clear advantages for each faction to remain at the mother colony\*

It is common for the mother and daughter colonies to divide the debt incurred in the establishment of the daughter colony... The mother colony, however, is a proven and productive ongoing enterprise. Although the labor pool of the mother colony will be reduced substantially by branching, there is relatively little danger of overwork -- especially since one

of the primary factors precipitating division was an excessive number of individuals for the number of economically productive roles available. Even after division, the man/work ratio will be much higher in the mother colony than on surrounding farms and ranches.

In the daughter colony, however, the situation is less favorable. The land at the time of purchase is likely to be marginal or submarginal. Often a portion of the land must be hacked out of the bush, or at the minimum, brought up to standard. Although the nucleus of farm buildings will have been constructed prior to the actual division, facilities for both livestock and humans will be relatively spartan. Fences must be built, stock ponds and corrals constructed, and, in addition to these obvious capital improvements, the entire complex of largely unplanned but nearly essential sheds, poles, trenches, and lanes have yet to receive attention. Thus, there exist clear and present advantages to those individuals who remain at the mother colony. Therefore, the selection of migrating individuals could be filled with tension, with conflict and with charges of favoritism. Each of these factors could seriously disrupt the highly interdependent network of relationships that are requisite to the successful functioning of their social order.

In dealing with the process of division, there are two basic sets of choices. First, there is the question of division into two groups with a preacher at the head of each. The rules for division prescribe that nuclear families are not to be split and that the two groups are to be nearly parallel in regard to demographic composition. In addition to spreading responsibility for the maintenance of nonproductive persons, the latter rule also guarantees that a basis for cultural continuity is provided by keeping at least three generations in constant contact. In the making of these two groups, informal measures are employed. This is possible since (1) everyone knows the rules and (2) most adults claim to have an intuitive appreciation of the need for demographic balance.

The second of these decisions involves the determination of which group will go to the new site. A few years ago some of the Canadian colonies attempted to determine the outcome by arriving at mutual consent. This maneuver opened negotiations and protracted bargaining ensued. Once it was recognized that negotiations for preferential facilities were possible, the ascriptive sanctity of the decision mechanism broke down. The price of consensus was protracted and bitter discussion. In the end, it is reported that few were satisfied.

There is, however, a way to avoid the above decision costs. The Hutterites, in accordance with their typically pragmatic orientation, act as though they are cogently aware of the nuances of incentive structures. As mentioned above, the basic facilities of the new colony are erected prior to permanent habitation. To preclude systematically divergent outputs based upon expectations of residence, no one knows if he will live on the old or the new colony until the date of departure.

Prior to departure, the members have divided themselves into two parallel groups. On the day before departure, everyone in both groups packs all personal belongings. The following morning, the junior and senior preachers heading each group meet in the schoolhouse-church, pray for divine attention, and draw a slip of paper from a hat. One slip says "go"; the other "stay". The group destined to stay helps those leaving in the loading of trucks. With prayers and tears, the physical bifurcation is completed with each segment professing confidence that the will of God has indeed been expressed and that his people will continue to enact his bidding while transient participants in His earthy sector.

The charter of the Hutterites provides a suitable guide for the two extremely important decisions to be made by each colony-during each cycle. The first is the selection of the

new minister prior to division. The second involves the allocation of individuals upon division of the colony. Each of these decisions must be made in reference to the primary value given the cohesive quality of the colony. Thus, the absence of overt, disruptive conflict is paramount in the decision-making process. The Hutterites cannot allow the situation to reach the point of binary opposition. This is accomplished by structuring the situation in such a manner as to have decisions made by chance with the accompanying assumption of God's active intervention. This intervention by God guarantees the legitimacy of the decision.

In selecting which group migrates there is little problem for the field of choice includes only two alternatives. The selection of a minister is more complex. The Hutterites are fully aware that all who are ascriptively eligible are not equally competent for governing roles. Therefore, the field is narrowed so as to make the task easier for God. In this way, the decision God makes will be relatively rational and the cost in terms of deliberation and bargaining will be kept to a minimum. In this manner, consensus can prevail and legitimacy attain.

Notes

- 1  
Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 15.
- 2  
Ibid.
- 3  
Ibid., see pp. 56-97, 148-159.
- 4  
In this regard see interview A of Appendix.
- 5  
Olson, pp. 53-65.
- 6  
Ibid., p. 53.
- 7  
Ibid.
- 8  
Marion J. Levy, Jr., Modernization and the Structure of Societies, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966, p. 453.
- 9  
New York Times, November 9, 1968, M31.
- 10  
This section draws heavily upon the conceptualization presented in James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, The Calculus of Consent, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965; especially pp. 63-116.
- 11  
Vernon Claude Serl, Stability and Change in Hutterite Society, doctoral dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Oregon, 1964, p. 28.
- 12  
Paul S. Gross, The Hutterite Way, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Freeman Publishing Company Limited, 1965, p. 39.

## Hutterian Relations with Exogenous Political Systems

### Local Political Involvements

As the uniquely chosen children of God, the Hutterites strive to avoid entangling alliances with the World. While in North America, however, interdependence with the World has increased. Thus certain political involvements have been increasingly necessary and the Hutterites are now enmeshed in a net of political relations.

The colonies are subject to the state rules governing the education of their children. Each Hutterite colony comprises a legally constituted school district and "elects" trustees to its governing board, i.e., the council of elders on the colony. With their property taxes, the colony supports the larger school system of which its district is a part. Since their farms are both large and highly capitalized, these taxes are often the highest in the county or rank only below those of manufacturing and service corporations. In some cases, the political unit administering the tax returns funds to the colony's school. In other cases the colony must run a parochial school unaided. Each case is handled at the local level and no clear pattern has emerged,

The members of some colonies vote in local elections and on several occasions have elected one of their elders to the county school board. I know of no case where this has occurred on a

colony with a parochial (non-tax supported) school. I am told by the Hutterites that in the eyes of their bishops, participation in local elections is a marginal but not quite prohibited activity. Likewise, paying taxes in a district where no support is returned is deemed preferable to attending an integrated school. This dual expense is simply one of the hardships of a follower of Christ.

#### The Colony and the State

With two exceptions there is relatively little attention paid to most aspects of state politics. The first exception involves the enactment of daylight savings time. In some colonies this annual change is cited as proof of the stupidity of the politicians. "Any dumbhead," I was told repeatedly, "should know that God's sun is what gives the time." Although some colonies change their clocks to agree with official time, only the manager, the person most integrated with the business world is sure to take cognizance of the change.

The other item at the state level is the threatened enactment of a communal property act similar to that of Alberta. This act, passed as the Lands Sales Prohibition Act of 1942 and amended in 1947 required the government's consent for the purchase of land by a colony. Further, it prohibited the Hutterites from buying land within 40 miles of an existing colony. Size of new colonies was restricted to 6,400 acres.

The Impact of this law prompted Alberta colonies to branch  
3 Into Saskatchewan  
beginning In 1952. As Gross has said,

"the act seemed to be prejudicial against a small and helpless  
group, and was opposed by many people besides the Hutterites,  
especially by the farmers who wanted to sell the land to them."

Gross went on to say in 1965 that

the Hutterites were often instigated by their legal  
attorneys to take the matter to court and have the Act  
tested as to its validity, for they were certain that  
the Supreme Court would rule it invalid. But no such  
attempt was made for Hutterites do not believe In  
litigation, but rather would suffer inconvenience and  
■hardship, as long as their Christian faith Is not  
affected.<sup>5</sup>

Although no similar restrictive legislation has been  
enforced against the Hutterite colonies In the U.S., replica-  
tions of the Alberta Communal Property Act have been introduced  
in both South Dakota and Montana. The following statement  
suggests the concern felt by the Hutterites.

We find that an attempt is being made to discriminate against  
the Hutterian Brethren Church by spacing the colonies forty  
miles apart, so as to drive us out of Montana eventually. To  
enact such a law would be a flagrant violation of the civil  
rights of a peaceful, harmless minority, who are law-abiding and  
loyal to the government and who try to give God what Is God's and  
to Caesar what Is Caesar's. It would be a legislative act that  
would be detestable and one not in keeping with the admirable  
tradition of United States justice. Laws to this effect were  
forbidden by the God of justice, as He commanded Moses, the  
divine lawgiver: 'Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for  
the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the  
Lord your God,' (Leviticus 24:22 and Numbers 15:16)<sup>6</sup>

This statement appeared in The Hutterian Brethren of Montana, a booklet written by Reverend Joseph J. Kleinsasser in response to the proposed Hutterite legislation. Although the legislation was soundly defeated, the Hutterites remain concerned. The introduction of such legislation serves to reinforce the distinction between the colonies and the world. It serves as a reminder that the followers of Christ will have continual opposition until the Day of Beckoning.

Other relations with the state government include the hiring of state certified teachers. Writing in 1939, Deets stated that "altogether, twelve Hutterites from the three major groups, 'Schmieden Leut', 'Darius Leut' and 'Lehrer Leut', have been sent out of the community for advanced education to 8 prepare them as colony teachers". This experiment was regarded as a failure for of this group only one returned to the colonies as a teacher. "The last two who were sent out 'got to dancing and doing that stuff' and as a result the policy has been definitely abandoned. The Hutterites say, 'It takes a very 8 strong constitution for a man to go out."

#### Hutterite Relations with Federal Government

Throughout their history, the Hutterites have experienced great difficulty in dealing with the universalistic norm of conscription. This has been one of their major problems in

dealing with national governments. As explained in Chapter 3, in the U.S. the role expectations of the national government have been accommodated by mutual adjustment. In Canada, there has been no' problem.

Beyond the control of the colonies, however, is the set of opportunities provided by the military. Although the Hutterites are pacifists, they are not fully accountable for their sins until baptized at the age of 19 to 22. Thus, they have a ready-made opportunity to "try the world". Although accurate figures are not available, a number of young men have exercised this opportunity by joining the armed services.

The Hutterites with whom I have talked and who joined spoke highly of their experience. The military, <sup>10</sup> the service, like the colony, is a total institution, but unlike the colony has (relatively) high pay, a P.X., leaves in town and a U.S.O. Several re-enlisted. One served 8 years leaving only when assigned "too much free time and responsibility". When visiting on a colony, a former G.I. stands out. He can initiate conversation, make worldly comments and give the general impression of being at ease with outsiders.

At least two Hutterites from South Dakota have made successful careers in the military. One, I was told by a number of his kin on widely scattered colonies "is a major

flying jets in Viet Nam". These individuals are viewed with ambivalence. They are double sinners, being both defectors and militarists. Yet, they are spoken of with pride for they are (1) defending us from the horrible communists over there -- and to Hutterites communists are very bad people -- and (2) they constitute proof in starspangled terms that a Hutterite can reach positions of high status and income when in competition with those on the outside.

Other Hutterite involvements with the federal government include: participation in the multi-use watershed developments financed by the federal government, school lunch programs supported by federal funds, and summer school programs organized under federal auspices.

Traditionally, the Hutterites have not participated in the benefits of the social security system. (On some Canadian colonies, the baby bonus is accepted but by the colony not by the individual parents.) As social security benefits have grown more generous and the distributions of these benefits more permissive, a number of Hutterites have become eligible. One of the South Dakota colonies was reported to have lost an elderly couple that received social security benefits. This couple, upon the receipt of their second check, rented an apartment in town, bought a car and left the colony. Apparently, Hutterite participation in the social security program is now discouraged.

General Comments on Exogenous Political Relations

Although the Hutterian ideal is one of non-involvement with the outside, while in North America this ideal has not , precluded efforts at managing relations with their environment. Several of their members give talks to local groups such as Chambers of Commerce and Rotaries. In their region, members of these groups are commonly influential in the county. When a colony branches to a new area, "open house" is occasionally held for neighbors and townsmen. Further, before establishing . a new colony, one or several of the elders is likely to visit the school board members of the consolidated district explaining the colony's position on educational policy. A substantial number of colonies have lawyers on a retainer basis. These individuals commonly advise on matters of taxation and legislation relevant to the Hutterites. On each colony, the manager and/or the preacher is a subscriber to the local and/or regional newspaper. Although these periodicals are relied upon primarily for stock quotations and information dealing with the futures market, items politically significant to the colony are noted and checked. On several occasions, for example, I was asked to inquire in Pierre regarding the composition and substantive concern of study committees appointed by the South Dakota state legislature.

More direct and more general political participation occurred in South Dakota during the 1968 election. At issue in this election was a referendum regarding the division of

South Dakota into 12-year school districts. The Hutterites viewed this as a potential threat to their autonomy. This matter was of sufficient interest that many colonies arranged for their members to register and vote. This overtly political act reflects the pragmatism of the Hutterites, as well as their substantive concern with the potential impingement of external affairs.

It should be noted that, unlike many other interest groups, all colonies share a highly general, central concern. Thus, when, an issue arises and if there is agreement regarding its probable impact upon the welfare of the colonies, the Hutterites share a common cause. For example, in South Dakota there were, in 1968, 28 communities scattered throughout the eastern and central portions of the state\* Each of these Schmiedenleut communities has political antennae attuned to the outside and close kin relations (and Bell Telephone service) with others. Thus, it is unlikely that a significant issue politically relevant to the Hutterites can arise without their knowledge. In this manner, by maintaining a careful watch of the outside, the Hutterites can respond in the fashion appropriate for the maintenance of their apartness and the fostering of their autonomy.

Notes

1

See "The Hutterites and Civil Liberties", The Canadian Forum, 27:55-57, June 1967; Government of Alberta, "An Act Respecting Lands in the Province Held as Communal Property", revised 1947; and John A. Hostetler, "The Communal Property Act of Alberta", Toronto Law Journal, 14:125-129, 1961.

2

See Victor Peters, All Things Common, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965, pp. 55-56.

3

John W. Bennett, Hutterian Brethren, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967, p. 53.

4

Paul S. Gross, The Hutterite Way, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Freeman Publishing Company Limited, 1965, p. 145.

5

Gross, p. 146. Contrary to the position stated by Gross, in 1964 an Alberta colony purchased land in violation of a governmental order.

6

Joseph J. Kleinsasser, The Hutterian Brethren of Montana, Augusta, Montana, p. 8.

7

Reverend George Harper, Chairman of the Legislative Committee on Montana Council of Churches, organized opposition to this bill. As of April, 1969, Reverend Harper did not expect a reintroduction of such legislation.

8

Lee Emerson Deets, The Hutterites, A Study in Social Cohesion, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939, p. 40.

9

Ibid.

10

See interview B of Appendix.

### Hutterite Defection

It is important to note that the Hutterites do not view life within their complex of colonies as Utopian. Indeed, there are recurrent declarations to the effect that their way, i.e., the way dictated by the teaching of Christ, is and should be both difficult and trying. There must be constant guard against the continued temptation of the world. Time spent on earthy however, is of little consequence. "There is little savoring of the moment, for the attitude towards almost everything in this earthly life is to get it over with. This applies to meals to work, and even to life itself which is believed

to be short, transitory, and of significance only as it relates to eternal time."<sup>1</sup>

Although the above quotation is an exaggerated account of real patterns, it appears to faithfully represent ideal individual<sup>2</sup> patterns. Levy has noted that "when one asks an individual to describe some part or aspect of his own society the answer is more likely to be in terms of the ideal structures than in terms of the actual structures - especially if there are considerable discrepancies between the ideal and actual structures. Although I am confident that Levy's statement applies to the Hutterites, it should be noted that the structure of interaction

on a colony is such that in regard to "worldly pleasures" discrepancies between ideal and actual patterns are (1) likely to be noted and (2) likely to be cause for comment, reprimand or a type of banishment. This is especially true if these discrepancies are viewed as likely to jeopardize the general welfare. In short, on a Hutterite colony it is both ideally and actually the case that pleasurable activities are minimized. The following incidents are suggestive of the Hutterian ideal patterns as they relate to a person's "true purpose<sup>11</sup> as a participant in the earthly sector of God's domain.

The Hutterites have no musical instruments, no radios in public display, and no television. Singing, other than in church, is not common and if practiced is to be restricted to religious songs. There are (or have been) hidden radios on nearly every colony. By this means, supplemented by occasional exposures to the outside, new songs filter into the repertoire of the Hutterites. Thus their traditional hymns become augmented by sundry items from other cultures. On one occasion, I spent an evening listening to the teenage children of a family screech their way through 16th century hymns. After three of such songs, the pattern was sharply broken by a high Appalachian nasal whine proclaiming that "Jesus is my pilot as I drive ray semi-barreling through those icy curves of life.\*' Taken somewhat

aback, I proclaimed especial interest in the song. The mother informed me that "oh yes, the, flesh loves it." She went on to say that it was indeed a pretty song and its message was true but that "A Christian must always be on guard against such things because this is the sort of song loved by the flesh,"

On another occasion, two ministers from western colonies took an unprecedented trip to Europe, ostensibly to look for old Hutterite manuscripts. In way of small talk while at the Montana colony, I inquired regarding correspondence from either of these ministers. Had they received any news? Indeed they had. My automatic response to this information was the question: were they enjoying the trip? "If they are true Hutterites," the elder told me quite sternly, "they'e not."

The above is the context from which defection takes place. Given that the highly elaborated enculturation process is devoted to the goal of instilling deep loyalty to and dependence upon the colony, it seems that the rate of defection serves as the most telling index of the state of the Hutterite system, the system considered as that set of relationships offering a certain degree of fulfillment of the needs of the various participating persons.

Although accurate information on this topic is both scarce and expensive to obtain, the number of defectors appears to be

quite low. In 1951 when the Hutterite population was about 8,000, Eaton and Weil reported 106 male and 8 female defectors. Among the 53 Schmiedenleut colonies that existed in 1960, 98 men and 2 women were reported to have defected. Hostetler and Huntington report that "an extensive study of factors associated with defection [*made by the authors*] leads them to conclude that the socialization patterns are so effective that the small number who do abandon the colonies are those who were

disadvantaged or deprived of the normal training given a child." But to "disadvantaged" Hostetler and Huntington attached a special meaning. In a similar fashion one could report that a person from the Philadelphia Main Line is "culturally deprived" because he has missed certain hardships. Of the 20 male defectors located and interviewed by Hostetler's research team, 11 were sons of leaders. As such they received special treatment.

The census of Eaton and Mayer was of "all 8,542 colony  
8 Hutterites alive on  
December 31, 1950". In addition to the 114  
permanent "deserters" mentioned above, they reported 141 males  
and 3 female "ex-deserters". This was probably a low estimated  
for as they note, "we undoubtedly missed some cases." 'Given  
that there are legitimate occasions for a young Hutterite male to  
experience prolonged absences (e.g., traveling to Canada to help a  
colony "put out" a branch), there were probably a number

of short-timers not listed among the ex-deserters. Further, since a high defection rate earns a bad name for a colony, and as a consequence makes it relatively difficult for "good" marriages to be arranged for boys from such a colony, there is an incentive for the Hutterites to depress such marginal cases of defections when reporting to outsiders and repress such occurrences when talking with Hutterites from other colonies. Among the Hutterites there are times when ignorance is a guarded virtue.

Unbaptized Hutterite males often "skip off" their colony for a few weeks or months. In conducting his study of defection, Hostetler noted this fact but discounted such persons from his analysis. "The seasonal trend among boys to leave the colony in the summer with the intent to return in winter was recognized in this investigation, although no measure of the extent of this activity was made."<sup>11</sup> Further he notes that "the Lehrerleut are reputed to have a great deal of seasonal defection with boys leaving during the summer and returning in the winter. 12 Until baptism such behavior is regretfully expected. On several occasions, I was told "that members of other leut had such a high summer defection rate "that old people of 50 years even had to get out in the fields." In general, then it seems that a substantial, but unknown number of young Hutterites leave the confines of the colonies for periods greater than a few days.

Of those who leave, however, the majority return. In 1965, Hostetler found that "a systematic search for all living cases reached a total of 62 persons who were known to be living and outside the colonies."<sup>14</sup> He stated that "it is probable that there are more than 62 living defectors and that some cases escaped our attention...Should there be as many as a hundred living persons who have permanently defected from the colony [colonies], this would be about 01.1 percent of the total Hutterite population (age 15 and over) or a ratio of one male to ninety." in the following section I will attempt to account for the apparently high rate of return.

By "account for" I roughly mean explain. One explains by subsuming facts under generalizations. Among the most basic assumptions upon which social scientists attempt to build, we find the following: the preponderance of human behavior is not random. The task the social scientist sets for himself is to discern and confirm patterns among events and to produce generalisations which serve to order these events. At the most elemental level., this is the occupation of the social scientist and this is the activity which serves to unite those who claim the title. But the social scientist and the meteorologist share several important characteristics. Unlike the solid state physicist or the structural geologist, both deal with matters usually open to public surveillance. Further, each is operating

in an area where folk wisdom is well-developed. In academic disciplines, the practitioner is accountable for the logical structure of his argument. Not only the predicted or post-dicted statement is subject to critical review- It is at this juncture that the distinguishing characteristics of science emerge. The following material does not meet the pristine standards required of an explanation. Yet I am hopeful that the reader will find at least the sketch of an explanation in the following section.

As discussed above, the economic base of the colonies is entirely agricultural. In addition to providing a potentially or theoretically self-sufficient unit, such an organization is conducive to relative isolation. Thus, clearly demarcated social and cultural boundaries are provided which divide the world into we, the Hutterites and they, the remainder of humanity. From their perspective, the Hutterites, as children of God, are uniquely possessed of those attributes requisite for Christian existence. Private property is held to a minimum. Bennett, for example, conducted an inventory and accounting of the personal possessions of an agricultural manager on a Hutterian colony. His total personal possessions, including the retail price of old magazines given to him, valued only \$50.00.

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This sum is claimed to be above average. The value of the corporation, however, is substantial. Although Hutterian

ministers have consistently told this writer "that it costs \$1,000,000 to establish a new colony, an agricultural economist has estimated that such costs probably total from \$650,000 to

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\$800,000. If this figure is approximately correct, and given the growth dynamics evidenced during the post-World War II years, the nearly 200 colonies currently have an aggregate book value of approximately \$144,000,000. With the prevailing margins in agriculture, this figure and its accompanying growth rate tend to tax the credulity of economists.

Also, at variance with the mode in the agricultural industry, many colonies are marked by an excess of labor. This condition, of course, does not attain on all colonies. With a normal sex distribution, one may expect an occasional "run" of female births during a given time span. This fact of probability distribution will have an occasional influence on labor supply. Of more interest than sex distribution at birth is

the finding by Hostetler that defections are not randomly distributed among colonies. Defections are, analogously speaking,

contagious. Expressed more formally, the probability of an individual leaving a colony is greater given that another person from that colony has left. Statistical interaction is probably operating in regard to the variables of (1) colony state and (2) opportunity structure, i.e., the relation is curvilinear with an upward sloping curve.

Hutterites, like the Amish, represent a residual element of the greater Anabaptist movement -- a movement noted for its technological conservatism -- but much Hutterite success may be accounted for by admiration for and reliance upon technological innovations. Hutterites are reported to be avid consumers of agricultural extension bulletins and occasionally indulge in intercolony rivalries for the most modern and/or largest machinery. Given their abundant labor supply, such competition can lead to economically irrational investments. For example, several colonies have installed fully automated hog feeding systems. These systems require high investments of capital and utilize very little labor. This investment, like most advances in technological sophistication, also tends to increase somewhat the interdependence of the colony with the larger community, and to equip the Hutterite males with skills valued in the outside.

The Hutterites, due to their clothing and grooming styles, have a distinctive appearance and are quite conspicuous when in a city. Thus, they have generated both interest and varying degrees of animosity. Hutterite lore, tales and rumor abound in their region. Although there is no systematic basis for this opinion, the volume seems to be matched by the inaccuracy of the reports. For example, there are recurrent reports that the Hutterites "need new blood" and will pay good wages to healthy young males willing to "stand at stud".

There also exist local accounts of the departure of the young and their incentives for returning. One hears that "nearly all, even the preacher's boys, are leaving the colony". It is also widely reported that most are unable to "make it" on the outside and are forced by their meager circumstances to return to the cocoon of security provided by the colony. It is held that the Hutterites. tend to be both ill-prepared and temperamentally unsuited to hold down a regular job on the outside. Further, their limited schooling is commonly held to provide evidence of a pervasive dullness.

While only a systematic survey could reveal the degree to which the above statements are representative viewpoints, they do stand as efforts to account for the behavior of an alien group.

The main question concerns the factors which explain the high incidence of return among the defecting Hutterites. As a first step, the accounts offered by the natives of the area are considered.

Let us initially consider the possibility that jobs are unavailable to persons lacking at least some high school education. Although data on employment opportunities for unskilled and semiskilled labor permits only inference as applied to the Hutterites, it is the case that a relatively strong demand for agricultural labor with Hutterite skills has

been sustained for several years. It is my impression based upon personal experience that there is a shortage of labor, not jobs in the area. I have, for example, had several opportunities to work as a machinery operator on farms and ranches, a logger, and a packer for a guest ranch. This impression is buttressed by the concurrence of potential employers with whom I have talked. In asking an official of the Employment Security Department of South Dakota if there were a job opportunity for a 20-year-old with four years of experience on farm machinery, I was interrupted and told, "If you have one, send him right down. We can put him to work this afternoon."

The official South Dakota publication on agricultural labor made the following comments.

The demand for regular hired farm workers remains quite strong throughout the year, especially for unskilled ones. There is a constant shortage of this type of farm worker, and although there have been no crop losses due to this shortage, it has no doubt been an influencing factor in the loss of dairy operations within the state.

Regular hired farm workers are used on our diversified farms in South Dakota, working in livestock operations, grain and row crop farming, dairying, and combinations of these various farm operations,

■:■; With the size of farming operations continuing to grow, equipment becomes larger and more complex and as a result farm workers' skills must increase. This type of worker has had no problem in locating non-ag. jobs and these appear to be more attractive to today's workers.

There is a year-round demand for regular hired farm workers. Newspapers, radio and TV have been used in attempts to recruit farm workers, especially regular hired farmworkers. With the heavy non-ag. demand for workers it has become increasingly difficult to recruit regular farm workers. Wage offerings have increased but this does not appear to be the solution as many good jobs that offer substantial wages go unfilled\* Farmers have been heard to say that they are to blame as much or more than anyone else, as they themselves do not encourage their sons to stay on the farm.

The bulk of the physical work on a Hutterite colony is done by males between the ages of 15 and 35. Among the youths there appears to be high status attached to successful accomplishment in the more physically demanding activities of colony life. Thus, were a Hutterite boy to defect after the age of 18, he would be likely' to be well-grounded in the fundamentals of sophisticated and mechanised farm labor. Further, although a disproportionate number of school dropouts have encountered serious brushes with civil authorities and/or have acquired attributes that call question to their character, any boy from a Hutterite colony is certain to have a clean record. Sinning to the defecting Hutterite may take the form of purchasing a transistor radio. Such transgressions are likely to elicit little disapproval from prospective employers. In view of the fact that their potential competition in the labor market is likely to come from high school dropouts or perhaps Indians, a group that bears a stigma worse than the dropouts, the Hutterite defectors appear to be in a relatively advantageous employment position.

Standing alone, the above involves considerable speculation. Few solid (and therefore contestable) claims have, been made beyond the data. Based on interviews with foremen of Hutterite Conscientious Objectors, it is asserted in the following section that Hutterites between the ages of 18 and 25 comprise a group of demonstrably satisfactory employees.

During the summer of 1968, the foremen of the Black Hills State Park, were interviewed regarding the job performances of approximately 100 Hutterite C.O.'s who have served there. Each foreman, as well, as the superintendent and his two assistants, agreed that the Hutterite C.O.'s perform in a satisfactory manner. Representative comments from various foremen included. "And they, with very few exceptions, do a pretty good job." "We've got a half a dozen here this time that are real good." "They're pretty good workers." "I'd be real sorry to see my Hutterites taken off the job," "If they like their job- they're good. And most of them like it pretty good." "They've cut their teeth on a cat [Caterpillar Tractor] and they know how to work and they will work" "I really think they're better than average." "I always fought to keep my Hutterites. 'I've still got them." The preceding comments from each of the foremen, some of whom have supervised 30 Hutterites, strongly suggest that the C.O.'s are viewed as good workers. Further (to me more conclusively) each foreman said that if he were

running his own enterprise on a contract basis, and selecting only on their working qualities, he would like to hire Hutterites.

Contemporary Hutterite males have, acquired the technical skills and related competencies and propensities compatible with employment in a variety of moderately well-rewarded positions in a highly industrialized sector of a modernized society. Yet the fact remains that few permanently defect from their colony. In the following section, I consider the strategic position of an individual educated to hold skills valued in the market, holding guaranteed position in a highly traditional society, having a profound socializing-enculturating experience in the traditional society, and who has developed or been given an elaborate matrix of credits and obligations among his kin.

The process of education to which the young are near universally subjected may be divided into the following three components for purposes of analysis; (1) pattern maintenance, (2) technical development and (3) critical analysis.

Pattern maintenance in this context refers to the process by which the young are exposed to and taught as preferable the values and the positively sanctified behaviors deemed appropriate in the society of which they are part. To the degree to which the educational experience contributes toward pattern maintenance, it is a source of stability. Among the Hutterites, we find a highly traditional society (i.e., a society marked-

by a traditional process of distributing persons to roles), that is also highly modernized. Their educational experience provides for pattern maintenance by including technical skills supportive to their system's viability.

The induction of technical facility to the young maybe neutral in regard to social stability. As a general rule. however, the social implications of new technical skills and

processes are fundamentally incompatible with traditional structures. (This is the central point underlying Levy's work on modernization and especially the selection of his indices.) The innovations may serve to either reinforce or to subvert existing patterns. An excellent example of the

latter is provided by the article by Sharp entitled "Steel Axes for Stoneage Man".<sup>21</sup> This article presents an anthropologist's account of the subversion and disruption of a society in which patterns of authority and responsibility were based upon man's control of access to the stone axes used by women. These stone axes were replaced by steel axes and were distributed to the females by well-intended missionaries. The redistribution of control over access substantially eroded the social organization of the bands. An example of the former is provided by Alexander Moore's paper, "Formal Education in a Guatemalan Peasant Community: An Example of Acculturation in Reverse",<sup>22</sup>

on the utilization of reading and accounting skills by Guatemalan Indians. These new skills led to rationalized and successful efforts to provide "bigger and better traditional fiestas.

The third aspect, rational, critical analysis, serves ideally as the hallmark of western education. This model which I prefer to call the conflict model of education, has two essential components. Issues (propositions or statements) regarding relationships of people, of concrete items other than people, or of symbols are not settled by appeals to either (1) authority of a person or (2) power in the physical sense. Recourse is to evidence gathered according to prescribed standards and to logic\* These standards constitute the basis for the systematic destruction of propositions whatever their source. In operation, the distinguishing feature of this model is the elemental assumption that no idea, no proposition, and no pronouncement enjoys ascriptive sanctity from criticism and analysis. Thus, the status of any general claim is always in doubt. Where this ideal attains, even acknowledged leaders lack the recognized ability to state the synthetic a priori. Most simply stated, the source of a proposition is less important than subsequent data upon the acceptance or rejection of that proposition. Under this assumption, challenging inquiry

is never ruled out and over time, ideology is less important than data in determining whether a proposition is accepted or rejected.

From the position of one interested in social organization, the key point in the above is that such an analytic perspective is inherently not a pattern maintenance device.

We find that for dogmatic reasons the Russians rejected the probabilistic interpretation of quantum mechanics until the 1930's. Their position, apparently derived from Marxist "theory",- was that we live in a deterministic universe. Under this doctrine probabilistic interpretations of events simply indicated incomplete knowledge of deterministic processes. Statistical explanations of sub-atomic processes were ruled out. It is interesting to note-that this approach did not preclude further inquiry.

If the above sketch is not an overly distorted dissection of the formal educational process, one should be able to describe the Hutterian utilization of formal, state-sanctioned education within these three functional categories, and relate it to the defection and return of Hutterite youth.

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Pattern Maintenance. On each Hutterite colony there exists a school for the colony children. This school most commonly employs a state certified non-Hutterite teacher. There are, however,

occasional exceptions. During the 1968-1969 school year there was at least one colony whose children attended a consolidated school. Recurrent attempts to avoid the expense and bother of administering and financing their own school have led to experiments with integration. In each case, the "outside" has evidenced, if not inroads, at least tracks, into the behavior of the colony's children. Each experiment precipitates an ultimatum from the conservative bishops and the offending colony is given one year (or at the most two) to build, furnish and staff a private school. (My data suggest that the stronger the colony and the less likely to need assistance, the longer it can defer building its own school.) The sanction is that of excommunication- Although seldom applied, the sanction gained credence following the expulsion of an Alberta colony.

Among the Hutterites, aspects of material culture have a high symbolic loading. For example, the location of the English school tends to be apart from the colony. It is often located on the main road leading into the colony. Thus, in a sense it stands as both a buffer and an intrusion. Although a few Hutterites have received temporary certification as teachers, attempts at college education have led to defection after permanent certification is attained. Outsiders tend to be preferred as colony teachers. This assignment tends to "keep the lines straight". A German school, taught by a baptized Hutterite male, precedes and follows the English school. In

addition, the German school teacher presides over the school children while they have lunch in the colony refectory. The English teacher eats alone in her classroom, or if she lives on the colony, in her teacherage.

In America the public school systems have traditionally served as only moderately disjointed pattern maintenance devices. Many of the patterns maintained, however, are fundamentally incompatible with Hutterite culture. Thus, a rigid distinction between the German and English school is fostered. By encapsulating the English school, its functions are reduced to the development of basic literary and technical skills. Should the English teacher transgress, she is spoken to by the preacher and elders. The introduction of non-basic educational activities generates quick reprisal and strong negative sanctions on the part of both adult Hutterites and the school children. In spite of this largely successful effort at boundary maintenance, a high proportion of the Hutterite defectors interviewed by Hostetler evidenced exposure to the English school as influential to their departure from the colonies.<sup>23</sup>

The sophisticated, industrialized form of Hutterite agriculture has been outlined. Such an operation requires considerable-technical-expertise. Hutterite operators and managers successfully acquire and apply information relevant to functionally specialised operations within the colony enterprise. Thus, for example, one man is given responsibility for the development of a successful

integrated hog operation involving a possible investment of \$100,000. How, one might inquire, can a person with only an eighth grade education acquire the requisite skills?

The skills acquired in the eight grade school provide a base for future, informal learning. Upon reaching the age of 15, a Hutterite can read, write and "figure". At this age he is assigned to a specialist to serve as an apprentice. He has the literacy, the practical experience and the time to enable him to amass considerable skill in dealing with his department. By the time the elder man retires, or at the time of a branching, the apprentice will probably qualify as expert in his speciality.

In addition, the Hutterite is provided technical information by the sales representatives from various corporations. A Hutterite account is an especially good account and the goodwill of the department boss is actively sought. Hutterites also utilize the services of extension divisions of state universities and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The above factors are farther supported by the fact that the colonies comprise a facsimile of experimental farms. When an innovation is adopted on one colony, news of the adoption soon travels to the other colonies. If successful, department bosses and heads from various colonies visit the innovating colony to explore the feasibility of emulating the change. The fact-finding tour

also occasions a welcome variation in colony life as well as a chance to visit distant kin and to engage in the favorite Hutterite pastimes--gossiping. Via these means, the technical facilities requisite to a highly industrialized agricultural enterprise are developed and maintained.

By restricting their exposure to only eight grades, the Hutterite children fail to develop the abstract sophistication conducive to the analysis of ethical or religious systems. Further, by maintaining an homogeneous cultural environment, the clear presentation of alternatives to their belief system is precluded.

Unlike the Amish, surveillance is close and contesting exposures

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severely restricted.

In a preceding section, I argued that the young Hutterite has employment alternatives outside the colony. Above, the Hutterite educational system was analyzed according to three aspects of education. In the following section I attempt to account for the return of Hutterite defectors in terms of

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what is loosely called role theory.

There are various ways in which the context of education may affect its social impact. If the ascending generation within a particular group believes that the fulfillment of cultural values is obtained primarily via the educational system, and if their calculations were not greatly in error, then one can predict that only minor social disorganization will accompany

increased education. Thus, a farmer's son may go the state agricultural school. In other words, there would appear to be relatively little discontinuity of the values as represented by the kin group and those perceived to be fostered by the educational institution.

There is, however, another situation which would occur when a group attempts to maintain a binary distinction (at least in certain areas) between itself and the larger society. If the rules of society in which this group resides and to which it is subject say "you must meet certain requirements to live here, and among the requirements is the education of your children according to the following format", the ascending generation as well as the social scientist are presented with a potentially interesting problem. In brief, a sub-group is bounded by and subject to this parameter established by the dominant group. These groups are potentially incompatible. Assuming that this sub-group wishes to maintain its identity, that is, to survive as a sub-group and perpetuate its distinctions, it is necessary for the subgroup to achieve an accommodation with the larger unit.

It is now the standard practice for the colony's English school teacher to be from the outside. The first outsider was hired at Bonhomme Colony in the early 1900's. The father of the current minister of this colony regarded her influence as too worldly and she was dismissed.

The Hutterite tolerance of 'English' schools is mainly a concession to the laws of the country in which they live. While they do wish their children to have more than a certain minimum of education, the whole process is regarded with some suspicion and fear because the possibility that it, will lead children away from the Hutterite way of life. Higher education is completely prohibited for fear that individuals who leave to go to college will not return, or will be unsuited for colony life.<sup>27</sup>

These fears are justified but there are exceptions to the prohibition of higher education. In regard to the corrupting influence of an outsider, the account by a former Hutterite English teacher is enlightening.

Possibly the greatest worldly temptation this writer brought to the Brethren was his television set. Many had never seen television before, but all except the most pious elders had made a visit to the writer's teacherage to view it before the year was over. Several married men admitted they had come to watch television in spite of their wives' objections and threats that they were going to tell the preacher. A noticeable decrease in the number of visits to the teacherage was observed toward the end of the year, and the writer assumes that Hutterian beliefs and indoctrination held firm and won the battle over 'the devil's own instrument of temptation.'<sup>28</sup>

In regard to the higher education of Hutterite teachers, a new accommodational pattern may be emerging. On several colonies, eighth grade graduates are encouraged to enroll in high school correspondence courses if they have graduated prior to their sixteenth birthday. Should they do well and happen to enjoy the additional schooling, the colony will continue paying tuition. Several Hutterite males who had nearly completed their high school course work obtained state certification. These permits enable them to teach in the colony school.

In order to renew the permit, however, it is necessary for them to continue course work. By the time a Hutterite has completed his high school education and taken a few correspondence courses from a state university, he is likely to be married. When married he is more firmly enmeshed in kin relations and can be trusted to increased exposure to the world. This suggestion, based upon my work in the U.S., is supported by the following comments by Victor Peters\*

The school library is used extensively by some colonies. At one community a group of young married men spent the winter evenings studying mathematics, English, and other subjects, quite on their own. The colony asked one of these men, the hog-man, whether he would care to continue his education and perhaps eventually qualify as a public school teacher. Hesitatingly the man, who was in charge of one of the finest hog enterprises in the province, consented. His brother was elected the new hog-man, and the prospective teacher, aged thirty-three, married, and with a family of eight children, went to a private school in Winnipeg to complete his high school work. 'The former hog-man, Peter Maendel of the New Rosedale Colony, has now graduated from Manitoba Teachers College and is teaching at a colony public school. 'When I asked him about his important decision, he carefully corrected me. 'It was not my decision,' he said, 'It was made by the community.'

To speak of this development as a trend is premature. It is important that secondary education is being discussed at the colonies. Senior Elder Peter Kofer sees no objection to higher education except that it exposes young people during their formative years to temptations and worldly influences. Submerged indications, too blurred to assess with confidence, are that the next ten years may see a less rigid rejection of secondary education.<sup>30</sup>

The vast majority of colony schools are staffed by outsiders, by persons not sharing the beliefs and values of the colonies. Yet, these persons have protracted contact with the colony

children. Although most teachers restrict themselves to formal subjects, some attempt innovations such as audio-visual programs, school plays and Christmas parties. These Innovators are "talked to first by the German school teacher. If this is insufficient, the preacher and elders discuss their objections with the teacher, Should these tactics fail, a variety of sanctions are imposed by the colony, e.g., the snow may not be shoveled from the path, the fire may not be lighted prior to the teacher's arrival, and the lunch from the colony's kitchen may arrive cold—or may not arrive.

In the 1930's Deets noted that "the superimposed school system is already having noticeable effects particularly through the personal influence of the teachers...Some teachers who live in Manitoba colonies have radios. It is against the rules for children to listen to the radios, but they do and as a result develop increased interest in the outside world and its luxuries." This observation has proven to be well founded.

Of the few Hutterites who have defected, Hostetler found their educational experience to be a relevant consideration.

*In an earlier study Deets. (1939, 41) reported that although the personal influence of the English school teacher had had noticeable effects on the children, the introduction of a secular educational system was too recent to assess the effect of its imposition on the Hutterites. The influence of the school teacher, as a representative of the outside world, became clearly discernible to the interviews. That three quarters of the defectors valued higher education suggests acceptance of North American values. The fact that six with some notion of obtaining more training left points to the influence of the English teachers' views upon them. Many more said they enjoyed school very much.*

Several took pride in having been the brightest pupil in their class. The fascination with the world of learning is expressed by one defector: 'I thought of leaving when I was taken from school at the age of fourteen. I was greatly disappointed, for education was 'my object.' The Hutterites have always 'been a literate people, but they currently accept only that amount of education necessary to read the Bible and the writings of their forebearers and to adequately perform agricultural roles. Scepticism and the rational evaluation of ideas is foreign to a people who *never experienced* the Renaissance. The English teacher living in their midst, by his teaching and style of life, exposes colony children to the 'Weltgeist,' the spirit of the world. The colony is consequently in a dilemma. Previous attempts to send out its own members to be trained as teachers resulted, with few exceptions, in their desertion. Yet, the colony must comply with governmental education laws.<sup>32</sup>

The Hutterites appear to evidence a strong degree of "sociological sense". They recognise the potentially disruptive impact of English school teachers and thus far have largely succeeded in neutralizing it.

I was as carefully excluded from the community life as Hutterite courtesy and hospitality would allow. I had a separate, austere little house built somewhat apart from the regular community buildings and surrounded by a high hedge. In every way the teacher is encouraged to remain aloof from colony life, while the adult community assiduously cultivates gossipy tidbits about his 'worldly' ways, reducing the students' respect for him. The ' Hutterites have quite effectively reduced the proselytising impact of the English school in this manner. Unless the teacher has a wife, he is the only person in the colony who dines alone.<sup>33</sup>

The Hutterites have handled the problem of attaining minimal education in the ways discussed above. Each has both threats and potential benefits. They have attempted to run their own colony schools with their own personnel and thereby

effectively ignore the impact of the state by incorporating its rules into those of the colony. But this venture has proved unsuccessful. In the past, few of the members they sent to college returned to the colony. Most commonly the colonies hold school on the colony. A third alternative has been to spare themselves the burden and expense of running a school on the colony and to send their children to the integrated schools. This has been attempted on at least nine of the colonies located in the U.S. and in each case has generated problems with the children, the bishops, or both.

It is possible, however, that the Hutterites may increasingly be pressured into situation three. This might occur were the public school districts further consolidated, were the minimum age for education to be raised, or were federal or state aid to schools in the country to be made contingent upon the proposition of children in that county attending schools offering a certain

"modern" curriculum.

To discuss possible implications of integrated education . reference is made to several concepts not previously introduced in this paper. I look primarily to Sigfried Hadel's The Theory of Social Structure for these concepts. The terms I plan to employ are "role" and "reference group". Individuals enact roles. That is, they enter as actors into relationships with other individuals by virtue of some 'brief' which he calls 'role'.

'Reference group' refers to those individuals referred to in the process of self-evaluation and self-appraisal. It indicates that "people of a particular description (or role) will appraise their own situation and conduct in light of their knowledge of other classes of people with whom they compare themselves (for whom they make their point of 'reference')".

To elaborate and explain the situation further we might look at the colony in terms by which Nadel describes an "homogenized society". Within the colony there is what he terms a high degree of role 'summation', that is, the various roles enacted by an individual are so firmly linked that the role might be regarded as one. For example by describing a man as a Hutterite father we will be describing almost his entire social being. Thus the Hutterite father is husband, family head, manager (but of what we cannot tell—pigs, cattle, garden, etc.— but his relationship with other Hutterites—no matter what his managerial capacity— will be—similar), worker, elder, etc. At the same time his position might be occupied by any other Hutterite (on any colony) in the same category, or to use Nadel's terms, two persons in the same category will ideally have the same 'achievable life histories'. The effect of role summation (and the 'substitution' or interchangeability of persons) is to strengthen both social integration and social control. "For the more roles an individual combines in his person, the more is he linked by relationships with persons in other roles in diverse

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areas of social life." The Kutterite is linked very closely with all other members of his colony. He is socialized from birth to assume these sanctified and predefined roles. The Hutterite child normally has such infrequent contact with the outside that it does not occur to him that there might be other possibilities\* His reference groups are his age-sex mates and those-age-sex groups above him. His model for behavior and for aspirations are those adults whose roles he knows he eventually will assume. There is constant vigilance on the part of his elders to assure that he will reach the point of obtaining the role,. For much of his life, usually until his late teens, he knows little except the colony.

Although the preacher or manager of each colony subscribes to at least one newspaper, it is usually not circulated among the young. Further, Hutterites very rarely have the opportunity to watch either television or movies\* All have probably listened to radios but nearly always to stations featuring country and western songs, broken by 5-minute news and weather reports on the hour.

By the time he becomes physically and technically able to support himself and leave the colony, the typical Hutterite is psychologically unable to remain outside. He has become almost totally dependent upon his group. There is nothing in the outside which will serve for him as a positive reference group,

that is, a point of reference by which he can evaluate himself positively. Referring again to Nadel, reference groups" ...

indicate that people of a particular description (or role) will appraise their own situation and conduct in the light of their knowledge of other classes of people with whom they compare themselves..." The socialization and enculturation of the Hutterite child occurs in so cloistered a setting that there is no group, other than one comprised of other Hutterites, that is readily available for comparison. The entire socialization of a Hutterite centers upon fostering his dependency upon the group. When he is alone outside the colony there is usually no one to whom he can turn.

Let us focus, for a moment, upon the subjective probability that an individual holds for himself to occupy a future role. A Hutterite girl is not likely to aspire to be an airline stewardess for she is not likely to know that such a role exists. Thus, the subjective probability of her occupying this role is zero. However, both the objective and subjective probability of her occupying a role of Hutterite wife is close to one; all of the adult women *she* knows occupy or have occupied this role. A situation such as this tends to be functional in terms of stability for, as suggested above, the number of roles which a Hutterite can enact is perceived as limited or pre-determined.

The problem, there is what changes might occur if Hutterites were to send their children to integrated schools for an extended period. It seems that the consequences, for the structure of role relationships on the colony would be profound.

For the average Hutterite the world outside the colony is a somewhat mysterious and very evil environment. He knows that in matters relating to the "world", those outside are in positions vastly superior to his, i.e., they are more "worldly" and better able to cope with the social morass found off the colony. He also is confident that in "spiritual" matters he is superior. But when a Hutterite child is placed in a public school several things will happen. Being away from the colony for most of the day he will no longer be under the continual surveillance of his elders. If the temptation to sin (e.g. to go to the educational movies) should arise, knowing that he is not morally responsible for his actions until he is baptised, he is more likely to indulge himself when given the opportunity. More important, his reference group will no longer necessarily be comprised solely of his Hutterite age-sex mates and adult Hutterites. They will include teachers public school mates and indirectly their parents. Through these sources, TV and secular

heroes may filter in. It will then be possible for the Hutterite child to perceive and appraise himself in terms of these groups. Where his Hutterite reference groups emphasised his dependence

upon them and upon the colony, the groups in the public school of the region may tend to reward self-reliance and individuality. He will learn, at an early age, that rather than being inferior in worldly concerns he is equal to his public school mates. public schools tend to encourage and regard competitiveness among children and in competing (not valued in colony schools) he may find himself winning, Paradoxically, the Hutterites encountered during ray initial summer of research were proud when their children did well in school as children from the outside. One boy had made the junior high basketball team and the writer was told that their son was "the most popular boy in his class. However, his parents and the colony minister had decided that he could not play in any games away from the local school. There also was evidence of some conflict developing when Hutterite children were not allowed by the colony to attend birthday parties outside the colony. By our second summer the reaction of the adults had undergone a significant change. The priorities of the boy were, from the colony's perspective, warped by his exposure. And next year school is again to be held on the colony.

It is important to note that, by attending public school, the Hutterite will not necessarily encounter a vastly different situation with regard to learning basic skills. If he stops school at the eighth grade his actual tool skills will not be very different from those learned by children on colony schools.

However, his interactional patterns will be so at variance with those of the colony that he may no longer fit easily or willingly into colony life. The socializing influence of the German school may be reduced as children will not spend as much time there. With English school on the colony, and with the German school conducted in the same building, there is no problem for the children to attend German school before and after English classes and to spend the lunch period with the German teacher. Such a situation is clearly impossible if the children commute to the public schools. When this change occurs, the child's role models will be radically altered when he is no longer under the watchful eye of the colony and of the German teacher for most of the day.

Not only will his knowledge of alternative roles increase, but the subjective probability of his occupying them will also increase as he begins to acquire the necessary psychological skills for achieving these roles. While still a child he will learn to interact easily with individuals outside the colony.

An example of what can happen through increased interaction with the outside (although not in the specific case of public schools) is given by a Hutterite who states that while in a conscientious objectors' camp during World War II he learned that he was as intelligent as non-Hutterites, He had always believed himself somehow "inferior". While at the camp, with

much opportunity to read and to talk with non-Hutterites, he painfully discovered that he was able to interact successfully with them. This Individual made his discovery when he was an adult and could do relatively little about it--except to become a dissatisfied Hutterite. The alternative of leaving the security of the colony, although contemplated for 20 years now, involves a very high psychological cost. But for children making this discovery the alternative to leaving the security of the colony may be seen as entering a not terribly insecure and infinitely tempting outside. In such cases, the "outside" has become a place where they have learned to interact, which includes groups to which they can positively evaluate themselves, and where they have learned the skills necessary for occupying roles.

Public school is an environment which facilitates the widening of the role structure for the Hutterite child. As he learns to cope successfully with the world outside the colony his 'achievable life history' will become different from that of his elders and from that of age mates in other colonies. In addition, he will become increasingly aware of these differences. Colony elders will have a difficult time enforcing the current role allocations when alternatives to colony roles become available. Hutterite youth may find the notion of total submission to the colony incompatible with the aspirations which they have come to hold.

As noted, young Hutterite males do defect from their colonies in relatively large numbers. The number of defectors who return, however, is large. The data demonstrate that this return should not be attributed, as it commonly is, to a lack of technical knowledge necessary to survive in a complex society nor to attitudes dysfunctional to job performance. *The* explanation lies instead in the Hutterite social and cultural system which maximizes dependence upon colony members, deprecates reliance upon 'outsiders' and guarantees 'security'. The role structure of each colony is such that the individual's need for interaction with other Hutterites is developed and reinforced. Concurrently, sustained interaction with non-Hutterites is not only discouraged but rendered nigh impossible.

It is this constellation of factors which inhibits a Hutterite's successful adjustment to the outside. He will leave, he will buy a radio and then a car. He will probably find a suitable job, he is very unlikely to establish meaningful relations with outsiders. He will be homesick for his kin and his friends, nearly all of whom are likely to be on colonies. At the first set-back, lay-off or an injury, he is likely to return. Should no personal misfortune occur, trouble on the colony or the marriage of a sister might bring him back "just for a visit". (Such causes are occasionally invented by both parties.) Once back he is warmly received and accepted. There is visiting to be done and nearby colonies to visit. One day becomes several and an extra hand is sure to be needed.

The Hutterite who is neither married nor divorced can always "go home again". At the present time, however, home can only be his colony. Should his educational experience be integrated with the world, home may become a region and a town as well as a colony. Were this to become the case, the Hutterite systems of beliefs, of interactions and even of distribution would be open to serious challenges. It seems highly probable that given these circumstances a larger proportion of defectors would successfully adjust to the world. As the Hutterites say, "all wheat has chaff". If the tailings were found to be of a size more nearly equal to the fruit or if it became apparent that much of what is lost is not chaff, the sanctified basis of the Hutterite order would probably be severely eroded and eventually collapse.

Notes

1

John A. Hostetler, Education and Marginality in the Communal Society of the Hutterites, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 1965, p. 45.

2

Levy states that despite the fact that a relatively large number of empirical propositions may be stated regarding the distinction between ideal and real patterns, this distinction "is, however, so obvious and such a humble distinction that many social scientists either neglect it or overlook its importance." Marion J. Levy, Jr., Modernization and the Structure of Societies, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966, see pp. 27, 28, 29 and footnote 17, p. 29.

3

Ibid., p. 30.

4

Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of Hutterites and Other Populations, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955, p. 146.

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Arthur P. Mange, The Population Structure of a Human Isolate, doctoral dissertation, Department of Genetics, University of Wisconsin, 1963; cited in Hostetler and Huntington, The Hutterites of North America, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, p. 105.

6

Hostetler and Huntington, p. 105.

7

Hostetler, Education and Marginality, p. 90.

8

Eaton and Weil, p. 41, footnote.

9

Ibid.

10

Ibid.

- 11 Hostetler, Education and Marginality, p. 86.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 The average age of retirement for the American full-time farmer is 58.
- 14 Hostetler, Education and Marginality, p. 86.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 John W. Bennett, Mutterian Brethren, the Agricultural Economy and Social Organization of a Communal People, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967, pp. 171-172.
- 17 Discussion with Richard McComen, Chairman of Agricultural Economics Department, Montana State University, August 1968.
- 18 Hostetler, Education and Marginality, p. 89-90.
- 19 Conversation, August 1968.
- 20 Farm Labor Service, pp. 34. See also State Inventory of Job Openings for South Dakota, Aberdeen, South Dakota, Occupational Codes 411.884 and 421.883.
- 21 Human Organization, XI, 1952, pp. 17-22.
- 22 Carnegie Seminar, Department of Government, Indiana University, May 1968.
- 23 Hostetler, Education and Marginality, pp. 88-90.

24

The relevance of ignorance to social stability is discussed in Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," American Sociological Review, December 1949, pp. 787-795. See especially pp. 790-795.

25

For a discussion of a similar process among the Amish, see Hostetler, Amish Society, Johns Hopkins Press, 1963.

26

A similar framework has been employed in Hostetler, Education and Marginality.

27

Bert Kaplan and T.F.A. Plaut, Personality in a Communal Society: An Analysis of the Mental Health of the Hutterites, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, pp. 17-18.

28

William Douglass Knill, Hutterian Education: A Descriptive Study, M.A. Thesis, Montana State University, 1958, p. 101, footnote 2.

29

This has occurred on scattered colonies in South Dakota, Montana and Minnesota.

30

Victor Peters, All Things Common, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965, pp. 149-150.

31

Lee Emerson Deets, The Hutterites, A Study in Social Cohesion, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939, p. 41.

32

Hostetler, Education and Marginality, pp. 83-89.

33

William F. Pratt, private correspondence reported in Population Reference Bureau, Population Bulletin, Volume XXIV, Number 2, November 1968, p. 39.

34

Sigfried Mael, The Theory of Social Structure, New York: Free Press, 1964, p. 59.

35

Ibid, p. 71

36

Ibid., p. 59.

Conclusions Regarding the Maintenance of Traditional Patterns  
and the Minimization of Deviance and Defection

General Perspective

Although it is possible and perhaps even likely that Marion Levy has been accused of many things, I have every confidence that being a straw man is not one of them. Levy's indices of modernization for a society were (1) proportion of power that is inanimate power and (2) degree to which tools are employed to multiply the effects of labor. I have attempted to demonstrate that in terms of these indices the Hutterites are very highly modernized but that the changes which are claimed to accompany modernization have not occurred, Hutterite relationships, internal as well as external, have been successfully managed in such a fashion as to preserve their traditional social and cultural patterns. In this instance then Levy is wrong. He has outlined a general theory of social structural transformation which accompanies the changes of a society as it moves up the scale on the modernization continuum. Among the Hutterites these social transformations have not occurred.

The previous chapters have attempted to account for the factors which have permitted this aberration. I am of the opinion that while in the general case Levy is correct, and we have been dealing in this paper with a peculiar set of

social structures. The structures are such that the incentive operating at the level of the individual tend to Induce conformity to the traditional norms. My next task is offer generalizations that may be drawn from this case.

When the Hutterites settled in the Dakota Territories, they were relatively self-sufficient. They grew and processed their food, spun their wool, harvested fuel from the ash trees of the Jim and Missouri Rivers, sawed their timber and built their buildings from this timber and native stone. They built furniture and many of their tools. Salt, nails and cotton goods were purchased. Levy states that "One of the most important distinctions among different sorts of social systems has to do with the extent to which action in terras of a given system combines most of the production and consumption of the members of the system, that is the extent to which its structures cover most of the economic aspects of the member's behavior."<sup>1</sup> For a number of factors the relative autonomy of the early colonies has been drastically reduced In terms of both production and consumption\* As "mentioned in an earlier chapter, colonies pay relatively high taxes. Further, their extraordinarily high rate of population growth requires that they establish branches every 12 to 18 years. The conjunction of these two facts requires that they raise large sums of cash. To do so they

must compete favorably in the economic market. Such performance requires a very substantial investment in a technically sophisticated inventory. Given these circumstances, high interdependence within the general agricultural market is unavoidable. Successful participation within this market requires a large number of decisions covering many further interrelations at the level of the individual colony enterprise.

A distinguishing characteristic of a traditional society is the reliance upon kinship as the basis for social organization. A bureaucracy of wide scope marked by universalism while kinship is the ultimate manifestation of particularism. And there is probably no organizational feat more difficult than the reconciliation of kinship and bureaucratic structures of overlapping membership. If decisions among the Hutterite colonies were centralized, bureaucratization and rationalization

would be necessary. Levy has noted that

....anything which injects an element of rationality into a situation which ordinarily emphasizes traditionality tends to create special problems of integrating the activities concerned with the general ideal structures.<sup>2</sup>

By decentralizing decision-making it is possible for the Hutterites to maintain their traditional allocation of persons to roles. This decentralization is the mechanism which permits the various enterprises to be run on a particularistic face-to-face basis. However, benevolent in intent, it is most difficult

to trust one's welfare to a centralized, affectively neutral,,  
universalistic organization, staffed by largely unknown people. Otherwise  
expressed, in the final analysis trust is a necessary component of a  
society where all goods are public goods.

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A theme of this paper has *been* that the order of the social and  
cultural. 'systems' of the Hutterites is sanctified *by* God. The  
Hutterites believe themselves to be the concrete manifestation. of  
God's plan for the species. Regardless of the accuracy of the  
Hutterite contention, they act in accordance with this specific  
belief. Continual efforts at the maintenance of their systems of  
social patterns and values are essential.

There have been numerous attempts to account for both the  
stability and low attrition rates of the Hutterites in North  
America. Of these accounts their own is perhaps the simplest.  
It is their position that they are fated by God to exemplify  
his pattern. As long as He so wills, the Hutterites will  
prosper and grow. Unfortunately, however, it is rather diffi-  
cult to test this proposition. It has also been suggested  
that migration away from intruding elements has permitted them  
"to live according to their conscience". Serl, however, has  
pointed out that this tactic does not provide a means of  
dealing with success nor does it account for the 'proper'  
enculturation of descending generations.

Eaton has suggested that since the structure of the colonies involves only primary relations, the elders are in a position to know when to accept a change and legitimize its introduction. This process of change, which he terms controlled acculturation, is the process by which one culture accepts a practice from another culture, but integrates the new practice into its own existing value system." Aside from problems of reification (and those which could be cleaned up fairly easily), Eaton's suggestion appears to have considerable merit. My observation suggest that the Hutterltes are prepared to give ground on the fringes to preserve and perpetuate their main values.

In a recent article, William Knill, a professor of education at the University of Alberta, has suggested that educational system of the Hutterites may very well lead to the maintenance and perpetuation of their culture. Although there is little disagreement that a successful enculturation program leads to successful enculturation, I am not convinced that we have gained a great deal by stating the relationship in this manner.

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### Dispersion and Concentration of Members

Stability has many dimensions, and the consideration advanced by the authors mentioned above have relevance for explaining the stability of the Hutterite social and cultural

systems. The charter under which the Hutterites assume managerial responsibility emanates directly from God and; therefore, enjoys ascriptive sanctity. Thus, not all decisions need be considered on a rational-calculating basis. Discussions made under such a charter have the advantage of immunity from criticism if it can be shown that (1) they are in harmony with the charter and (2) if the source of the charter is assumed as valid. If these conditions obtain, the actions are "legitimate".

Speaking of conformity and deviance, Nadel says, "Take the very common case of a precisely formulated role norm going together with relatively few and irregular instances of deviance. It is at least likely in the circumstances that the people behaving in the deviant fashion will agree that they are in the wrong and that their behavior in fact infringes the accepted norm, whose validity is not being called in question."<sup>7</sup> Given the circumstances of a person on the Hutterite colony, the description by Nadel seems to apply.

Many traditional and tribal groups lack the written expression of clearly explicated norms. With a written account, a benchmark is provided for the comparison of the real with the ideal. Thus, the adoption of a floating ideal is to some measure precluded.<sup>8</sup> The existence of written norms might appear to account for the capacity for the Hutterites' successful encystation and maintenance of traditional patterns.

The experience of the Amish, however, at least partially detracts from this suggested explanation. Although the Rules of the Church (Ordnung) are usually unwritten, a number of the bodies of church law have been published. More important is the assertion by Hostetler that all members of the church district know these rules. They are repeated prior to Communion Sunday and must be unanimously endorsed by the ordained body before each communion service. Further, any changes in these standards require unanimous approval of the baptized members of the congregation. Thus, the Amish, like the Hutterites, appear to embody the attribute of clear and well-advertized norms.

The Hutterites and Amish show considerable difference in their rates of both defection and deviation from tradition. While only about 1 percent of the Hutterites permanently defect from their colonies, only 70 percent of the Amish offspring even join the church of their parents. Of perhaps greater importance is the rather common movement of entire congregations toward the cultural and interactional patterns prevalent in the agricultural sectors of the U.S. In contrast to the fluidity of the Amish, the patterns of Hutterites. appear nearly crystalline. Only the material aspect of their culture changes.

Thus, although both the Hutterites and Amish have relatively clear standards of ideal behavior, the Hutterites have,

over time, been better able to minimize deviation from ideal patterns. And while the presence of well-advertized and unambiguous norms surrounding roles may present necessary conditions for stability, clarity is not sufficient for enforcement.

Nadel has stated that some forms of deviant behavior such as rebel or deserter are "genuine" roles within a society, i.e.,

"they are roles if they have the stipulated 'halo effect' and if the respective behavior. Is such, for example, that individuals

can 'slip' into it, being in consequence committed to all the

'rules of the game'."<sup>11</sup> Nadel goes on to hold that "the society will reckon with the deviance from norms and will, in its norms,

provide for corrective, punitive or retaliatory counter-measures."<sup>12</sup>

In the situation suggested above, actors share expectations regarding the response of others. Thus, there exists a mutual steering of behavior. Further, "since the respective expectations normally refer to 'common standards of value-orientation, to institutionalized 'shared value patterns', the mutual steering will have the effect of maintaining these, that is, of preserving the obtaining role norms."<sup>13</sup>

Deviance is rewarded by punitive sanctions while normality is reinforced. Within the Hutterite structure these deviant roles are conspicuous by their absence. It is this fact that stands in need of explanation.

Among the Hutterites deviance meets intense negative sanctions, behavior is continually visible. And legitimate roles are so extensively specified that role redefinition by the incumbent is unlikely. These controls are sustained by the character of the boundaries insulating those on the colony 'from their alien setting.

Although both the Hutterites and Amish are ideally to remain apart from the world, the spatial setting, of the, Hutterites approximates the ideal. The Hutterites are comununally-organised. Travel to the outside and consequent exposure to persons on the outside is severely restricted by vigilant elders. Thus the overwhelming preponderance of a Hutterite's interactions is with other Hutterites. In contrast, an Amish church district comprises a specified geographic area containing a mixture of Amish and non-Amish households. While the Hutterites are organized into homogenous compounds, the basic social and economic unit among the Amish is the isolated nuclear family. Further, while the Hutterites' economic activity is always centered on their 5,000 to 20,000 acre farms and-ranches, in a recent study less than one-half of the Amish family heads were listed as farmers. Thus, in addition to the greater logistical problems that a Hutterite might expect to encounter in defecting, he is afforded little opportunity to develop knowledge of the

expectations held by people on the outside. Nor does a Hutterite, especially a young Hutterite have sufficient exposure to non-Hutterites to develop positive reference groups among outsiders.

Were a Hutterite to deviate from established patterns on a colony, and were this deviation deemed significant or threatening, the probability of his deviation being discovered is very high. Each Hutterite is morally responsible for the behavioral manifestations of the spiritual health of other Hutterites, Thus, informing the elders of a person's transgressions is a rewarded activity while failure to inform is a sin. Further, the other fellow's privacy is negatively valued on a Hutterite colony. For example, Hutterites roam freely through the apartments of others; doors have no locks and knocking is extremely rare. Thus, it is rare for deviance to go undetected in a Hutterite colony. (However, minor deviations, *such* as owning but not wearing a wristwatch will often be ignored in the interest of harmony.)

The above material suggests that among groups in an alien environment (1) the frequency of interaction among group members and(2) the proportion of all interactions that involve group members are positively related to the capacity of the group for the encystation of their social and cultural

patterns. This, of course, is not to claim that necessary and sufficient conditions have been offered. It is, for example, necessary that the economic and political patterns of the traditional group be viable in their modernized environment. Given viability, the above attributes would seem to account for a portion of the observed variation among groups.

There is other suggestive evidence that supports the argument that a high loading on in-group. interactional frequency and proportionality contributes to the capacity of a traditional group to successfully encyst itself in a modernized environment.

During World War II a significant proportion of both Navaho and Zuni were drafted into military service. Although persons from these tribes accepted the military with differing degrees of enthusiasm, more significant was the response at the termination of military service.

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It is not an exaggeration to suggest that removal of these young men from their tribe and their subsequent protracted integration within a highly stratified bureaucracy constituted a significant change from the traditional order. Given that the exposure of both groups was similar if not identical, what differences, if any, were noted in the ability of the two tribes to reabsorb the returned veterans?

The Navaho are marked by a widely scattered settlement pattern with a relatively small number of organized and recent relations among families. This low density of personnel results in a "loosely-organized, informal sociopolitical system". This is in marked contrast to the

densely populated and tightly knit Zuni organization which serves as a "complicated web of social units-- the matrilineal lineage group through which religious prerogatives are inherited, the clan, the kiva, and the curing society all of which cross-cut one another in membership and function." 17

There are several ways in which the Zuni and Navaho and Hutterite and Amish cases are dissimilar. In the former, interest is in the capacity of a group to re-enculturate and absorb members who have experienced extended absence in the midst of an alien culture. In the Hutterite and Amish comparison, interest is in degree to which defection and deviance can be minimized. Yet in both pairs the same dynamic applies, i.e., individuals are being "steered" toward behavior in accordance with traditional prescription. In terms of Nadel's conceptualization, the question for each pair is which settlement pattern leads to social relations which encourage the preservation of traditional patterns and role contents.

It is reported that the Navaho veterans were dispersed among the various localized families. Often they would see no

other veteran for several weeks. Within this context and with opportunity for mutual adjustment, consistent and organized resistance to the innovations of the veterans was impossible. With the Zuni, however, residence was in the pueblo, the behavior of veterans was observable, well-advertized and the concern of the various kiva and curing groups. Thus, in contrast to the Navaho, the deviating Zuni was the subject of organised constraining sanctions.

The impact of the returning Zuni and Navaho veterans was consistent with the expectations suggested by the contrasting Hutterite and Amish abilities to hold the line of tradition. Navaho veterans were absorbed via mutual accommodation. Movement of the group's patterns toward the patterns prevalent in their, modernized environment resulted. In contrast, it appears that relations in the pueblo were so structured as to overwhelm a deviator with sanctions. In response to this structure, deviators had the option of (i) conforming to traditional expectations or (2) leaving the pueblo. Presented with this choice and contaminated by their extended exposure, over 10 percent of the Zuni had left their pueblo in 1947.

The paired comparison of four groups suggests that traditional societies with a spatial patterning that results in (1) a high proportion of interactions with group members and (2) a high density of such interactions is better able to preserve

Its traditional patterns than is one in which in-group relations are more diluted. The Hutterites epitomize a society whose structure produces a high loading on these variables.

It is clearly the case that in the absence of the most general and severe social breakdown, the individual Hutterite in North America is enmeshed in a cocoon of relative security. This fact is often cited by Hutterites and by defectors, further, whatever his personal state of health his wife and family are assured no deprivations. In contrast, life in the outside world might appear nasty and brutal even if not short. Were the disparity of this aspect of life on the colony and life on the outside world not so great, at least from the perspective of the Hutterites, one incentive for remaining with the traditional group would be removed. Further, if this premise has an empirical base one would expect the expansion of the welfare state to increase propensities for Hutterite defection.

On the basis of interviews with returned Hutterite defectors, "permanent" defectors and Hutterites on the colony, it seems that expansion of workman's compensation and unemployment insurance might increase attrition from the colonies. Hostetler found that "locating a niche for themselves in the all-important occupational sphere was a problem of the first magnitude for the male defectors and the unmarried female defectors.

For the first time in their lives, they had to find a way to provide themselves with the basic necessities. Receiving no wages on the colony defectors have little opportunity to accumulate enough funds for a start. Of greater importance is the fact that upon leaving a colony they receive no share of the colony's assets. Thus, if a defector does not locate a job immediately, he must return to his colony. If he locates a job but sustains injury or is laid-off, again he must usually rely upon his colony. The prospect of such misfortune and the responsibility for his own welfare as well as the welfare of an outside family serves as a deterrent to Hutterites considering defection. Were security guarantees in the outside to approximate those on the colony, I would expect the rate of defection to increase and the incidence of return to decrease. This again suggests that a benevolent environment is more threatening of Hutterite stability than is one overtly hostile but non-lethal.

#### Prospect for the Continuance of the Traditional Social Order

Within a communal society the central managerial problem is that of allocating public goods in such a manner as to prevent disruptive competition for these goods. On a colony, the personal affects of a person are to be identical with those of others of a similar age and sex. This distribution pattern

minimizes envy and helps to keep colony resources from being diverted and channeled into personal satisfactions. On a smoothly running colony, the actual distribution closely approximates the ideal, When the violation of this ideal is tolerated, the systematic diversions of public goods become increasingly difficult to prohibit. When this is the case, such practices as "knocking down" on the sale of eggs and vegetables become increasingly attractive.

An example of the operation of this tendency may be worth noting. Throughout the Great Plains there is a brand of cowboy boots that enjoys an especially high status. This brand, Tony Lama, comes in varigated colors and such exotic leathers as ostrich, whale, shark and water buffalo. These . boots permit the wearer to advertize his style *by* wearing the epitome of well-crafted, western elegance. They are worn by both rodeo riders and Sunday cowboys. They are often coveted from afar by young Hutterites but their expense prohibits inclusion in the material culture of the Hutterites. On one colony, however, the teenage son of the preacher received a pair of Tony Lamas when his Sears Roebucks wore out. Tills lack of equity produced envy among his age set. In an effort to reduce this disparity, several boys attempted to obtain private funds so they too could own such boots. To obtain funds they tried to "hire out" and to sell colony produce.

Because each colony must obtain enough capital to put out a daughter colony each 12 to 3.8 years, the colony is nearly always either anticipating a very large expense or is faced with a very substantial debt. It is this fact that has necessitated both their acceptance of advanced technology and their imposition of voluntary austerity. Bennett has noted that "As a result of [their] traditions of adaptability, efficiency, and rationality, the Hutterites are able to accept modern technology and business methods without feeling compromised.

It can also be argued that whatever the historical basis, the Brethren have been forced to accept these things in order to support their rapidly growing population in a period of rising costs of production."<sup>20</sup>

Although the, profit margins in agriculture have shown a general decline since about 1950, the organizational features of the colonies would permit their continuance as viable enterprises. One trend, however, deserves especial notice. Since 1947

land values have more than doubled while incomes have fallen.<sup>21</sup>

Further, Clawson expects this trend to continue at least until the year 2000. Farm enlargements are expected and agriculture will be continuously over-manned. As a result the bidding up of land will continue. If these features of the economy are

actualized, the Hutterites will be increasingly hard-pressed to double their holdings every 15 years.

This necessity could be avoided if their population increase were curtailed. Given their theological base, however, such an action would probably, be strongly resisted. If accepted, it would probably contribute to the erosion of their faith in the legitimacy of the traditional order. Further, even if such a change of doctrine were to be accepted by the ministers, enforcement would probably be impossible. Given the existing structure and the core values which support it, the application of direct birth control incentives to potential parents is probably ruled out, i.e., it is of essential importance that all are to be treated equally. Thus Incentives predicated on differential benefits are precluded.

The postponement of baptism and thus of carriage would substantially reduce the number of births. *The* adoption of this pattern would also increase the age at which young Hutterites are co-opted into the system. Deferring this rite would probably serve to increase the rate of defection. And as mentioned, defection is "contagious", especially among siblings. Of the 37 defectors whose experience was analyzed by Hostetler, 19 had siblings who defected. "The example, and in some cases, the active encouragement of family members who left had a great Influence on the decision made by these defectors. The mutual

support they have been able to offer one another cushioned the  
23  
difficult period of transition.

If the Hutterites were to continue their present birth rate (and given the set of implications this holds for expansion of holdings) they would probably have to continue their technological advancement. In the past the adoption of technology has served to perpetuate and reinforce traditional patterns. Bennett has noted that "technology serves the goal of healthy maintenance of the colony, and so long as it does not introduce personal differentiation in property, it can be accepted." He goes on to state that adaptations are only of "those economic and technical devices they perceive as having a clear and useful function in "maintaining and strengthening the colony." My experience among the Hutterites supports Bennett's argument--with one major caveat. Beyond a certain point technology requires expertise--not mere experience--for its operation. If the Hutterites continue to maintain or improve their relative position in the economy of their region, increasingly high degrees of expertise will be required. Thus far it has not been necessary for the Hutterites to leave their colonies for special training. Their economic sector has always been dependent upon the markets of the outside, but direct dependence upon the outside for the skills required to run the colony has not been necessary. Thus the presence of specialists, with highly esoteric knowledge, i.e., individuals who might be regarded as proto-professionals, has been precluded.

Of course there has always been specialisation on the colonies. There are, for example, hog men, blacksmiths, and machinery operators.

Their proficiency, however, has been obtained on the colony—often under the tutelage of their fathers. Further, it is realised that a good department head will increase his skill through the years. Yet, all Hutterites realize that colony roles are basically interchangeable. This is demonstrated by the fact that personnel shifts often accompany branching out. This transition is made relatively easy by the fact that nearly every adult male has had at least some experience in each of the colony's departments. Nearly any male could run nearly any department for at least a short period of time and the boss (householder or manager) is reputed to be able to run them all.

In running a large, highly diversified, agricultural enterprise a very substantial number of variables must be taken into account when attempting to maximize on invested capital. If the Hutterites are to be able to continue their expansion of holdings and maintain their traditional set of structures, deviations from rational economic strategies must be minimised. With the price of land increasing and the profits in production decreasing, the Hutterites will have decreasing margins for the toleration of error.

To rationalise the economy allocations of large farms and ranches, a number of banks, universities and consulting firms have introduced computerized decision making processes on a

subscription basis. With this system and given an anticipated range of specified variables, a ranked series of alternatives can be produced. To take a simple example, assume that (1) the price of corn will be  $x$  in 1970 and  $x$  in 1971, (2) the existence<sup>2</sup> of a downward sloping curvilinear relationship between late planting and yield, and (3) a cost per acre planted of  $y$ . Given these factors, should an operator invest \$18,000 in a new tractor if that tractor will enable him to have his corn planted 8 days earlier? Literally hundreds of such decisions, most of course involving a great many more variables, are made informally in each colony every year. Farther, it is unlikely that many of these are even viewed as decisions.

It is my contention that if the Hutterites are to continue their rate of expansion while the agricultural sector of the economy of the U.S. continues to experience shrinking profit margins, the Hutterites, already hard-pressed to double their holdings every 15 years, will find it necessary to further rationalize the economic sector of their society. Such transformations are inherently at odds with their traditional structure. While the Hutterite system has survived nearly every difficulty imaginable, it seems unlikely that it will survive the advantages imposed by a rationalised decision making process.

Notes

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John Adair and Evon Vogt, "Havaho and Zuni Veterans: A Study of Contrasting Modes of Culture Change," American Anthropologist, 51:547-561.

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Throughout this work the discussion has been couched primarily in terms of male defectors. The exhaustive study by Eaton and Weil (1955) disclosed that of the 114 defectors only eight were female.

19

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John W. Bennett, Mutterian Brethren, the Agricultural Economy and Social Organization of a Communal People, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967, p. 266.

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Marion Clawson, Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture, Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, pp. 231-232.

22

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23

Hostetler, Education and Marginality, p. 91.

24

Bennett, p. 269.

## Appendix -- Conversations with Defectors

Throughout this manuscript, I have attempted to describe the manner by which political decisions, both in the Hutterite colonies and in the exogenous political systems with which they interact, serve to influence the role enactments of Hutterites. Thus a question around which this work has been organized is: to what degree do rules influence roles. I am hopeful that the reader will agree that the preceding chapters constitute an argument that rules generated by political mechanisms are of significance to the consideration of social structure.

As is perhaps all too obvious, the research upon which this paper is based was conducted by myself (with assistance by my wife) rather than *by* a staff. Rather than a battalion of interviewers scrambling to meet sampling quotas, information was obtained in a somewhat more casual manner. As a *general* rule a researcher is likely to find that unless he is tallying concrete objects in traditional societies the rigor of the interview schedule must be sacrificed to prevailing conventions,

During the course of *my* research,, over 40,000 miles were traveled. Often travel was for a specific purpose, i.e., to complete a structured interview schedule with a person having specified attributes. Although structured interviews are at

times essential, the utility of open but guided interviews is not eclipsed. When primary interest is in the discovery of relationships rather than in confirmation, the advantages of open discourse are most obvious. It is within, this context that the following two interviews are included.

The first Interview below is with a young Hutterite male who has spent several years off the colony living nearly 1,000 miles from his home. His situation is such that some irrevocable decisions must be made in the next few months. Before making these decisions, he wanted another view of his colony and the colonies having his close kin. We spent the better part of several days visiting colonies, While traveling, a running conversation was recorded. From this conversation, the following was selected.

The second interview that I have included is with a middle-aged Hutterite who spent nearly 10 years away from the colonies. Because he did not marry on the outside, the option of returning to colony life remained open. His perspectives, his decisions and his frankness may provide the reader with a certain understanding that my analysis has not provided. Although there are many other interviews in our files and while the simple compilation of them might be worthwhile, the following were selected in the hope that a Hutterite's vantage point might contribute to our understanding.

Interview A

Interviewer: You said after you got out of the colonies you really learned a lot. Now you attended night school for a little bit, but you meant something other than that, didn't you?

Hutterite: I meant outside living; to support yourself.

Interviewer: What were the major problems that you had? Where did you go when you first got out?

Hutterite: We had a job on a farm out north of here a little way.

Interviewer: You said "we". You left with someone else?

Hutterite: Another boy. He's out working with me now.

Interviewer: What colony is he from?

Hutterite: The same colony.

Interviewer: You both have cars now?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: And a taperecorder? Just like this about?

Hutterite: Just about.

Interviewer: Do you like it?

Hutterite: Yeah, I really like it.

Interviewer: Do you have a radio?

Hutterite: Yeah, several.

Interviewer: Do you have one in your car?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: What kind of car do you have?

Hutterite: I have a '65 Dodge.

Interviewer: What kind of Dodge? Pick-up?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer: Car?

Hutterite: Yeah. It's an ex-patrol car. Interviewer: What sort of things did you learn when you got cut?

Hutterite: First you had to get used to talk. Different all the time.

Interviewer: You mean English, Is that hard?

Hutterite: Yeah, sometimes, A lot of tools you never did know in English.

Interviewer: How long did you work on this farm?

Hutterite: About three months.

Interviewer: This was what season of the year?

Hutterite: During harvest

Interviewer: When did you leave?

Hutterite: I think it was in May. Interviewer: What did you do? Just go up north?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: *And* how did you find a job?

Hutterite: Well, that other boy that went out he left a few weeks ahead of me and he located a job for me.

Interviewer: And what did he do? Call you or write you?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: He called you? On the telephone?

Hutterite: We boys had a line up at the neighbors.

Interviewer: So he called you at the neighbors and told you that he had found a job. What did the job pay?

Hutterite: Not too much to start out with. We got paid \$8 a day, room and board.

Interviewer: Well, you can save \$40 a week. So you worked there for three months during the harvest and then what?

Hutterite: I went to North Dakota. The guy out there was pretty good. He was working at taking down buildings.

Interviewer: Taking down buildings?

Hutterite: Yeah, a wrecking company. I worked for him a couple of months until October, apple-picking time, and then I went back to Washington.

Interviewer: Then you went to Washington for the first time?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: How did you pick Washington?

Hutterite: The other kid that went out, that left with me; they guy he worked for, his dad was out there and had an orchard. He kind of talked us out there, coming out and picking apples. So we went out there and got pretty good jobs in the warehouse after we got through picking apples that year.

Interviewer: You worked in their warehouse repairing their machinery and went to night school the whole winter or part of the winter?

Hutterite: Part of the winter. About half of the winter.

Interviewer: What did you take?

Hutterite: Mostly spelling and arithmetic. Just general courses.

Interviewer: How did you like it?

Hutterite: Oh, pretty good.

Interviewer: Did you do okay?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: And what about your friend?

Hutterite: He did just as good. He went to school just as much as I did.

(They did not resume night school the following year.)

Interviewer: What made you finally leave? the colony

Hutterite: I don't know. We just wanted to get out and see the world a little bit. Kind of travel around.

Interviewer: How many miles have you traveled? How many states have you been to?

Hutterite: Oh, about seven.

Interviewer: What? Born in South Dakota; worked in North Dakota; went to Washington; what else?

Hutterite: Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, California.

Interviewer: You went to Oregon? Just traveling? Were you looking for work or what?

Hutterite: Oh, just kind of touring around.

Interviewer: Did you like that?

Hutterite: Yeah, I really liked that.

Interviewer: What's the hardest problem you had when you got out? First you were on a farm and you were rooming and boarding there, so there was no problem there to speak of. Other than a little bit with language. After that what was your big problem?

Hutterite: I really couldn't say I had any, that was a hold-back or anything.

Interviewer: Were you lonely at all?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer: Were you with the other guy all the time?

Hutterite: Yeah. Most of the time.

Interviewer: Did you travel around together then?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Does he like it out?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Is he considering coming back?

Hutterite: I don't know; I kind of teased him about it the other day, I mean just to see what he thinks about coming back. He didn't say too much. I really wouldn't know what he really thinks about it.

Interviewer: Did you talk about this with your brother or father?

Hutterite: Of leaving?

Interviewer: Yes.

Hutterite: They really didn't like the idea.

Interviewer: No, I'm sure they didn't.

Hutterite: They figured that with my education a guy can't make it too good out there, you know.

Interviewer: Did they tell you this?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: You said, "well, I may go".

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Just like that?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Who did you say this to? Your dad? your brother?

Hutterite: Well, my dad was at home and I told him. I was doing milking most of the time at home and I didn't like it.

Interviewer: You did not like dairy?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer : Okay, so you said, "Dad, I want to go."

Hutterite: He tried to talk me out of it. Up to the day I left. He said with my education a guy can't make it out there. I guess he was right probably, I mean, getting a really good job. You'd have to work yourself into some kind of deal in a company or something, really.

interviewer: But do you view your lack of education as a major hindrance?

Hutterite: Well, it didn't hold me back in the job I got right now, but I think if I had it I would go for a higher job, you know.

**Interviewer:** Do you think this keeps many people from leaving, the fact that they don't have the education?

Hutterite: Well, I really don't, I think that most that leave, they can't get too much contact and leave or nothing to get jobs out there.

Interviewer: When your father told you "you can't make it because you don't have the education", what did you say?

Hutterite: Well, I told him I could try a couple years and whenever I didn't like it I could always come back.

Interviewer: What did he say to that?

Hutterite: He said that was probably okay but I'm on my own now when I leave and if I get hurt or something out there on my own, then....

Interviewer: That's your problem.

Hutterite: Yeah. Then I can't come back to him.

Interviewer: Do you have any workman's compensation? hospitalization insurance or anything like that out there?

Hutterite: Yeah. We got just about every kind of insurance we could get.

Interviewer: Have you ever been hurt?

Hutterite: No. We got disabled, but we never got hurt as long as we can't work.

Interviewer: You have insurance for that? What if you didn't have that insurance, would that make any difference?

Hutterite: Oh, I think it would. I mean if you would really get in trouble. We do it. A boss up there at the warehouse, he kind of, if we get any kind of a problem we just ask him about it. See what he thinks about it. We seem to get along pretty good out there.

Interviewer: How did you get your money to buy your car?

Hutterite: Well, I worked in a wrecking company in North Dakota and we made pretty good. We got \$3.30 an hour, just about. We saved quite a bit there.

Interviewer: Have you had any trouble saving money?

Hutterite: No, not really.

Interviewer: On the colonies you didn't have too much money to manage. Most things were taken care of. Was this any problem, the fact that you were your own responsibility?

Hutterite: No, not really. The first year we made our social security papers out and stuff like that, you know. We kind of had to have help, a little bit.

Interviewer: Who helped you on that?

Hutterite: The guy in the warehouse, the boss out there, the manager.

Interviewer: He showed you how to do it?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: How many times have you been back to the colony since you left? When was the first time after you left?

Hutterite: The very first time, two months after we left, I went back for a visit for a day. We didn't live too far from that time.

Interviewer: How were the people? Were they glad to see you? Or were they upset?

Hutterite: They were kind of happy to see us again, I guess.

Interviewer: They were happy. Well, did your mother cry when you left?

Hutterite: No, not really.

Interviewer: Did she say anything to you about it?

Hutterite: Oh, yeah. She didn't like the idea of me leaving.

Interviewer: Did they ask you about going to church? Or anything?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: We you going to church at that, time?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Where were you going?

Hutterite: A Lutheran church. A

Interviewer: Lutheran church?

Hutterite: Yeah. The guys we worked for at the time, they were Lutherans on this farm.

Interviewer: And they just asked you if you wanted to come to church or they told you to go?

Hutterite: No, they just asked us.

Interviewer: What did you think of the Lutheran church?

Hatterite: There's one thing about it, a lot different. I really enjoy to go to different churches.

Interviewer: Did you know any of the hymns?

Hutterite: Mo, they were all new songs to me and everything. They seemed pretty nice to me. Right now I know quite a few of them. I mean, I went to a Baptist church afterwards out there.

Interviewer: What did your mother say, or your brother or father, when you told them you were going to a Lutheran church?

Hutterite: Well, they really didn't believe that we were going to church at all. They figured that if we were bad enough leaving and going out that we don't go to church or anything.

Interviewer: But you did? You went to church?

Hutterite: I bet you there's a lot of guys that leave the colonies all through the colonies and go a couple of years and then they come back and some get married out there, you know. And I'll bet you that me and that kid are the only two to go to church.

Interviewer: Well, what church do you go to now? The Baptist?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you go with your girl?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: And her family?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Well does her father care much, if at all, about the fact that you don't have a high school degree?

Hutterite: He kind of didn't like the idea about me not having enough education, I think.

Interviewer: Other than that, does he like you okay?

Hutterite: Yeah, He seems to. He's a real nice guy.

Interviewer: Do you spend a lot of time with her family?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer; Well, tell me this, what difference do you see between marrying a girl on the outside and marrying one in the colonies.

Hutterite: Oh, I think there would be a lot of differences on account of I could never come back at all, I mean.

Interviewer: You could never come back to the colony if you married someone from the outside?

Hutterite: Right.

Interviewer: Aside from that, what differences do you see in the family relationship or anything like that if you married someone from the outside?

Hutterite: You mean my family at home?

Interviewer: No  
No, If you married someone in the colonies, you pretty well know what it's going to be like, is that right? How what differences do you see of marrying someone from the outside in your day to day life?

Hutterite: Oh, I don't know that there'd really be too much difference except that you'd be really on your own.

Interviewer: So what, you'd have more responsibility? or less responsibility?

Hutterite: Oh, I'd think you would have more outside..

Interviewer: Does this worry you at all?

Hutterite; Well, It kind of gives you something to think about really.

Interviewer: What sort of problems would you think about?

Hutterite: Well, because to support a wife to start out with really.

Interviewer; Well, thats not problem is it?

Hutterite: Well, it gives you something to think about, really.

Interviewer: One thing I noticed. That is, there seems to be more privacy outside. Like outside, people tend to knock before they enter. You know, things like that. Mow did you find that to be strange?

Hutterite: Oh, I guess.

Interviewer: Are you used to that now?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Having more privacy?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you prefer It ?

Hutterite: Oh, I guess, yeah. I mean, I wouldn't have that if I came back home.

Interviewer: You wouldn't have the privacy?

Hutterite: No,

Interviewer: Would that bother you?

Hutterite: It wouldn't bother me much. I know the colonies and I know what they're really like. I could get used to the colonies again, but bringing someone in from the outside, I think, they would have a problem.

Interviewer: Tell me this. Let's say you went back to the colony, okay?

Hutterite:

Interviewer: And you had a boy. What would you do different, if anything, as far as your boy is concerned? Would you suggest that he get more education?

Hutterite: To my kid?

Interviewer: Yes, to your kid.

Hutterite: Yeah, I think so.

Interviewer: But this would tend to make him want to leave. That might be a possibility.

Hutterite: Yeah, I guess it would.

Interviewer: Do people think about that?

Hutterite: ' Oh, I think so. Getting back to going to public school again. Do you know, I think most of the *guys* didn't mind the idea of going to the thing in town but most of the preachers around all the colonies kind of didn't like it *on* account of this, most of the kids would leave.

Interviewer: They thought that?

Hutterite: Yeah. They would get a little more education and know more guys outside.

Interviewer: So?

Hutterite: Get more idea of outside living.

Interviewer: They could establish contacts on the outside?

Hutterite: Yeah. Sight. A lot more would leave just going to high school right there.

Interviewer: So they view that as a definite threat?

Hutterite: Yeah. That's why I really think they didn't let them go. They only went about five weeks. The other kid I'm with, he went to school there.

Interviewer: He did?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: How did he like it? He

Hutterlte: really liked it. What did

Interviewer: he like about it?

Hutterlte: He said you learned more. I mean you just try to get the other guy's competition up there. They're really a lot different, you know?

Interviewer; They thought they were a lot different, before they went, and what did they find out?

Hutterrite: The school as far as that goes was practically the same, but all the kids, I mean, kind of making friends with kids; all the kids find a vacant place; all the kids find that difference too. He really liked it.

Interviewer: He really liked it? Did he want to continue?

Hutterrite: Yeah. And I think most of the kids would have liked it, but the preachers didn't like the idea of bringing the kids up there because more would leave, I think.

(Discussion of integrated schools)

Interviewer So the colony said to the school board, okay if you won't let us run our own school with tax support, we'll come in and go to the town school,

Hutterrite: Yeah.

Interviewer Which the colonies have a perfectly legal right to do,

Hutterrite: Right.

Interviewer So what happened then?

Hutterrite: So I guess they went to certain of the town schools and most of the preachers got together and didn't like it, on account of the town, most of the kids would leave, I think.

Interviewer: What preachers?

Hutterrite: From all the colonies.

Interviewer: From all the colonies of South Dakota?

Hutterrite: Yeah.

- Interviewer: Did they have a meeting about it?
- Hutterite: I guess they did. They took them out in about five weeks, I think the school district, they liked the Idea too because they wanted to get a bigger school.
- Interviewer: Well, what do you think would have happened if the Hutterite students were to continue at the town school?
- Hutterite: I think really they would have got a better education. I mean, my own opinion. They'd know a lot of other kids outside, talk with them all the time. Like back home they just talking English whenever they have to in school. That's all. Whenever they get out of school they talk German again. I lost, I quit school when I was fourteen and by the time I was twenty when I left I forgot most of what I learned in school. Really. I never did use none back in the colonies.
- Interviewer: Your brother speaks English just as well as I do. [The brother is a junior minister.]
- Hutterite: Yeah. Well, he does business outside and he talks it most of the time.
- Interviewer: Is there any talk of sending the children to technical school?
- Hutterite: From here?
- Interviewer: Yes. Is there any talk about sending kids to that. Do you think that would be a good idea?
- Hutterite: No, I don't think myself I would.
- Interviewer: You don't think they would do it or you don't think it's a good idea?
- Hutterite: I don't think it's a too good idea, I only think they can get all the training like that right in the colonies. For Instance, welding we do all our own, and it's just as good as most professionals. They know it is.
- Interviewer: Yes.
- Hutterite: But the only difference here is if you go to school you get papers that you are a professional welder or something.

Interviewer: Or like a licensed electrician?

Hutterite: Yeah. That's about the only difference\*

Interviewer: All right, so what if you had a licence, what difference would that make.

Hutterite: Well, I guess it would be all right being outside, but being in the colony you couldn't use it anyways, Really, they do their own electrician anyways without a license.

Interviewer; So what would happen if say a kid did go in and got a license?

Hutterite: Oh, I think he wouldn't stay in the colony.

Interviewer: You don't think he would?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer: Why?

Hutterite: I don't know. He did a good job outside, I guess.

Interviewer: If he had a license

Hutterite: Pretty good pay too.

Interviewer: How much does an electrician get? Do you have any idea? .

Hutterite: Oh, not really off hand. They must get pretty good money. Four or five dollars an hour or more,

Interviewer: I guess that's right. Now, you said you've been giving a lot of thought to coming back to the colonies.

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: You haven't done it so I assume you see some disadvantages.

Hutterite: Well, I really wouldn't know how to say that or anything, I mean, no, I think the colonies are a really nice place to live in and stuff like that.

Interviewer: It's got a lot of good points. But right now I kind of like to be on my own a little bit. If I want to go some place, I can go some place.

Interviewer: Well, your brother goes someplace whenever he wants.

Hutterite: Yeah,, but he's mostly got business wherever he goes. He can find business to do if he wants to go someplace.

Interviewer: If he wants to go some place he can find business there?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: So let's say he wanted to go to Cincinnati. Okay?

Hutterite: Yeah, he would line up something so he had to go down there.

Interviewer:. Can't anyone else do that?

Hutterite: No. I don't think most of them do.

(On traveling)

Interviewer: Have you ever visited Paul Gross' colony in Espanola, Washington?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you see any difference between that colony and the Smiedenleut here in South Dakota?

Hutterite: Oh yeah, there is difference.

Interviewer: What difference do you see?

Hutterite: I think you asked the **wrong** guy about that. I they dress different too. They seem to have a lot different ideas and things than down here.

Interviewer: Different ideas?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Like what? About what?

Hutterite: Farming and everything and everything That Espanola Colony, that particular colony there, they're pretty modern too already, but most of the northern colonies they aren't too **modern**, I mean. in Alberta.

**Interviewer: In what way are they not modern?**

Hutterite: Well, they probably right now getting to be pretty modern already. They have real big chicken houses and they got tools modern and stuff like that.

Interviewer: They all have tractors, of course, Don't they?

Hutterite: I think most of them do now. They used to have horses most of them.

Interviewer: All right, so one disadvantage, if you came back would be that you couldn't travel.

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: What else? You don't smoke so that's no loss.

Hutterite: No. Oh, what would I say. That's about the only disadvantage a guy would have coming back would be he wouldn't have as much freedom, he couldn't do what he really wanted to do.

Interviewer: Why do you think that you left? Wot many people leave do they?

Hutterite: No, not too-many. I just got an idea to see what the outside was like I guess.

Interviewer: Well, you've seen it now.

Hutterite: Yeah, It's different, believe me, from the colonies. I don't know if it's really better or worse.

Interviewer: Could you always come back.

Hutterite: Right now I could. While I'm single.

Interviewer: While you're single. Well, all right what if you got married? Then what?

Hutterite: Then I don't think they would accept me coming back.

Interviewer: They wouldn't accept you?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer; What if you were married and then you got a divorce?

Hutterite: Well, I still don't think they would.

Interviewer: Then they wouldn't accept you?

Hutterite: No, they don't believe in divorce at all. I don't myself.

Interviewer: All right.

Hutterite: I'm really thinking about getting married because I know if I get married, that's it. So I've got to decide whatever I'm going to do before I get married.

Interviewer: If you were to get married, when would you get married? • .

Hutterite: When?

Interviewer: Yes.

Hutterite: Oh, I don't know. Not right now, probably in a year or so.

Interviewer: You're 22?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: What does your girl think about marriage or have you talked to her about it?

Hutterite: Yeah, I've talked to her about it. She really likes the idea, too.

Interviewer: Is she aware of the problems you have?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: You told her about the colony?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Doesn't she have some curiosity? About the colonies?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Has she read any books about them or know anything about them at all?

Hutterite: No. I got one book out there at the colonies. The guy in Canada wrote it but, in my own opinion, I think it's a lot different than most colonies are.

Interviewer: What is that, the book by Paul Gross, The Hutterite?

Way?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: I have one by John Hostetler. Have you heard of him?

Hutterite: The name seems familiar. Yeah.

Interviewer: Well, you can have that. You want to steer while I find it? There it is. She might want to see that.

Hutterite: Are them colonies in the book mostly in South Dakota? That guy seems familiar right here.

Interviewer: Maybe. (On a previous job)

Hutterite: I got a job out there for a dairy. I just milk cows. For a hundred and a quarter a week.

Interviewer: How much?

Hutterite: A hundred and a quarter. Just milk cows. I didn't have to feed the cows or nothing. Just milk. I think close to two hundred cows\* He had two guys milking. Just milk cows. Where we're living now, the average pay is, I don't work too lonely hours or nothing, and I get about seventy some dollars take home money. In winter time, we put in more hours. I make about a hundred bucks.

Interviewer: Take home?

Hutterite: Yeah. The taxes are taken out and everything. And we live right there. We got a house right near the growers. We pay twenty-five bucks a month.

Interviewer: For a house?

Hutterite: Well, there are two of us, two boys, each of us pay twenty-five.

Interviewer: Nice house?

Hutterite: You bet, real nice house.

Interviewer: Inside plumbing, water?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: All that? Shower?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Prefer shower to bath?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Wouldn't you miss the shower if you came back?

Hutterite: Well, we got one down in the barn here, but I would rather have one in the house. Right.

Interviewer: Well, I think a shower is just great.

Hutterite: Yeah, I really like it. You don't have to take too long, you can just do it.

Interviewer: Do you know any of the neighbors around here.

Hutterite: Yeah, quite a few of them. Interviewer: You get along okay with them?

Hutterite: Oh, yeah, I know one, a carpenter. I worked for him a couple of times.

Interviewer: When you worked for him, is this the colony's money or yours?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer: The colony's?

Hutterite: Yeah. They needed help or something and they come up there and ask if they could get somebody to help them.

Interviewer: Did you ever work outside for money for yourself?

Hutterite: In the colony? Well, you could but you really couldn't, not too much. You really weren't suppose to.

Interviewer: How much spending money would you have? On the colony?

Hutterite: Oh, not too much. You got some allowance every month. You really didn't have to have any money\* You didn't have too much use for it unless you buy *some* of the boys down there beer.

Interviewer: You don't drink either, do you?

Hutterite: No. Not very much. I always had about twenty bucks.

Interviewer: You always had about twenty bucks?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: How much money did you have when you left?

Hutterite: Well, not too much.

Interviewer: You were short then?

Hutterite: I didn't have twenty dollars at the time, I know.

Interviewer: Did you trap?

Hutterite: Yeah. Muskrats or mink.

Interviewer: What would you get for mink?

Hutterite: Well, if you had a pretty good one, twenty-one, twenty-two.

Interviewer: How many mink would you get a winter?

Hutterite: Three or four. Last couple of weeks, sometimes five or six.

Interviewer: Well, what would you spend your money for?

Hutterite: Well, usually, really I bought a rifle **myself**.

Interviewer: What, a twenty-two?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Still have them?

Hutterite: I got the rifle, but one of my brothers has got the shotgun now.

Interviewer: What kind of shotgun was it?

Hutterite: Just a small one.

Interviewer: Single?

Hutterite: No.

Interviewer: Bolt action?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you like it?

Hutterite: , Yeah.

Interviewer: Use it for pheasants?

Hutterite: Whatever. Usually out of season.

Interviewer: Would you have it for dinner then?

Hutterite: Not for the colonies. But when the guys come down from Canada, they really like pheasant.

Interview B

Interviewer: I am speaking with a Hutterite who is interested in Communism and the study of Communism. He is going to tell me how he became interested in it.

Hutterite: Well, I was in service for a number of years and it was during that time when Stalin was really rampaging around. And then I was an instructor and had a lot of time on my hands.

Interviewer: In the military?

Hutterite: In the military. A lot of time on my hands. So I started studying this stuff, the reports. So I started in going to the library and study up on this stuff. And it got, it's fascinating. To me it's fascinating how people with their weird ideas and they got weird ideas, I mean their philosophy of economy and of human behavior. They just tell it to themselves that's the way it should be and that's the way it's suppose to turn out and they kill off anybody that....To me anyway that's the way....They kill off anybody that don't go along with their ideas.

Interviewer: Now when were you in the service and what years?

Hutterite: I was in the service during the war, '44, '43 to '49, I think that I got discharged in the spring of '50.

What branch were you in?

Interviewer: The Navy.

Hutterite: You were stationed in America?

Interviewer: Oh, I was stationed all over. I was an instructor. And

Hutterite: I was stationed in Alaska; and I was stationed in Japan, Korea, after World War II and China.

China? When it. was Nationalist China?

Interviewer: Oh, yes I was there when they were fighting. We were there to take out some diplomatic personnel.

Hutterite: That's amazing.

Interviewer: Oh, yeah.

Hutterite:

Interviewer: And you took them out on the military ships-?

Hutterite: Well, I got transferred before that happened.

Interviewer: Yes.

Hutterite: Then one time I was stationed on a ship that was making diplomatic runs. Taking diplomatic families in and out of different countries. That was the time before air travel was really going. Then I was stationed in Guadalcanal during the build up down there. And at Palou, and at Guam and the Philippines I've seen this part of the world.

Interviewer:.. Yes. Hutterite: The whole East, the whole Far East.

Interviewer: China and Japan, the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Australia?'

Hutterite: Sure.

Interviewer: New Zealand?

Hutterite: No, haven't been in New Zealand, but I was a Brisbane Australia. And New Hebreides, Hew Caledonia. I spent eight years, not quite two years in this country, outside of leaves, a few days of leaves. And on top of that I was 6n the first atomic bomb test at Bikini.

Interviewer: How did you get in initially?

Hutterite: In the service?

Interviewer: Yes.

Hutterite: I was a selective volunteer.

Interviewer: From the colonies?

Hutterite: No, no. I was working In North Dakota at that time.

Interviewer: Plow long had you been away from the colony at that time?

Hutterite: Oh, I left in the thirties, late thirties and came back In '50, or is it '49.

Interviewer: About eight years, so it could have been either depending upon....

Hutterite: Well, eight years was spent in the service.

Interviewer: Did you go from this colony originally?

Hutterite: Yes, I did, but this colony originally came from another colony. See. There's where I left.

Interviewer: You originally left from the other colony? My

Hutterite: folks are here and that's why I came back.

Interviewer: But all the time you were in you were reading about communism and fascism. Do you keep up on it now?

Hutterite: I keep up. I study anything. In fact, I'm studying a book, right now that came out two or three times. I'm going through it for the fourth time. You probably heard of it, The Rise and Fall of Stalin.

Interviewer: I've not read it.

Hutterite: You 'want to read it. You want to see how one person can exploit the whole nation. By brutality. It's really something to see. And if you read this book, this thing that's being 'set up, that was set up by Stalin in Russia, that actually wasn't in the mind of Lenin. All of communism.

Interviewer; The purges?

Hutterite: The purge for one thing, and the next thing is of building himself up of a personal dictatorship which he done through brutality, murder. It's really fascinating book to read. I been through it, I'm going through it for the fourth time and I find new articles in there which I didn't see.

interviewer: And you keep reading this stuff all the time?

Hutterite: I keep reading and studying. If I get a book I read up on it. It's fascinating.

Interviewer: Where do you get your books?

Hutterite: Someone supplies a lot of them for me. And then newsstands. Bo they teach you communism at the university?

**Interviewer:** There are courses In It.

**Hutterite:** Bolshevism?

**Interviewer:** There are courses in it.

**Hutterite:** Actually, it's not communism. They call it communism.

**Interviewer:** You mean the Russians?

**Hutterite:** Yeah.

**Interviewer:** The Chinese?

**Hutterite:** Yeah, If they practiced true communism, they'd practice like us. And it's impossible to work, I don't care what anybody says unless your heart is not in it. And that's why in a small group, you think, it works?

**Interviewer:** That's why in a small group it works here, because the heart is in it. All the common people.

**Hutterite:** Have you read anything about the Kibbutz? In Israel? In Israel. Yes, I have. Does that seem to be working okay?

**Interviewer:** That seems to be working because there are these people who have experienced so much. They've went through a lot. I think they're just tickled to death to get something like that of their own. So it makes It work. And there again, there's something that really makes It work is because this Kibbutz, or each Kibbutz Is individual; they make their own laws, the members have their own savings; they got nothing to do with the Kibbutz a mile off.

**Interviewer:** And that's not like the Hutterites?

**Hutterite:** Well, it is something like the Hutterites, too. We make our own rules and laws....

Interviewer: I see. Even though there are three groups. In fact, there is the annual conference for the Schmeiden people.

■Hutterite: That's about the only thing there is. Which I think is going on right now in Manitoba, isn't it. Some ■ delegates left here last Sunday.

Interviewer: Have you *seen* any major changes in the colonies from the time you left to the time you came back?

Hutterite: Of course, yes, there's a big change. Interviewer: Well, there's more tractors and things like that.

Hutterite: Well, there's indeed, there's a tendency toward liberalism.

Interviewer: Noticeable?

Hutterite: Oh, yes, a lot of it. Lot of it. Lot of liberalism around. There's no, in fact, there's very few conservative leaders at the top now.

Interviewer: Well, the leader at Bonhomme is pretty conservative.

Hutterite: Well, yeah, he could be figured as a conservative leader. He is liberalized too.

Interviewer: He has?

Hutterite: Yeah.

Interviewer: In what direction has this liberality taken? Where do you see it most? See I've only seen the colonies for a year. So I don't have any base.

Hutterite: Well, I tell you what, where I can see it. For one thing in clothes. And the next thing in, well you could say in everyday living. Like you said in tractors. In modernization of your equipment and, well, let's say years ago, they would *never* think of issuing beer. Well, we have beer issued now once a year. Say a case on the hot days. And in food.

(The Hutterites used to make their own beer. All colonies are said to dispense beer during the summer. Men are commonly given a beer allowance when going into town. The limiting factor in the frequency of distribution is said to be cost. Most colonies still make fruit wine.)

Interviewer: Dinner tonight was just like a dinner one might have....

Hutterite: And it used to be a lot different. And even in the buildings. In your own house. There'd never be any linoleum or stuff like that on your floor.

Interviewer: Just wood?

Hutterite: Just wood. Even in the furniture. It's up to date and modern furniture which would never be allowed about 15 years ago. And a lot of this furniture is store bought too which would *never* have been allowed.

Interviewer: Is that just because the colonies are richer now'?

Hutterite: No, we had more money during the '30's then we do now.

Really?

Hutterite: Really, we made a good living. While the rest of the country was starving we made a good living.

Interviewer: *Way* was this?

Hutterite: Well, for one thing there wasn't any store bought food. We ate what we raised. If we couldn't raise it we didn't eat it. The same with our clothes. The same with shoes and stuff like that. If we couldn't make it, well, we wouldn't wear it.

Interviewer: So you weren't spending money.

Hutterite: We weren't spending anything.

Interviewer: And they didn't have to buy gasoline?

Hutterite: Didn't buy gasoline, I can remember when I was a kid when I got up to driving horses, I got a cultivator, a brand new one which probably cost \$15. \$15 to \$25 at that time, I don't know, I couldn't say. But that thing you could still see around, I bet you in Rockport. We worked that thing maybe four years before I left and maybe stuck about 50 cents in a year in repair and stuff like that. Now you buy a cultivator that its life expectancy is about 2 or 3 years and it costs a couple of thousand dollars. Out it goes and another one. At that time we didn't have that. We banked money during the thirties. We got a rough time now with ail this modern equipment. You really got to know your stuff to come out now.

Interviewer: But In the thirties you were just consistently making money.

Hutterite: We were making money during the thirties.

Interviewer: What was corn selling for? What was it last year? 94 cents?

Hutterite: You didn't have any to sell—you just had enough to feed your stock. I don't know you could probably check back In there with the books. But I do get a government report, and I have forgot, in fact I got It at home, and they've got it at that time. At that time it was pretty high, There just wasn't any around. You have to pay through your nose.

Interviewer: Well, how old were you when you left?

Hutterite: I was fifteen years old.

Interviewer: Why did you leave?

Hutterite: Decided I wanted to see something **else, I guess.**

Interviewer: By yourself?

Hutterite: Yeah. Just packed up and left.

Interviewer: Tell any one?

Hutterite: No, why should you tell any one? Just shove off.

Interviewer: How did you get a job? Things were good In the colonies.

Hutterite: Well, I got a job with a neighbor for a while. And being a kind of thrifty guy. I got enough money. I went and hooked on with a sheep shearer. He took me out West shearing sheep with him.

Interviewer: What states?

Hutterite: That was western South Dakota.

Interviewer: Oh, the other side of the river?

Hutterite: The other side of the river. After I was through there was another guy there. He was going up north to shear sheep, but he came **home.** He had a farm over here north of Mitchell. He came home. That guy talked me Into going with him. When he was

through up there, he was from Kentucky and he wanted to go back to Kentucky. No I didn't stick around here. A guy sitting in front of the hotel: a guy came by; asked me if I wanted a job. I say I don't care if I do; if you got work I'll work for you,

Interviewer: You were fifteen then?

Hutterite: About sixteen then. And he was the sheriff of the county. I stayed with him till the army, till the service drafted me.

Interviewer: He was a sheriff. What did you do with him?

Hutterite: He had a farm.

Interviewer: How did he happen to pick you?

Hutterite; Well, I said if you got work I'll work, but I don't particularly care. I just got paid off. That was 'good money that shearing sheep.

Interviewer: You got paid so much a sheep?

Hutterite: So much a sheep. At that time, during the thirties, I probably had four or five hundred dollars on me.

Interviewer: You were sixteen?

Hutterite: Sixteen. About as much as \$2,000 is now. It was just during harvest time. Harvest is late up there during that time. If you got work for me, I'll work but I don't particularly care for it. He said he'd help and I went with him and I stayed with him for two years. Oh, about a year and a half I stayed, with him.

Interviewer: Keep your money?

Hutterite: No, I went broke into the service.

Interviewer: You went broke?

Hutterite: I was broke when I went into the service.

Interviewer: What did you buy? Car?

Hutterite: No, nothing in particular. I never was interested in a car. Wo. What does a young guy do with his money? Throw it away.

Interviewer: So then you went and joined the navy.

Hutterite: I was drafted and got picked for the navy. I didn't particularly care for the navy. I wanted to get in the army "but I was picked for the navy.

Interviewer: Had you ever seen the ocean before?

Hutterite: Oh, no, never seen the ocean before.

Interviewer: Just the Missouri River. Yeah. Just

Hutterite: the Missouri River. Did you like the

Interviewer: navy?

Hutterite: You bet I liked it. You bet I liked it. I enjoyed every bit of it. But what fouled me up actually was this duty in Detroit. See I was living....I don't know if you know; have you ever been a military man?

No.

Interviewer:

Well, there's such a thing as they call subs and quarters. You don't live in no barracks, eat in no mess hall. You get paid.

Hutterite:

Just like a civilian job.

Interviewer:

Just like a civilian job. And with me being from the Midwest and off the farm and almost, you might say, I grew up in the service under orders and discipline, and here they left me to go on subs and quarters in Detroit. On your own. See all you did was report in the morning and shoved off at 4:00 o'clock in the evening. And when my time was up for discharge I got it. I got so I hated the navy.

Hutterite:

Because you had too much freedom?

Interviewer: Too much freedom for me. I just didn't know what to do with it. I was, you might say, I grew up under

Hutterite: discipline. From here to the navy. And when I was out, when I was a civilian, I was here in the Midwest on a farm.

interviewer: Working under someone.

Hutterite: Working with someone or under someone. Always with a boss. There was somebody to take care of me. I mean when I got in the navy it was the same way. In fact, I took to military discipline like a duck to water.

Interviewer: You really liked it? I

r: really liked it. That's

Hutterite: just amazing.

Interviewer: I never had any problems with just myself in the service from the start.

Hutterite: Okay, so in '48 you got out.

Interviewer: Around '49.

Hutterite: And you said: "What am I going to do with myself?"

Interviewer: Oh, I knew right then where I was heading. Right back here. I had enough of that free civilian life

Hutterite: of living. I had enough of that. I didn't want no part of it no more.

You weren't married, of course?

Interviewer: Oh, no. I got married in '51, I think.

Hutterite: When you came back?

Interviewer: '51, something like that. How old were you when

Hutterite: you came back? Well, I think I was pretty close

Interviewer: to 28 or 29. That's about time to calm down.

Hutterite: Oh, yeah, I was about ready for it. I've seen

interviewer: three fourths of the world and how they live. How they act.

Hutterite: Did you have any trouble adjusting when you came back? No.

Interviewer:

Hutterite:

Interviewer: Just stepped back in?

Hutterite: Just stepped back in. The only thing I had to let go was nicotine and which is not so good for you anyway.

Interviewer: You picked up smoking when you were gone?

Hutterite: Oh, yeah, I was a heavy smoker. Camels?

Interviewer: No, I was an Old Gold. Old Gold. I don't think they make them any more. Do they?

Hutterite: I was a boatswain. I don't know if you know what that is. In the army you call it platoon sergeant or something like that. And I always enjoyed my work as being top deck gunner or something like that. In fact, during the war I was a machine gunner on a landing barge. I liked that kind of duty.

Machine gunner?

Interviewer: On a landing barge. Have you ever seen a landing barge?

Hutterite: I've seen movies. Are these the ones that come on shore fall of troops?

Interviewer: Fall of troops. I was a machine gunner in one of them, in one of these barges.

Hutterite: In Guadalcanal?

**Interviewer:** I didn't make any landings on **Guadalcanal**. I was too late for that. But In the Philippines. I made

Hutterite: landings in the Philippines.

Firing the guns?

Interviewer: Firing the guns. 50 caliber machine guns. In **fact**,

Hutterite: in my record, you check In my **records**, I'm an expert machine gunner. In Okinawa I landed with the Fifth Wave. On the....have you ever heard of Ernie Pyle? the war correspondent?

Sure, You know where he was? Same college I am at now, Indiana.

Interviewer:

Hutterite: He was killed at Iwo Jima. I was the first boat in the first landing at that time. He had a tank on board. There were three of us on the barge. There was the coxswain and two machine gunners\* On one barge. And we were the first boat ashore 'in the first wave.

Interviewer: That must have been a fairly dangerous job.

Hutterite: It was just like the army, marine corps. Stuff like that .

Interviewer: So when you came back to the colonies what job were you assigned?

Hutterite: I worked on the, I was a catskiner for a while. I didn't like it. Then I ran a tractor for a while. Then.

Interviewer: Do you have anyone under you?

Hutterite: Oh, yeah.

Interviewer: One? two?

Hutterite: Oh, I've got my kid not and that's all.

Interviewer: How old is he?

Hutterite: He's fifteen years old.

Interviewer: Has he ever asked you about leaving. About how it was when you left?

Hutterite: Those kids, they got so much freedom now they don't care.

Interviewer: More freedom than you had when you were a kid?

Hutterite: Oh, yeah, they're a lot more lenient. Lot more lenient now. They get by with stuff now; we, well, they get hung up.

Do you expect to go into politics? I

Interviewer: don't want to go into politics. Why

Hutterite: not? Would you go into politics?

Interviewer:

Hutterite: I'd love to.

Interviewer: If you were to go into politics, you decided to go into politics, what sort of office would you start with? What would you want to be?

Hutterite: I'd like to be in the diplomatic corps.

Interviewer: In the navy you were assigned to the diplomatic corps.

Hutterite: Well, working with diplomatic personnel.

Interviewer: Why would you want to be with them? Do they live high?

Hutterite: High. No I don't care about high living. I'm no high liver, anyway. I believe in living the primitive life. Better for your health, your disposition, better for your soul. Bat what I like to do, the reason I'd like to do would be to show up communism. And the Gaulism what they got now. There's all these riots In the embassies and the information centers, they're burning down. And stuff like that. That's the reason I always wanted to be in the diplomatic corps.

Interviewer: Have you ever lived In Canada? I've traveled through Canada. But you haven't

Hutterite: been in a colony? Yes, I've been in

Interviewer: colonies up there.

Hutterite: Would It make much difference if you were in Canada? If you were a citizen of Canada?

Interviewer: I would never want to be a Canadian citizen. I'm proud of this country. And I'm proud of the service I've put into it. And I'm proud of our institutions they got over there.

Hutterite: Now some say that the Hutterians are better off in Canada than they are here.

Interviewer: Why should they be?

Hutterite: I don't know, that's just what some people say. You don't think that's right?

Hutterite: In fact, I think the Canadian administration or the Canadian government is putting a lot more pressure on the Canadian Hutterites than the U.S. I don't think there's any pressure at all clown here.

interviewer: Well, what about schools?

Hutterite: There is, no, they're leaving us leeway.

Interviewer: Well, you have to pay for your own school and Clark has to pay for its own school.

Hutterite: So what, they can afford it.

Interviewer: But that's a form of pressure. The county district could contribute to the colonies.

Hutterite: It's, well, you might say maybe that pressure is building up, it's just at the start of the pressure to come, maybe they're starting it. But I got no objections to the fact that we have to pay for our schools.

Interviewer: All right, I can see that. You do, however, get support for your school here.

Hutterite: "Yes, fully supported by the county.

Interviewer: Now, does anyone care about what books you have?

Hutterite: Oh, yeah, they care.

Interviewer: They don't like it?

Hutterite: They don't like it. They let you know too.

Interviewer: What do they say? They tell you to

Hutterite: get rid of them.

Interviewer: All of them or just certain ones?

Hutterite: Certain ones, sure.

Interviewer: What do you do?

Hutterite: I *never* let them find out that I. read them. See there's nothing wrong with a third of the books which I enjoy. I enjoy the Congressional Record too,

Interviewer: You get the Congressional Record?

Hutterite: I don't, but I pick them up from friends here and there. I read them.

Interviewer: And you read that. And you follow the news.

Hutterite: Follow the news. U.S. News I read from cover to cover.

Interviewer: You get that?

Hutterite: I subscribe to that. They don't care. The boss, he gives it to me.

Interviewer: He gets it for the farm news and market prices.

Hutterite: And then he's not very interested in the world news and he passes it on to me and I'm interested in the world news. And there's another thing I'm really interested in is high finance, but I can't get any books on it.

Interviewer: High finance?

Hutterite: High-finance. Boy, when I read that U.S. News, man, if I get a hold of a book in the evening, I don't go to bed until I read that thing.

Interviewer: Well, did you ever consider going to college?

Hutterite: When I got back, I had a chance. The G.I. Bill of Rights. I offered it to them [*the* colony elders] and nobody said anything whether I should or shouldn't And then the other day, about six weeks ago, a month ago, I was talking about it. I could have done that for nothing, I could have been a teacher. He said, "why didn't you?" And I told him, "I offered it to you, but you didn't encourage me, I can't do that without you." You see.

(Concerning selection of ministers)  
Hutterite: See there's a number of six guys.

Interviewer: For each colony?

Hutterite: For each colony. See these guys select the most, they think that deserves it. They select three or more guys. All right. These three or four guys are put in front of a vote. You can't vote for me

If I'm not on that list, but I'm the one that votes. All right. Anyhow, these three or four people, their names are thrown in the hat. If you get less than, I think, it's five votes, if you get less than five votes, your name is thrown out.

Interviewer: Now who can vote? All

Hutterite: members can vote, Women?

Interviewer: No women can't vote. Then some strange guy that has nothing to do with your place over here,...

Hutterite: From another colony?

Interviewer: From another colony. He reaches in and pulls out the name.

Hutterite: And that's the preacher.

Interviewer: That's the preacher. There's now way to bicker about that. You got to live with them.

Hutterite: That makes sense. How about the split, time for

Hutterite: Time for division?

Interviewer:- That's probably even more important.

Hutterite: It is. Well time for division, it goes this way. You got to have two preachers at that time. All right. You can't divide unless you got two guys. Okay. Some of them, the way we did it was like this. You know Mike over here, our preacher? Mike went and says I prefer these guys. They got nothing against me, they're willing to follow me. All right. Mike comes around and asks me. He says would you mind to follow me. I said, "I don't care where you go, it could be either place, put my name in." And he says, "all right I'll put your name on my list." How the way some of them are doing it like this, you can pick a brother or your father.

Interviewer: Either/or?

Hutterite: All three of them. See that makes one unit. And the next guy does the same thing. Whoever he wants to be with. The next guy whoever he wants to be with. There's generally a father and a brother of

three brothers, or something like that. All right. Then they got equal amount of tickets in that hat of units. You just walk over there and pull one out. If it says for the old colony, you stay with your group. If it says for the new colony, you pick up your group and go.

Interviewer: And then how soon do you go?

Hutterite: Immediately.

Interviewer: Right then?

Hutterite: You're automatically. Just as soon as you pull that ticket out, you're released. Either that one up there or this one down here.

Interviewer: So you go out the next day or the next week.

Hutterite; The next day. If you can get a vehicle to transport your stuff, you're released. You're out. You got 'nothing to do anymore. If it says stay, you're released from that place up there. But before that happens, the material is divided up.

Interviewer: Livestock.

Hutterite: So no friction can come that I want this, I want that. Everything is divided up first.

Interviewer: This land goes with this, this tractor with this land, these cattle with this land and then you decide what people go with what land and what equipment.

Hutterite: That way there's 'no argument. They select two guys to advocate for one place and two guys for the other place. These guys that advocate for this place up there might come down here. Might come down here. Or they might stay. So they do their utmost to see that each place gets his share and then when the dividing up comes, they'd probably be surprised that I advocated for this place up there. See they got everything going there or I ever wrote there, but the thing is on record and there's nothing nobody can change. Nobody or nothing.

Interviewer: What other things are determined by drawing lots?

Hutterite: Oh, it's been with us as long as I can remember and I've read back in history books, studied our history books. It's always been determined that way.

Interviewer: You don't know where the original idea came?

Hutterite: I suppose, I figure it was set up by our people by this guy what's his name that started this.

Interviewer: Jacob Hutter.

Hutterite: If you think back on it, that's the only fair way of doing it. Otherwise you get in arguments and debate.

Interviewer: What does George do?

Hutterite: He is turkey man. He was a young kid when he took over. I think he was about 19 years old or twenty when he took over the turkey ranching deal. He's been successful at it too.

Interviewer: How old is he now?

Hutterite: I don't know. He must be around 29 or 30. He looks younger than he actually is. He's always working at something. He's always planning or thinking about something. He's a great man for that. He's got gadgets you wouldn't even think about.

Interviewer: Like what?

Hutterite: Well, one time, last thing I knew, he had when he was living over there, he had a gadget; built it himself. One of those brooder stoves up there. Cooled off in the turkey barn. They had a buzzer down there. When it overheated it had a different tone. So he knew what was going on up there.

Interviewer: When you came back what was the hardest thing you had to change?

Hutterite: Well, quit

Interviewer: smoking. Quit  
smoking.

Hutterite: And going to church every day, which I did. Which I didn't in town. To me religion is dry. And well, I don't know what I can say. I was a guy who enjoyed his liquor. And another thing, my words as an old boatswain.

Interviewer: You picked up a vocabulary?

Hutterite: I picked up a pretty salty vocabulary which I had to desalt a little bit.

Interviewer: Did you get encouragement on that?

Hutterites Oh yeah, a lot. I was called on it.

interviewer: What did they do when they called you on it?

Hutterite: Just called me on it. Told me to bring my vocabulary in line with the Hutterite vocabulary. But sometimes in front of people it was embarrassing. And there is other things I get used to I can't think of. And as an old boatswain with a long service and an honorable service, I had pretty bit of leeway.

Interviewer: You mean....

Hutterite: In the military. And which when I came back here I was just another member.

Interviewer: And you had been a supervisor?

Hutterite: Well, a supervisor in the military, pretty much ray own way, writing my own ticket, Within limits. And they soon curbed me of that.

Interviewer: Like going into town?

Hutterite: Well, I was in town not very much anyway, so that didn't make much difference. In fact, right now, I bet you I don't go into town five times a year. There's just nothing in there I want. I don't booze. I don't smoke. I'm married. So I don't go into town.

Interviewer: Books, magazines?

Hutterite: Books about the only thing. And the guys I do work with, the turkey and the chicken industry supplies me with books. But some of their preferences of reading is pretty low.

Interviewer: Mickey Spilane stuff?

Hutterite: No, Mickey Spilane would be pretty good.

Interviewer: For them?

Hutterite: For anybody, but there are books being put out by the Liverpool Press...(laughter).

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