A L L T H I N G S C O M M O N

The Hutterians of Manitoba

by

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Manitoba has twenty-five Hutterian colonies, and three are in the process of formation. The basic economy of every one of these communities, which range in population from eighty to two-hundred, is agriculture. The most salient feature of a Hutterian colony is that its members practice, on scriptural grounds, complete community of goods.

The Hutterian church dates back to the sixteenth century (1528). Moravia had become the refuge of numerous persecuted groups, and the strongest one of these were the Anabaptists. The radical wing of the latter was organized into a cohesive congregation by one Kakob Huter. After more than four centuries of struggle for survival the basic institutional pattern of the Brotherhood, expressed in the Bruderhof, as the community holding is known, remains today as it was laid down by Huter and his immediate successors.

Persecution scattered the Hutterian congregation; remnants migrated to Slovakia and Hungary. Later some of them found refuge in lands under Turkish suzerainity, from where they moved to Russia (1770). Here they remained for over one hundred years, and then emigrated to the United States. Between 1874-79 three Hutterian communities were established in what is now South Dakota. These communities are the parent colonies of all Hutterian Bruderhoefe in Canada and the United States.

During World War I there was strong public sentiment in the United States against the Hutterians because they were conscientious objectors. Even before the termination of the war the Hutterians contacted Canadian immigration authorities for permission to migrate to Canada. The Canadian government, after three years of war, was keenly aware of the nation's manpower shortage and favored the immigration of a group of highly productive agriculturalists. The Hutterians arrived in Canada in 1918 and settled in Manitoba and Alberta.

The very rapid expansion of the Hutterian colonies created some problems which have not been successfully solved in either of these two provinces. In Alberta the number of their colonies was restricted by provincial legislation; in Manitoba a "gentleman's agreement" (1957) between the rural municipalities and the colonies limits the number of new Hutterian communities in each municipality to two.

The Hutterians are not primitive people without a history. They have a cultural and spiritual heritage which has tangibly contributed to their survival. One reason for the public disapproval of the Hutterian communities is that the conventional North American public does not look kindly on any non-conformative behaviour. This is perhaps the chief reason why the positive features of the Hutterian colonies are disregarded or overlooked.

The Hutterians approve of education at the elementary level, and loyally support the public schools. They have a good reputation as farmers. They refuse all government help in the form of old age pensions, family allowance, and medical assistance. Their colonies are egalitarian communities in which want and delinquency are almost unknown. Most of them Hutterians are Canadians by birth or naturalization, but, by their own choice, they would like to remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water".

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And all that believed were together,
and had all things common. Acts 2:44.

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INTRODUCTION

Bearded men dressed in plain, dark, home-made suits, and women in long dresses reminiscent of the pictures in a fairy book can be seen almost any day in the week in the streets of Winnipeg. They are Hutterians, a group numbering almost 8,000 members in Canada. Over 3,000 of them live in colonies in Manitoba. Should the average Canadian become interested in this group and check a standard encyclopedia to learn about the history and organization of the Hutterians, he would not find them listed. As a result of the retiring ways of these people comparatively little is known about them, and standard reference works ignore them.

In this thesis the writer attempts to present not only an account of the history of the group but also an analysis of the group's institutions. The thesis tries to portray "total community life" as practiced by the Hutterians. Structurally, the Hutterian colonies function as almost unadulterated Gemeinschaft societies.[1] As such they provide intrinsic interest for the historian and the sociologist. Beyond that the Hutterian colonies, because they have resisted assimilation to a greater degree than any other religious or ethnic group of European stock, pose a problem:

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1. Cf. Toennies, Ferdinand, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Translated and Supplemented by Charles P. Loomis. (New York, 1940.)

Will their members in time integrate into the larger Canadian society, sharing all its duties and privileges, or will they continue to perpetuate their introverted life?

Much of the research done for this thesis was done in the field. In personal interviews or by correspondence the writer received information from municipal secretaries, government officials, staff members of the University of Manitoba, scholars at other institutions, farmers, business men, ministers, and professional people, social workers, police officers, and former Hutterians who had left the colonies. The teachers of colony public schools were especially helpful, co-operating willingly in suggested projects, filling out questionaires, and providing much pertinent information.

The writer owes a special debt of gratitude to the hospitality of the Hutterian communities. Though some Hutterians saw little merit in a study of this type, the writer was invariably made welcome at the colonies, even when his stay was prolonged over a period of weeks. The writer visited all the Manitoba colonies. He was with the Hutterians at work on the fields, in the poultry houses and in the shops; he observed the women at work in the kitchen and the teachers in the schools; he joined the members for the community meals and religious services. The writer's participant observation was re-enforced by tape recorded interviews with colony ministers, managers, farm-foremen, heads of enterprises, kitchen personnel, helpers, converts, and Hutterian teen-agers. In all cases information was provided most willingly.

The field research encompassed many people and the information they provided was often of a personal nature. For this reason the writer will abstain from listing any names, except those of four men who were always prepared to spend some time with the writer whenever he was confronted with a special problem. These were Professor Paul Yuzyk, from the Department of History, University of Manitoba, the writer's thesis advisor who was consistently helpful; Professor John Dallyn, Department of Sociology, who often assisted the writer in focusing his attention on new aspects of his study; Senior Elder Peter Hofer, James Valley Colony; and Mr. E. A. Fletcher, Q. C., solicitor for the Hutterian Brethren. To these, and to all those who must go unmentioned, the writer wishes to express his most sincere gratitude.

Chapter I

THE ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND OF THE HUTTERIAN BROTHERHOOD

The first half of the sixteenth century found Europe in turmoil. It released deep, latent energies that stirred the continent, and found expression in the Remaissance, the Reformation, and their concomitant phenomena. Great men strode across the stage of Europe. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), Lord Chancellor of England, wrote his Utopia. In it he described a classless society where there was "neither private property nor hereditary privilege".[1] Its people lived in "the richest and happiest of all commonwealths".[2] Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469-1536) inveighed against war for "from war comes the shipwreck of all that is good and from it the sea of all calamities pours out ... The whole philosophy of Christ teaches against it."[3] Martin Luther, (1483-1536), a humble miner's son, struck at the foundation of the universal church and prayed: Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders. Gott helf mir. Amen. (On this I take my stand. I can do no other. God help me. Amen.)[4]

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1. Donner, H.W., Introduction to Utopia. (London, 1945). 29.
2. Ibid. 53
3. Erasmus, D., The Education of a Christian Prince. Translated by Lester K. Born. (New York, 1936). 251.
4. Bettenson, Henry, (Ed.), Documents of the Christian Church. (New York, 1947). 285.

It was in this eventful period, in the year 1528, that the Hutterian church was organized in Moravia. Now a part of Czechoslovakia, Moravia was then a peripheral province of the Hapsburg Empire in which lords and princes owned large estates. These noblemen were prepared to accept religious refugees from all German states provided they proved good settlers and craftsmen. The Hutterian church was a branch of the Anabaptist movement. Its spiritual roots extended to the Swiss Brethren who practiced adult baptism and opposed war. Adult baptism and non-resistance were, and have remained, two salient features of the Hutterian faith. Another characteristic, the communal ownership of property known as Gütergemeinschaft, was institutionalized in Moravia, and was a departure from the Swiss heritage. This feature chiefly distinguishes the Hutterians from other Anabaptist groups like the Amish and the Mennonites. None of these groups can in any way be associated with the Anabaptist aberration at Münster.[5]

The Swiss Brethren

The Swiss initiators of Anabaptism, Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, and Georg Blaurock, are mentioned in the oldest Hutterian

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5. cf. Bainton, Roland H., The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. (Boston, 1952). Chapter 5: "The Church Withdrawn: Anabaptism". 95-199. Also Williams, George Huntston (Ed.) Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers. Documents Illustrative of the Radical Reformation. Volume XXV, Library of Christian Classics series. (London, 1957.)

chronicle.[6] Grebel was an early supporter of Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), the Swiss reformer, but once Zwingli found it expedient to compromise with the civilian authorities Grebel broke with him. As a reformer Zwingli went considerably beyond Luther, but anticipating the support of the Zurich council, Zwingli, like Luther, was prepared to ally himself with civic authority. Thus at the public disputation (Religionsgespräch) of 1523 Zwingli declared: "My lords will decide whatever regulations are to be adopted in the future in regard to the Mass." Stumpf, a colleague of Conrad Grebel, immediately challenged the declaration: "Master Ulrich, you do not have the right to place the decision on this matter in the hands of my lords, for the decision has already been made, the Spirit of God decides."[7]

Zwingli eventually persuaded the city council to abolish Mass in the churches of Zurich, but the principle involved, to wait for worldly authority to intervene, was unacceptable to the extreme wing of the reformers. For them the New Testament was the sole authority in spiritual matters. They maintained that once the individual felt secure that the

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6. Zieglschmid, A.J.F. (Ed.), Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder. Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, 1943). 46, 47.

7. Bender, Harold H., Conrad Grebel 1498-1526, Founder of the Swiss Brethren. (Goshen, Indiana, 1950). 98.

directive from Scripture was clear, it would be wrong for him not to comply with divine guidance.

Only a mature adult could be expected to assume this moral responsibility. For this reason the radical reformers rejected infant baptism. It was in the light of this conviction that Blaurock approached Grebel and was baptized by him, initiating the Anabaptist movement that soon gained a considerable following both in Switzerland and in Southern Germany.[8]

Most of the early Anabaptist leaders were exceptionally well-educated men coming from good families. Conrad Grebel was educated in Vienna and Paris. His father was a Zurich councillor. Blaurock, a priest, was a persuasive orator. Felix Mantz, the first Anabaptist martyr who was drowned at Zurich in 1527, was a scion of the lesser nobility. A modern church historian says of the early Anabaptist leaders: "Much more drastically than any of their contemporaries they searched the Scripture in order to recover the pattern of the early church."[9] Another historian labels Anabaptism "Existential Christianity", for the early reformers were not satisfied with looking in the Bible for "words of comfort for the fallen man

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8. Bainton, op. cit., 101.

9. Ibid., 95.

and the good tidings of redemption, but they found also very concrete commandments, advice, calls, to go and try the new life".[10]

Common ownership of goods did not constitute a tenet of faith of this group, but the doctrine of Gütergemeinschaft as evidence of Christian love was no doubt explored. On trial for his life, Mantz stated that "A good Christian should share with his neighbor when he was in need".[11]

In order to stamp out Anabaptism in Switzerland an imperial ordinance of 1524 conferred on the council of Zurich complete judicial control over the country.[12] Zwingli thereupon charged the Anabaptists with sedition (Aufruhr), and a period of persecution ensued. Few of the leaders "could expect to die in bed".[13] Thus many suffered a martyr's death, others languished a life-time in prison, still others fled the country. All Anabaptist property was liable for confiscation by the state.[14] Since persecution was more intense in the old Hapsburg lands, the refugees sought sanctuary at the Empire's territorial extremities, in the free city of Strassburg and the province of Moravia,

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10. Friedmann, Robert, "Anabaptism and Protestantism" in "Mennonite Quarterly Review" XXIV, 1 (Goshen, 1950.)18,19.

11. Bender, op. cit., 159.

12. Schraepler, Horst W., Die rechtliche Behandlung der Täufer, 1525-1618. (Tuebingen, Germany, 1957). 50.

13. Bainton, op. cit., 105.

14. Schraepler, op. cit., 61.

which owed allegiance to the king of Bohemia.

Soon a stream of homeless Anabaptists poured into that province. Though Moravia almost immediately (1526) passed into the hands of Ferdinand of Austria, that most violent opponent of the Anabaptists was not in a position to challenge the local nobility until a later date. Meanwhile the nobles encouraged the coming of the Anabaptists, for many of them were good farmers and skilful artisans who brought new industries into the country. Among those who fled from Switzerland was a colleague of Grebel, Wilhelm Reublin of Basel, the first Swiss priest to publicly take a wife in marriage (1523). He fled first to Strassburg and then made his way to Moravia.

The Hutterians in Moravia[15]

The greatest concentration of Anabaptists in Moravia was at Nikolsburg. The manorial lord Leonhard von Lichtenstein, on whose estates Nikolsburg was located, was himself a member of an Anabaptist congregation. Their two outstanding leaders

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15. The following (a) source material, (b) standard works, and (c) documentary articles in periodicals were the main sources for this section: (a) Zieglschmid, A.J.F., op.cit., and Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder. (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, 1947). Peter Riedemann, Confession of Faith. Translated by Kathleen E. Hasenberg from the German edition of 1565 (in the British Museum). (Hodder and Stroughton, England, 1950). (b) Horsch, John, The Hutterian Brethren. (Goshen, Indiana, 1931). Smith, C.Henry, The Story of the Mennonites. (Berne, Indiana, 1941) 346-382. Fischer, Hans (Vienna), Jakob Huter. (Newton, Kansas, 1956). (c) Bainton, Robert, "The Frontier Community", in Mennonite Life. IX, 1 (1954).

were Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier and Hans Hut.

At this time the Turks penetrated deep into the Hapsburg empire. Suleiman I captured Belgrade (1521), defeated the Hungarians (1526), and shortly later laid siege to Vienna itself (1529). The entire countryside was on the alert against the invader. The Anabaptists repudiated war, but now Hubmaier counselled compromise on the principle of non-resistance. Hans Hut remained adamant and supported Jakob Wiedemann, the leader of a small group which was committed to strict non-violence. This group also favored common ownership of property, though the concept had not as yet crystallized into doctrine.

Ferdinand of Austria had an army in readiness for the Turks, but used it now to threaten the nobles to rid themselves of their Anabaptist tenants. Lichtenstein retorted that if the royal troops should invade his estates they would be met with bullets. This was too much for Wiedemann whose non-resistance went so far that he refused protection by arms. Addressing himself to Lichtenstein he said, "Since you threaten to protect us, we cannot stay."

Wiedemann and his followers, about two hundred people, departed. Friends bade them farewell and Leonhard von Lichtenstein and his retinue of mounted escorts accompanied

them to the limits of the principality. Lichtenstein even refused to extract the customary tax from his departing tenants.[16]

Once outside the boundaries of Nikolsburg, with no shelter under the open sky, the group made a far-reaching decision. It elected two stewards (Diener der Notdurft) to look after the physical needs of the members of the group.[17] These stewards spread a cloak on the ground on which everyone "without compulsion laid his possessions".[18] This memorable incident occurred in the year 1528; Jacob Huter had not yet made his appearance. The Hutterian church in North America traces its origin directly to this small assembly. In later history the nucleus of this group again and again segregated itself from those who were luke-warm or whose support was half-hearted.

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16. Zieglschmid, A.J.F., Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch ... 18,19.

17. The ministers were known as Diener am Wort. To this day the ministers and the stewards play a very important role in colony life. The steward is also known as the Wirt, or Haushalter. The English misnomer "boss", generally used by outsiders and sometimes by Hutterians, but not approved by the church, has reference to the steward. It is interesting to note that one of the two men elected steward in 1528 was a Jakob Maendel. The name Maendel is still very common among the Hutterians.

18. Zieglschmid, A.J.F., Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder. 87. The passage as it appears in the chronicle reads: "Zu der Zeit haben diese Männer ein mantel vor dem Volck nider gebrait/ und yederman hat sein vermögen dargelegt/ mit willigem gemüet/ Ungezwungen/ zu unterhaltung der Notdurfftgen/ nach der leer der Propheten und Aposteln."

The lords of Kaunitz offered asylum to the voluntary refugees, and the exiles transferred to the Kaunitz estates, settling near Austerlitz. Centuries later (1805) the place became famous for the battle that was fought here between the French under Napoleon and the combined armies of Austria and Russia.

Unaccustomed as the members were to the discipline of communal life, a rift developed in the group. One member was accused of witholding money from the common treasury, others "practiced respect of persons", and still others refused to eat "at a common table".[19] The result was that one group separated itself and established a Bruderhof (common household) at Auspitz.

Meanwhile the Tyrolese Anabaptists heard of the greater freedom enjoyed by their co-religionists on the estates of the great nobles of Moravia. They sent one, Jacob Huter, by trade a hatter, to establish contact between the congregations. Huter was shortly to emerge as the most gifted organizer of the church. In Moravia his counsel was highly regarded by the brethren, though there was some opposition to him, especially from the leaders. With a firm hand and in the remarkably short period of three years Huter molded the brotherhood. Communal life was strictly enforced, private property in any form was not tolerated.

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19. Wenger, J.C. (Translator), "A Letter from Wilhelm Reublin to Pilgram Marpeck" (1531) in M Q R. XXIL, 2 (April, 1949). 67-73. Marpeck, a Tyrolese civil engineer, was an Anabaptist exile in Strassburg. Reublin was excommunicated by the group for retaining some money.

Periodically Huter would return to his native Tyrol. He encouraged his countrymen to leave that province where persecution was pursued with extreme severity, and join the Moravian communities.[20] But peace here was of short duration. When the strong hand of Ferdinand descended on Moravia, the brethren were forced to disperse. Huter, with a bundle on his back, shared their vicissitudes.

In 1535 Jacob Huter made his last journey to Tyrol. He was captured, tortured, and burned at the stake at Innsbruck, in February 1536. A large crowd had gathered to witness his end. Huter faced death unflinchingly. To the bystanders he remarked: "Now then, let us test our faith by fire." His wife too met a martyr's death. The Hutterian chronicler recorded in his annals: "He left to us his name. We are known as Hutterian Brethren, and we are not ashamed of it."[21]

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20. Persecution was at this time most intense in Austria proper. One of the first victims was the afore-mentioned Dr.Hubmaier. He was burned at the stake in Vienna in 1528, his wife was cast into the Danube with a stone around her neck. Baptists the world over hold Hubmaier in reverence as one of the great doctrinal writers (adult baptism) of the Reformation. The 400th anniversary of his death was publicly observed in Vienna in 1928. (Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 826-834). One of Hubmaier's hymns appears in the Hutterian hymnary.

21. Zieglschmid, op.cit., 157. Generally Hutterians in Manitoba know their history as recorded in their chronicles well. Shortly after a new book by a Viennese Lutheran cleric appeared (Dr.Hans Fischer, Jakob Huter, 1956), this writer mentioned it in passing to a housewife on the New Rosedale Colony. She was not only familiar with it, but voiced some criticism where its contents disagreed with an entry in the Hutterian chronicle.

The implacable foe of Protestantism, and more especially of the Anabaptists, was Ferdinand of Hapsburg. Archduke of Austria (1521), king of Hungary and Bohemia (1526), Ferdinand became German emperor (1556-64) on the abdication of his brother, Charles V. He was forced to restrain his activity against the Protestants as he required their assistance against the Turks and the peasants, who had risen in revolt. Towards the Anabaptists, who were also scorned by the other Protestants, Ferdinand was merciless. The Hutterian chronicle refers to him as the "Prince of Darkness". Following the example of Zwingli, Ferdinand changed the charge of heresy (Ketzerei), an accusation sometimes difficult to substantiate, to sedition and rebellion (Aufruhr), which permitted the summary disposal of the victims.[22]

The Hutterian chronicle has preserved the names and manner of death of over two thousand members who died for their faith. In archaic language the chronicler narrates how in one family nine brothers and three sisters were condemned to die "zu Bruckh an der Muer/ in Steyermark". The brothers formed a circle, with cheerful words encouraged each other, the youngest one kissing each brother in turn and as they knelt, and each one was beheaded, "the executioner was

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22. Schraepler, op. cit., 19.

sad, and did it unwillingly".[23] The sisters died by drowning.

Some of those who escaped with their lives were pressed into galley service, serving among others on the ships of Genoese admiral Andria Doria.[24] Though temporarily dispersed, the brotherhood survived. Huter was shortly succeeded by exceptionally capable men like Peter Riedemann, author of the Confession of Faith, and Peter Walpot, author of The Great Article Book.[25]

Scattered by the emperor's commissioners, the Hutterians usually soon returned to the estates of the nobles. Sometimes they were even invited to settle on the lands of a monastic order. It is estimated that despite persecution the Hutterians reached a membership of 25,000 occupying over eighty communities. Though the native population in Moravia was predominantly Slavic, Hutterian members were Germans largely recruited from German and Swiss refugees. The names and country of origin of the senior leaders for the first century of Hutterian history bears testimony to this.[26]

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23. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 72-73. Concerning the executioner the chronicle reports: "Der hencker aber war traurig/ denn er thets nit gern."

24. It was a common practice of the period to use convicts and prisoners of war as galley slaves. John Knox, captured at St. Andrews in 1547, spent two years on French galleys.

25. A fragment, True Surrender of Christian Community of Goods, from The Great Article Book, 1577, has been published in English. (The Plough Publishing House, Bromdon, England, 1957. 45 pages.)

Many of the nobles had estates beyond Moravia. They invited the Hutterians to settle on them. In this way many of the brethren found their way to Hungary, which at that time also included Slovakia. The first Bruderhof was founded in Sabatisch. Soon this region, a short distance from Pressburg (Bratislava), had fourteen Hutterian communities.

The entire reign of Ferdinand was marked by successive waves of persecution. His death ushered in a period known as the "Hutterian golden age" which lasted until 1593. The Hutterian communities were noted for their fine breeds of horses, orchards, and work shops. Some of the industries which made the Hutterians famous were weaving, and the manufacture of cutlery, linen, and pottery.[27] Nobles often appointed them to manage their estates.

A renewed Turkish invasion and the outbreak of a religious war decimated entire populations in the Empire.

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26. The Hauptvorsteher (senior elders) listed in Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brueder (vii-viii) are: Jakob Huter, died 1536, came from Tyrol; Hanns Amon, 1536-1542, from Bavaria; jointly Leonhard Lantzenstil, 1542-1565, and Peter Riedemann, 1542-1556, the former from Bavaria, the latter from Silesia; Peter Walpot, 1565-1578, from Tyrol; Hanns Kral (under whose supervision the oldest Hutterian chronicle was begun), 1578-1583, from Tyrol; Claus Braidl, 1583-1611, from Hessia; Sebastian Dietrich, 1611-1619, from Wuerttemberg; Ulrich Laassling, 1619-1621, from Switzerland; Valtin Winter, 1622-1631, from Wuerttemberg.

27. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch ..., "Die gute Zeit der Gemeinde". 83-118. See also: "Hutterians" by Friedmann in Mennonite Encyclopedia, II and Bender, "Anabaptist Manuscripts in the Archives at Brno (Brünn), Czechoslovakia in M Q R, XXIII, 2 (April, 1949).

In an age marked by its religious intolerance, both Catholic and Protestant warred against the Hutterians. Caught in this relentless vice, the brotherhood was all but extinguished. "Those who thus held themselves as sheep for the slaughter," says Bainton, "were dreaded and exterminated as if they had been wolves."[28]

Hutterian Migrations

In 1593 the Turks once again thrust deep into Austria, and while advancing or retreating carried out a thorough scorched earth policy. Many people, especially women, were dragged into captivity. The Hutterian communities, as frontier settlements, bore the brunt of the Turkish invasion.

The life and experiences of one, Solomon Boeger, a Hutterian, is of special interest. Boeger had lost his wife and child to the Turks and set out to find them. In his search, which extended over many years, and took him to the heart of the Turkish Empire, Boeger found and helped other Hutterian women.[29] His tireless quest for his own family went unrewarded, and it was assumed that Boeger himself was murdered.

In 1618 began a war that was to convulse Central Europe for thirty years. It was even more destructive than

transition?

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28. Bainton, op. cit., 101.

29. Friedmann, R., "Adventures of an Anabaptist in Turkey 1607-1610" in M Q R. XXIV, 1 (January, 1950). 12-24.

the Turkish incursions. When it ended there was not a Hutterian community left in Moravia. The outbreak of the war was immediately followed by the expulsion of all Hutterians from Moravia; their households were burned and levelled to the ground. One of the first communities to be wiped out completely was Pribitz (1620). One historian reports that here "In three hours fifty-two men were killed, and seventeen other men and women so mutilated that they died within a few days."[30]

Many Hutterians found refuge in Slovakia, among them Andreas Ehrenpreis (1589-1662), senior elder and most outstanding Hutterian of the century whose writings and instructions to this day influence life on the Hutterian communities. Others fled deep into the interior of Hungary, and some, on the invitation of Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, established a Bruderhof at Alwinz (1621), in Siebenbuergen, now part of Rumania.

A well-known German writer of the period, himself a Catholic, visited a number of Hutterian colonies in Hungary and has left a detailed and sympathetic account of life on their communities. He concludes with this passage:

> "Now, a community leading such a noble, blessed life as these Anabaptist heretics I should have liked to establish within the Roman Catholic church for, as

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30. Smith, C. Henry, op. cit., 367.

far as I could see, it surpassed even the monastic life. I thought to myself: "If you could accomplish such a task and establish such a noble way of Christian living among orthodox Christians under the protection of the authorities, you would be a second Saint Dominic or Saint Francis." I often said to myself: "If you could just convert the Anabaptists so that they would teach your brethren in the faith their art of living, what a blessed man you would be. Or if you could only persuade your fellow Christians that they should lead, like these Anabaptists, such an apparently Christian and noble life, what would you not have accomplished thereby.""[31]

During the Thirty Years' War and the renewed Turkish invasions, which culminated with the siege of Vienna in 1683, the Hutterian communities suffered even more than the surrounding country. As Anabaptists the Hutterians were legitimate prey to Catholic and Protestant alike. Beyond furthermore? that their communities with the spacious community dining halls and central food and supply depots were most convenient for the quartering of troops. Christian and Turk

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31. Grimmelshausen, H.J.C., Der Abentheuerliche Simplicissimus. (1669). (Deutsche National Literatur. II. Chapter 19. 164-167.) Translated by Horsch, op. cit., 68.

in turn occupied their households. The poverty-stricken communities began to lose their hold on their own members.

The religious peace after 1648 and the defeat of the Turks brought no relief to the Hutterians. A stronger Austria emerged, an Austria imbued with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Later it was especially Empress Maria Theresa (1740-80) who was determined to eradicate the last trace of Anabaptist heresy. Jesuits were commissioned for the task. Children, removed from their parents, were placed in institutions; older people were forcibly sent into monasteries. In this manner the Hutterian brotherhood was extinguished in Slovakia. Descendants of these Hutterians, known as "Habaners", still live in Czechoslovakia, but they know nothing of their own early history.[32]

Lutherans were not persecuted by the Empress Maria Theresa, but in order to assure the Catholic homogeneity of the core of the Empire they were forced to migrate from their ancient homes to new borderlands. A group of Lutherans from the province of Kaernten (Carinthia) were forced to move to Transylvania in 1755. The expressed wish of the Empress was that they should be provided with dwellings and land in the frontier region.[33]

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32. Friedmann, Robert; "The Fate of the Hutterites in Europe" in Cultural Conference Proceedings (Freeman, South Dakota, 1946). 61-65. Dr. Friedmann visited the "Habaners" in Czechoslovakia.

33. Loserth, J., "The Decline and Revival of the Hutterites" in M Q R. IV, 2 (April, 1930). 93-112.

In Transylvania some members of the Lutheran group came in contact with the Hutterians at Alwinz. These had discontinued communal life around the year 1695, but the printed and written records, a rich legacy of sermons and regulations, had been carefully preserved.[34] Spiritual communion between the old Hutterian brethren and some of the Lutherans resulted in a firm resolve to re-establish the Gemeinschaft (community).[35] The restitution of the Hutterian community brought the wrath of both churches, Catholic and Lutheran, on the brotherhood.

Again persecution set in. The Hutterians looked for new homes, and sent two brethren across the mountains to report on conditions in the lands occupied by the Turks. The men returned and related that "in Moldavia and Wallachia there was plenty of room as well as freedom of religion, and that there the various Christian confessions were tolerated side by side."[36] In a desperate flight across the snow-peaked mountains the Hutterians left their homes and settled in Wallachia.

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34. Many of the original manuscripts or handwritten copies of them can still be found at Hutterian communities in Manitoba.

35. The merger of the two groups must be considered a success. Hutterian names of Carinthian origin: Glanzer, Hofer, Kleinsasser, Waldner, and Wurz, are very common in Manitoba. See also Arnold, E.C.H., "How Hutterian Community Was Restored, Bicentenary of Carinthian Emigration to Transylvania", in The Plough, III, 4 (1955). 106-116.

36. Horsch, op. cit., 102.

Once again war broke out, this time between Russia and Turkey (1768). Catherine the Great had embarked on a policy of expansion and colonization. The Turkish armies were pushed back. While moving into Ottoman territory the commanding Russian general, Count Rumiantsev, became acquainted with the Hutterians. Impressed by their industry he invited them to settle on his estate at Vishenka. Vishenka lay about 150 miles north of Kiev, on the Desna river. Rumiantsev offered his new colonists attractive terms, including complete religious freedom and exemption from military service.[37]

The Hutterians were not only good farmers but had also preserved the crafts that had made them model settlers two centuries earlier. They were still skilful weavers, potters, and metal workers. They arrived at Vishenka late in 1770. By the following year the Hutterian chronicler, Johannes Waldner could report that they "were again gathered under one roof and at one table", and could hold their services "in the newly built house".[38] Soon the Kindergarten

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37. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch...., 324-325.

38. Johannes Waldner kept a very detailed and readable account of the history of his people. The narrative, has elicited the admiration of Austrian (Dr. J. Loserth, Graz University) and American (Dr. R. Friedmann, Western Michigan; Dr. A.J.F. Zieglschmid, Northwestern) scholars. It forms the first 402 pages of Das Kleingeschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder.

and the day school were built. Stragglers from Transylvania continued to arrive at Vishenka. Soon the brotherhood was in a position to send out men to invite to Russia those who had remained behind in Hungary and Slovakia and had departed from the faith of their ancestors. But the response was small.

The Vishenka Bruderhof was founded on an agreement between the brotherhood and Count Rumiantsev. Even before the count's death the Imperial government extended its serf system, which tied the peasants to the soil, to include Ukraine (1783). While the Russian government was prepared to extent special privileges to foreign settlers who were to serve as model farmers, the count's successors were not inclined to make these concessions.

Meanwhile in response to Catherine the Great's invitation the German Mennonites had come to Russia and established a colony on the Dniepr River (1789). The government at St. Petersburg advised the Hutterians that crown reserves would be available to them on conditions similar to those extended to the Mennonites.[39] The Hutterians accepted the offer and founded the Bruderhof Reditschewa on crown lands only a few miles away from their former home.

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39. A ukas issued by Tsar Paul I (on September 6, 1800) enumerated these conditions (privileges) and confirmed them. To qualify for the privileges the Hutterians were named "Mennonites" in a ukas of Tsar Alexander I (on May 22, 1801). See Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch...., 399-400.

The move involved a financial loss for the Hutterians. In addition a rift developed between the traditional group and those who favored innovations in the brotherhood, even a modification on the question of communal ownership. Under these conditions the colony made little progress. A fire destroyed the colony buildings and this was the last blow. Reditschewa went down in Hutterian history as the first colony to dissolve more for reasons of internal dissent than from outside oppression. In 1819 the communal way of life was discarded. The Russian government at no time opposed the Hutterian form of life; much more, the officials were impressed by it. It almost appeared as if communal living required persecution to flourish, and that complete freedom was the strongest contributor to its disintegration.

The settlement struggled on as best it could. It had too little land to support its over two hundred people on an individualistic ownership basis. Completely destitute, the Hutterians appealed to the Mennonites for help.[40] At the time the Imperial government had concentrated considerable power in the hands of a Mennonite landowner and educator, Johann Cornies (1789-1848). To a large extent the foreign

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40. Since 1789 several waves of Mennonite emigrants from Prussia had arrived in Ukraine. A second settlement was begun on the Molotschna River and it grew even more prosperous than the first which was on the Dniepr.

settlements and special groups, including among others Mennonites and Swedes, Tartars, Doukhobors, and Molokans, were under his administration.[41] Cornies advised that the group had too little land and that an immediate relocation of the Hutterians was necessary.

Cornies was personally opposed to communal life as practiced by the Hutterians. His recommendation was that the Hutterians transfer to the Molotschna; his obvious objective was that the Hutterians be assimilated by the Mennonites. Meanwhile the Hutterian settlement had developed to a state where any change would be for the better. The transfer to the Molotschna was made in 1842.

The first village, Huttertal, was laid out after the pattern of the Mennonite villages. The Hutterians lived in individual households and owned their land as individual farmers. So successful was the settlement that a new village, Johannesruh (named after Johann Cornies) was established almost immediately and a substantial government loan was repaid within three years. Economically the Hutterians soon rivalled the Mennonites who had "the most

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41. Sources: Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch...; Klaus,A., Unsere Kolonien, Studien and Materialien zur Geschichte und Statistik der auslaendischen Kolonisation in Russland. Translated into German from the Russian Nashi Kolonii. (Odessa, Russia, 1887); D.H. Epp, Johann Cornies. Reprinted by the Echo-Verlag (Rosthern, Saskatchewan, 1946.)

prosperous and economically best balanced rural communities in all Russia".[42] Many years later one Hutterian became the junior partner of a very successful Mennonite enterprise engaged in the manufacture of agricultural implements known as Lepp and Wallmann.

Though materially prosperous many Hutterians suffered pains of conscience because they had departed from the Guetergemeinschaft (common ownership of goods). Again, as in Transylvania, a re-affirmation of faith took place. Eventually two new communities, operated in the traditional Hutterian manner, were started. The move met with indifferent success. Many Hutterians preferred to continue to live in individual households.

In 1870 the Mennonite and Hutterian settlers were jarred by an unexpected development. Consistent with the new government policy of the Russification of nationalities, Tsar Alexander issued a decree which cancelled their military exemption and threatened their schools and language. The Mennonites and Hutterians explored the possibilities for emigration. Newly opened Russian territories on the Amur River, in Asian Russia, with special concessions for new settlers, were temporarily considered by them. There was talk of emigrating to South Africa, North and South America,

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42. Francis, E.K., In Search of Utopia, The Mennonites in Manitoba. (Altona, Manitoba, 1955). 23.

and even to New Zealand. Concerned about the loss of many excellent settlers, the Russian law was modified to provide alternative service for compulsory military service. This arrested wholesale emigration, yet about 15,000 Mennonites, and all the Hutterians, numbering less than five hundred, left Russia.[43]

New Homes in South Dakota

At this time the United States and Canada both were interested in directing the flow of immigration to their countries. The government of the United States left this matter largely in the hands of private interests. Canada, which had acquired the West (Rupertsland Act, 1868), had begun a survey of this territory (1871) and contemplated the building of a transcontinental railway. The government itself pursued an active immigration policy.

When the Mennonites in Russia became restive the Canadian and American governments immediately became interested in them as potential settlers. The Canadian Department of Agriculture, then in charge of immigration, directed its agent in Germany, William Hespeler, to proceed to Russia and attempt to divert the immigration of the Mennonites (and Hutterians) to Canada. In 1873 a delegation of ten Mennonites and two Hutterians visited the United States and

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43. An excellent source on Mennonite and foreign settlements in Russia is a doctor's dissertation: Rempel, David G., The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia, A Study of Their Settlement and Economic Development From 1789 to 1914. The unpublished manuscript is deposited with Stanford University. (1933). 333 pages.

Canada. The delegation kept a minute record of their entire tour, reporting "on the lands they traversed, the climate, topography, soil, water, products, rainfall, and people".[44]

The delegation left Russia via Odessa early in 1873.[45] In the United States the Hutterians inspected the Dakota Territory, but did not proceed beyond the lands of James Valley as the soil was getting poorer to the west.[46] From Fargo the delegation went by boat down the Red River. Paul Tschetter, one of the Hutterian delegates, reports that nowhere in the United States had he seen any soldiers, but at Pembina, before crossing into Canada, there were soldiers and cannons.

In Winnipeg, "only a very small city", Hespeler had arranged for a reception by the lieutenant-governor. Altogether the Hutterian delegates spent ten days in Manitoba, spending many nights camping in tents. "There were so many

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44. Hofer, J.M., "The Historical Background of the Hutterite Colonies" in Cultural Conference Proceedings (Freeman, South Dakota, 1946). 32.

45. The two Hutterian delegates were Paul Tschetter and Lorenz Tschetter. Paul Tschetter (1842-1919) kept a diary full of interesting detail. It appears in Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder. 571-606.

46. Dakota Territory consisted of the present states of North and South Dakota, and portions of Montana and Wyoming. Settlement of the Territory was not begun in earnest until about 1878. After Custer's annihilation (1876), the Treaty of 1877 was signed with the Indians which opened the country for settlement. South Dakota became a state of the Union in 1889.

mosquitoes," wrote Tschetter, "that one was hardly able to defend oneself." He reports in his diary that he was not impressed with the Metis farmers, part of whose previous year's crop was still on the fields. The white settlers were very friendly, he continues, and the people everywhere encouraged the delegation to recommend a move to Manitoba. Several of the Mennonite delegates spent more time in the province; the Hutterians did not go beyond about fifty miles of Winnipeg. They were directed to the Morris area, and to the land east of the Red River. Later Paul Tschetter reported on the soil as between good and marginal (sandy), and again very swampy in places.

Canada informed the delegation that it was prepared to extend "entire exemption from Military Service".[47] The United States, through its Secretary of State Hamilton Fish drew the delegates' attention to the existing laws exempting conscientious objectors. When the delegation met President Grant he assured them "that for the next fifty years we will not be entangled in another war in which military service will be necessary".[48]

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47. For correspondence between the delegates and the Canadian Department of Agriculture, Orders-in-Council, etc., see: Francis, E.K., op. cit., 46-49; and Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch...., 621-626.

48. Krahn, C. (Editor), From the Steppes to the Prairies. (Newton, Kansas, 1949). 8.

The delegation returned to Russia, and within a few years a little over 15,000 Mennonites and Hutterians left Russia. Unlike many of the other immigrants to Canada and the United States who arrived poor and ill-prepared, these settlers brought with them household articles, farm equipment, seed grains, and not a few of them had money. The Mennonites divided about equally, half of them settling in Kansas, and the other half in Manitoba. The Hutterians selected South Dakota for their home, being roundly ridiculed for this by the land agents who maintained that the Dakota Territory was unsuited for farming.

About one half of the Hutterians had given up the Guetergemeinschaft (practice of community of goods) in Russia, but retained strong familial and friendship ties with those who continued to live the communal life in the New World. For this reason they too chose to settle in Dakota. These "individualistic" settlers eventually shed all Hutterian traditions and merged with the Mennonites.[49]

The community Hutterians refused to take up land under the Homestead Act which would have entailed individual ownership. Instead they purchased privately 2,500 acres for

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49. The Mennonite Yearbook 1957 (Scottdale, Pennsylvania) contains a ministerial directory which includes in its list of names for one major Mennonite congregation the following patronyms whose Hutterian origins are undisputed: Hofer, Kleinsasser, Maendel, Wipf, Waldner, and Wollman.

which they paid $25,000; more than half of it in cash. This first Bruderhof was founded in 1874 and was named Bon Homme. The senior minister, Michael Waldner, was a blacksmith, and his congregation was known as the Schmiedeleut' (German: blacksmith - Schmied). That same year a second group purchased 5,400 acres of land on the James River, a tributary of the Missouri, and named their Bruderhof Wolf Creek. This congregation was named Dariusleut' after its senior minister, Darius Walther. A third group, which did not arrive from Russia until 1877, purchased 5,440 acres and founded the Old Elm Spring Bruderhof. Their elder, Jacob Wipf, was a teacher, and the congregation was known as the Lehrerleut'. After ten years (1885) the total Hutterian population of South Dakota stood at 380, and rose to about 2,000 by 1917.[50]

For over forty years (1874-1917) the Hutterian communities showed remarkable economic, social, and spiritual stability. The number of colonies increased steadily. Even World War I affected them little until America was plunged into it. Though the German-speaking Hutterians had left their German homeland centuries ago and had preserved no ties with either Austria or Germany, public hostility against them became vocal immediately after the United States' entry into the war. The press referred to the Hutterians only as

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50. Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch...., 470.

"yellow foreigners" and "traitors to God and country".[51]

In the eyes of the public the most offensive features of Hutterianism were their opposition to military service and their refusal to buy war bonds. The latter the Hutterians refused on the grounds that they would be contributing indirectly to the war effort. Hutterian youths were conscripted and on their persistent refusal to co-operate with the military authorities (claiming exemption as conscientious objectors), they were treated with exceptional severity which some of them did not survive.[52] The mistreatment took place at Alcatraz and Fort Leavenworth. Among the Hutterians in Manitoba there are some of the older men who spent some time at Fort Leavenworth, including Reverend Samuel Kleinsasser of Sturgeon Creek Colony.

One incident may serve to illustrate the form of local hostility. For years the Hutterians and their neighbors lived peaceably together, the countryside, both the farmers and the town merchants, held them in esteem both as neighbors and as craftsmen. Even during the war the public at large remained passive. The initiative of a few individuals, however, led to unfriendly acts, and the authorities refused to interfere because the real or overt objective of these individuals was to support the nation's war effort.[53]

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51. Krahn C., op. cit., quotes the Senator from Nebraska, who was interested in directing Hutterian immigration to his state, as saying on the House floor (debates of 1873): "If there is any portion of the world that can send us a few advocates of peace, in God's name, let us bid them welcome." 8.

It was under these circumstances that four local businessmen and their helpers appeared in the spring of 1918 at the Jamesville Colony in South Dakota, and removed livestock valued at $40,000. The Hutterians offered no resistance. This "patriotic" demonstration was applauded in the local press. The cattle and sheep were sold, and $15,000 worth of war bonds were bought in the name of the Hutterian colony. Some of the other money was offered to the Red Cross which refused to accept it. The rest disappeared mysteriously. Later the Hutterians discovered that even some of the bonds had disappeared. In another case the local court ordered the dissolution of one Hutterian community. The order was nullified by the Supreme Court.[54]

The consequence of the anti-Hutterian activities was that between 1918 and 1922 almost all the seventeen Hutterian communities transferred to Canada. Within recent years,

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52. Smith, C. Henry, The Story of the Mennonites. 805

53. All excesses by the military and by the public were strongly disapproved by the government in Washington. See Smith, op. cit., 799.

54. A.J.F. Zieglschmid, a sympathetic but non-Hutterian scholar, relates these incidents in Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch... In footnotes (487 and 489) he gives as his sources Nanna Goodhope, "Must the Hutterites Flee Again?" in The Christian Century. LVII, 46 (November 13, 1940); Gertrude Young, "The Mennonites in South Dakota" in South Dakota Historical Collections, X, 500; and "Appellants' Brief and Argument Book II, in case of the State of South Dakota vs. Hutterische Bruedergemeinde as appealed to the Supreme Court."

however, Canadian colonies have once more established daughter colonies in the United States. The American colonies now number twenty-nine, and have an approximate population of 2,500. Fifteen of these communities are in South Dakota, eleven in Montana, and one each in Washington, North Dakota, and Minnesota.

World War II saw none of the excesses in the United States experienced by the Hutterians during World War I. Hutterian men were drafted but as conscientious objectors they were permitted to do alternate service. Special bonds diverted for constructive purposes were bought by the Hutterians. This they considered as humanitarianism and they refused to accept interest on such bonds.

Another incident illustrates the position of the Hutterians during the war. The United States air-force required a firing range in South Dakota and the Hutterians at the Bon Homme Colony were informed that 1,600 acres of their land had been selected for this purpose. They were asked to submit an estimate of their loss in order to qualify for compensation. The Hutterians retorted that if the government required the property it was free to use it, but they on their part refused to accept compensation as they wanted no share in war profits.

A discordant note was introduced in 1955 by the South Dakota legislature when it passed a law against further expansion of Hutterian colonies in the State. The charges levelled against the group were that its members were

conscientious objectors, that once politically orientated they could control elections, and that furthermore the Hutterians contributed to the overcrowding of schools.[55] The Hutterians remained calm. Said David Decker, one of their leaders, "We will stick by the teachings of Jesus regardless of what happens."[56] The courts, however, felt that the law was discriminatory. In one test case a Circuit Judge ruled that the law was "too vague, indefinite and uncertain to be enforceable".[57]

Realizing perhaps that the saturation point had been reached in South Dakota, the Hutterians bought out three farmers and set up the first colony in the state of Minnesota. There was at first some local opposition to their coming.[58] But the local paper struck a tolerant note, reporting on the Hutterian historical background and on their farm management.[59] This assuaged local fears. Shortly afterwards a Minneapolis paper conducted a poll of "nearly every business place" in Graceville, near which the Hutterian colony was located, and the survey "failed to turn up a single criticism"

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55. See "Dakota Hutterites Cry 'Persecution'", in The Christian Century. (Editorial, April 8); also news item on April 27, 1955.

56. Faber, James, "Prolific People", in The New York Times. Section 6, 36. April 17, 1955.

57. "Expansion for Hutterites", in Time. July 23, 1956.

58. When this writer interviewed a number of farmers, neighbors of the new colony, they appeared kindly disposed to the Hutterians. One of them said, "We thought at first they were real Reds, like those in Russia."

of the group.[60] The article ends with a comment of 26-year-old Hutterian housewife Mrs. Wipf: "I really do not think the people have much to fear from us." This today, except for isolated cases, appears to represent the general attitude of the American press and public.

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59. "Hutterites Purchase 1850 Acres to Set Up Colony Near Graceville, Will be First Colony Established in Minnesota", in Graceville Enterprise. August 28, 1956.

60. Magnusson, Ed, Staff Writer, "Hutterites Go to Town and Folks Like Them", in The Minneapolis Tribune. September , 1956.

Chapter II

THE HUTTERIANS IN CANADA: IMMIGRATION, EXPANSION, AND STATUS

Hutterian emigration from the United States began in 1918 and within a few years almost all the seventeen Hutterian communities of South Dakota were transplanted to Canada. The Hutterians settled in southern Alberta and in the rural Manitoba municipality of Cartier. They were productive farmers and this was the cardinal prerequisite for immigrants as far as Canadian authorities were concerned. The immigration officials, "activated by the view which until this time has had universal sanction and which regards as desirable all new settlers who are of thrifty and law-abiding habit", did "what they could to encourage the Hutterite migration".[1]

Canadian Immigration

The Canadian immigration policy since 1870 had been both fluid and consistent. British and French immigrants on the whole were considered as the most desirable. These were followed by the "Germans, Scandinavians, Dutch, and Belgians - races akin to the French and Anglo-Saxon stocks of Canada,

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1. "Hutterites, Who Settled Near Here, Reconciled to Obey School Law", in Winnipeg Free Press. October 16, 1918.

easily assimilible".[2] The admission of Ukrainians after 1896 was a modification of this policy since racially and culturally they differed somewhat from earlier immigrants.[3] Africans and Asiatics were classified as "undesirable" because it would be difficult to integrate them in the Canadian population pattern.[4] In a category by themselves were those groups which, though racially and culturally not too different from the main stream of immigrants, insisted on bloc settlement and special consideration. These were the German-speaking Mennonites and the Anglo-Saxon Mormons. To them, but again in a separate class, could be added the Russian Doukhobors.

As early as 1873 the Mennonites were granted by Order-in-Council absolute immunity from military service.[5] The success of their settlements encouraged succeeding governments to extend consideration to other groups. When the American anti-polygamy laws became operative the

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2. See: England, Robert, The Central European Immigrant. (Toronto, 1929). 41. And Scott, W.D., "The Immigration Policy of Canada" in Canada and Its Provinces. (Toronto, 1914). VII, 577.

3. Yuzyk, Paul, The Ukrainians in Canada. (Toronto, 1953). 25.

4. Scott, W.D., op. cit., says: "Who would wish to see Alberta a second Mississippi or Georgia, as far as population is concerned? Who would wish to see the day arrive when British Columbia could be termed the 'Second Flowery Kingdom', as might easily happen if the doors were thrown open to the Japanese?" 588.

5. Francis, E.K., op. cit., 44-45.

Canadian authorities permitted two waves of Mormon immigration (1887 and 1899) into Canada. The Mormon move, confined largely to southern Alberta, provoked strong objection.[6] But time had proved the critics wrong. The Mormons became good, law-abiding citizens.

The Doukhobor immigration of 1899 was sponsored by well-known and idealistic Russian noblemen like Count Tolstoy and Prince Kropotkin. It was directed to the Assiniboia Territory, north of Yorkton. Oddly enough the coming of this unique group caused hardly a stir from the Canadian public.

Thus the Canadian authorities had had considerable experience with diverse ethnic and religious groups when they encouraged the migration of Hutterians to Canada in 1918. The government was fully aware that the Hutterians left the United States because the given safe-guards of their faith were violated there. The political climate and public opinion in Canada moved in the same direction. This development was accelerated and accentuated by the war. No doubt, in the opinion of the immigration officials this factor was

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6. See Woodsworth, J.S., Strangers Within Our Gates. (Toronto, 1909). The volume contains a map of North America. On the continent rests an octupus, labelled "Utah", spreading its tentacles in all directions. The author's comments on the Mormons are: "These doctrines are obviously inconsistent with the teaching of Christianity, and are directly inimical to the welfare of the State."

off-set by another problem, the acute man-power shortage on the prairies. The war had drained Canadian manhood and the government was already considering sending young boys from Ontario and Quebec in khaki uniforms, "Soldiers of the Soil", to help Western farmers. Western agriculture was one of the strongest sinews of the Canadian war effort. A lag here could seriously cripple Canada's contribution to the Allied cause. To the government and to the immigration authorities the incoming Hutterians, with their excellent reputation as farmers, were most valuable assets to the nation's economy.

Furthermore, the Hutterians represented no unknown group as far as the Canadian officials were concerned. In 1873 the two Hutterian representatives, together with the Mennonite delegation, had visited Manitoba. Again in 1899, during the Spanish-American War, the Hutterians seriously considered emigrating to Canada. They sent a petition to the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, who forwarded it to Ottawa.[7] The Hutterians received assurance that they would be welcome, as is indicated in the following letter:

Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, 27th October, 1899.

To W. F. McCreary, Esq.,
Commissioner of Immigration,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Dear Sir,

I have your letter of the 12th instant, No. 21,759,

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7. A copy of the petition and the reply as it appears above is on file with the records of Mr. E. A. Fletcher, Q.C., Winnipeg solicitor for the Hutterian Brethren.

enclosing a petition from certain members of the Hutterite community in which they ask that in coming to Canada they may be assured of certain privileges.

(1) as to their request for exemption from military service, this question has already been dealt with, and I enclose you a copy of the Order-in-Council authorizing their exemption.

(2) These people will not be molested in any way in the practice of their religious services and principles, as full freedom of religious belief prevails throughout the country. They will also be allowed to establish independent schools for teaching their children if they desire to do so, but they will have to be responsible for their maintenance themselves. The children will not be compelled to attend other schools if their education is properly provided for.

(3) The law does not compel the taking of an oath in court by persons who have conscientious objections to doing so, and there is no compulsion as to voting for or holding offices, but the privilege of doing so is generally most highly prized.

(4) There will be no interference with their living as a commonwealth, if they desire to do so.

(5) The Dominion Lands Act makes provision for the locating of people as communities and their being allowed to live in villages instead of being required each to live separately on his own land.

(6) The privileges asked for in the last four sections cannot be more firmly established by any further official document than they are by the established laws of the country, and the members of the Society in question may rest assured that the statements made above are of as full value to them as they could be made by an Order of the Governor in Council or any document of that nature.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Jas. A. Smart,
Deputy Minister.

The Deputy Minister's letter made it quite clear that most of the "privileges" asked for by the Hutterians were the accepted rights and privileges of Canadians in general. Moreover, while these negotiations were carried on, a small group of Hutterians were already in Canada. They had established a colony east of Dominion City, on the Roseau River, in 1898.[8] The land was unsatisfactory; floods repeatedly inundated the crops. In addition the war between the United States and Spain was of short duration. The result was that the Hutterians, after a five year stay in Manitoba, returned to South Dakota.

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8. Much of the data on Hutterian history within the last sixty years is based on the writer's field notes and interviews conducted at Hutterian colonies in Manitoba.

The year 1917 marked the United States entry into World War I. Local hysteria made the position of the Hutterians almost untenable, and their leaders resumed contact with Canadian immigration officials. The Ottawa government gave its assurance that the Hutterians would be welcome in Canada and would have "exemption from Military Service".[9] This was sufficient for the Hutterians, and they prepared for immediate migration to Canada.

It could hardly be expected that the immigration of a German-speaking group of conscientious objectors to war would be accepted by the general public without some protest. The Hutterians arrived in the fall of 1918. Reports of their coming were sandwiched between long newspaper columns announcing the extermination of German armies and demanding the hanging of the Kaiser. There were some demonstrations against the admission of the new immigrants, and there was even talk of deporting those Hutterians already in Canada.[10]

Meanwhile the war had terminated. The initial opposition of farmers to Hutterian settlement in their communities almost immediately gave way to a friendlier feeling. One of the Elie farmers, George Roy, wrote to the Winnipeg Free Press:

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9. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 632-633: Official Canadian Documents.

10. "Want Hutterites Now in Canada Deported. Great War Veterans Would Go Further Than to Prevent Any More Coming In." Winnipeg Free Press, April 9, 1919.

At the present time I farmabout 1800 acres of land, and my farm is not for sale, and I have a colony of Hutterites on each side of me. They settled there last fall and I wish to say from my personal experience in operating with these people as neighbors I find them quiet, peaceable, law-abiding citizens and good neighbors."[11]

Even the war veterans, who had spear-headed the opposition to Hutterian immigration, modified their stand. When W. C. Angus, secretary of the Manitoba command of the Great War Veterans' Association, visited a colony early in 1919 he was relieved to find that they had no political connections with Germany, and he was impressed with the organization of colony life.[12]

Since Manitoba had had considerable trouble introducing the public school, the press noted with satisfaction that the Hutterians were prepared to accept the public school without a murmur of protest:

The Hutterites, although a German sect, differ from the Mennonites in one important regard. They are not opposed to the school laws of the country in which they live, and while in the United States have never caused trouble such as the Mennonites have occasioned in Manitoba.[13]

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11. "Hutterites Defended" in Winnipeg Free Press, August 12, 1919.

12. "Hutterites Appear Desirable Settlers" in Winnipeg Free Press, August 21, 1919.

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In a few years the public, which had opposed Hutterian immigration, completely reversed its position and now regarded them as very desirable settlers. Such was the case especially in Alberta, which was later to introduce restrictive legislation against the Hutterians. In 1934 a colony in South Dakota wanted to move to Alberta, but was not permitted to do so by recent federal regulations. The years after World War I were marked by a heavy influx of immigrants to Canada, but the Great Depression solidly barred Canada's doors to all new-comers.

As the country plunged deeper into the gloom of the Depression farmers found it increasingly difficult to sell their farms. Merchants, with their store rooms bulging with stock, lacked the cash customers. Municipalities went bankrupt as the unpaid taxes mounted. But there was one group which did not feel the economic pinch as severely as the rest of Western Canada. One reporter wrote: "While hundreds of thousands are destitute and on relief, and Ottawa sees a national emergency in the three prairie provinces, there are some Western farmers, rich in money, land and cattle, to whom debts and relief are unknown."[14] These were

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13. "Hutterites to Migrate Here" in Winnipeg Free Press, December 15, 1922. The report had reference to a group of Hutterians who bought the Mennonite village of Blumengart (Plum Coulee), and turned it into a colony. The Mennonites of the community moved to Mexico.

14. Kells, Edna, "Hutterite Commune", Maclean's Magazine, March 15, 1937.

the Hutterians. They continued to buy land, to patronize business, and to pay taxes. Communities were anxious to have Hutterian colonies in their municipalities.

When the already mentioned Rockport Colony in South Dakota showed an interest in moving to the Raymond district in Alberta but found federal immigration obstacles in the way, Alberta farmers, businessmen and municipal authorities joined in exerting pressure on the provincial and federal governments to admit the Hutterians to Canada. This was in 1934, and the Canadian Prime Minister R. B. Bennett represented an Alberta seat in the House of Commons. He received the following telegram from Joseph Card, an Alberta business man:

> Owing to prevailing conditions due to several years' losses the entry of Rockport Colony would be of great benefit to vendors, their creditors and all other persons concerned in this district. Anything you may do to avoid further delay will be greatly and personally appreciated.[15]

Another telegram, directed to Brigadier-General J.S. Stewart, M.P., read:

> The Board of Directors of Lethbridge Board of Trade are of the opinion that the Department of Immigration should grant the admittance of about one hundred Hutterites

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15. The telegrams and letters in connection with the Rockport Colony that appear here are a few of those contained in the Appendix attached to a "Brief submitted by L.S.Turcotte, Barrister of Lethbridge, Alberta, on behalf of the Hutterian Brethren living in the Province of Alberta to

to settle in the Raymond district. The admittance of these people will mean the disbursement of large sums of money to a great many individuals also to the Sugar City Municipality and Provincial Government. These people have furnished evidence that they will be self-sustaining and able to pay their obligations and taxes promptly.

The local school inspector, Owen Williams, submitted a testimonial that "The leaders of these colonies have always co-operated with the Department of Education in the schools and have invariably supported their teachers." And the mayor of Raymond, W. Meeks, addressed a letter to the provincial premier (J. E. Brownlee) which read in part:

We personally have lived neighbors to a Colony for a number of years and have found them to be good neighbors. They pay their bills and taxes promptly and are honourable in their business dealings.

I have not found any group public sentiment against the entrance and location of this Colony near Raymond. Their entrance will be a decided advantage to the vendors and to their creditors.

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the Committee of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta sitting at the Court House, at Lethbridge, on February 10th, 1947." A reprint of the Brief and the Appendix appears in Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder. 638-649.

This correspondence on behalf of Rockport Colony would appear to indicate that a mutually friendly relationship existed between the Hutterians and their neighbors. It continued to exist in its symbiotic form until the outbreak of World War II.

Hutterian Expansion

Canada was selected by the Hutterians as their new home not only because it offered them exemption from military service but also because of its proximity to their old homes in South Dakota. This made it possible for them to bring to this country household goods and farm equipment. But the move nevertheless entailed a severe drain on their financial resources. Because conditions deteriorated for the Hutterians at an alarming pace after the United States' entry into the war, they made their preparations to emigrate in great haste. The result was that their South Dakota farms were bartered away at depressed prices. At the same time the price of land in Canada was relatively high. Consequently the first Hutterian communities in Alberta and Manitoba were over-crowded. The new colonies were almost immediately confronted with the problem of finding more land for their excess population.

Between 1918 and 1922 the Hutterians established nine colonies in Manitoba and fourteen in Alberta. Partly because additional members arrived from South Dakota, but largely because of natural increase the number of colonies almost

doubled in the next twenty years. Three Alberta colonies established "daughter" colonies in Saskatchewan, and in addition a number of Alberta and Manitoba colonies branched out to the United States. Tables I and II show the number of Hutterian colonies in Canada today.[16]

TABLE I

Hutterian Colony	Population 1956
Saskatchewan	165
Census Division No. 4	
Arlington Municipality	
Bench Colony	91
Tompkins Colony	74
Division No. 15	
Aberdeen Municipality	
Riverview Colony	(47)
Alberta	4,564
Division No. 1	
Forty Mile Municipality	
Hutterian Colony	93
Division No. 2	
Lethbridge Municipality	
Rocky Lake Colony	97
New York Colony	91
Lakeside Colony	131
Hutterian Brethren of Wilson	91

16. Source for Table I: Census of Population Section, Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa. Table II was prepared by the writer. All data was supplied by the Hutterian Brethren. The colony acreage was verified in every case by the respective municipal secretaries.

TABLE I.
(Continued)

Hutterian Colony	Population 1956
Warner County No. 5	
Sunny Site Colony	126
New Rockport Colony	92
Milford Colony	89
O.K. Colony	140
Miami Colony	117
Wolf Creek Colony	102
Elm Spring Colony	116
Division No. 3	
Cardston Municipality	
Crystal Springs Colony	90
Big Bend Colony	118
East Cardston Colony	92
Hutterville Colony	110
Rockport Colony	127
New Elm Spring Colony	78
Old Elm Spring Colony	92
West Raley Colony	78
Stand-Off Colony	82
Riverside Colony	94
Pincher Creek Municipality	
Hutterian Brethren	91
Hutterian Brethren	15
Willow Creek Municipality	
Monarch Colony	16
Thompson Colony	79
Ewelme Colony	87
Hutterian Brethren	113
Division No. 4	
Special Area No. 2	
Handhills Colony	20
Special Area No. 3	
Veteran Colony	77

TABLE I. (Continued)

Hutterian Colony	Population 1956
Division No. 5	
Wheatland Municipality	
Stahlville Colony	133
Sandhills Colony	155
Spring Vale Colony	98
Rosebud Colony	112
Sunshine Ranching Colony	18
Vulcan County No. 2	
New Dale Colony	89
Division No. 6	
Foothills Municipality	
MacMillan Colony	162
C. C. Colony	102
Rocky View Municipality	
Tschetter Colony	82
Fairview Colony	56
Rosebud Colony	74
Division No. 7	
Wainwright Municipality	
Holt Colony	60
Stettler County No. 6	
Hutterite Colony	111
Division No. 8	
Red Deer Municipality	
Pine Hill Colony	130
Ponoka County No. 3	
Ferry Bank Colony	79
Division No. 10	
Camrose Municipality	
Camrose Colony	118
Division No. 13	
Westlock Municipality	
Hutterite Colony	89

TABLE II

Year Settled	Community	Post Office	Municipality	Population 1957	Acreage 1957
1920	Barickman	Headingly	Cartier	119	3,874
1956	Bloomfield	Westbourne	Westbourne	62	4,236
1922	Blumengart	Plum Coulee	Rhineland	106	4,240
1918	Bon Homme	Elie	Portage la Prairie	143	8,274
1954	Crystal Spring	Ste. Agathe	DeSalaberry	94	3,400
1935	Elm River	Newton	Portage la Prairie	101	2,368
1955	Greenwald	Dencross	St. Clements	84	2,505
1918	Huron	Benard	Cartier & Portage la Prairie	117	2,431 1,571
1922	Iberville	Headingly	Cartier	127	3,175
1918	James Valley	Starbuck	Cartier	171	3,232
1946	Lakeside	Headingly	Cartier	126	3,291

TABLE II (Continued)

Year Settled	Community	Post Office	Municipality	Population 1957	Acreage 1957
1918	Maxwell	Headingly	Cartier	123	4,170
1918	Milltown	Benard	Cartier	80	3,340
1944	New Rosedale	Portage la Prairie	Portage la Prairie & S. Norfolk	182	6,404 270
1952	Oak Bluff	Morris	Montcalm and Morris	90	1,120 980
1938	Poplar Point	Poplar Point	Cartier & Portage la Prairie	142	1,089 1,298
1945	Riverdale	Gladstone	Westbourne	132	3,440
1933	Riverside	Arden	Lansdowne	82	3,741
1947	Rock Lake	Gross Isle	Woodlands	118	3,417
1918	Rosedale	Elie	Cartier and Brockenhead	201	3,756 199
1950	Springfield	Anola	Springfield	125	2,698
1956	Spring Valley	Glen Souris	Cornwallis	124	3,020

TABLE II (Continued)

Year Settled	Community	Post Office	Municipality	Population 1957	Acreage 1957
1939/40	Sturgeon Creek	Headingly	Rosser	102	4,050
1942	Sunnyside	Newton	Portage la Prairie	126	3,738
1934	Waldheim	Elie	Cartier	162	3,419
1957	New Colony*	Near Graysville	Dufferin	15	1,760
1957	New Colony#	Near Justice	Elton	-	1,280

* Daughter colony of Waldheim; not formally organized.

\# Daughter colony of Rosedale; not formally organized.

In Manitoba the first colony settled on land bought from Senator Benard, who had extensive land-holdings near Elie.[17] The population of this town as well as the rural municipality of Cartier, in which Elie is located, is preponderantly French-Canadian. Today Cartier, with ten Hutterian communities, has the highest concentration of colonies of all municipalities in the province. The rural municipality of Portage la Prairie is second with five communities. The remaining thirteen colonies are distributed over twelve municipalities.

The average Alberta Bruderhof owns more land but has a smaller population than the average Hutterian community in Manitoba. In Alberta the average colony has an approximate population of one hundred, and farms about 6,000 acres of land. The two largest colonies have around 10,000 acres of land each. The average colony in Manitoba has an approximate population of one hundred and twenty, and owns about 4,000 acres of land. In addition a number of Alberta and five Manitoba colonies lease land, in some instances on Indian Reservations. Investigations in Alberta

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17. Senator Aime Benard (1873-1938) came West in 1893, later he represented successively the constituencies of Assiniboia and Iberville in the provincial legislature. A Conservative, he was appointed to the Senate in 1917. He continued to farm from 4,000 to 5,000 acres and also had a ranch in the Lake Winnipeg area.

and Manitoba revealed that the average acreage per person is much higher for non-Hutterian farmers than it is for Hutterians.[18]

The total Hutterian population for Canada stands at 7,788. It is distributed as follows: Alberta, 4,564; Manitoba, 3,059; and Saskatchewan, 165.[19] There are also 2,028 Hutterians in the United States, chiefly in South Dakota and Montana.[20]

A look at the general picture of the Canadian West for the periods 1931-41 and 1941-51 is necessary because indirectly the Hutterians became scape-goats for conditions for which they were not responsible. During these two decades the pattern of life on the Canadian prairies was seriously disturbed. Firstly it was the drought and the depression of the 1930's that drove many farmers from their land. Secondly farm technology, the introduction of combines and power machinery, literally transformed farm life and threatened the

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18. See: Report to the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba of the Select Special Committee, 1947. (Legislative Library). 20. Also Turcotte's Brief, op.cit., 642.

19. Sources: For Alberta and Saskatchewan, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Census, 1956. For Manitoba, the writer's census for 1957.

20. Mennonite Encyclopedia, Census 1950. II, 862.

very existence of the small farmer.[21] The periods saw an alarming decline of the farm population. The population shift took two forms: a) away from the prairie provinces, and b) away from rural areas (Table III). From 1941 to

Table III

Province	Loss of Population 1931-41	Loss of Population 1941-51	Loss of Rural Population 1941-51
Manitoba	48,000	60,000	15,758
Saskatchewan	158,000	200,000	138,799
Alberta	42,000	7,000	38,270

1951 Ontario gained in population by 305,000 and British Columbia by 231,000.[22]

The Hutterian population for 1950 was distributed as follows: Manitoba, 2,272; Saskatchewan, --; Alberta, 4,200. These figures, together with those under Table III, indicate that there is little substance in the charge that the Hutterians displaced other farmers. The greatest loss in farm population was sustained by Saskatchewan, which had no

21. The same process was operative in the United States. One solution suggested was the co-operative farm which "combined the economic advantages of large-scale operation without at the same time creating a landless proletariat". But the difficulty here lay with "the human factor". See Nelson, Lowry, Rural Sociology (New York, 1948).

22. The Canada Year Book. (Ottawa, 1954). 128.

Hutterian colonies. Beyond that the Hutterian population itself was too small to affect the rural pattern of a province.

The move away from the prairie farm was only one development of the period. Simultaneously rural life became urbanized. The farmer worked shorter hours and had more leisure to spend time and money in town. Commercial entertainment to some extent replaced the traditional community socials and sports events. These factors contributed to the growing overhead cost of farm life. The automobile permitted the farmer to be more selective and very often he bypassed the small hamlet, which had served his needs in the past, to take his business to a larger centre. The inevitable result was that the small towns became smaller and the large towns became larger.

The agricultural editor of The Winnipeg Tribune, Mr. Harry Halliwell, clearly exposed the root of the trouble when he wrote:

> Small towns throughout the west are suffering from the increase in the size of farms, accompanied by a shift of population from farms and small towns to larger towns and cities. (They are also suffering from better cars and roads, which make it easy for people to go to the city to shop.)[23]

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23. Halliwell, Harry, "Farm Men Raise Hutterite Bogey", in Winnipeg Tribune, May 9, 1955.

The whole development, the urbanization of rural life and farm consolidation as a result of new farm technology, was especially marked in Anglo-Saxon communities. A concomitant phenomenon was the departure of many of the young people for the greater monetary rewards and opportunities in larger towns and cities. The result was the "displacement of the less thrifty farmers of British origin by those of other ethnic origins".[24] The influx of new settlers with no ties and loyalties to the old, intimate community accelerated its disorganization.

It is true that the Hutterians, like other ethnic groups, infiltrated the older communities. The small rural community and the small trading centre disintegrated as rapidly in Saskatchewan as in Alberta and Manitoba. But in the latter provinces the frustrated farmers and small town merchants saw in the Hutterian colonies the tangible threat to their old way of life and even to their continued existence. The Hutterians were hardly responsible for the deeper forces at work, but they were "particularly vulnerable to retaliation because of their distinctive way of life and success in maintaining it".[25]

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24. Griffen, Dorothy, "The Hutterites and Civil Liberties" in The Canadian Forum. XXVII, 317 (June, 1947).

25. Ibid.

The outbreak of World War II with its atmosphere of fear and anxiety accentuated and solidified the public sentiment against the Hutterian brethren. Their rapid numerical increase and their concentration in relatively small areas fanned the sentiment into open hostility.[26]

The opposition to Hutterian expansion was local in character but extremely volatile. The Hutterians, although an extremely religio-centric culture group, differ racially little from the large Canadian population stream. Only this saved them from the fate experienced by the Canadian-Japanese of British Columbia during World War II. Professor H. F. Angus touched a basic issue when he wrote:

> Even if we decide that our political ideals require that law-abiding minorities should suffer no discrimination on grounds of race, there remains a further question to be answered: How should society deal with intolerant local minorities which say that they are likely to resort to violence if they are not allowed to exclude from their occupations or their neighborhood a group which they dislike?[27]

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26. The sociologist Moreno maintains "there is a sociometric 'point of saturation' of a specific homogeneous group for a specific other contrasting element under given conditions". See: Moreno, J.L., Who Shall Survive? (New York, 1953). 408.

27. LaViolette, Forrest E., The Canadian Japanese and World War II. (University of Toronto Press, 1948). Preface by H. F. Angus. vii.

In the more erratic political climate of Alberta restrictive legislation was introduced to control the growth and expansion of Hutterian colonies. It is only fair to say that this was not the work of any one political party. In Manitoba the government succeeded in delaying legislation until after the war. The province had a coalition form of government, and this materially contributed to keep the question from becoming a political issue. Under the more ameliorative conditions of peace the Hutterian problem receded into less distorted perspective. The province's two largest daily newspapers, The Winnipeg Free Press and The Winnipeg Tribune, always presented to their readers an impartial and fair report on the Hutterian issue. Both papers opposed restrictive legislation as a violation of basic human rights and freedom.

Legal Restrictions

In 1942 the Alberta legislature passed an Act preventing the sale of land to Hutterians and Enemy Aliens. When the Bill was introduced the Honourable Solon Low, a member of the provincial cabinet, made the following statement to the Legislature as reported in the press:

> The Alberta Government action in proposing legislation to prohibit the sale of land to any enemy aliens and Hutterites was to "allay public feeling which has been aroused to the point of threatened violence in some instances..."
>
> "They are good people generally," he said, "and have contributed in varying degrees to the war effort."

"But the right granted them in agreements with Federal authorities that they need not participate in military activity has caused some criticism and opposition to the colonies in wartime."
He stressed that the new Provincial Act barring sales of land is "not a persecuting measure but one to meet a situation which has developed since the war started."
He said he had heard of "threats of violence" in a few instances in the South."[28]

The following year the Act was amended to include prohibition against leases of land. When the Dominion Government disallowed the Act as it dealt with enemy aliens, a class covered by federal law, the Legislature prohibited land sales and leases to Hutterians only. The Act was to terminate one year after the end of the war, but its life was extended to 1947.

In that year the Alberta legislature set up a committee to study the Hutterian problem. The pressure from a segment of the population and the press was strong. The legal representative of the Hutterians maintained that its real purpose was "to drive the Hutterites out of the province".[29] The charge appeared justified when the legislature gave assent to "The

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28. Edmonton Journal, March 17th, 1942.

29. Turcotte, L.S., Brief on behalf of the Hutterian Brethren, as it appears in Zieglschmid, op. cit., 638-649.

Communal Property Act" on March 31, 1947. The original Bill began:

> "Colony" means a number of persons who hold land or any interest therein whether as owners, lessees or otherwise, and whether in the name of trustees or as a corporation or otherwise as communal property and includes a number of persons who propose to acquire land to be held in such a manner.

It was immediately realized that the legislation could affect monastic orders, the Salvation Army, masonic and fraternal organizations, and it was rectified by the addition:

> And includes Hutterites or Hutterian Brethren and Doukhobors but shall not include any church or other religious organization or congregation.[30]

The Doukhobors were added for good measure as their numbers in Alberta were negligible. The Hutterians felt that the legislation was discriminatory not only in that it specifically barred them from unchecked expansion but it also refused to recognize the Hutterians as a church.

The restrictive clauses prohibit the Hutterian Brethren from purchasing land within forty miles from an existing colony, and new colonies must not exceed 6,400 acres. The legislation also specifies a ninety day waiting period in which land must

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30. "An Act Respecting Lands in the Province Held as Communal Property", reprinted in Zieglschmid, op. cit., 650-653.

be offered for public sale before the Hutterians can buy it.

It had at no time been deliberate Hutterian policy to settle in bloc settlements. Their communities in Alberta and Manitoba are "a hodge-podge of discrete units some clustered, others more widely scattered".[31] Once a Hutterian colony reaches its population optimum it branches out.[32] In selecting the location for a new colony proximity to the parent colony is an important consideration. Generally the older colony lacks the capital reserve to build up the new colony. The new land is cultivated, seeded, and harvested for several years before the building program is completed, and the new colony established as an independent unit. But there are also instances where colonies have branched out many miles away from the mother colony.

The Communal Act did not appease the agitators. They now demanded the forcible dissolution of the Hutterian communities.

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31. The Hutterites and Saskatchewan, 3-4.

32. The Brief (1947) submitted by L.S. Turcotte, Hutterian legal counsel, contains the following passage:

> Take the Sunnyside Colony at Warner for example. This colony has 4,500 acres of land but only 1,700 acres are cultivated. The rest is rough pasture land. This colony has 145 people. In other words between 11 or 12 acres per person....
> Unless the Sunnyside Colony can buy more land they will have to leave the country. If such is the wish of the people of this province then I suggest that the Act shouldsay so. It should say that although we welcomed these people in 1918 and as late as 1934, we, the people of Alberta have changed our minds and we now intend to drive them out of this province.

They had the support of the Alberta press, at least a section of it, and much of the information this source provided was biased and even unauthentic. One editorial maintained that "These peaceful and vigorous farmers were guaranteed observance of their belief that bearing arms is sinful, and were allowed to establish communal colonies in the West. In exchange they forfeited the right to vote."[33] The question also became a political issue in which each party blamed the other party with "saddling Canada" with the Hutterian problem.[34]

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33. "The Hutterites: A Hard Duty Ahead", The Calgary Herald, October 13, 1956. Since the editorial is representative for the attitude of one section of the press (and the public) it is reproduced here in full:

> The government of this province will soon be facing one of the most distasteful and delicate problems in the life of its administration - devising an effective formula for controlling the increase of Hutterite colonies. The job is an unenviable one, but it cannot be sidetracked any longer.
>
> The Hutterite story in Canada begins with an amazingly short-sighted bargain made by our Dominion government. These peaceful and vigorous farmers were guaranteed observance of their belief that bearing arms in sinful, and were allowed to establish communal colonies in the West. In exchange, they forfeited the right to vote.
>
> The government thus created a class of second-rate citizenry, owing nothing to the country except taxes, taking no interest in its political life, and exempt from the primary duty of every citizen of every nation to defend his country in time of peril.
>
> It was an extravagant price to pay for the sake of a few immigrants and a few more carloads of grain for the railways, and now the government must re-examine its position if it intends to serve the interests of the majority which readily accepts all the responsibility citizenship entails.

In Manitoba, an older province with a more acculturated population, the anti-Hutterian agitation took a different form.

Perhaps no one could prophecy the rapid multiplication of these people (they have the highest birth-rate of any ethnological group in the country), but the fact is that colony expansion is approaching the point where vast regions of the West will be occupied by people who have, in effect, established quasi-foreign states whose continuance is assured by yearly tribute in the form of taxes.

The question of their religious beliefs has no place in consideration of this problem, although it will inevitably arise. There is much to be said for their way of life: they are good farmers - perhaps, as a group, the best in Canada; they have praiseworthy Christian qualities of kindness and generosity in boundless measure. No one would willingly tamper with such a society if it were in any way avoidable.

Unfortunately, it is not avoidable. The day is coming when national interests will clash head-on with those of people and national interests must take preference.

The Alberta government already has a law forbidding colonies within forty miles of each other, but the Hutterites have found ways to evade the regulation.

In the end, perhaps it may be necessary to insist that future generations of Hutterites be born full-fledged Canadians, and prohibit any more colonies than are needed for Hutterites now living.

As we said before, it is a miserable task, but it must be done.

34. The fact is that both major political parties, and there were only the two parties at the time, share the responsibility for Hutterian immigration. The Order-in-Council of 1872 exempting conscientious objectors from military service was granted by a Conservative administration. It was validated by the Liberal administration in 1899 (Footnote 7, Chapter II). The Hutterian immigration in 1918 took place when Canada had a Union government.

At no time was there a danger of violence. The province had relatively few larger towns and the influence of the two daily Winnipeg newspapers extended over the entire rural population. In their editorials both of them consistently counselled moderation on the Hutterian question.[35] More than in Alberta the agitation in Manitoba appeared to concentrate in the hands of a few individuals. The whole atmosphere was remarkably free of animosity.

The movement against the "encroachment of the Hutterite colonies", which was later to crystallize into the Community Welfare Association, received momentum from meetings held at Oakville and St. Eustache, two neighboring hamlets.[36] The meetings themselves were sparked by a development in the

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35. The Winnipeg newspapers would sometimes even check the Alberta papers. The following passage, the last two paragraphs of an editorial, has reference to the article reproduced under footnote 33, Chapter II:

> It (The Calgary Herald) also ignores the fact that the Hutterites came to Canada at a time when skilled farmers were desperately needed on the prairies. That was why the federal Government of that time permitted them to come and not, as the Herald foolishly suggests, "for the sake of a few more car-loads of grain for the railway."
>
> Vague and high-sounding talk about "the interests of the majority" fails to hide that what the Herald proposes is that, against their wish, a group of Canadian citizens should be deprived of basic civil rights and freedoms. And all the crocodile tears shed by the Herald will not wash away the evil of that.

"Hark, the Herald", Winnipeg Free Press, October 20, 1956.

36. These two trading centres are not incorporated. The population estimates provided by the Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce were: Oakville, 150; St. Eustache, 260. Oakville lies about fifteen miles east of Portage

provincial legislature. It had been the practice to incorporate new Hutterian colonies by an Act of the Legislature.[37] In 1946, bills to incorporate new colonies were rejected by the Private Bills Committee. The members of this Committee were no doubt sensitive to the political implications of the restrictive legislation in Alberta. Several cabinet ministers and members of the provincial legislature attended the meetings at Oakville and St. Eustache. The upshot was that soon after the meetings the Legislature appointed a Select Special Committee "to obtain information regarding the colonies ... and report and make recommendations upon the same."[38] At least five of the twelve members of this committee had gone on record as critics of the Hutterians.[39]

The briefs demanding restrictive legislation against Hutterian expansion and submitted to this Special Select Committee came largely from farmers and merchants from the

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la Prairie. With the advent of modern transport and improved roads the trade is siphoned in an increasing volume away from neighboring hamlets to steadily growing Portage la Prairie. For miles around farmers use the Portage deep-freeze locker plant, which has completely replaced the old familiar rural "beef-rings". Oakville and St. Eustache both suffered from this re-location of trade.

37. There was (and is) no provision for the legal incorporation of colonies except by Act of the legislature. The Company Act covers joint stock companies only, nor are the legal provisions for co-operatives applicable.

38. "The Hutterite Issue in Manitoba", in The Bulletin of the Manitoba Civil Liberties Association. Winnipeg, Winter, 1947-48.

39. Report to The Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Provincial Library, Winnipeg. 1947. Title page.

area between Headingly and Portage la Prairie. But the response of individuals and groups opposed to legislative intervention was much stronger than that in Alberta. It included among others the Manitoba Civil Liberties Association, the Manitoba Conference of the United Church, Dr. E. N. Howse of Westminster church, Dr. Marcus Bach of the Iowa State University, and the ethnic press.[40] Also one member of the Committee, J. McDowell (Iberville), consistently opposed not only restriction of the colonies, but the investigation itself. It is interesting to note that though Mr. McDowell represented a constituency that has the greatest number of Hutterian colonies in Manitoba, he has in several subsequent elections successfully contested the seat. This despite the fact that the Hutterians themselves do not vote.

The recommendations of the Committee in the field of education are treated in a later chapter. The Committee hesitated to "make any recommendation to the effect that anything be done by legislation or otherwise which will interfere with what may be termed one of the basic fundamental rights of every person - the right to purchase land in Manitoba where and when he pleases".[41] The Committee recommended that the Legislature appoint a Select Special Committee "to give consideration to the question whether or not appropriate

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40. M. Bach is the author of The Dream Gate, (Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1949, pp. 318), a popular novel based on life on a Hutterian colony.

41. Report to The Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba....25.

legislation should be enacted which will establish a procedure whereby" anyone leaving the colony will receive an "equitable share" of the colony's assets.[42] This recommendation provided the frame of reference under which proceedings were conducted the following year.

In 1948 a new committee, appointed by the Legislature, began its public hearings.[43] The main brief against the Hutterian communities was presented by Mr. J. Bend on behalf of the Community Welfare Association. It supported legislation that would award an "equitable share" to departing members. Bend's case was that this would be in the interests of the Hutterians themselves, as it would "assist in assimilating" them. Under existing conditions, he continued, Hutterian children "are destined to be farmers; they have no alternative." He intimated that the proposed legislation would be only the initial step: "It is not broad enough, of course, but one problem at a time."[44]

Mr. E. A. Fletcher, Q.C., the legal counsel for the Hutterian Brethren, presented the main brief on their behalf.

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42. Ibid., 27.

43. See: Meeting of Select Special Committee of Manitoba Legislature on Hutterite Legislation. Provincial Library, Winnipeg, 1948. Mimeograph. 96 pages.

44. Ibid., 6-13.

He explained that communal life was an essential element of the Hutterian faith and doctrine, and that it was "not within the province of the Legislature to restrain or control religious practices." Hutterian assets, he pointed out, consist of farm lands, machinery, equipment, livestock, poultry, and communal dwellings, and their liabilities were in the form of mortgages, doctors' bills. Furthermore, sometimes persons joined a colony bringing in "substantial sums of money or tracts of land which become community property". Under these conditions it would be impossible "to create a formula to establish the individual share of any member". He maintained that churches, clubs, orders, and other organizations have assets "which are the common property of the membership", but individual members do not have any transferable interest in their assets.[45]

An unsolicited brief on behalf of the Hutterians was presented by Mr. Mark Long, a Winnipeg businessman. It was important in that it established the point that the legislation would be discriminatory, or, if rigorously enforced, would affect major bodies in the province. An interchange between Mr. Long and Mr. Ronald Turner, a member of the Committee, pointed to the consequences any legislation of this nature could entail:

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45. Ibid., 26-43.

Mr. Turner: Would you be good enough to briefly set out your reasons why you think specific enactment of a provision to let departing members take assets with them is bad.

Mr. Long: Because it interferes with the tenets of their religion. A friend of mine joined the Sisters of the Holy Name. She put in $100,000, and she takes a vow of communal poverty. If she leaves she takes nothing. I think this is the core of the question.

During the hearings it was recognized by the Hutterians and by their opponents that the limited scope of the proposed legislation contained a threat to the very existence of the colonies. To project it to an absurd but not impossible degree, a group of impoverished families or vagrants could join a colony and after a period leave and demand an equitable share of its assets. Similarly, an irresponsible member could alternately leave and return to the colony, taking with him every time he left an "equitable share" of the assets of the community. It should be stated that though a number of former colony members lived in Winnipeg, not one of them appeared before the Committee to support the recommended legislation.

In 1948 the Committee's original recommendation for positive legislation was moved and defeated on the floor of the Manitoba legislature. Meanwhile there is no provision for legal incorporation of colonies except by Act of the Legislature. Neither the Company Act, which covers joint

stock companies, and the legal provision for co-operatives, is applicable. The first eight colonies in Manitoba were incorporated by Provincial Act. The other colonies are no legal entities; their assets, including land, are held in the names of trustees.

Hutterian Consolidation and Compromise

The Hutterian Brethren are divided into three congregations, the Lehrerleut' and the Dariusleut' of Alberta, and the Schmiedeleut' of Manitoba. Formerly few ties bound these separate groups, and there existed practically no liaison among them. But the restrictive legislation of Alberta and the Manitoba inquiry achieved indirectly a consolidation of the three congregations. In 1950 a unified Association was formed which was incorporated the following year under the name of the "Hutterian Brethren Church".

The recitals of the Constitution contain this passage:

> And Whereas owing to the distances separating the said congregations or communities the said Church, as a cohesive body, has become disorganized.
>
> And Whereas it is deemed advisable to reorganize the said Church,
>
> Now, Therefore, We, the following congregations or communities of Hutterian Brethren, namely....[46]

It then proceeds to list the separate colonies of the three congregations in Alberta and Manitoba.

The study undertaken in Saskatchewan concluded that this formation of a formal church structure "will make it more difficult for single communities to deviate from accustomed social practice to any significant degree," and "that assimilation is being hindered rather than promoted" by outside interference.[47]

In Manitoba the Hutterian question remained dormant for several years, but came up again at a convention of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities in 1954. A resolution was passed asking the government to restrict both the purchase of land by Hutterian colonies and their location. Two reeves spoke against the resolution. One of them objected to its "discriminatory nature", and the other one said that Hutterians bought land from "young chaps who didn't want to work it."[48]

During the following three years considerable anti-Hutterian agitation was kept alive in the same general area as in the 1940's. The chief objections to the Hutterian colonies were that 1) they contributed to the disorgani-

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46. Constitution of the Hutterian Brethren Church and Rules As to Community of Property. (Published by E.A.Fletcher, Q.C., for the Hutterian Brethren. See: Hansard for April, 1951; and Winnipeg Free Press, April 4, 1951.

47. The Hutterites and Saskatchewan. A Study of Inter-group Relations. Conducted by the Saskatchewan Mental Health Association. (Regina, 1953). 27-28.

48. "Municipalities Seek Clamp on Hutterites", Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1954.

zation of existing communities; 2) they took no interest in the welfare of the larger community, its schools and social functions; 3) they did not support local business.[49]

Disturbed by the renewed agitation, the Hutterians in Manitoba sought a modus vivendi. The provincial government acted as the mediator, and the representatives of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities signed a "Gentleman's Agreement" together with the Hutterian Brethren in which the latter virtually complied to all the demands of the municipalities.[50] They promised to limit the landholdings of new colonies to 5,120 acres, and to limit the number of colonies per municipality to two, unless the municipality itself is willing to accept more colonies. The Hutterians also agreed to a clause whereby new colonies will not be closer than ten miles to each other.

Lawrence Smith of Portage la Prairie, an official of the Union, felt that the agreement was a good substitute for legislation: "If everybody lives up to it, the

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49. See: Halliwell, Harry, (Agriculture Editor), "Farm Men Raise Hutterite Bogey". Winnipeg Tribune, May 9, 1955. Also: "Hutterites Under Attack" (Dateline: High Bluff), Winnipeg Free Press, March 7, 1957; "New Shafts Fired at Hutterites" (Dateline: Macdonald). Winnipeg Free Press, March 8, 1957; "Love One Another", letter to the editor, Ben Hofer, Rock Lake Colony, Winnipeg Free Press, April 16, 1957.

50. "Hutterites, Opponents Choose Pact Rather Than Legislation", Winnipeg Tribune, April 29, 1957.

agreement could stand as a permanent solution to the problem."[51] The Winnipeg Free Press thought the pact a "feasible solution to years of controversy",[52] and The Winnipeg Tribune ended its editorial on the subject in this conciliatory note:

> It is to be sincerely hoped that the agreement will put an end to the essentially undemocratic demands which have surrounded the Hutterite question in Manitoba in recent years.[53]

It also stated that the agreement was the best possible evidence that the Hutterians were "peace-loving people and anxious to maintain friendly relations with their fellow men."

A few months after this "Gentleman's Agreement" was signed the Rosedale Colony at Elie negotiated for land in the municipality of Elton, north of Brandon. The Hutterians met all the terms of the agreement: the acreage involved (1280) was well under the stipulated maximum; it was to be the first colony in the municipality; it was many miles away from its nearest neighbor colony. Nevertheless, the municipality asked the government to block the sale. Understandably the government reacted coolly.[54]

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51. Ibid.

52. "Hutterites Agree to Curb Colonies", Free Press, April 27, 1957.

53. Editorial, "Voluntary Hutterite Curb", The Winnipeg Tribune, April 29, 1957.

54. See: Winnipeg Free Press: "Petition Asks Control of Hutterite Expansion" (August 16, 1957); "Government Refuses Bid to Curb Hutterites" (August 19, 1957).

As stated earlier, the restrictive legislation in Alberta and the agitation in Manitoba measurably contributed to the strengthening of the ties within the Hutterian Brotherhood. This was predicted by close observers of Hutterianism. As early as 1924 a Chicago sociologist who had spent much time on the colonies wrote: "Persecution from without, if it does not crush out life entirely, always strengthens the bond among those who have endured it in common, and this has been a great factor in Hutterian experience."[55] Again C. Frank Steele wrote from Alberta, "Some day there may come disintegration from within; certainly pressure from without the colonies will not bring it about."[56]

There is some resentment among Hutterians against the Alberta restrictive legislation, though in keeping with their non-violence principle there is of course no danger of any resistance to it. Many legal minds feel that an appeal to the Supreme Court would declare the Alberta law ulta vires. But the Alberta congregations have even refused to appeal. According to E.A.Fletcher, Q.C., solicitor for the Hutterians in Manitoba, the Manitoba congregation would appeal if restrictive legislation were introduced here.

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55. Clark, Bertha, "The Hutterian Communities" in The Journal of Political Economy. XXXII, 3, 4 (1924). 357-374: 468-486.

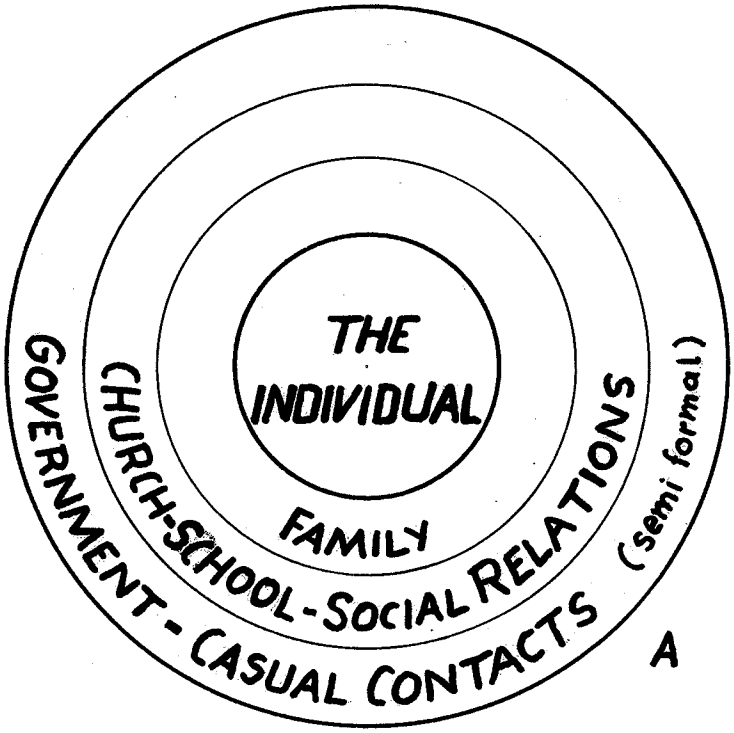
56. C. Frank Steele, "Canada's Hutterite Settlement" in Canadian Geographical Journal. XXII, 6 (June,1941). 314.

Chapter III

THE HUTTERIAN WAY

The analysis of the Hutterian way into classified components such as the church, the colony, the family, is an arbitrary procedure chosen for the purpose of portraying the role of these organizations in terms of the outside society. In a Hutterian colony the community dining room becomes a place of worship as soon as the group congregates to partake of a meal. Every meal is eaten in almost complete silence, for the taking of nourishment is more than just that. It is a service, a silent tribute to the glory of God, the Provider of all.

In individualistic society the individual can be visualized as the centre of a series of concentric circles. The individual is in the middle, the first circle around him denotes his relationship to the family, the second circle represents the school, the next one the church, and so on. The Hutterian's life cannot be similarly illustrated. Instead the entire circle, with the exception of one small arc, is an entity in which the personality of the individual, the place of the family, the school, the church, all are submerged and blended to a degree that most demarcations are blurred or erased. The one clearly defined segment jutting into this circle are the community's formal contacts with the outside world and the public school, an agent of an outside authority.



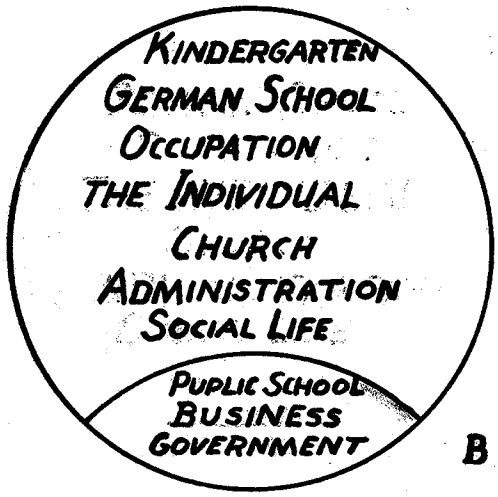


Chart 1. The individual in individualistic society (A), and the individual in Hutterian society (B). In the compact Hutterian society the personality of the individual is submerged in the community.

The physical isolation is only one factor in the Hutterian complex. The outsider is welcome to visit the colony on any occasion and is invited to inspect every facet of colony life. More important than the isolation of the Bruderhof is the state of mind behind it.[1] Once the outsider succeeds in penetrating beyond the area of formal contact he is inescapably caught in the vortex of Hutterian life, religion. One American sociologist wrote that no matter how cleverly you try to avoid the subject it comes up first. It "permeates all Hutterian thought, the one subject in the light of which the Brethren judge of every other. Twentieth century America knows little of that sort of piety which makes the enveloping atmosphere of all Hutterian life."[2] In a more recent survey the authors report: "The people as a whole are religious to an unusual degree, and there is hardly a doubter among all the Hutterites."[3]

It is for this reason that the Hutterians are offended by the Alberta legislation in which the restrictive clauses apply to the Hutterians but "not to churches." To the Hutterians the concepts community and congregation

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1. cf. "The Ghetto mind" in Wirth, Louis, The Ghetto (University of Chicago Press, 1928).

2. Clark, B., op. cit., 363.

3. Kaplan, B. and Plaut, Thomas F.A., Personality in a Communal Society, An Analysis of the Mental Health of the Hutterites. (University of Kansas, 1956). 12.

are synonymous. In the Articles of Association both terms are used interchangibly as the following passage indicates:

> Complete dedication in the work for the aims and objects of the Church is expected from all members thereof. The capital and surplus produce and surplus funds of each individual congregation or community of the Church is to be used by such community for social work to which the Church is constantly dedicated, healing poor, weak and sickly persons who need, ask for and accept this help, especially children, and for the purchase of lands, stock and equipment for the use of such congregation or community in order that the members thereof may maintain themselves and acquire funds for the purpose of carrying out the aims of the Church.[4]

Faith and Doctrine: The Living Church

There is no distinct church organization within the Hutterian commune. The colony is the congregation. Its administrators are the elders of the church. The community dining room or the school is the place of worship.

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4. Constitution of the Hutterian Brethren. 4

In doctrine the Hutterian Church differs basically little from the fundamentalist Protestant bodies.[5] In common with the other Anabaptist groups Hutterians practice adult baptism, non-resistance, and refuse to take oaths.[6] They also observe strict avoidance of the world. Beyond that the Hutterians practice the Guetergemeinschaft (community of goods). This tenet is only partly based on the Scriptural passage: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." (Acts 2:44-45). Rather it is based on the teachings of Jesus and the interpretation of the Gospels as a whole.

The Hutterian aim is to recapture the spirit that animated the early church. There is some evidence that the Apostolic church practiced community of goods, and that in the early centuries popes were compelled to make dogmatic

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5. Sources for this section: Riedemann, Peter, Confession of Faith; Walpot, Peter, True Surrender and Christian Community of Goods (1577); Hofer, Peter, The Hutterian Brethren and Their Beliefs (Published by the Hutterians of Manitoba in 1955); Williams, G.H., op. cit.; Heimann, Franz (Vienna), "The Hutterian Doctrines of Church and Common Life, A Study of Peter Riedemann's Confession of Faith of 1540" in M Q R, XXVI, 1, 2 (January and April, 1952); Friedmann, Robert, "Peter Riedemann on Original Sin and the Way of Salvation" in M Q R, XXVI, 3 (July, 1952) 210-215.

6. This apparently is one reason why the Census Division, Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, includes the Hutterians with the Mennonites.

pronouncements upholding the lawfulness of private property.[7] The Lollard preachers of England, followers of Wyclif, often denounced individual possessions.[8] It is in this tradition that Riedemann asserted: "Community (Gemeinschaft) is naught else than that those who have fellowship have all things in common together, none having aught for himself, but each having all things with the others."[9]

With equal straightforwardness Riedemann repudiated infant baptism: "Children, however, know neither good nor evil. That is alone reason enough for us, had we no other reasons, to reject and put way child baptism."[10] Parenthetically it may be mentioned that Hutterians practice the ritual of baptism by sprinkling (Begiessungstaufe), which takes place in church.

Hutterians, in keeping with their doctrine of avoidance, do not accept public office. They do not even vote at elections. But they respect government authority. Concerning government Riedemann says: "Therefore is one

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7. See: Jarrett, Bede, Social Theories of the Middle Ages 1200-1500. (London, 1926).

8. See: Gairdner, J., Lollardy and the Reformation in England. (London, 1908-11).

9. Riedemann, op. cit., 43.

10. Ibid., 69.

rightly obedient and subject to them, and the more diligent one is therein, the better is it and the more pleasing to God."[11] Taxes should be paid willingly, "but where taxes are demanded for the special purpose of war, massacring and shedding blood, we give nothing."[12]

The charismatic domination of Jacob Huter molded the early Hutterian Brotherhood, but the writings of Peter Riedemann(1506-1556) consolidated it and transmitted its heritage to posterity. Next to the Bible itself the Hutterians to this day accept the writings of Riedemann, of their earliest elders, as their spiritual guide. Furthermore, an intimate knowledge of the books generally found on a Hutterian's book shelf, is necessary in order to understand the social and religious life of the people. Dr. Young in her study of the Molokans found it imperative to trace "the cumulative effects of centuries of economic, religious, social, and political developments."[13] Similarly these factors and developments have to be examined before the Hutterian personality and the Hutterian institutions emerge into focus.

With its roots in the social, cultural, and religious soil of the Mediaeval and Reformation world, the Hutterians' way must be interpreted as a case of arrested development. Modifications in the social and cultural pattern have been permitted, but at

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11. Ibid., 103.

12. Ibid., 110.

13. Young, Pauline V., Scientific Social Surveys and Research. (New York, 1950). 187.

an almost unperceptible pace. Their doctrine itself has remained unadulterated:

Adult Baptism. A careful check by the writer of many church records at the Hutterian communities indicates that candidates for baptism very rarely are under the age of eighteen, and many of them are over the age of twenty-one. A period of probation and instruction precedes the candidate's admission to church membership.

Non-Resistance. During World War I every Hutterian was a conscientious objector, there was not a single defection.[14] In World War II about half a dozen of their young men joined the Canadian armed forces, but the rest of them performed alternative service. Those who joined the army and returned to the colonies were required to do penance before they were accepted for church membership.

Community of Goods. An elected steward (Haushalter, Wirt) is installed in every colony to control the common purse. All things are held in common, and when a member dies any articles of use are re-distributed. The one exception are books, children have the first claim to parental libraries. Hutterian opposition to usury is an extension of the "community of goods" ideal. The colonies have never engaged in the business of lending money. However, inter-colony loans are very common and no interest is

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14. Clark, op. cit., 482.

charged on them. During World War II the Canadian and American governments accommodated the Hutterian Brethren by issuing special war bonds, with the money ear-marked for peaceful projects or for the Red Cross. The Hutterians insisted that these be non-interest bearing bonds.

Avoidance. The life on the colony, segregated from the outside world, is an expression of this tenet of faith. They do not actively proselytize outside the colony. Hutterians sometimes will quote the Scripture verse: "A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." (St. Matthew 5:14).

Though the prevailing atmosphere in a colony is deeply pious at all times, it is anything but sombre and oppressive. Religious ritual itself is informal and elastic. The underlying belief is that God bestows His gifts freely to man. It is man's wickedness and foolishness which refuses to accept and share them. Stadler expressed it in these words:

> Everything should be arranged for the good of the saints of God in the church of the Lord according to time, place, propriety, and opportunity, for one cannot set up a specific instruction for everything. The hearts which are free, willing, unhampered, patient, ready to serve all the children of God, to have everything in common with them, yea, to persevere loyally and constantly in their service, shall remain always in the Lord. Where such hearts of grace exist, everything

is soon ordered in the Lord.[15]

The Bruderhof

The tangible expression of the Hutterian church is not found in edifices of worship. It is found in the commonwealth-congregation known as the Bruderhof, the "Community of Brethren." In many ways the Bruderhof, or colony, resembles a cloister except that it holds both men and women and is self-perpetuating. One-third to one-half of its people are children under fifteen years of age. Generally the colony is somewhat removed from towns and from main traffic arteries. This is deliberately so. The recent re-location of the Trans-Canada route west of Headingly, in Manitoba, will take the highway within a few miles of several Hutterian communities.

The casual passerby is not impressed with the appearance of a Hutterian colony. While the individual farmer will have his house and lawns face the road, the Hutterians, almost symbolically as if to turn their back on the world, have their barns and implement sheds nearest the road. The visitor who turns on a colony drive-way thus makes his first aquaintance with the most functional and usually most unsightly part of colony life.

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15. Stadler, Ulrich, Cherished Instructions on Sin, Excommunication, and the Community of Goods. ca. 1537. Reprinted in Williams, G.H., op. cit., 280.

The community dining hall is the centre of the colony. It has two rows of tables and will seat about eighty to one hundred adults. The men eat at the tables on one side of the room and the women at the tables on the other side. There is a second dining room for children between the ages of six to fifteen. Usually the unit housing the kindergarten is not too far from the dining hall and the youngsters from two and one-half to five years of age take their meals there under the supervision of their teacher and her assistants. Children under two and one-half are under complete care of their mothers and older sisters.

The community dining hall may also serve as a place of worship, if the school is not convenient for this purpose. Since no ritual aids are required, not even pulpits, either place serves equally well. The dining room hall has a tower with a bell. The bell may call the colony congregation together for church service, or call the men at meal-time, or call the women together for work in the garden, or it may send the children to bed at nine o'clock in the evening.

The kitchen adjoins the dining hall. It has the most modern equipment, comparable to that of a large restaurant. All colonies have electrical or gas appliances. Near the kitchen are the baking room with its large ovens and mechanical mixers, and the refrigerated coolers in which great quantities of perishable food supplies are kept. While some colonies have separate laundry houses, others have the laundry unit installed in the basement of the community hall. The laundry will often have an area reserved for bath rooms, which may also have

shower units. These are very popular, and a visitor who spends several days on the colony will be invited to make use of them. Some colonies have central heat.

Each colony is a completely independent and autonomous economic unit, but the pattern of life on the different colonies varies very little. The smooth functioning of Hutterian routine can be attributed at least partly to the instructions for communal life many of which date back to the seventeenth century.[16] For the women these instructions emphasize the importance of cleanliness. The busy colony woman may be tempted by the convenience to do light laundry work in the kitchen, says a regulation of 1651, "but this is not to be tolerated."

The family dwellings are spaced functionally around the community dining hall. The New Rosedale Colony, one of the largest Hutterian communities in Manitoba, has the following units: 2 two-storey buildings housing four families each; 1 three-family dwelling; two duplexes with four families in them; and five single family homes. All units have individual

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16. These instructions are quite flexible and should be regarded as admonitions rather than regulations. The Gemein-Ordnungen from 1651 to 1873 occupy fifty-nine pages (519-565) in Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch. Dr. Robert Friedmann says of them: "In many regards these ordinances suggest the rules and regulations of mediaeval monasteries ... the principle of merit, is however, completely absent.. ... The main tenor of all the Ordnungen is the battle against Eigennutz (selfishness, greed, profit-motive) and the admonition to live up to the requirements of a life in perfect community of goods." See: Mennonite Encyclopedia. II, 454.

entrances for each family, but none have kitchens as all food is prepared in the community kitchen. A Hutterian home has a comfortable living room and the number of bedrooms allotted to a family depends on the size of the family.

Beyond the family dwellings are the numerous buildings housing livestock, poultry, ducks, geese, pigs, and turkeys. There are also implement sheds, granaries, carpenter and blacksmith shops, hatcheries, killing plants, and many other buildings. There are acres of garden plots. Somewhat removed from the colony is the orchard which may have around one hundred bee-hives in one corner. The raising of sheep, formerly an important industry useful for the mutton and especially the wool, has been discontinued in all but one of the colonies. The Hutterians feel that the initial cost of land and the taxes on land are too high to make sheep raising profitable. Wool for spinning is bought in bulk in the city. Sheep have been replaced by turkeys. Almost every colony has large flocks of them.

To the outsider the Hutterian colony itself represents a puzzle. Here from eighty to two hundred people live together harmoniously for a lifetime. Assignments are distributed to occupy them all during all seasons. Numerous enterprises are carried on on a fairly large scale. The buying of land and farm equipment, purchasing the colony supplies, marketing the surplus produce, all these transactions involve hundreds of thousands of dollars. These activities combine into a most

intricate administration problem which the Hutterian Brethren have solved if not entirely to their own satisfaction, at least in a manner which assures not only the survival but the prosperous development of the group.

The Administration of a Colony

The Hutterian administrative system, like the British parliamentary institution, is not regulated by written codes and constitutions but by custom and traditions. It is a system of checks and balances, but not overtly so. The power resides in the adult male members of the Hutterian church of each colony.[17] All important decisions are made by or presented before this body. The administrative superstructure consists of a council of five or six men who are known as Zeugbrueder. The minister, the colony manager, and the farm-foreman are automatically members of the council. Membership in the council is elective and for life. Only a serious offence could bar any one member from the council. This does not mean that the composition of the council is static. Mortality, the election of an assistant minister, the periodic colony split immediately prior to branching out, all affect the council membership and contribute to the influx of new men. Zeugbrueder have no special

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17. The male congregation of each colony functions as an independent unit, and is alone responsible for the course the colony may take.

privileges. They have to work harder and carry greater responsibilities than the other members.[18]

Social status plays practically no role in the life of the colony congregation. It is recognized that the minister, the colony manager, and the farm-foreman concentrate in their hands considerable responsibility. Their prestige is high. Kaplan and Plaut in their survey of the Hutterian collonies were impressed with the absence of "major status differentiations".[19] No position on the colony entails the right to be excluded from manual work. This writer on many unannounced visits to different colonies invariably found the ministers at work, unless age or illness made this difficult. Visiting five colonies one day he found the minister of Riverside Colony changing the bottoms of the cultivator. At Riverdale the minister was spraying the potatoes in the garden. The minister at New Rosedale was mixing feed grain, and at Crystal Spring he was laying bricks. At Milltown Colony the minister was away hauling grain, and the colony manager was engaged in the rather unpleasant task of cleaning the potato cellar.

The foreman of every major enterprise on the colony is also elected by the male congregation. In former years the man in charge of the horses (Pferdemann) filled an important

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18. Dr. Joseph Eaton reports that in an interview a young Hutterian had remarked: "They (the colony leaders) just got to work harder and worry. I hope they never elect me." Eaton, J.W., Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture. (New York, 1943.) 226.

19. Kaplan and Plaut, op. cit., 17.

position, but when the horse became obsolete this post was discarded. Similarly, when a new industry is introduced, like the turkey enterprise, a foreman is installed. The male colony membership also elects the women to their positions of responsibility. Heading the list is the Haushaelterin, also known as the Kuechenfrau, since her major duties are in the kitchen. Her chief assistant is known as the Zuschneiderin, and she helps the former in the purchase and distribution of cloth. The Gartenfrau is in charge of the gardens and the canning for the winter. The kindergarten teacher, who is known as the Kinderweib or Kinderangela, is in charge of children between the ages of two and one-half to five. Finally there is the Hebamme, the midwife, who usually works in close co-operation with the medical doctor of the nearest town.

The Minister. The minister is the spiritual and temporal head of the community and his election is a combination of human selection and Divine choice. The procedure was outlined by the minister of Crystal Spring Colony:

> If we wanted a second minister at the Crystal Spring Colony we would inform our Senior Elder, Peter Hofer of James Valley Colony, and he would notify all the other colonies that we had applied for another minister. He would set the date, usually a Sunday, when the election is to take place. On that day every Hutterian minister in Manitoba, together with one or two brethren from every colony, would come to our community.

Before that our brethren at Crystal Spring will already have nominated two or three candidates out of our midst.

A service is held before the election, and we ask God to guide us in our decision. Then all the brethren of our colony and the visiting brethren file past Peter Hofer and tell him which candidate each one favors. It is a verbal vote which our Senior Elder records.

Then the votes are counted. Those candidates who received less than five votes are eliminated. The brethren then kneel down and pray to our Lord that he should show us through lot which one He would see fit for the position. The names of the candidates are then placed in a hat and the Senior Elder draws one name. This candidate is the new minister.

He is on probation, and may remain so for two, four years, or longer. Then he is ordained. This is done by the laying on of hands by two or three of the senior ministers.[20]

The biographical data collected by the writer on Hutterian ministers indicates that the Crystal Spring Colony minister's

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20. Tape recorded interview at Crystal Spring Colony, Ste. Agathe, Manitoba. August 4th, 1957.

own background is typical, except that he was elected to the position at an earlier age than is customary.[21] He was born at the Blumengart Colony (Plum Coulee) in 1922, joined church at the age of twenty-three, married the following year, and was elected assistant minister at the Sturgeon Creek Colony (Headingly) at the age of twenty-five. He was ordained eight years later. When the Blumengart Colony branched out to Sturgeon Creek he moved, together with his parents, to the new colony. When the latter colony divided he again moved to the new colony. His deceased father was a colony manager, and his mother, a very refined woman, is in charge of the Crystal Spring kindergarten. He became the colony carpenter at a very early age and still spends much of his time at wood work and carpentry.

The final decision of electing the ministers by lot may have its origin at least partly in a practical consideration. It reduces the chances of partisanship within the community before and after the election.[22]

The minister's status is exceptional. He alone is required to take his meals by himself in his own home. This practice is rigidly observed on all Hutterian communities. While the casual outside visitor will be invited to eat in

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21. Hutterian sensitivity to singling out individuals is respected by the writer. For this reason names, as a rule, are not given when personal data is used.

22. Deets, Lee Emerson, The Hutterites; A Study in Social Cohesion. (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939). 63.

the community dining room, the respected guest may be asked to join the minister at the table. The Hutterian ministerial conference has gone on record that it does not favor the occasional practice of bringing better food to the minister. Generally his food is the same as that eaten by the community membership, but as there are quite often one or two sick people on a colony who are served something extra in the form of chicken soup or pudding, some of it will find its way to the minister. This will occur especially if he is an older man. The writer, in discussing this practice with a group of women and in the presence of a minister, was told by one of them that this was just ein kleiner Liebesdienst (a small token of love and devotion), and she did not see why the ministers should object to it.

As a minister grows older, or the colony membership increases and the community prepares for a division, an assistant minister is elected. He generally takes a subordinate role, but again, depending on his ability and personality, he may assume a dominant position. In such instance the inbred respect for age comes into play and he shows due deference to his senior colleague, never proceeding on a course without previous consultation. For his meals the assistant minister goes to the home of the senior minister. At the dinner table in the home of Senior Elder Peter Hofer this writer commented on the absence of the assistant minister. The explanation was that Reverend Hofer was on a medically prescribed diet. He had recently undergone a

prolonged and severe illness. For this reason the colony's two ministers had agreed to take their meals in their own respective homes.

On the whole the Hutterian minister follows the injunction of the ordinance that "a good example by the elder brings forth good followers".[23] He is an understanding leader and has faith in the common sense of the colony members. As a rule he is most unwilling to use coersive measures. Quoting an old German proverb, the minister of New Rosedale Colony said: "After all, the horns provided for the leaders are not there to disperse the herd, but to gather and protect it." (Die Hoerner sind uns nicht gegeben die Herde auseinander zu stossen, sondern sie zu sammeln.)

The importance of the minister's position becomes at once evident when it is realized that before a colony branches out it must have two ministers. One of them must be ready to transfer to the new colony to provide spiritual guidance and supervise the election of officers. Since the minister, before his election to that position, may have been the colony manager or the head of one of the major colony enterprises, he is usually well qualified to give leadership in temporal matters as well.

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23. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 520.

TABLE III

Colony	Names of Ministers	Age at Time of Election	Year Elected	Year Ordained
Barickman	Hofer, David S. Hofer, David D.	37 31	1937 1956	1942 *
Huron	Glanzer, Joseph Waldner, Jacob	29 25	1926 1951	1934 *
Poplar Point	Waldner, Friedrich Waldner, John	40 41	1939 1957	1946 *
Riverside	Hofer, Johannes	35	1949	1957
Crystal Spring	Kleinsasser, Jacob	25	1946	1954
Spring Valley	Waldner, Jacob	36	1956	*
Sturgeon Creek	Kleinsasser, Samuel Mendel, Elias	38 39	1933 1955	1942 *

Table III. A random sampling of the Hutterian communities in Manitoba shows that most of the men elected as ministers are between the ages of 25 to 40 at the time of their election. Two ministers are generally found on large colonies or on colonies where the senior minister has reached an advanced age.

* Elected ministers on probation.

The Colony Manager. Beside the minister is the colony manager who shares the minister's responsibilities. The crude English vernacular "boss" is completely out of context and has no equivalent in Hutterian terminology.[24] He is elected by the community's male congregation without any assistance from the brethren of other colonies. The medium used is the ballot. There are no nominations and there is no canvassing for candidates as this would lead to expressions of "unbrotherly preferences". Every man puts the name of the man he thinks best suited for the position on a slip of paper, and the one getting the largest number of votes is declared elected. As colony manager he cannot show any favoritism. If in any elections of enterprise heads he should voice a preference for any one man the manager could be punished.

Colony managers must lead exemplary lives. The ordinances warn against any concessions or privileges. They must be willing themselves to do the most menial tasks they assign to others.[25] The managers keep the colonies' financial records, but the ordinances instruct them not to spend too much time on their books. Instead they should be in the work-shops and in the kitchen, helping and supervising. The colony manager is to check periodically and carefully the work in every

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24. See Chapter I, footnote 17.

25. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 525.

TABLE IV

Colony	Name of Manager (Wirt)	Age at Time of Election	Year Elected
Barickman	Hofer, Michael S.	54	1955
Crystal Spring	Kleinsasser, Joseph	37	1957
Huron	Waldner, Joseph	48	1949
Poplar Point	Waldner, Jacob	38	1950
Riverdale	Gross, Isaac	40	1955
Spring Valley	Waldner, Michael	33	1946
Sturgeon Creek	Mendel, Paul	38	1955
Waldheim	Waldner, David	37	1935

Table IV. This is a random sampling of the ages of the colony managers at the time of their election to that position.

department, and in the evening he is advised to consult the farm-foreman about work assignments for the following day.[26]

Thus the colony manager leads an arduous life. He is intimately familiar with every facet of colony life. Very often he can be seen early Sunday morning walking through the barns and discussing livestock matters with the Kuhmann ("cattle-boss"). From there he may proceed to the poultry houses, the pig barns, the turkey compound, and by the time church service begins he will have visited a number of the enterprises of the colony.

At meal time the manager eats in the community dining hall after the rest of the colony members have finished eating. He is joined by the farm-foreman and by the chief cook (Kuechenfrau) and sometimes by her assistants as well. This gives the manager an opportunity to check with the farm-foreman what work has to be done and discuss with the cook what supplies are required from town. He may voice some comment on the food. The cook in turn may say that her menu calls for roast duck on Sunday; the manager gives his approval and the "duck-man" is duly informed to keep between thirty-five and forty ducks in readiness. All this is done very informally, as if the community were a large family. The cook may in fact be a close relative by blood or marriage to the manager. In several colonies it is his own wife.

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26. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 536.

The choice of the manager therefore is very important, for while the heads of the enterprises may have competent assistants to share their responsibilities and the counsel of the manager in all matters, the manager himself has no assistant. As the chief carpenter or "cattle-man" grows old, he delegates some of the work and responsibility to his assistant. If the manager's health or age should impair his leadership and affect the welfare of the colony he resigns. Should he be reluctant to resign the kindly pressure from every quarter, the family, the council, and the community, will persuade him to lay down his task and make way for a new manager.

It should be remembered that each colony individual has been conditioned from childhood to put the common good before anything else. This reduces the difficulty of a problem often quite serious in society at large where leaders sometimes insist on retaining their positions long after their maximum usefulness is past. Regardless how much drive and initiative a Hutterian manager may have displayed, when advancing age makes his leadership a liability he usually retires gracefully and relinquishes control to younger hands. However, he retains the status of an "elder statesman" and is frequently consulted by his successor.

Without exception the manager has demonstrated some of his qualifies long before he is called to his position (Table IV). To take a random example, the present manager at James Valley Colony was Pferdemann at an early age. He was

in complete charge of over one hundred horses used by the community at the time. These represented an asset of considerably over $100,000. Later he became the farm-foreman. He is well read and his library contains some excellent books on early Hutterian history, including Loserth's works, which his father brought back from a trip to Vienna before the outbreak of World War II.[27]

Since spiritual and temporal needs go hand in hand, the annual provincial conference of Hutterian leaders is attended by the ministers and the colony managers. Every year the Senior Elder and his assistants select a different colony which functions as host to the conference.

The Farm-Foreman. The farm-foreman is third in rank of the colony administrators. He too is elected by the community's male congregation. The farm-foreman is known as the Weinzierl,[28] and is in charge of agriculture proper and the colony's man-power. He provides liaison between the manager and the various enterprises on the colony. At harvest time he may muster all hands, including the enterprise foremen, to help at least on a part-time basis with the work on the fields. Should the "turkey-man" inform the manager that the turkeys are ready and the market shows a demand, the

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27. Dr. Johann Loserth, of Graz University, Austria, was a leading scholar of early Hutterian history. See: Bibliographical Notes.

28. Weinzierl, German, from Winzer, foreman of the vineyard.

manager consults with the farm-foreman, and he in turn will provide the "turkey-man" with the necessary help to operate the killing plant. Here the farm-foreman, after consultation with the women leaders, would even draw help from the female labor pool. All the leaders themselves, of course, are engaged in the same task as the other members of the community.

The farm-foreman will also assign the older boys to different enterprises. The boys are permitted a choice to some extent. However, it is expected that they spend at last some time in every department in order to familiarize themselves with its operation and routine.

A penetrating observer comments on the administrative aspect of Hutterian life in these words: "The Hutterian system is well calculated to train leaders. The active part that all the male adults of a community take in determining all matters pertaining to community life both develops leadership and brings it to the general notice. The fact that all leaders are unpaid, that they are in no way relieved of manual duties when they take office, and that there are no special privileges for them has greatly helped to keep out corruption and to keep fit leaders in office.[29]

A salient characteristic of the administrative order is its extreme elasticity. One incident may illustrate this flexibility. During the summer of 1957 when this writer spent some weeks at the New Rosedale Colony, the farm-foreman took

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29. Clark, op. cit., 485.

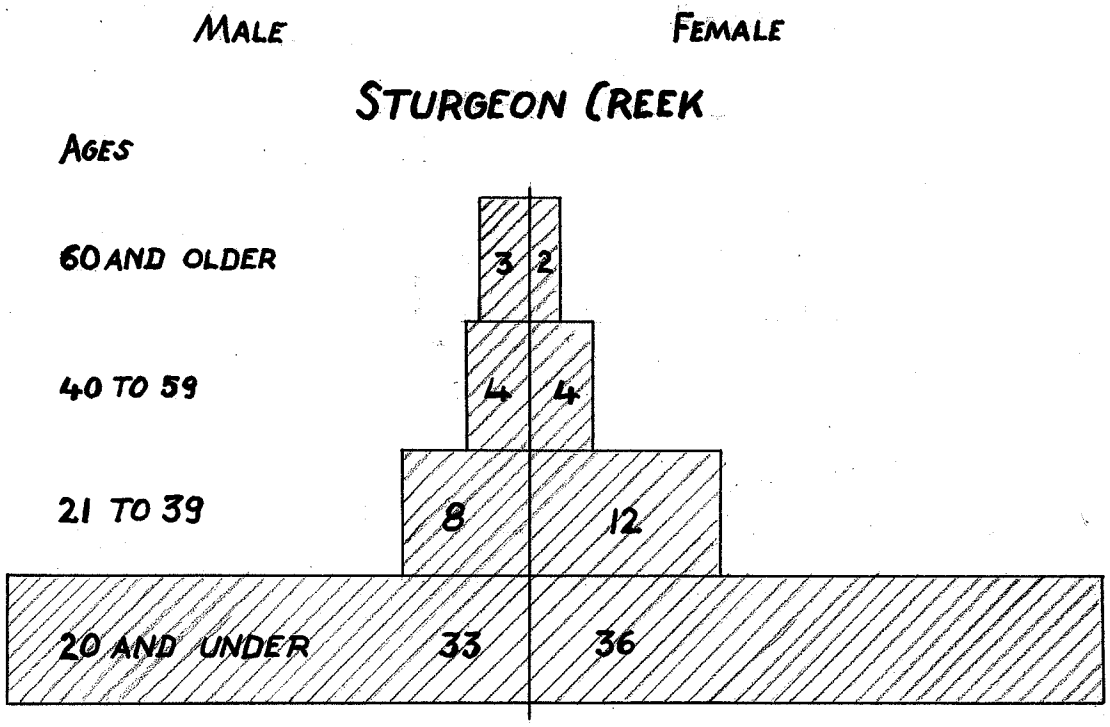
ill and was hospitalized for a considerable period. His duties were immediately absorbed by the colony manager. The minister in turn took over some of the regular duties of the manager. There was no interruption in farm operations.

These three men - the minister, the manager, and the farm-foreman - make up one-half of the community council. Occupationally the other members of the council may be any one from the "poultry-man" to the assistant mechanic.

No single individual has the authority to make decisions affecting the whole colony. If the "hog-man" requires a new truck to haul feed for the pigs he will broach the matter to the manager. If the manager feels that the colony's financial position does not permit the expenditure, he will turn down the request for the time being. If he concurs with the request, and the need is there, he passes it on to the council. Should the council be undecided it may refer the matter to the male congregation. Here decisions are settled by a majority vote. All larger projects are not dealt with by the council but by the members. The erection of a new barn, for example, would require the approval of the male congregation. In very important issues, like the division of the community, the approval of the male congregation must be unanimous.

The Division of a Hutterian Community

A new colony with a population of about ninety will have an adult labor pool, discounting the minors and the aged, of about thirty men and women. (Diagram A). Approximately



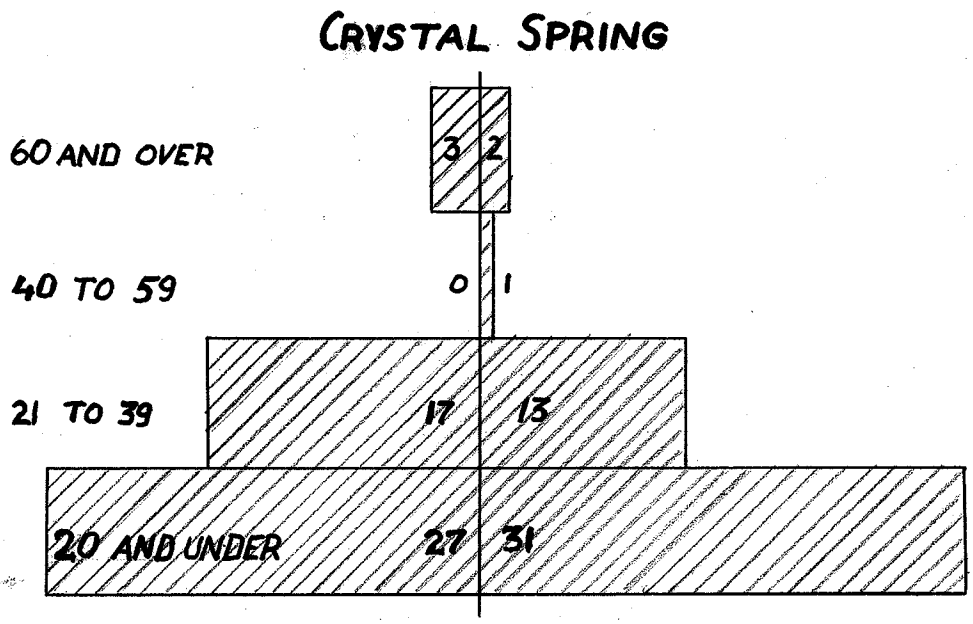


Chart 2. The population pattern for a parent colony (Sturgeon Creek, Headingly) and its branch colony (Crystal Spring, Ste. Agathe), after a colony division. The population is almost equally divided (102 and 94), and the age composition remains constant.

fifteen of them will be male, which means that almost all of them will be in charge of an enterprise. To use the vernacular, practically every Hutterian male is a "boss". As the colony increases in population there are duplications in the various enterprises. The "cattle-man", the "hog-man", the carpenter, and the others down the line get assistants. The greater manpower resources mean that the capital investment must be increased correspondingly. While one man is in charge of 9,000 turkeys at the Crystal Spring Colony (population, 94), three men are in charge of 27,000 birds at the New Rosedale Colony (population, 182).

The larger colony begins to pose administrative and social problems. The intimate relations in the group become more formal. Cliques begin to form, supervisory duties increase, and these weaken the "brotherly" atmosphere of the Bruderhof. For this reason Hutterians do not like to see a colony grow in population much beyond 150. At this stage the men begin to talk about a new colony. The leaders scout for available land, preferably not too far removed from the parent colony. But proximity is only one consideration. The price of land, and its location, also play a role. The setting up of a new colony involves a great financial drain on the parent community. The purchase of the land, followed by a vast building program on the new site, and the investment in additional farm implements strain the colony's economy.

- Bom Homme, 1918 (Elie)
  - Waldheim, 1934 (Elie)
    - New Colony, 1957 (Near Carman)
  - New Colony, 1958 (Near Bon Homme)
- Huron, 1918 (Benard)
  - Poplar Point, 1938 (Poplar Point)
    - Springfield, 1950 (Anola)
- James Valley, 1918 (Starbuck)
  - Riverdale, 1945 (Gladstone)
  - Spring Valley, 1956 (GlenSouris)
- Maxwell, 1918 (Headingly)
  - Barickman, 1920 (Headingly)
    - Greenwald, 1955 (Dencross)
  - Lakeside, 1946 (Headingly)
- Milltown, 1918 (Benard)
  - Blumengart, 1922 (Plum Coulee)
    - Sturgeon Creek, 1939 (Headingly)
      - Crystal Spring, 1954 (Ste. Agathe)
  - Sunnyside, 1942 (Newton)
- Rosedale, 1918 (Elie)
  - Iberville, 1922 (Elie)
    - Riverside, 1933 (Arden)
      - Bloomfield, 1956 (Westbourne)
    - Rock Lake, 1947 (Gross Isle)
  - Elm River, 1935 (Newton)
    - Oak Bluff, 1953 (Morris)
  - New Rosedale, 1944 (Portage la Prairie)
  - New Colony, 1958 (Elton)

Figure B. This is the family tree of the Hutterian colonies in Manitoba. Some of the Manitoba colonies branched out

Figure B. (Continued)

to South Dakota, and one to North Dakota. These are not listed (See: Appendix). Many Hutterian immigrants who came to Manitoba after 1918 arrived at Rosedale Colony, which accounts for its greater number of branch colonies. The average Bruderhof faces the problem of division about once every fifteen to twenty years. About one-half of its population moves to the new location. Again this is no rigid regulation, but depends on the land available at the new location and on the financial resources of the parent colony before the division. The division of the total assets are made on a per capita basis.

Though Manitoba colonies have branched out as far as one hundred miles and more, a nearby location offers tangible advantages. Having bought land in the neighborhood the parent colony can carry on farming operations from the home base with its available manpower and machinery until it is in a financial position to begin with its building program. A new colony is not launched until this building program is well advanced.

The actual division follows no rigid pattern, but the following process may be considered typical. The Riverside Colony at Arden was founded in 1933. Twenty years later the community found it necessary because of its growing population to branch out. In 1953 it bought land near Westbourne, about thirty miles away, which it cultivated for several years jointly with the colony's land at home. By 1956 the building program at the new location had advanced to a stage where the move could be made, and Bloomfield Colony was established.

Before the move was made the two ministers at Riverside Colony prepared two lists, on which appeared the names of all the families in the community. Care would be taken that if two heads of families worked in the same enterprise (e.g., livestock, machine shop), they would appear on different lists to assure the continuity of every industry. Similarly the size of the family would be considered; each list was made up of small and large families. An approximately equal number of young and old couples were included on each list. Once

completed these two lists were submitted to the colony congregation for possible adjustments. If any family felt there was good reason to transfer from one list to the other, it could apply. If the community thought the reason given was valid, it in turn would approve the transfer.[30]

As soon as the congregation was in general agreement, the two lists were placed in a hat and das Los (lot) decided which group was to remain and which one was to leave. Since the two colony ministers were responsible for drawing up the two lists, their names on either list could indicate a preference for one or the other group. To avoid giving any offense the two ministers then drew lots to see which one would remain and which one was to join the new colony. The two ministers at the Riverside Colony were father and son. The draw decided that the senior minister move to Bloomfield, and the younger remain at the old community.

A careful statement of all assets and liabilities was made before the draw. The total assets amounted to $500,000. Since there were slight population differences between the two groups, the assets were divided on a per capita basis. In all such colony divisions the relationship between the new and the parent colony remains very close. This intimate relationship continues until the new colony itself branches out.

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30. Interview with Reverend John Hofer, Riverside Colony, Arden, on July 29, 1957.

The carefully planned divisions of their communities contribute to preserve the vitality of the Hutterian colonies. In individualistic society a disproportionally large number of young people leave the community, and thus upset the age composition of the remaining population. The repetition of this process inevitably affects adversely the stability of the community. This is particularly true in rural Manitoba. A demographic study of Hutterian colonies, however, indicates that the age grouping of new and old colonies remains constant (Diagram A). This directly contributes to the greater social and economic stability enjoyed by the Hutterian communities.

The "Hutterian Way" is thus characterized by:

a) an attempt to preserve the ideal of early Christianity, in which the practice of community of goods is a tangible expression of Christ's message of love;

b) the organization of its congregations in isolated communities in order to avoid contact with the outer world;

c) a democratic internal organization in which the male congregation is in fact the colony administration;

d) a continuous effort to preserve the Gemeinschaft ideal by planned expansion which will keep the individual congregations of each colony relatively small.

Chapter IV

THE HUTTERIAN GEMEINSCHAFT

Sociologists divide social relationships into two basic types. The familistic type is known as the Gemeinschaft, and the contractual type is known as the Gesellschaft.[1] In the contractual type of society the ties that bind the individuals are usually of comparatively short duration, and extend over only a segment of the individual's life circle. In this form of social relationships it is largely public opinion that specifies approved or condemned behavior. Here occupation, position, and family determine the individual's status in society. Individuals and groups rationally and deliberately determine their course, often without too much regard for the welfare of others.

The Gemeinschaft type of social relationships is quite different. Sorokin describes it as follows:

> .... lives are thrown together and organically united into one "we". There is almost nothing of the "it does not concern me", "it is none of my business", "mind your own affairs" attitude. On the contrary, what concerns one party

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1. See: Toennies, Ferdinand, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology. (New York, 1940).

concerns the other: joy and sorrow; failure and success; sickness and recovery; food, clothing, shelter; comfort, mental peace, beliefs, convictions, tastes of one party - all these concern most vitally the other, and meet concurrence, care, approval, aid and sympathy. It is as though they are bound by so short a rope that one party cannot make a step without pulling the other."[2]

In this type of society it is usually religion, and not public opinion, that approves or disapproves of deviant behaviour. And religion is strongly re-enforced by tradition as a controlling agent. A society of this type then is known as a Gemeinschaft, a community by blood, of place, mind, and spirit. In this sense the Hutterian colony functions as an almost unadulterated Gemeinschaft, where the ideals and the needs of the community motivate the individual's action.

One important component of the Hutterian Gemeinschaft is the family. The essential characteristics of the family in individualistic society are listed by Burgess and Locke as: (1) the feeling on the part of all members that they belong pre-eminently to the family group and that all other persons are outsiders; (2) complete integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives; (3) the

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2. Sorokin, Pitirim, Social and Cultural Dynamics. (Boston) (1957.) 445.

assumption that land, money, and other material goods are family property, involving the obligation to support individual members and give assistance when they are in need; (4) willingness of all other members to rally to the support of another member if attacked by outsiders; and (5) concern for the perpetuation of the family as evidenced by helping an adult child in setting beginning and continuing an economic activity in line with family expectations, and in setting up a new household.[3] The functions of the Hutterian family differ somewhat from this outlined pattern, for many of the characteristics of the family are transferred or extended to the community. Thus there is in the Hutterian Gemeinschaft a continuous interaction between the family and the community.

The Family

Hutterian family life is patriarchal, and strictly monogamous. Concerning marriage Riedemann says it "is the union of two, in which one taketh the other to care for and the second submitteth to obey the first".[4] Church regulations do not permit marriages unless both partners are baptized. Since most Hutterians are baptized after the age of nineteen, early marriages are extremely rare. Usually the Hutterian men in

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3. Burgess, E.W., and Locke, H.J., The Family. (New York, 1945). 69.

4. Riedemann, op. cit., 97.

Manitoba marry between the ages of twenty-three to twenty-four, and the women two years younger. An American survey found that "the average age (of Hutterians) at marriage is slightly above that of the United States population".[5]

An inspection of the marriage records of five colonies revealed that though the groom is usually older than his bride, the reverse occurs rather frequently. The following table includes all marriages on the Sunnyside Colony with the exception of one. The girls who left Sunnyside Colony to be married at another colony ranged in ages between 19 to 23, and one was thirty. The exception not included in Table V was the second marriage of a middle-aged widower.

Name of Groom	Age	Name of Bride, Colony	Age
Hofer, David	25	Barbara (Rosedale)	21
Hofer, David	22	Rebecca (Riverside)	22
Hofer, Georg	21	Maria (Sunnyside)	20
Hofer, Joseph	27	Anna (Bon Homme)	37
Hofer, Michael	20	Dorothea (Bon Homme)	22
Kleinsasser, Edward	26	Rebecca (Sunnyside)	20
Kleinsasser, Joseph	22	Susanna (Sunnyside)	22
Kleinsasser, Zack	24	Maria (Waldheim)	18
Waldner, Jacob	21	Katherina (Blumengart)	20
Waldner, Jacob	19	Maria (Sunnyside)	21
Waldner, Joseph	25	Marie (Sunnyside)	22
Waldner, Michael	21	Sara (Maxwell)	21
Wollmann, David	22	Maria (New Rosedale)	19
Wollmann, Michael	19	Barbara (Blumengart)	20

Table V. Fifteen marriages are on record for the Sunnyside Colony, which was established in 1942. Marriages under the age of nineteen are rare. Hutterian society is patrilocal. Ten of the brides came from other colonies, and the same number of brides left Sunnyside Colony to live with their husbands on other colonies. Five men selected their mates from the home colony.

Among the Hutterians forty-five years of age and over 99.4 per cent of the men and 98.7 of the women are or have been married.[6] Unmarried life is almost considered as abnormal.

At one stage of Hutterian history, about 150 years ago, in Russia, marriage partners were matched by the colony elders. This practice, however, was not popular, especially among the young people. When one young girl appealed to Cornies, a Mennonite administrator responsible to the Russian government, the latter advised the Hutterians to discontinue the practice.[7] It was dropped and has not been revived. Parental approval to a marriage is required, and the colony's consent is requested. These are formalities, since both partners are church members in good standing and no valid grounds for objection exists. When one colony woman was asked whether she approved of all the marriages in her family, she shrugged her shoulders and said: "It's really very much like with you people in the outside world. I didn't like to see one of my daughters marry into a particular family, but she had her heart set on the man. What can a mother do in such case?"

A young man may choose his bride from his own community, or from one of the other colonies. (Figure C).

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5. "The North American Hutterites, A Study in Human Multiplication", in Population Bulletin (Washington, D.C.) X, 8 (December, 1954). 98.

6. Ibid., 103.

7. Epp, D.H., Johann Cornies (Echo-Verlag, Rosthern, Saskatchewan). 98.

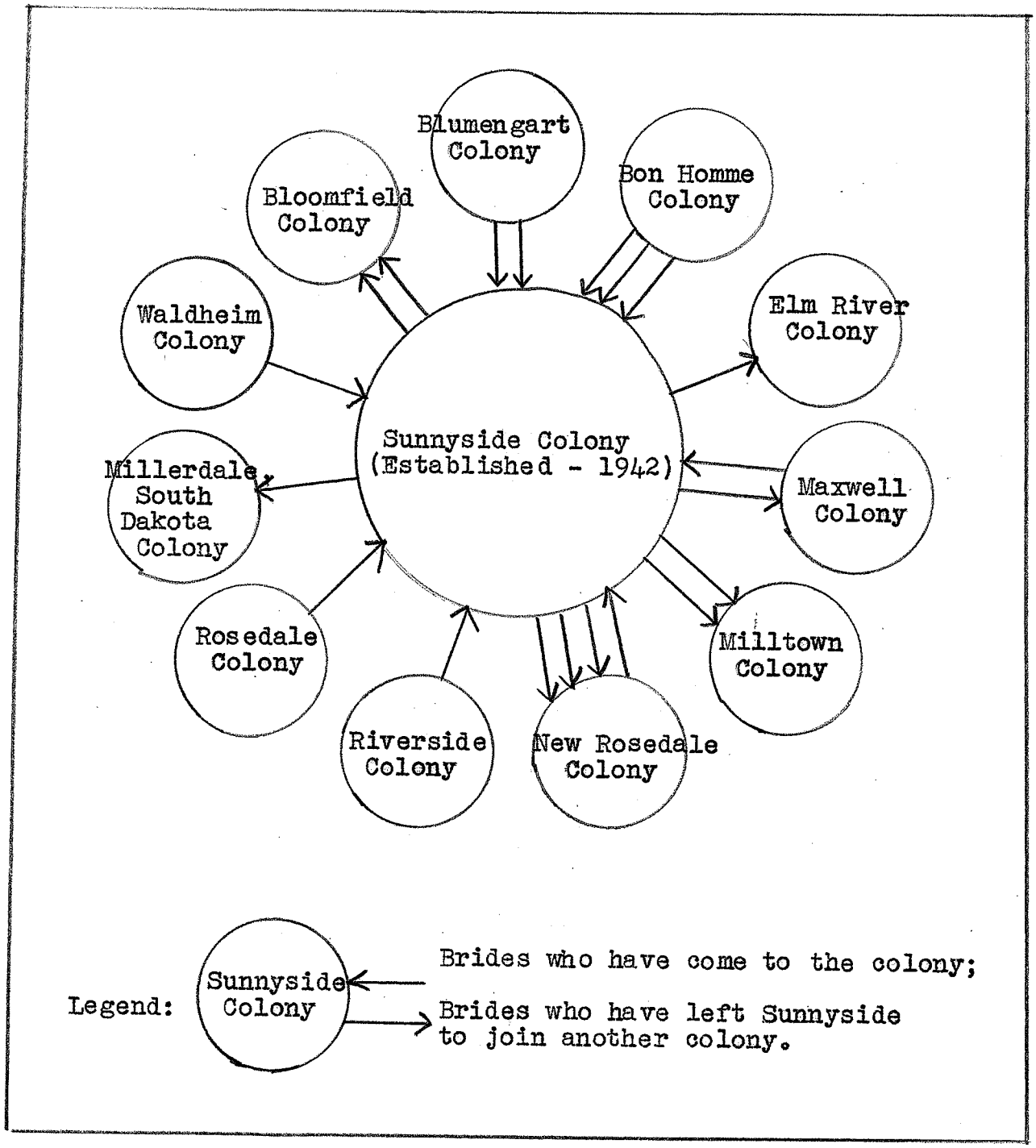

Figure C: This is a record of the marriages on Sunnyside Colony. Ten Hutterian males from the colony selected their mates from other colonies (arrows pointing to the colony). Ten females left the colony as brides of men from other colonies (arrows pointing away from Sunnyside Colony). In addition five males from Sunnyside Colony chose their brides from the home colony. No members have left Sunnyside Colony for the outside world.

Numerous inter-colony visits indirectly serve the purpose of acquainting the young people with each other. It is rare for a Hutterian individual or a couple to visit another colony alone. Usually the man takes the colony's panel truck which is remodelled to serve the purpose of a small bus, and he takes with him as many members of his family and relatives as find room in there. There are also other ways in which young people get to know each other. A young "cat-man" (an operator of a caterpillar Diesel) at the New Rosedale Colony related his courtship:

> I was born at the Rosedale Colony and my wife was born at the Iberville Colony. The two are only three miles apart. She had relatives at Rosedale and was visiting there off and on. That's how I got to know her. Later she moved with her parents to Rock Lake Colony (that is, when Iberville branched out in 1947). We had rented some land out there, and had to go back and forth. So I often called at Rock Lake. I joined church at the age of twenty-one, and got married when I was twenty-five. When Rosedale branched out to New Rosedale in 1944 I moved there together with my parents.[8]

Parallel marriages in which brothers marry sisters, or a brother and sister marry a sister and brother, are very common. A colony teacher illustrated this as follows:

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8. Tape recorded interview at New Rosedale Colony, July 28, 1957.

> My wife came from the James Valley Colony. Since my oldest sister was married to her brother we visited them and they visited us quite frequently. It was almost inevitable that we should get to know each other. Later we married.[9]

Physical attractiveness is not ignored, but it plays a secondary role. The girl who is good at housework or in managing children and the man who shows initiative at his work are respected by the community. They are considered as the most desirable mates. Courtships are generally brief, though prolonged courtships of two and three years are not uncommon. The wedding invariably takes place on the groom's colony. Formerly, when there were fewer colonies in Manitoba, everybody was welcome at the wedding. More recently invitations are confined to the bride's colony, the groom's colony, where the wedding takes place, and the last branch colony of the groom's community. In other words, Hutterian expansion has reduced the primary social contacts between the communities, and a wedding has become almost a family occasion. The preparations for the wedding are entirely in the hands of the groom's community.

The wedding is generally held on a Sunday after the morning service. The ceremony itself differs little from the customary Protestant ritual. The occasion is highlighted by

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9. Ibid.

a special meal consisting of many courses. Wine is served freely. In the afternoon there is much visiting and singing. German and English hymns, interspersed with gospel songs, are very popular with the older group. The younger group which is not yet baptized, and thus has not formally joined church, may slip in the occasional Western song. Most folk songs are labelled Buhlenlieder because their themes are often romantic or illicit love. For this reason they are taboo. During the afternoon and evening refreshments are served. These may consist of ice-cream, apples, oranges, peanuts, beer, wine, and soft drinks. Soft drinks are reserved for children and women who prefer it to stronger stimulants.

The groom will wear his best Sunday clothes. The bride may dress a shade more colorfully than regulations permit. All her clothes are new and of a finer quality than are ordinarily used. Her outer garment is of fine cloth, often blue satin, adorned with the traditional Kleidschuerze (dress-apron). The colony women take great interest in the bride's costume, and often help in its making.

There is no honeymoon. In keeping with Hutterian plain living which bans all jewellery, there is no exchange of rings. The gifts, if any, are home-made articles for use around the house. One standard ritual is the presentation of a Bible and the old Hutterian chronicle to every newly-wed couple. This is done by the minister on behalf of the church.

The bride invariably moves to her husband's community. However, the informal Hutterian approach to exceptional cases

permits a husband to move to his wife's colony on "compassionate" grounds. This happens very rarely. In one instance the bride was the youngest member of the family and found it difficult to be away from her mother. In a more recent case the groom expressed his preference for his wife's colony. He applied for admission and it was granted on condition that his own community release him. When the home community promptly consented to the transfer the other colony rescinded its ruling because it felt the member could not be very useful.

The newly married couple is assigned a separate dwelling unit. If there is a housing shortage in the colony the home may be quite small, consisting of a living room and one bedroom. These have standard furnishings. The living room has in it a sturdy table and chairs, one or two cupboards, and shelves. The bedroom has a bed, a bookshelf, and the chests which the young man and his bride received at the age of fifteen from their respective parents. These contain personal articles and clothing . Without exception the household will also have a sewing machine, which is the wife's dowry from her colony. The conservative Hutterian home will have no wall paper, no mirrors, no pictures, except possibly calendars, and sometimes no curtains. The unit has no kitchen.

As the family grows larger the couple will move into a home with more rooms. The vacated home may be re-assigned to a retired couple or to newly-weds. A typical home of a large family is the single unit dwelling of the "German teacher" at the Gross Isle colony of Rock Lake. The man is also the colony's

shoemaker and has a family of twelve. The second floor of his home has three very large bedrooms and there is a spacious master bedroom downstairs. For visiting or for light lunches the family gathers in the living room.

Very little has ever been written about life on the Hutterian communities in Manitoba, but the Canadian Geographical Journal and Maclean's Magazine have featured the Alberta Hutterians.[10] While the two kinship groups of Alberta differ somewhat from the Manitoba Schmiede-Leut' congregation, the basic pattern is the same. One interesting difference is that the Manitoba group prescribes hooks and eyes as fasteners for men's suits, while most of the Alberta colonies permit the use of the more modern buttons. Marriages between members of the Manitoba and Alberta congregations are very rare, but the mutual relationship is good.

Describing an Alberta household Edna Kells says: "Furnishings of a Hutterite home are simple and most of the furniture is homemade. A bed with a huge feather tick, feather comforter, wool comforter, and a light spread overall, a table, couch, sewing machine, two or three chairs, a cupboard, perhaps a chest, a shelf with a few simple treasures, and a cradle where needed", make up the interior of the home.[11]

Another writer, Edna Staebler, again reported on the

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10. C. Frank Steele, "Canada's Hutterite Settlement" in Canadian Geographical Journal. XXII, 6 (June, 1941). (308-314).

11. Kells, Edna, "Hutterite Commune", in Maclean's Magazine. March 15, 1937.

Alberta group when she wrote:

> ... when a girl is fourteen she is given a chest for clothes, a rolling pin and a spinning wheel. When she's married she gets a sleep bench, a sewing machine, a wall clock, table and chairs and the big books of Hutterite history....
>
> ... The hardwood floor shone like a table top. The furniture around the gleaming white walls was the color of wheat, doweled and dovetailed without the use of a nail; flowers were painted on the big feather bed and the chests. The counterpane and wall mottoes were embroidered in colorful cross-stitch.
>
> The man demonstrated the sleep bench: like a chest with arms and back, the lid lifted up and the front pulled out making room inside for children to sleep on plaid-covered feather-filled bedding. The wife showed me a chest full of lengths of cloth: black satin brocade for Sunday, gabardine for her man's suits, figured flannelette for underwear and little girls' dresses, bright prints for pillow slips, curtains and bonnets, soft silk for neckerchiefs, dark sprigged goods for her vests, skirts and jackets.
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> "The styles haven't changed in four hundred years," the man said. "If a woman's not hard on her clothes she can have an awful great many."[12]

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12. Staebler, Edna, "The Lord Will Take Care of Us" in Maclean's Magazine. March 15, 1952.

In Manitoba there is considerable difference in the appearance of different households as there is also a difference in the appearance of the communities themselves. A female visitor who accompanied the writer to seven colonies wrote this account of one of the most attractive communities:

> The yard was beautifully laid out. There were willow hedges and lovely trees in whose shade newly painted green garden benches, chairs, and tables invited the colony folk to relax. The summer shed behind one house was gaily painted and had a mass of well-trimmed wild cucumber vines climbing up its walls. There were well-kept flower beds everywhere around the walks, and spacious grass plots. Around the houses were tall dahlias and hollyhocks. On the line were some artistically designed patchwork quilts. Two sisters invited us to their mother's home.
>
> The entry to the home was scrupulously clean. The water was in a shiny pail which was set in a gleaming platter of Blue Willow. The door was carefully screened. The windows in the meticulously kept sitting room had dainty white curtains. In the adjoining bedrooms the two double beds had lovely white chenille spreads. Each bed was adorned with a white satin cushion exquisitely hand painted with tube colors. There were beautiful chests for garments and

> linens. Each girl had a footstool covered in needle-point done by the girls themselves, all in gorgeous, harmonizing colors. There were rows and rows of china and porcelain on the shelves. The teapots were decorated by hand in enamel paints. The whole atmosphere in the home was cheerful and happy.

All this was in sharp contrast to the appearance of a household on a neighboring colony which the same visitor described as follows:

> I was rather shocked at the interior of Sara's[13] home which was such a contrast to the other Hutterian homes I had visited. Right in the entry there were stacked numerous dirty dishes in close proximity to a water pail with a rather filmy mug dangling at its edge. The floor of the living room was grimy and dull-looking from careless washings. On the floor under a chiffonnier of a kind stood a very unappetizing basin containing slabs of delicious looking white cake. There were several dirty children around, as well as a number of saucy, unkempt, teen-age girls, who were later chased out of the next bedroom by Sara. Sara was sewing her sons some trousers out of some fine black wool

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13. The name in this account is fictitious.

material. They were Sunday garments. She used an electric sewing machine. Each family at this colony had one. The trousers had no cuffs and were hemmed by machine. Sara told me that the women made their own foundation garments, and that this was a general practice at all the colonies.

While this account depicts two extremes it is fair to say that the second description does not apply to a typical household. The interior of most homes is austere but spotlessly clean.

The Hutterian family relationship is excellent. Dr. Lee Emerson Deets states that there are no family quarrels.[14] This writer on two or three occasions witnessed differences of opinion between man and wife, but these were not expressed in loud or malicious words. The families are very large, averaging nine children.[15] The chronological order of a completed family may be illustrated with a typical Hutterian family, the David Hofers of Bloomfield Colony. The husband is 55 years of age, and the wife, Anna, is 48. The ages of their thirteen children are: Samuel, 27; Jonathan, 25; Anna, 24; Rebecca, 22; Marie 20; Peter, 17; Joseph 15; Darius, 13; John, 12; Michael, 10; Timothy, 7; Sara, 6; and Karl, 3. All children are still unmarried.[16] Perhaps one reason for late marriages

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14. Deets, L.E., The Hutterites; A Study in Social Cohesion. (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939). 2.

15. "The North American Hutterites, a Study in Human Multiplication" in Population Bulletin. X, 8 (December,1954).100.

16. Copy of the church records as of November 25, 1957.

among Hutterians is the happy relationship under the parental roof.

When a number of teachers in public schools assigned the composition topic "What I Would Like to Be When I Grow Up", almost all the Hutterian youngsters indicated in their essays that their ideals were their fathers and mothers and their respective occupations.[17] This parental attachment is carried on through life, and when one of the parents dies the father or mother will usually move into the home of one of the children. Remarriages are rare, especially among the women. One source states that only five per cent of the widowed women marry a second time. The same sources maintain that there is only one divorce on record for the Hutterians of North America.[18]

Death is accepted by the Hutterians as the normal course of nature. It is the transitory stage between this life and life eternal. All believers will be assembled in heaven, but on the day of judgment, as one Elder put it, "God will expect more from a Hutterian because he has been taught to live more closely in the ways of Jesus." To show excessive grief is regarded as a lack of faith in God's ways with man, for "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

At the recent death of a young girl, a group gathered in the home of the parents and prayed and comforted them. Then

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17. The teachers willingly co-operated in this project with the writer.

18. Population Bulletin, X, 8 (December, 1954). 100.

the women prepared the body and put it on ice. The carpenter took the measurements and made a plain coffin. The farm-foreman sent two boys out to the burial plot, which was not far away from the colony, to dig the grave. The funeral, two days later, was simple and dignified. The community and close relatives from other colonies gathered for a two hour service. One hymn of many verses was sung and the theme of the service was :"So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

The care of the Totengarten (cemetery, literally "The Garden of the Dead") is not assigned to anyone in the community. Such is the informal nature of the organization that the colony can usually rely on one of the older women to take charge of it. Generally the cemetery is well-kept, with wooden markers or concrete slabs marking the final resting place. At one colony the Totengarten was a profusion of lilies, and the oval mounds were bordered by white-washed bricks. The farm-foreman explained that there was no particular reason for the shape of the mounds. The teen-age girls, on their own initiative, had assumed the care of the cemetery and "they liked the graves that way."

The tomb stones are made by the women. Again this is not a colony assigned task. A woman who has lost a son, or husband, or father may decide that the place should have a marker. One or two men, usually of the immediate family, will help her with the more strenuous work. At the Crystal Spring Colony the writer was taken by an elderly widow to a small room where

she was working on two tomb stones, one for her husband and the other for her father-in-law. Her sons had made the molds and she had poured the concrete. She was then engaged in painting in the chiselled lettering.

Riverside Colony has a Totengarten, which, with its shrubs and flowers, all surrounded by a high hedge, looks like a little park. Here one concrete slab carries these words:

> I am distressed for thee. Very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful. -- Barbara.[19]

The story behind this paraphrased Scripture passage (2 Samuel, 1:26) was that twenty years ago an accident proved fatal to a Peter Waldner, and his young bride scratched these words into stone. The minister disapproved of them mildly because they showed too much attachment to things temporal. Barbara, employed in the kitchen and known affectionately by the whole colony as Barabäsle, has not remarried.

The average number of families per colony is seventeen. Spring Valley, near Brandon, has nine families. The Elie colony of Rosedale, which has reached its population optimum, has twenty-six. Lakeside Colony, at Headingly, has a typical patronymic pattern: Hofer, 7; Wipf, 5; Wollmann, 2; Gross, 2; Waldner, 1. The patronymic make-up of a colony is not necessarily indicative of its consanguinous composition. Bearers of the same name may have a common ancestor generations back, but be otherwise unrelated.

The old Hutterian patronyms are all represented in Manitoba. The most common surnames are : Waldner, Hofer, Wollmann, Maendel, and Kleinsasser. These are followed by Gross, Wipf, Wurz, Stahl, Glanzer, Tschetter, and Walter. Least common are Dekker, Entz, and Knels. While these fifteen names, found in the United States and Canada, exhaust the old Hutterian patronyms, their frequency in different areas varies.[20] A few new family names are found in Manitoba, the result of the admission of converts. They are represented by one family each: Baer, Dorn (some of the older children have already married into the colony), Georg, Randle, and Suess.

A check of six school registers indicates that the most popular given names are those found in the Bible. The eleven most common names for boys are : Joseph, Jacob, Samuel, John, David, Paul, Andrew, Peter, Michael, Zacharias (Zack), and Joshua, in that order. The eleven most common names for girls are: Susanna, Maria, Katharina, Anna, Sara, Rebecca, Elisabeth, Barbara, Margaret, Rachel, and Dorothea. However, it is not mandatory for parents to select Biblical names for their infants. School registers and church records show that there is, and always has been, a liberal sprinkling of other names.

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19. All inscriptions on tomb stones appear in German. Thisone reads: "Es ist mir Leid um dich. Ich habe grosse Freude und Wonne an dir gehabt." - Barbara."

20. The 1924 study of Dr. Clark (op. cit., 480) includes the name of Janzen. This name died out among the Hutterians in 1927. See: Mennonite Encyclopedia. II, 866.

The Hutterian family unit is patriarchal in form, but it is not authoritarian in practice. Family life is characterized by an intimate companionship in which the husband, the wife, and the children play their designated roles. As one of the main pillars of the Gemeinschaft the Hutterian family appears unusually stable and functional.

The Community - An Extended Family

The Hutterian community in practice assumes the responsibility of a clan, of an extended family. It provides its members with complete economic security from the cradle to the grave. Furthermore, it extends this security to a member's relatives even if they do not belong to the brotherhood. This is clearly outlined in their regulations:

> The members of a congregation or community shall be entitled to and have their husbands, wives and children who are not members thereof, reside with them, and be supported, maintained, instructed and educated by that congregation or community, according to the rules, regulations and requirements of that congregation or community, during the time and so long as they obey, abide by and conform to the rules, regulations, instructions and requirements of that congregation or community.[21]

The solicitous care of the community extends over the

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21. Article 41, Constitution of the Hutterian Brethren Church. See Appendix I.

entire life span of its members. The mother prior to giving birth to a child is excused from all strenuous work. Indeed, she is permitted to set her own schedule. She is attended by the colony mid-wife who usually works in close consultation with the medical doctor in the nearest town. Some colonies in the Elie district have no mid-wife, but use the services of "Doctor" Joseph Gross and his wife of Iberville Colony. After the birth of the child the mother is again excused from all work for a period of four to six weeks. She is treated as a colony patient and gets her food at home. A nurse, a position sometimes assigned to the mid-wife but as a distinct charge, will see that she gets the proper diet.

An older woman usually has daughters who will look after the home and the laundry during her illness. A younger woman may have sisters, her mother, or an aunt who takes care of the household duties. If the patient's original home was some other colony, one of her close relatives may come over for an indefinite period. A colony has a community laundry, but laundry work is a family matter. Each family is allotted a specific time for this purpose.

At one stage in Hutterian history, about two hundred years ago, mothers took their infants to special nurseries, where colony women took care of them. The infant nurseries were introduced partly for practical reasons, and partly to prevent excessive parental attachment.[22] They were discontinued long before the Hutterians came to America.[23] Today, Hutterian

parental control over children is strong. While the influence of playmates is strong, it never supersedes the influence of the home. Hutterians love their children but rarely suffer inhibitions that they may "scar the child's psyche" or create "a feeling of rejection" in the child. Eaton bluntly states that "Permissiveness in child rearing is not a Hutterite virtue; it is regarded as a vice", and then proceeds to quote from Andreas Ehrenpreis' Sendbrief of 1652. Parenthetically it may be added that the Sendbrief is found in almost every Hutterian home. The passage quoted by Eaton reads:

> Just as iron tends to rust and as the soil will nourish weeds, unless it is kept clean by continuous care, so have children of men a strong inclination towards injustices, desires, and lusts; especially when children are together with the children of the world and daily hear and see their bad examples. In consequence they desire nothing but dancing, playing and all sorts of frivolities, till they have such a longing for it, that you cannot stop them any more from growing up in it... Now it has been revealed that many parents are by nature too soft with their children and have not the strength to keep them away from evil. So we have a

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22. This was explained to the writer by an Hutterian elder, and is partly corroborated by the old Chronicle, Die aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brueder. 165.

23. Community nursery schools were revived by the Forest River colony in North Dakota, which this writer visited in the fall of 1957.

> thousand good reasons why we should live separated from the world in a Christian community. How much misery is prevented in this way! For do we not hear it often said: How honest and respectable are these people; but look what godless children they have brought up! ..... Sometimes father and mother have died long ago and nothing is left of their earthly remains, but their bad reputation still lives among the people who complain that they once neglected to discipline their children and brought them up disgracefully.[24]

As the young Hutterian grows up he almost invariably has a strong attachment to his family and loyalty to the colony. Even a break away from the church may not impair his relationship, as one young Hutterian's story indicates:

> I left the Waldheim Colony in 1942. I was eighteen and joined the army. Later I married a non-colony girl and settled down in Winnipeg. When our first child was born my wife took a long time to get well. But my mother took Joey, he was one of those incubator babies, to the colony and took care of him. I have three children now. We visit the colony about three or four times a year, sometimes at Christmas. And they come to visit us too.[25]

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24. Eaton, Joseph W., and Weil, Robert J., Culture and Mental Disorders. (Glencoe, Illinois, 1955). 126-127. Ehrenpreis' Ein Sendbrief was reprinted in German for the Hutterian Brethren in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1920.

Up to the age of two and one-half the Hutterian children remain at home, spending much of their time playing outside. Usually their mothers or older sisters take care of them and bring their food to the house. The "baby-minders" are a very common sight on the colony. When visitors arrive these girls usually volunteer to act as guides. Newspaper woman Edna Staebler found them most communicative, and gave this description of them: "Dressed like the grown-ups in long skirts and plaid aprons, their hair severely drawn under tight bonnets and white-dotted black kerchiefs, the baby-minders looked as if they were playing mother.[26]

The next three years are spent at Kindergarten, where qualified women and their assistants are in charge. The children have their meals there, and, like their elders, the long rows of little men and women recite a long prayer before and after each meal.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is gradual. Reporting on Hutterian teen-agers Clark wrote: "They are extremely acute observers, are independent in the conclusions they arrive at, and are fluent and sensible in conversation, discussing matters with the sobriety and earnestness of adults."[27] Young people shoulder much of the work, but the older men and women assume the responsibility and provide the guidance.

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25. Tape recorded interview with S.K., Winnipeg, September, 1957.

26. Staebler, op. cit.

27. Clark, op. cit., 374.

One elder pointed out to the writer that Christ was thirty years of age before he began his life's important task, and that young people should not be "pushed" into responsible positions too early. Sie muessen reifen wie die Frucht am Baum. (They have to mature like the fruit on a tree.)

The extended family, i.e., the colony, assumes all financial responsibilities, and the parents are free to enjoy their familial bliss. Their state is in every sense Utopian: "For what can be more rich than to live joyfully and tranquilly without any worry, not fearful for his own livelihood, nor vexed and troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, not dreading poverty to his sons, nor anxious about his daughters' dowry? But instead to be secure about the livelihood and happiness of their wives, children, grandchildren, and their posterity which they handsomely assume will be a long time."[28]

Perhaps the greatest privileges on the colony are enjoyed by its senior citizens. The amount of work they do is left entirely to them, yet most of them easily earn their keep. The writer repeatedly encountered men seventy-five years and over at some useful occupation. At New Rosedale Colony the oldest man of the community spent several hours every day candling and crating eggs at the poultry house. There was no compulsion; he left his work whenever he felt the urge to leave. At one of the colonies near Headingly a man well over eighty had

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28. Hexter, More's Utopia. (Princeton, 1952). 61.

a comfortable chair in the carpenter's shop. He had been the community's head carpenter before his retirement, and the position was now held by his son. But the old man was still repairing furniture, including some chairs brought in by a neighboring farmer. Similarly the older women find work in the kitchen, or knit, mend, and sew for their grandchildren.

A visit to an old widower who occupied one spacious room in his son's house revealed the usual household furnishings: table, chairs, bed, cupboard, shelves, and wash stand. The guest and host had barely sat down when the grand-daughter came with fresh water and towels, and made herself available to run errands. The cupboard held some fruit and a bottle of home-made wine. As the old man set the heavy tumblers on the table and poured the wine he said: "Sometimes when I am by myself I think of the old people in the world. They spend their time in loneliness in old folks' homes and in poor-houses, away from their children and from their work. Then I am thankful that I live in a colony."[29]

It is the policy of the Hutterian communities in Manitoba not to accept state aid in any form. This includes family allowance, mother's allowance, municipal aid, hospitalization, and old age pension. This stand is motivated primarily by a firm conviction that these are the most elementary obligations of a Christian brotherhood. The policy may also be partly motivated by a feeling that since

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29. Stated to the writer in an interview.

Hutterians are conscientious objectors they should compensate the state in some tangible manner.

Leisure and Recreation

Communal life provides considerable leisure for its members. "I work a lot harder here than I ever did on the colony," said Joseph Kleinsasser of Winnipeg, one of those who have left the colony. The most common form of recreation enjoyed by young and old is visiting. At the end of a day's work the people visit each other at the colony. Since doors are never locked, and the practice of knocking is not observed, visitors walk in and out as if they were at home.

Usually inter-colony visits take place on Sundays. The bus-like panel truck may take its passengers to any colony in Manitoba. Several families may go for an extended trip to South Dakota or Alberta. The mothers of small children, knowing that these are in good hands at the colony, do not hesitate to leave them at home. These "vacation trips" may last up to three weeks.

When visiting another colony the men sit in groups and talk "shop". Their long discussions are interrupted by walks to the new "milking parlor", which is critically inspected, or to the hog barns, where the "hog-boss" may have experimented with a new insecticide. Information is exchanged on feeding practices, use of new machines and techniques, marketing of livestock, and on a host of other subjects. The Hutterians have retained one characteristic of the Southern Germans; they are good conversationalists. The women will be similarly

occupied. Everywhere there is a good measure of joking and teasing. Each colony has daily evening service shortly before six O'clock. It is a short service, lasting about half an hour. Hosts and guests jointly attend the service and then have their supper in the community dining hall.

Reading is a popular pastime. Hutterians have no periodicals or newspapers of their own. They subscribe to a few German Mennonite newspapers, and these are passed from household to household, indeed sometimes from colony to colony. Of these the Mennonitische Rundschau, published in Winnipeg, is the most popular. Most colonies in Manitoba have either the Winnipeg Free Press or the Winnipeg Tribune. Some colonies subscribe to them, others buy these daily papers in Winnipeg and bring them home. The Prairie Farmer and the local town paper are found at many of the communities.[30] In isolated cases one may find Reader's Digest, Time, or Newsweek. The various enterprise heads subscribe to poultry, hog, cattle, and farm reviews and magazines. Occasionally a Hutterian may purchase a book in Winnipeg, or go to Altona for German books. Many adults make extensive use of the public school library. The books written by the Hutterian elders, the old chronicles, and the Bible are of course in constant use.

Cameras, television, radios, musical instruments, and dancing are not permitted. The taking of pictures is regarded as a sign of vanity. The ban on radios and television sets

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30. The Red River Echo, Altona, sometimes carries reports from the Blumengart Colony. A typical item: Mrs. John Hofer of the colony reports flu cases at Blumengart as

was explained by Jacob Maendel, the minister of New Rosedale Colony: "As soon as you permit them you are no longer master of your own home. You invite alien and un-Christian influences into your living room."

Boys and girls have few recreational outlets; they may meet at one of the homes and sing. Girls especially have a large repertoire of religious songs. Boys still not baptized may compromise their conscience and sing Western songs to the accompaniment of a mouth organ. Some may even have a radio hidden in their room. These are exceptions, however. A number of public school teachers and several young men who had left the colony, when interviewed, maintained that baptized members rarely violated colony regulations.

Though the recreational outlets are few, the atmosphere on a Hutterian colony has little in common with the stern austerity we associate with the Puritan Commonwealth. A closer analogy in many ways would be the simple life and pleasures of Thomas Hardy's heath dwellers. The writer even saw a re-enactment of the haircutting scene. It was a beautiful mid-summer Sunday morning. All week the men had worked on the fields. The junior minister had left on a trip, and the senior minister suddenly took ill. Since Hutterians do not readily delegate to unordained men the right to read the

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being very mild. Mr. Hofer, however, is suffering from head injuries received while he was sawing wood." (November 27, 1957.)

sermon, there was no church service on the colony. Instead there was a tonsorial harvest. In about one third of the households, men and boys gathered and had their hair cut. One young Hutterian commented critically, "About one out of every three men is a barber, but some don't make a good job, and that's for sure."

The Hutterian family is a distinct institution, but the communal meals, where the men and women eat at separate tables and the children in a separate dining room, are indicative to what extent family functions are transferred to the community. Children address all adults by the German equivalents of "Cousin", Vetter and Base. Every Hutterian child in Manitoba knows that der Petervetter of James Valley is none other than Senior Elder Peter Hofer. This intimate familial relationship within the entire Hutterian kinship group in Manitoba is characteristic of a genuine Gemeinschaft.[31]

The main cohesive fabric of the Hutterian Gemeinschaft is, and has been since its inception, religion. The family, the community, and the totalistic pattern of Hutterian life which encompasses all the individual's activities, are the expression of the group's faith. The colony is a

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31. A certain colony status was attained by this writer when at some colonies Hutterians began to refer to him as der Petersvetter. The use of the surname in this case indicated a subtle distinction between an accepted outsider and a regular colony member.

"community of believers", in the world but not of the world. It is a Gemeinschaft of love and order, an expression of God's purpose with man.

Chapter V

THE COMMUNAL ECONOMY

A stable rural setting is one source of strength of tightly-knit, cohesive groups, or clans. The Old World rural communities were entities. Each village was a social and economic unit in which "there were no loose, disorderly ends".[1] On the other hand urbanism and commercial industrialism contribute to the disintegration of the solidarity of clans.[2] In a sense the Hutterian colonies are a throw-back of the rural communities of the Old World. Moreover, the isolation of these colonies re-enforces the group's tenet of faith of "avoidance" of the world. Furthermore, agriculture provides a diversified enterprise that permits a high degree of self-sufficiency and social and economic independence. In this setting Hutterian communal life retains a pattern which contrasts fundamentally with the pattern of society that surrounds it. Perhaps the closest parallel to Hutterian society in Canada are the rural parishes of Quebec.[3]

Agriculture As a Way of Life

Thus agriculture to the Hutterians is more than an occupation; it is a way of life sanctioned by religion. This

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1. Handlin, Oscar, The Uprooted. (Boston, 1952). 9-12.
2. Kingsley, Davis, Human Society. (New York, 1949)(. 409).
3. cf. Miner, Horace, St. Denis, A French Canadian Parish. (Chicago, 1939).

way of life has little in common with commercial farming, in which work is regarded as a means to an end, which is money or profit and what they can buy. To the Hutterians work itself is an ingredient of life. Adam worked in the garden of Eden. The curse of his fall, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat breat", was not the introduction of toil, but the introduction of greed and its destructive consequences. These concepts of work and sin have strong early mediaeval antecedents.[4] "Dig and sow", was the advice of the old Abbot of Luan, "that you may have wherewith to eat and drink and be clothed, for where sufficiency is, there is stability, and where stability is, there is religion."

In retracing the steps of preceding generations the Hutterians are not consciously preserving a rural heritage. Their way is not characterized by sterile formalism and slavish reverence for the past. To them farming and life in the community is the Christian's challenge to man's greed. The Hutterians are dedicated to rural life. Each generation is indoctrinated in the belief that this way of life, when faithfully pursued, is pleasing in the eyes of God. They have no alternative. "Agriculture", says Giffen, "is fundamental to the Hutterian way of life: to deprive them of the right to buy land would eventually force them to migrate."[6]

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4. Jarrett, Bede, Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200-1500. (London, 1926). 122.

5. Quoted by Waddell, Helen, in The Wandering Scholars. (Penguin Books). 182.

6. Giffen, Dorothy, "The Hutterites and Civil Liberties" in The Canadian Forum. XXVII, 37 (June, 1947).

Throughout its 400 year history the Hutterians have never deviated from the injunctions of their sixteenth century leader, Peter Riedemann. They are regarded as the core of the Hutterian faith in practice. Riedemann wrote:

> We allow none of our number to do the work of a merchant or trader, since this is sinful business; as the wise man saith, "It is almost impossible for a merchant and trader to keep himself from sin. And as a nail sticketh fast between door and hinge; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling." Therefore do we allow no one to buy to sell again, as merchants and traders do. But to buy what is necessary for the needs of one's house or craft, to use it and then to sell what one by means of his craft hath made therefrom, we consider to be right and not wrong.
>
> This only we regard as wrong: when one buyeth ware and selleth the same again even as he bought it, taking to himself profit, making the ware dearer thereby for the poor, taking bread from their very mouths and thus making the poor man nothing but the bondman of the rich. Paul saith likewise, "Let him who defrauded, defraud no more..."
>
> Neither do we allow any of our number to be a public innkeeper serving wine or beer, since this goeth with all that is unchaste, ungodly and decadent, and drunken and good-for-nothing fellows gather there

> together to carry out their headstrong wills. This they must permit, and listen to their blasphemy. For this reason we believe not that it is something that one who feareth God may do; namely, for the sake of money to listen to such blasphemy, allow it, and make themselves partakers of their sins...
>
> But this we do, and regard it as doing right: if one cometh over the pasture land and can go no farther, and cometh upon one of our brothers, he receiveth him and lodgeth him, serveth him and doeth him all the good he can; but not for money, but freely, for nothing. For we find that thus also did the saints, and that they were given to hospitality.[7]

Thus barred from other occupations, the Hutterians confined their pursuit to farming. Moreover, agriculture enables them to make use of their manpower. In modern society the role of breadwinner usually goes to the male. When he cannot meet the family needs the wife may assist him by taking employment, thereby weakening familial ties. In such a society the children and the aged become an economic liability. To an increasing degree this applies to agriculture.[8] The urbanization of farm life has advanced to a stage where the farmer

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7. Riedemann, op. cit., 126-128.

8. cf. Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, Reports 1-12 (Government of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1955).

gets not only his canned goods but also his milk, butter, and meat from the city. To this the self-sufficient economy of the Hutterian community provides a sharp contrast. Furthermore, the practice of division of labour assigns to men the more arduous work, but the women, the children, and the aged are valuable economic assets.

The Farm Commune

The productivity of any farm economy is determined by three factors: labour, capital, and land. The Hutterian communities have a fair supply of labour, and reasonable assets and cash income. They lack sufficient land. It is difficult to buy large parcels of land. The expansion of Waldheim Colony may be regarded as typical. The colony began with fourteen families and 1200 acres of land. In subsequent years it bought 240 acres in 1936, 320 acres in 1937, 240 acres in 1940, 560 acres in 1942, and 240 acres in 1943. It is evident that as the population of a colony increases and its acreage remains constant or does not increase corresponding to the population, the law of diminishing returns becomes operative. This forces the colony to intensify its program of farm diversification.

The average total acreage per family in Manitoba stands at 450. The per family acreage in the most intensive farming area in the province, the Altona district, is 288.[9] The

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9. 1956 Annual Report, Manitoba Farm Accounting Clubs. (University of Manitoba, October, 1957). Table III.

Hutterians own 240 acres per family. Since their families are very large the per capita acreage is small, less than 35.

A number of factors combine to make it extremely difficult to present a clear composite picture of the economic status of the Hutterian communities on a comparative basis with individual farm enterprises.[10] No two colonies are alike. Some colonies farm on sandy, marginal land in eastern Manitoba, others, west of Elie, have land in the best farming area of the province. Some colonies again have considerable assets, extending interest-free loans to other colonies. Generally the credit of the Hutterian communities is better than that of individual operators. Loan companies realize that their stability is much greater than that of individual farmers where a sudden death or illness may threaten the continued operation of the farm.

As intimated the Hutterians practice self-sufficiency to a much greater degree than Manitoba farmers generally. The colony garden supplies the vegetables, the home economy supplies most of the meat, milk, butter, eggs, honey, and often even fruit. At some colonies the women have trouble

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10. The staff of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Manitoba was most co-operative in supplying comparative data for this purpose. Interviews with numerous staff members assisted in giving the writer an overall picture of farm conditions in the province. Representatives of industries dealing with Hutterians also gave freely of their time, especially Mr. Norval Young of Feed-Right Mills. The Hutterian communities were equally co-operative. Through their solicitor, Mr. E.A. Fletcher, Q.C., this writer was given unreserved access to all colony records and financial files.

getting tin cans to serve as flower pots, a problem most housewives in the province do not have. The colony with the largest per capita meat and grocery expense spent in 1956 only $7,963.96 on these two items, plus $874,84 for meals eaten in restaurants and hotels. Since the women sew almost all the clothes worn by the colony people, the same colony spent only $2,999.75 on dry goods, shoes, and leather. The community has a population of 118.

Modern farm technology favors the larger farm unit.[11] The number of family farms on the prairie provinces has declined at an alarming pace.[12] Thus the Hutterians with their consolidated land holdings are in an advantageous position. Most people who have had intimate contact with the Hutterian communities maintain that their farm management is sound. The men in charge of the various enterprises generally show initiative and a readiness to experiment.

A staff member of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Manitoba on a visit to the United States observed that an increasing number of mid-West farmers grew canary seeds. He returned to Manitoba and decided that the province had the necessary climatic conditions and the market to make canary seed growing possible. Before he could recommend the introduction of the new crop he found that the Blumengart Colony at Plum Coulee already had fifty acres of this crop. At

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11. See: Mechanization and Farm Cost, Report 2. Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. (Regina, 1955).

12. "Exodus From the Farm", Editorial Page, Winnipeg Free Press, November 23, 1957.

seven cents a pound and 35 to 50 pounds seeded to the acre, this was an experiment on a scale which the small individual farmer could not hazard.

A representative of a commercial feed company stated that it was not unusual for a colony "cattle-man" or "hog-boss" to order an insecticide still in its experimental stages. A newspaper item was sufficient for the Hutterian to order the product and conduct his own experiments. Needless to say, laboratories disapprove of this method as wasteful.

Farm enterprises vary in size from colony to colony. The average community may have eighty brood sows, producing up to three litters in fourteen months. A representative of a feed firm maintained that the hog industry was managed on the most scientific lines and that hog production was high. Some communities keep as few as 45 cows, others as many as 200. In addition there are steers and heifers for the market. All colonies have discarded the horse. Only a few horses are kept for winter travel. The rising price of land has also enforced the discontinuation of the sheep-raising industry as uneconomical.

Great attention is given to poultry raising. Most colonies have flocks from 4500 to 6000 birds, some have very modern poultry houses with roll-out nests. Sunnyside Colony, at Newton Siding, was awarded second prize for Manitoba for its eggs at the 1957 Toronto Canadian National Exhibition. The colonies also keep ducks and geese. One of the larger colonies had an income of $16,391.32 from its ducks and geese,

and in addition sold $4320 worth of feathers. Hutterians are very fond of fowl, and a great number of them are consumed at the colony.

To illustrate the management of an enterprise the turkey industry may serve as an example. All colonies have introduced it. In the summer of 1957 this writer visited the turkey compounds at the Crystal Spring Colony near Ste. Agathe, which had 9000 birds; the Rosedale Colony near Elie, with 15,000 birds; and the New Rosedale Colony south of Portage la Prairie, which had 27,000 birds.

The turkeys at the New Rosedale Colony were distributed in three compounds. Fred Maendel, the turkey-foreman, prefers to import turkey eggs from California. "They have a longer green season out there, and the result is that the fertility of their eggs is about 50 per cent higher than ours, " he explained. "We have all the eggs shipped by air. Even at this, if the refrigeration is not carefully maintained the eggs will be spoiled. Transportation," continued Maendel, "decreases fertility by about 20 per cent. However, that still makes the California eggs superior to the eggs produced in Canada, especially since they are inoculated against more diseases." The colony paid 34 cents per egg, plus duty.

The birds are scientifically fed on a protein pellet diet. Many colonies have their own viscerating plants, and the birds are prepared for the market. A community killing plant, operating in an assembly line manner with the

suspended carcasses moving from rails, has an output of about 1000 dressed birds. It employs colony men and women who are heartily pleased when the killing season terminates. The New Rosedale Colony holds membership in the Turkey Breeders' Association to which it contributes on a pro rata basis. The gross income from the turkey enterprise alone at this colony amounted to several hundred thousand dollars.

To the major community enterprises must be added a host of other activities that either effect a saving for the colony by supplying its needs or produce cash income. Bee-keeping is an important side industry. The blacksmith shop of one colony manufactured soldering irons on a commercial scale. Colony carpenters may do custom work for neighboring farmers and deposit the earned money with the colony treasurer. The Hutterian chiropractor at Iberville Colony, known for miles around as "Doctor" Gross, has an income that would compare favorably with that of a rural medical doctor. On Saturdays he keeps office hours in Portage la Prairie. All his earnings are turned over to the colony, and, said "Doctor" Gross, "I would not have it otherwise."

A common opinion about Hutterian farm practice, held by some authorities, is that they over-capitalize in farm machinery. It has been suggested that this indulgence in purchasing new machinery provided for them an emotional outlet. Though the Hutterians take great pride in their modern farm equipment, the facts demonstrate that here they observe

sound business practices. The average value of machinery invested per crop acre in Manitoba for 1956 was $29.18. The figure varies from district to district. For Altona it was $33.21; for Minnedosa, $27.09; and for Carman, $22.29.[13] The average value of machinery invested per crop acre for 1956 on the Hutterian colonies was between $9 and $10. Their crop yield per acre approximates that of their neighboring farmers.

As the Hutterians do not engage in intensive farming, row crops are not planted, this would be one reason why the investment in machinery is light. Another reason is, of course, that the consolidated and compact community farm makes a more economical use of machinery possible.

The limited community acreage does not produce enough grain to meet the requirements of a colony's diverse enterprises. Additional grain is therefore bought from farmers in the area.

One charge made by outsiders is that Hutterians, who expand steadily, are in a position to outbid individual farmers when new land is up for sale. They claim that land prices are inflated when a Hutterian community moves into a district, but once established the price of land goes down in consequence of their presence. The charge is difficult to

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13. 1956 Annual Report. (University of Manitoba, 1957). Table III.

validate as land prices in different parts of the province follow their own cycles. The Hutterians deny the charge. One explanation for the charge may be that Hutterians buy marginal land, or land on the fringe of developed communities. In the initial purchase they often over-pay for this land, but the price soon gravitates to its real value, and they buy more land for a price that approximates its actual value.

The annual operating expenses of an average colony total about $130,000. Again the accounts vary from colony to colony, depending on the diversity of the farm enterprises, the size of the community, and its location. The big expense items are the following: seed and feed grains; livestock and poultry; gas and oil; lumber, cement, and gravel; debt retirement and taxes; machinery and repairs; doctors, hospitals, and medication; groceries, dry goods, and hardware; and lesser items. A further break-down of these entries sometimes throws an interesting sidelight on life at the colony. On one account the item "131 fur caps" is listed under dry goods. Under "Machinery" another account lists besides Diesels, tractors, meat stuffers, clothes wringers, also "Five sewing machines (used)". The purchase of used machinery and equipment which is repaired at colony workshops is a great saving to every Hutterian community.

In a mimeographed brochure Mr. E.A. Fletcher, Q.C., maintains that practically all the gas, oil, and machinery used by the Hutterian colonies was bought locally.[14]

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14. The Hutterite Question (Winnipeg, 1954. 4 mimeographed pages). Released by Mr. Fletcher, solicitor for the Hutterian Brethren

Interviews which this writer conducted with representatives of some of the oil companies and farm implement distributors verified this. Groceries are also usually bought locally, but dry goods are purchased in bulk in Winnipeg. In 1954 a total of $72,444.72 was spent by the colonies on doctors and medicine. An inspection of the accounts indicated that colonies close to Winnipeg rarely used local doctors. Colonies farther away from Winnipeg patronized local doctors, drug stores, and hospitals.

The economic merits of the Hutterian community are difficult to assess. To the collectivist, a colony is an interesting phenomenon, an experiment in total socialization. He will close his eyes to the "peculiar faith", not realizing that it is the mortar in the masonry, and project community living in its ultimate terms. The community appears to him the solution to "man's problems".[15] To the prejudiced mind the Hutterians are "the beards", the "hook and eye boys" (Hutterians do not have buttons but hooks and eyes on their jackets).[16] Regardless what the facts are, he is prepared to ignore them. To the Hutterians a colony is not an economic experiment but a religious imperative. They do not defend their system on materialistic grounds.

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15. The Call, mimeographed circular which reported on the Hutterians after the secretary of the Community Living Study Group, Russell Yahn, visited them in 1957. (Elgin, Illinois, 1957). 1.

16. These terms or epithets were used by two men when they were interviewed at the University of Manitoba. Present during the interview was Professor John Dallyn, of the Department of Sociology.

Division of Labour

Perhaps the greatest advantage the Hutterians have over the individual farm operator is that they practice division of labour. This is not carried to the extreme of Adam Smith's classical illustration in the manufacturing of pins, but is evident when compared to a modern mixed farm on which the farmer personally directs every enterprise and very often represents the farm's total labour force.

At the Hutterian communities young girls and boys are used extensively for work at home and on the fields. These children form almost a class within the community. From the age of six to fifteen they eat separately in their own dining room which is usually adjacent to the community dining hall. There they are under the supervision of the "German Teacher". On their fifteenth birthday they are given final instruction by him on mature behaviour, was ziemlich ist (what is fitting), and are transferred to the adult community, taking their meals at the lower end of the dining hall. They are not full-fledged members of the congregation, a status they achieve only through the ritual of baptism, but they are now available for full-time work.

An informal system of apprenticeship exists on all colonies by which the boys, and to a lesser extent the girls, are assigned to different enterprises to help and become familiar with their operation. A teen-aged boy may spend a season in the carpenter's shop, transfer to the hog department,

from there be assigned to the cattle-man, until he is acquainted with all the major community enterprises. Even before he has reached the age of fifteen a boy will have spent much of his time at one or the other department, especially at the work in which his parent is engaged. If the boy is particularly interested in his father's occupation he is permitted to spend more time at that work.

The farm-foreman is the director of the community's labour force (Chapter III). Whenever an enterprise requires additional help it notifies the farm-foreman.

The heads of the enterprises (cattle, hogs, poultry, carpentry, machine shop, etc.) and their assistants are elected by the male members of the colony and they are responsible for their department. This system, like most other practices on the colony, is not absolutely and rigidly applied. At one colony recently the elected assistant to the poultry-man found that he was allergic to the smell of eggs and hen-houses. With the consent of the community he became assistant to the carpenter. The community realizes that this system is open to abuse. It takes for granted that the reasons advanced for a transfer are genuine; moreover, the colony is unwilling to assign a member to an enterprise he may dislike and which would only deteriorate for his lack of interest. At one colony the carpenter had not particularly liked his work, but he was a young man and the colony encouraged him "to give it a try". "I had of course worked there before," he said to the interviewer, "and after a while I began to like the work." This informal specialization

is one of the most positive features of communal life.

Sometimes the Zeugbrueder (council) may appoint a minor to head an enterprise if the former holder of the position dies, is sick, or is transferred to direct another enterprise, and the colony's population is too small to provide an experienced "boss" for it without weakening another department. This occurs quite frequently. A number of current Hutterian leaders, ministers and colony managers, were appointed to head an enterprise at the age of seventeen. Any leader may de deposed by the colony for abuse of his position.

The women are elected to their respective positions by the male congregation of the colony. Their daily work is planned jointly by the various heads. A call from the large bell over the dining hall at nine o'clock in the morning may place the women under the Gartenfrau, who will assign them to work in the garden. In this connection, and this holds for all departments, the axiom Der Wirt geht voraus ("The leader works the hardest") is a standing rule. The bell may ring again at half-past ten, which will be the signal for the Gartenfrau to release some women for kitchen duty before the men come home for their meal.

There is a minimum of regimentation. If a woman is ill, or has a sick child, or should plan to do her laundry, she is excused. Group pressure is almost invariably sufficient to prevent misuse of this "honour" system. If one member should

persist in shirking her (or his) duty, the minister may have a word with her. If this fails the member is regarded as somewhat abnormal, and her frailty is borne by the community. Evil talk is not tolerated. The groups of women at work always appear happy. There is gay laughter, chatter, and singing as they clean ducks, engage in soap making, or sit at their spinning wheels. Many of the practices are routines prescribed by century-old regulations. Thus not all women are equally good spinners, and the wool of the better spinners is to be used for women and that of the poorer spinners for men.[17]

More unpleasant tasks are done in rotation. The assistant to the chief cook who has to peel potatoes and do the kitchen chores changes every week. Automatically the assistant's husband is assigned to supply the kitchen daily with fresh milk, eggs, and chop or grind the meat. He is always available for work considered "too hard for women". The colony women are certainly not exploited. Edna Kells, who spent some time at an Alberta community, reported, "I came away from this colony with the impression that they do not work as hard as nine out of ten Canadian farm women."[18]

Contrary to popular opinion Hutterian colonies as a rule do not suffer from a surplus of manpower. Only about one-fifth of the community's population comprises its total

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17. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch... 545.

18. Kells, op. cit.,

male labour force, with ages sixteen and over. The vital statistics from a random selection of colonies (Table VI) indicate that the high birth rate accounts for the relatively small labour force.

TABLE VI

Name of Colony	Total Population	Children 15 & Younger	Adults 16 & Older
Riverside (Arden)	83	43	40
Sturgeon Creek (Headingly)	102	56	46
Rock Lake (Gross Isle)	118	70	48
Barickman (Headingly)	119	69	50
Springfield (Anola)	125	78	47
Poplar Point (Poplar Point)	142	84	58
Waldheim (Elie)	162	85	77
New Rosedale (Portage la Prairie)	182	110	72

Outsiders who have lived at Hutterian colonies for a longer period leave deeply impressed with the Hutterian attitude towards work. Henrik Infield, executive director of an American Rural Settlement Institute, found their work satisfaction "very high, with pride in (their) unhurried efforts".[19] Clark wrote: "Love for work and pride in the kind of work they do are two of their outstanding traits; and so contagious are they both that it would seem the problem of idleness is one that has needed very little attention."[20] While Joseph Eaton summarizes his impression with these words:

> All work is rated to be of equal importance. The preacher or any other elder will not consider it below his dignity to do the most menial tasks. The Hutterite attitude toward all work - be it skilled or not - as of equal value, and the belief that work is a pleasure rather than a burden, contributes much to the smooth functioning of their social organization.[21]

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In evaluating the Hutterian communal economy the following observations would appear to be valid: (1) the Hutterian communities are relatively well-to-do, but this is partly because their living needs are low, and partly because they practice a self-sufficient economy; (2) the

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19. Infield, H., Cooperative Communities at Work. (New York, 1945,). 35.

20. Clark, op. cit., 364.

21. Eaton, J.W., Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture. (New York, 1943). 225.

communities provide diversified and full employment, the work pace is satisfactory but it is not a maximum pace; (3) the productivity of the communities does not equal that of the best farmers, but it is greater than that of the average farmers; (4) division of labour and bulk buying and selling are strong features of the communal system; (5) the advantages of large-scale farming are partially offset by initial overpayment for the land; (6) Hutterians follow sound marketing practices. Sometimes they do not take advantage of predictible market fluctuations, but this is in order to preserve the internal rhythm of community life; (7) the community's economy is sufficiently virile to provide complete economic security for all its members.

Chapter VI

HUTTERIAN EDUCATION

Parental control over the children is very strong in Hutterian society. There is a strong identification on the part of the children with their parents. The ideal of a young Hutterian boy or girl is not a Hollywood star, a national hero, or a local delinquent, it is the parent. Furthermore, the social education of the young Hutterians begins at a very early age. They are not only usually members of very large families, but during all their subsequent age periods they are surrounded by playmates and companions of their own age. This horizontal association, characteristic of communal living, replaces to a large degree parental authority as a control factor. One result of this informal reassignment of roles is that the "conflict of generations", of children rebelling against their parents, is almost completely absent from Hutterian society.

The public school is an outside institution which is accepted by the Hutterians without a protest. Besides it each colony maintains two other schools. There is the kleine Schul', or kindergarten, for children between the ages of two and one-half to five or six, and the grosse Schul', or "German" school, attended by children of public school age. The instruction in them takes place before 9 o'clock in the morning and after 3:30 o'clock in the afternoon. The edu-

cation of the young Hutterian continues after the age of fifteen in the form of apprenticeship where the young people are employed by the various enterprises found on the colony.

The Kindergarten

The Kindergarten is headed by a supervisor known as the Schulmutter, or Kinderweib, or Schulangela. (Their literal translation: "school-mother, "woman in charge of children", "School-guardian"). She is elected by the colony congregation, is generally middle-aged, and occupies the position for life. Since she has some household work at home, the colony also provides her with an alternate. At the large New Rosedale Colony the supervisor is the wife of the farm-foreman, and the alternate is the wife of the minister. At the Crystal Spring Colony the supervisor is the mother of the minister, and the grandmother of a goodly number of her charges. The supervisors and alternates have the help of two or three assistants who are girls between the ages of eighteen to twenty. These girls alternate between kindergarten work and household duties.

Each kindergarten has a special school house for the kindergarten. Quite often it is the most attractive building on the colony. As a rule it is the only building that is fenced in. There is a yard with a sandbox, swings, and other playground equipment. The kindergarten at New Rosedale, which may be regarded as typical, has three sections. There is a vestibule with washing facilities and a classroom with long

miniature tables and benches. The third room is the bedroom.

The children come to school at a little after eight o'clock in the morning, and spend some time at play. They are then washed and combed by the Schulmutter and her assistants. Meanwhile one of the assistants has brought breakfast over from the community kitchen, which is usually only a few yards away. Boys and girls then seat themselves in long rows on the benches, fold their hands, close their eyes, and together with the teachers recite a long prayer. Breakfast consists of milk and the usual day to day variations, cereals, porridge, boiled eggs, toast. The children are well trained, the smaller ones getting help from the assistants whenever necessary. Another prayer of thanks closes the meal. So ingrained becomes this habit that regardless of the age of the Hutterian or the place where he eats, in a restaurant in Winnipeg, or in a cafe in Headingly or Portage la Prairie, twice he bows his head, before and after each meal, for grace and thanksgiving.

Hutterians are bilingual even before they learn English, which is their third language. Small children speak only the hybrid Tyrolese-Southern German dialect used by the Hutterians when among themselves. While kindergarten is conducted in this vernacular, children become familiar with standard German by learning songs, Bible verses, and Bible stories. At some colonies English is introduced. Here children sing

"Heavenly Sunshine" as lustily as Wenn die Schule geschlossen. The novelty of a tape recorder brought in by the writer in no way affected the routine and elicited only mild interest. Little games provide the necessary breaks. The whole atmosphere is extremely informal, and to the child Kindergarten is simply another home.

At around ten o'clock the children have a snack. There may be cookies, fruit, and occasionally warm soup. Part of the afternoon is spent outside at play. Dinner is served at 11:30. The children wash before and after meal time. After dinner they go to sleep. Even the three year olds toddle to the bedroom without any coaxing. The bedroom generally has two rows of low bunks running the full length of the room. It may have one or two beds for the teachers. While the children stretch out in neat rows, without any partitions between them, some of the bigger boys may prefer to grab a pillow and sleep on the floor. This writer's observation was that in at most fifteen minutes all children were asleep. As soon as one of them wakes up, it goes out quietly to play outside so as not to disturb those still sleeping. By three o'clock they are all ready for another snack.

Then there is some more singing, and there are some more Bible stories. Between lessons and games some children may decide to spend a little time at home. There are no strict rules against this. If the same child should absent itself too often colony disapproval, working through the adults and the children, would effect a modification in behaviour. Soon he would leave less frequently. Shortly after five o'clock

supper is served and the children leave for home. They continue to play their games but are now the responsibility of their mothers. At nine o'clock the Schulmutter sends one of the girls to ring the big bell in the dining hall tower. As its haunting peals vibrate across the community, mothers call the children in and send them to bed. They have another apple or cookie and wind their way upstairs, but some sleepy-head may have escaped the toils of the day even before this. While visiting at one home the writer saw a four-year-old boy come to his father and beg him, "I am sleepy, will you spank me and send me to bed?" The father complied with a gentle slap to the back and the boy went to bed.

Two or three colonies have no kindergarten because there is a temporary housing shortage in the colony. The school is used for a family dwelling. If a colony should make no serious attempt to make provision for a kleine Schul' its prestige among the other colonies would suffer considerably. The kindergarten closes down during the cold winter months.

At three public schools the children in grades three to five were asked to write compositions on their kindergarten days. The writer asked the teachers to make these assignments, and they cooperated willingly. The following two essays were selected from those submitted to the teachers:

MY KINDERGARTEN DAYS

> In the morning at eight o'clock I went to kindergarten. We had breakfast and always said our prayers. Then we went out to play. Grandmother gave us candy and we went on the swings and ate candy. When we had finished our candy we

went on to play in the sandbox. We played with our toys and dolls. We often played house in which we had nice dishes. For the night we put our toys into the school.

Our teacher was our grandmother. She sat on a bench with her knitting and we sat all around her. She told us about Jesus. When she had finished we went to play again in our play-house. Sometimes the older children came and helped us dry the dishes. In the afternoon we slept for two hours.

KINDERGARTEN

Kindergarten is the first school little children attend. It is very interesting. Some of the children don't like to go every day, but they can't do anything about it. They just have to go when the season begins.

The first day is usually a Monday in May. Every morning the children arrange the tables and learn a lot of prayers and German songs by memory. Afterwards they play in the yard. Very often the children play school.

After dinner the children run around until after the dishes are washed. Then they scrub their hands and faces and go for a nap. That's what some of them hate the most about kindergarten. After they have slept they run and play outside. Later they come in again and the teachers teach them

> manners, songs, and prayers. In the afternoon at five o'clock they have their supper and run home. The teacher and her helpers stay and clean the kindergarten school so that it will be neat and tidy for the next day.

The kindergarten education terminates between the ages of five and six. The transfer to the "German" school takes place simultaneously with the enrolment of the pupil as a beginner at the public school.

The "German" School

In comparison to the Hutterian kindergarten the operation of the "German" school is a disappointment. In Canada as in the United States the Hutterians have never challenged the place of the public school.[1] It has been suggested that the American system, that is, the public schools, destroyed the "German" school, and the only part of the Hutterian educational heritage that has been salvaged is the kindergarten.[2] The "German" school, or grosse Schul', is held in the morning and in the afternoon before the opening and closing of instruction at the public school.

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1. "Hutterites Who Settled Near Here Reconciled to Obey School Laws", Winnipeg Free Press, October 16, 1918.

2. Clark, op. cit., 374.

The community teachers are elected by the colony's male congregation. They take a genuine interest in the children, and are generally mature men who are respected by the pupils. None of the present "German" teachers has any pedagogical training. Usually they are themselves fathers of large families and thus bring into the classroom some elementary knowledge of child behaviour. Some of them attend regular public school teachers' fall conventions. At the convention held at Charleswood, a suburb of Winnipeg, in November 1947, the writer met two of them. They were particularly impressed with the guest speaker's address. It was Professor W.L.Morton who spoke on the history and population pattern of Manitoba. He stressed the plurastic culture and its contribution to the heritage of Manitoba. There are no conventions of Hutterian teachers, in Manitoba.

It is a colony rule that all children attending public school remain for "German" school. Beginners have a Fiebel, a German primer. Texts for the other classes are the New Testament, the Old Testament, and the catechism. A few schools also have some German readers. All schools teach German spelling, and a little Hutterian history. Pupils spend much of their time in the memorization of hymns and the learning of prayers. Corporal punishment is administered "when necessary".

The educational standards of the "German" school are low. This is realized at some colonies and is the cause for some concern. While purely secular education as a means for material ends is distrusted, knowledge and book learning are not

considered wicked if used properly. Senior Elder Peter Hofer, who in his younger days in South Dakota completed high school and took summer school courses at college, is respected by the Hutterians for his learning.

The attitude of the younger children towards "German" school is reflected in paragraphs on this subject which were submitted to their public school instructors. The following two paragraphs were selected from two communities:

> I like to go to "German" school. We can talk there as much as we please. The "German" school does not last long, and all we do is read. We can go home in between lessons. I don't like English school because five hours a day is too long. And the recess is only fifteen minutes, that is not long enough for the children to play outside.
>
> *********
>
> It's fun to go to school, and I like it very much. We have another school which is called the "German" school. I like it too, but we have to learn so much from the Testament. It's interesting, but I find it so hard. But it is good for us to know all about Jesus and how to lead good lives. We have "German" school in the morning and after four. I especially like the stories from the Bible.

Though the teacher of the "German" school uses the strap freely he avoids exhibition of ill-temper, sarcasm, and

angry phrases.[3] Pitt's conclusion that all Hutterian children in Alberta "speak and write English and German, and are not backward in conversation", applies equally to Manitoba.[4] Whatever the short-comings of the "German" school are, it is an integral part of the Hutterian way, and contributes to the solidification of the Hutterian Gemeinschaft. "The fact", says Infield, "that the young man or woman of seventeen is, as a rule, not tempted by the teachings of the elementary school and emerges as a faithful member of the community, testifies to the potency of this religious system."[5] This conclusion, validated by the continued strength of the communities themselves, demands a more penetrating look at the Hutterian educational heritage which has molded the thinking of succeeding generations.

The Hutterian Educational Heritage

The basis for Hutterian education was laid down by Peter Riedemann in the sixteenth century. He wrote:

> "Ye parents," saith Paul, "provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." For this reason is our education of children such that we permit them not to carry out their headstrong will. Therefore in

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3. Pitt, Edwin L., The Hutterian Brethren in Alberta, unpublished Master's thesis. (Department of History, University of Alberta, 1949.) 71.

4. Ibid., 75.

5. Infield, op. cit., 25.

KINDERGARTEN SCHOOL AT NEW ROSEDALE

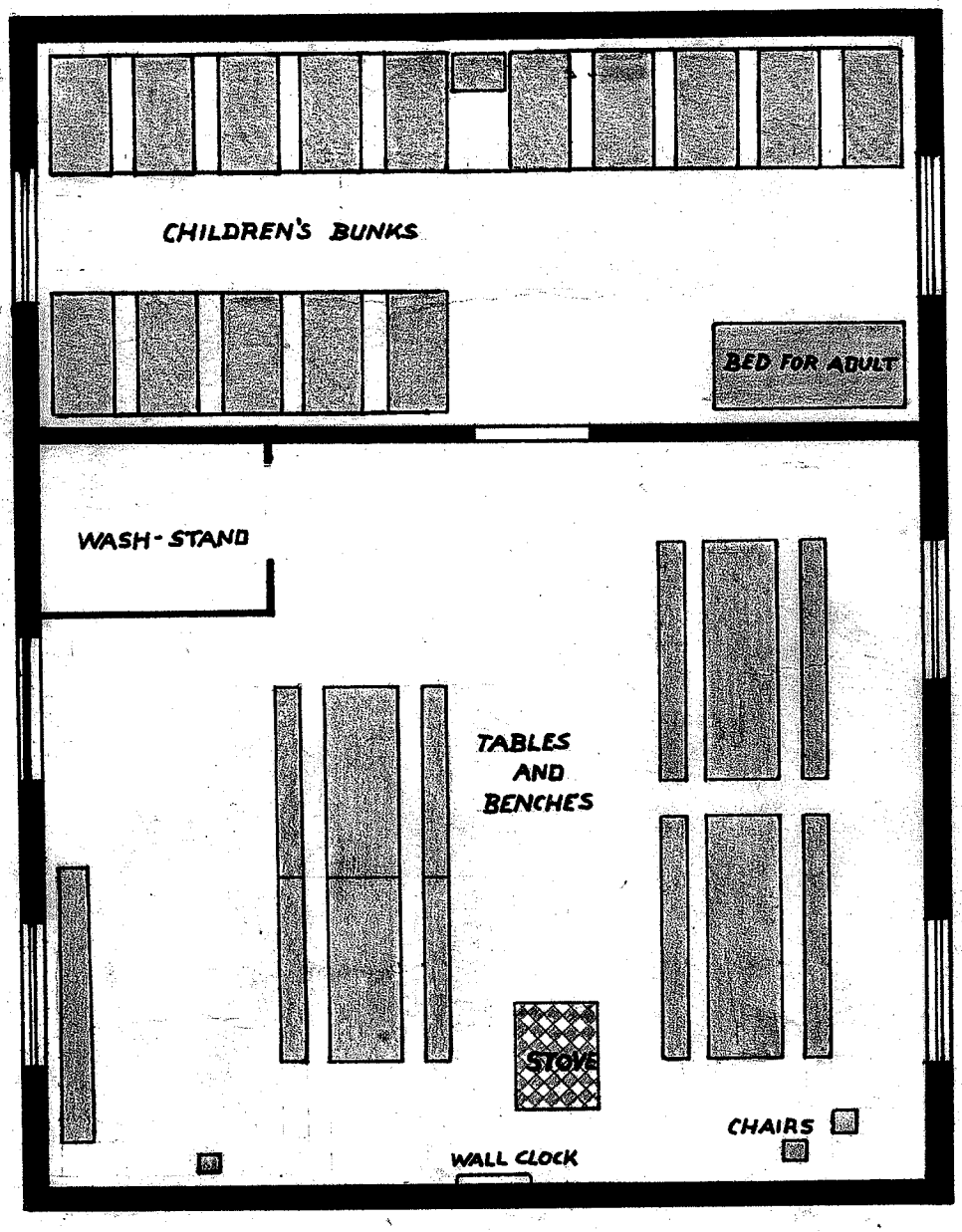

Chart 5.

such places as in the country of Moravia, where we have many households we have schools in which we bring up our children in the divine discipline, and teach them from the beginning to know God. But we permit them not to go to other schools, since there they teach but the wisdom, art and practices of the world, and are silent about divine things.

Our practice is as follows: as soon as the mother hath weaned the child she giveth it to the school. Here there are sisters, appointed by the Church to care for them, who have been recognized to be competent and diligent therein; and, as soon as they can speak, they lay the word of God's testimony in their mouths and teach them with or from the same, tell them of prayer and such things as children can understand. With them children remain until their fifth or sixth year, that is, until they are able to read and write.

When they are thus far they are entrusted to the school-master, who teacheth them the same and thereby instructeth them more and more in the knowledge of God, that they learn to know God and His will and strive to keep the same. He observeth the following order with them: when they all come together in the morning to school he teacheth them to thank the Lord together, and to pray to Him. Then he preacheth to them as children for the space of half an hour, telling them how they

ought to obey, be subject to and honour their parents, teachers and those set over them, and illustrateth from the Old and New Testaments both the promise to godly and the punishment of disobedient and obstinate children.

From such obedience to parents he teacheth them obedience to God and the keeping of His will; that they should reverence Him as their almighty Father, and love, honour and worship Him above all things; and serve and cleave to Him alone, as Him from whom they have all that is good. Thus we teach our children from babyhood to seek not what is temporal but what is eternal.

They remain with the school-master until they reach the stage when they can be taught to work. Then each is set to the work for which he is recognized to be gifted and capable. When they have thus been educated and have learnt to know and believe in God, they are baptized upon confession of their faith.[6]

Riedemann's admonition to keep their own schools has remained through the centuries a cardinal policy of the Hutterian brethren. Shortly after Riedemann outlined the basic objective of the community schools Elder Peter Scherer called the Hutterian school-masters of Moravia to a conference.

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6. Riedemann, op. cit., 130-131.

Scherer's remarkable address to the teachers, given on November 15, 1568, has been preserved.[7] Its tenor explains why the Hutterian community schools were universally respected in Moravia.

Scherer advised the teachers not to engage "in other activities which would occupy your time and thus lose your eagerness to be with the children in the schoolroom." Punishment, he warns, should never be excessive, "the rod is not to be applied hard or long, although often teachers have, and desire to have a reputation of this sort." Teachers are advised to check on the physical well-being of their pupils. They must "pay attention to the shoes of the children, so that they do not have hard shoes which make their feet sore." "Further", Scherer continues, "in regard to the children who are not well or where there is uncertainty, the bed clothing and night shirts (the community schools were boarding schools) of such should not be mixed with the clothing of the children or washed together with it. It should be kept by itself. Likewise in the food and drink one cannot take too much care, for there is very much danger among so many children. The same thing is true in regard to washing and bathing, the two should not be mixed. You must take care and watch carefully to bathe and wash the unclean children by themselves."

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7. "A Hutterite School Discipline of 1578 and Peter Scherer's Address of 1568 to the Schoolmasters", translated by Harold H. Bender. M.Q.R. V, 4 (October, 1931). 241-244.

Riedemann's and Scherer's ideas on education crystallized in the Schul-Ordnung (school regulations) of 1578. The spirit of these regulations continues to influence colony schools to this day. Again the teacher is advised against severity in dealing with children, "Seeing that the Lord does not deal with us elder ones always according to our deserts, but according to grace." A few excerpts from the Schul-Ordnung serve to illustrate their tone:

> Teachers shall take care that no disunity, strife, or boisterous speaking is heard by the children, but rather by a peaceful, cheerful, good-natured, and sober life and quiet walk they shall inspire the youth likewise to quiet and sober living and give them a good example.
>
> The schoolmaster should not occupy the time of the children with long preaching and with much reading of many quotations because the children can understand and grasp but little.
>
> One should show sympathy to the little folk who have just started attending school and should not undertake all at once to break the self-will, lest injury come therefrom. For the children who are a bit larger one must also exercise very diligent care so that one can always have a good conscience.
>
> When the children are brought to the school they should be carefully examined and if any one is found to have a contagious disease such as scurvy or

> French disease (syphilis), the same should be instantly separated from the rest in sleeping and drinking and in particular in washing. Also special brushes and combs should be used in taking care of the hair of those having skin eruptions.[8]

It is therefore not surprising when Clark quotes Dr. Rudolf Wolkan, a Viennese historian, to the effect that the Hutterian schools were the first ones in Europe in which

> .....scientific methods were used for the prevention of the spread of certain contagious diseases. So superior were the schools of the Brethren in those days that, in spite of their hated religion, people of other faiths sent their children to Hutterian schools by preference. The thing in their schools that was most highly praised then was the fact that a group of children was in the hands of the same educators from early morning till night, so that the activities of the whole day were intelligently correlated - study, work, play, worship, meals, rest - and what was learned at one hour was illustrated or strengthened by what was observed at another hour.[9]

Another source reports that "special schools were provided for those who were past school age when they united with the Brotherhood. At a time when general education in

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8. Ibid., 240-241.

Europe was in a pitiable condition the number of illiterates among the Hutterites was small."[10] The scholarly Dr. Robert Friedmann of Western Michigan College, who has spent much of his time in the state archives of Austria and Czechoslovakia, states "that Hutterite education had a very high standard can still be seen from all their handwritten books, done with excellent penmanship, good spelling, skillfull style, and as for contents, with excellent Bible knowledge and often deft arguments - things not so commonly found among people of the sixteenth and seventeenth century."[11]

The church at all times gave its schools excellent support. The church regulations advise the parents that education leads to maturity and Gemeinsinn (community spirit); that parents should send their children to school at the proper age and support the teachers.[12] They counsel parents not to spoil their children in the hope that school will discipline them. Nor should parents bring their children too many presents. Not only is this a wasteful practice, but it also is the cause of envy and quarrels among them.

Some of the Hutterians were educated men. When the services of medical doctors "from Italy, Spain, and other lands" proved unsatisfactory to sick Emperor Rudolf, he summoned Brother Georg Zobel, a Hutterian, to Prague in 1581, and

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9. Clark, op. cit., 373.

10. Horsch, John, The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931. (Goshen, Indiana, 1931). 33.

11. Friedmann, in Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 149.

12. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 517-565.

retained him until the Emperor recovered.[13] Christoph Andreas Fischer, an opponent of the Hutterians, wrote bitterly, "Not only the common man, but even the lords, when they are in need of any sort of treatment, run to their physicians as though they were the ones who had gobbled up the whole art of medicine."[14]

However, even at its best, the Hutterian school system did not proceed beyond the elementary level. As Friedmann is careful to point out, higher education "was expressly declined as nonconductive to the fear of God".[15] Pitt, in his more recent Alberta survey adds, "The Hutterians remain opposed to higher education because they are still convinced that it makes for dissatisfaction with a simple, homely existence, and with manual toil."[16] It would appear that both these reasons account for Hutterian reluctance to encourage education beyond the public school level.

There are indications in Manitoba that this attitude towards higher education may be modified. One Hutterian rationalized to the writer that the general educational standards may well place today's high school education ona level with elementary education of former years. If this attitude should become prevalent in Hutterian colonies the logical sequel would be the introduction of high schools

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13. Zieglschmid, Die aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brueder. 526.

14. Translated and quoted by Horsch, op. cit., 38. Horsch discovered Fischer's Von der Wiedertaeufer Verfluchtem Ursprung, Gottlosen Lehre, und derselben Gruendliche Widerlegung, dated 1603, in the British museum.

on Hutterian communities. The first step could well be one central high school serving all the Manitoba colonies.

Hutterian Arts and Crafts

Once they leave the public school the large majority of the young Hutterians do not continue formal education. They do acquire some of the skills still preserved at the colonies, a bare residue of what at one time was a proud heritage.

Since the first Hutterians were refugees from many parts of Germany it was natural that the early congregations soon had representatives of diverse skills and crafts in their midst. These excelled especially in the manufacture of cutlery and in ceramics. Of this Moravian period the Austrian historian Dr. Loserth writes:

> Anyone who carries on research in the archives of Austria, Moravia, and Hungary, finds notices of the industrial activity of the Hutterian Brethren, and one who roams through the museums of those countries finds products of their industry which even today attract attention, as did the pottery exhibition at Troppau in 1924. The catalogs list precious "Hutterian knives", and the oldmanuscript

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15. Friedmann, op. cit., 149.

16. Pitt, op. cit., 74.

hymnals are not only written in fine penmanship, but are also distinguished by the solidity of their binding.....

The wool-weaving craft was on a high plane with the Hutterian Brethren; their products were so highly prized, that after the expulsion of the Anabaptists the government sought to fill their place by skilled Belgians.....[17]

The Hutterians were good tailors, though these were warned against "outward ornamentation to please the world", for "whatever tends to create pride, haughtiness, and vanity" the church prohibited. Sword and knife making were rejected because they served mostly "for killing, injuring, and ruining human beings". "But what is made for the daily use of men, as breadknives, axes, hoes, we may and do make."[18]

Writing on Hutterian ceramics Friedmann states that "their pottery ware reveals a taste for the shapely and aesthetically appealing which made them stand out in this craft and true competitors of the Italian, later also Dutch, fayence or majolica ware."[19] He refers of course to the early Moravian period.

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17. Loserth, J. in Mennonite Encyclopedia, I, 728-730.

18. Quoted by Loserth, Ibid.

19. Friedmann, "Economic History of the Hutterian Brethren" in Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 143-145. See: Christian Hege, "Ceramics", ME, I, 543-544; Mennonite Life, I, 2 (July, 1946) and IX, 1 (January, 1954).

Persecution and enforced immigration reduced the Hutterian communities to a bare subsistence level. In the end only one colony found sanctuary on the lonely steppes of Ukraine. The rich heritage was almost lost. Scarcely a trace of it lingers on. One such example, if it may be called that, is that on many colonies the children play with tin cans and honey pails on which the girls and women have painted very colorful floral designs.

Spinning is a well-preserved art taught to girls at an early age. Then a girl's hope chest generally contains a wealth of delicate needle work. Young women also find an artistic outlet in knitting beautiful men's diamond socks.

On the shelves of Hutterian homes in Manitoba are handwritten books dating back to the seventeenth century. Bookbinding is still an important colony industry. Old sermons are carefully copied by hand on the colonies in Manitoba and passed on to succeeding ministers.

The men are excellent carpenters and usually make the colony furniture. Woodwork finds its highest expression in keepsakes handed down to members of the family. There are beautifully carved spinning wheels and highly polished rolling pins with the girl's name inlaid. The quality of the chests with their inlay work are unquestionably products of skilled craftsmen.

Thus part of the artistic heritage, a bare flicker, has been transmitted, but, because all show and ostentation is carefully avoided, the outsider hardly ever becomes aware of it.

The basic concepts of Hutterian education cover three areas. In the kindergarten the emphasis is on socializing the child and habituating him to his future role in the community. The emphasis in the "German" school shifts to formal religious instruction. The child is indoctrinated in the group's beliefs. After the child leaves school the informal instruction in skills and crafts serves a utilitarian purpose. The emphasis is on "usefulness". The artistic element in the products of these arts and crafts is discouraged by the church as an expression of vanity. That it is countenanced at all must be attributed to Hutterian tolerance that man is after all, human, and finds it difficult to disengage himself entirely from earthly aspirations.

Chapter VII

THE SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

The Hutterian spiritual and cultural heritage is not only a solid link with the past, but is also a dynamic directive to each succeeding generation. It pervades and pulsates the life of every colony. To this heritage must be added the lives of the early Hutterian leaders which are a constant reminder that the Christian ideals as interpreted by the Hutterian church can be translated into every day life. The heritage consists of Hutterian histiography, devotional writings, a rich hymnology, and the lives of dedicated Hutterian leaders.

Hutterian Histiography

The story of the Hutterians is told in their own chronicles which for centuries were preserved in the form of hand copied manuscripts. To these must be added the polemics of the Reformation period, and more recent literature like Elder Peter Hofer's The Hutterian Brethren and Their Beliefs, which was written as an answer to the anti-Hutterian agitation in Manitoba.[1] The chronicles are typical of early mediaeval annals in that they narrate events year by year, literally beginning with Genesis.

The oldest chronicle, known to Hutterians as the

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1. Hofer, Peter, The Hutterian Brethren and Their Beliefs. Approved by the Manitoba Committee of Elders. (James Valley Colony, Starbuck, Manitoba, 1955.)

Gross-Geschichtsbuch, was begun by Elder Peter Walpot who asked Kaspar Braitmichel (ca. 1565) to record the annals of the Hutterian brethren.[2] Besides being in manuscript form, they exist today in two printed editions. In 1923 Elder Elias Walter of Stand-Off Colony, Alberta, at the request of the Hutterian congregations, commissioned Viennese scholar Rudolf Wolkan to prepare and publish the oldest chronicle. Walter asked Dr. Wolkan to modernize the language of the archaic, pre-Luther German of the original. This entire edition was bought up by the Hutterian communities. In 1943 Dr. A.J.F. Zieglschmid, of Northwestern University, with the financial assistance of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, and the American Council of Learned Societies, published the oldest chronicle in its original form as a contribution to linguistic study. Because of its out-dated language this newer edition is not popular among the Hutterians.

Braitmichel was succeeded by other chroniclers, and Zieglschmid's edition, which runs to over one thousand pages, ends with entries for the year 1665. In common with other similar chronicles of the time the Gross-Geschichtsbuch has little historical perspective. The first twenty-five pages recount the story from Creation to the birth of Christ. The following seventeen pages summarize the work of Jesus, and the Apostles, the rise of Mohammedanism, the merging of

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2. Zieglschmid, Die aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brueder. xxiii.

state and church, the corruption of the pope and clergy, and the rise of Luther and Zwingli. What follows from that time on is a minute account of the origin of the Swiss Brethren, and the diffusion of their teachings through all German lands of the Empire. The simple vernacular of the chronicle often becomes a moving narrative, relating stirring tales of heroism and suffering. The annals contain detailed figures and names of places where the 2,100 Hutterians suffered martyrdom. They are recorded in a Martertafel (Martyrs' Register).[3]

The smaller chronicle, known as the Klein-Geschichtsbuch, is textually longer than the large chronicle. It is chiefly the work of Elder Johannes Waldner (1749-1824). In almost two hundred printed pages Waldner summarizes the older chronicle, but it is much more than a mere compendium or precis. Waldner's sense for history gives the narrative perspective. As Zieglschmid points out there is also an attempt at organization and interpretation.[4] Waldner then proceeded to recount the Hutterian story up to 1802. He taps many sources and draws from his own eventful life's experiences. Other Hutterians took up the work where Waldner stopped and at irregular intervals continued the annals. Until 1947 all these accounts and copies of them

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3. Ibid., 232-235.

4. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder. (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1947). xvii-xxiv.

existed in manuscript form only.

After the Hutterians left Ukraine and settled in the United States (1874) there was little interest for history. There apparently was no urge to continue the record. The growth and geographical distribution of the communities made it increasingly difficult for an untrained individual to write their history. It was not until the already mentioned Elias Walter (1872-1938), the Alberta Elder, began his work at the beginning of the present century that a renewed interest in Hutterian history became evident.

It may well have been Elias Walter's association with the group known as the Society of Brethren, in Germany, which is discussed in a later chapter, which provided additional impetus to interest in Hutterian history. After Zieglschmid had published independently their oldest chronicle in 1943, he was approached by the Hutterian Brethren with a request to prepare for publication Waldner's narrative. He was also asked to add the Hutterian regulations, relevant accounts and narratives, diaries, and some correspondence. This was done by Zieglschmid, whose very extensive use of non-Hutterian sources and long footnotes provide continuity to the chronicle. Its publication in 1947 was assured when the Hutterian communities ordered in advance 4,000 copies of the Klein-Geschichtsbuch. Zieglschmid's meticulous selection of sources and manuscripts makes this volume invaluable to anyone interested in Hutterian history. Like the older chronicle this one is also available only in German.

The religious disputations of the Reformation era, in which the Hutterians participated freely, produced a rash of polemic writings. Some of them are still found on colonies in Manitoba. Thus in 1557 Catholic and Protestant theologians met at Worms in Germany with the purpose of reconciling their differences. They failed to reach an agreement except on one point. Both sides were prepared to recommend to the governments "a sharper treatment of the Anabaptists". In reply the Hutterians issued a brochure, The Defence Against the "Prozess" at Worms on the Rhine in 1557.[5] Here they maintain that adult baptism and the refusal to swear an oath is not "seditious treason" as charged by Melanchthon.

A modern counterpart of The Defence... is the already mentioned brochure by Elder Peter Hofer, of Manitoba. Because this booklet is a contemporary contribution it deserves some attention. As its forward indicates Elder Hofer's work is a "defence of the Hutterian colonies, whose natural growth and development is threatened at this time by the Rural Municipalities of Manitoba".[6] In several resolutions at their annual conventions these had demanded legislation that would separate colonies at least forty miles from each other.[7]

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5. Printed privately by Hutterian Paul Gross of Pincher Creek, Alberta, the pamphlet has thirty-two pages. The original manuscript is in the possession of the Stand-Off Colony, Alberta. In the booklet the original is framed in an article presumably written by Dr. Friedmann, to whom Gross in the introduction refers as the man who "knows more about the Hutterian history than any other man". (Pincher Creek, 1955).

The Elder's arguments on behalf of the Hutterians are usually Scriptural texts or analogies drawn from the Bible. However, several oblique references to world affairs show that the Hutterians are well aware of what is going on in the world about them. With reference to the demand for restrictive legislation he writes:

> The resolution is born of the same spirit as the decree of pagan Egypt, when Pharaoh devised the insidious plan of drowning the young children of the Israelites, by which he brought about the doom of his own nation.[8]

The agitation movement directed against the Hutterians contained a group which all but identified the colonies with Moscow's fifth column. This opinion found expression at a resolution passed at a meeting at Oakville and at the public hearing of the Special Select Committee. At the latter, the Brotherhood was referred to as "a communistic system" with "big bosses and smaller bosses" who direct the "vassals or slaves of the colony".[9] Elder Hofer's answer to the charge

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6. Hofer, op. cit., 3.

7. See: "Municipalities Seek Clamp on Hutterites", in Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1954.

8. Hofer, op. cit., 15.

9. Meeting of Select Special Committee. (Provincial Library, Winnipeg). 16.

reads:

> Christianity is the greatest force and only bulwark against the unchecked spread of Red Communism and its insidious doctrine of world revolution. It (Red Communism) developed from bitter class struggle and is of a bitter, unrelenting political and revolutionary nature. It is irreligious and materialistic to the core, manifesting a fiercely militant atheism, and unprecedented hatred of God and all that is divine....
>
> Hutterian communism is in principle the communism of Christ and the Holy Ghost as above described and humbly practised the reverse of, and an antidote to Red Communism and deserves protection of the government for which we are daily praying.[10]

The author admits that Hutterians refuse to participate in civil government, and practice non-conformity and avoidance of the world. The reason is, and the writer cites I John 5:19, "The whole world lieth in wickedness." His conclusion states:

> This "world system", imposing and powerful with armies and fleets, is often outwardly religious

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10. Hofer, op. cit., 12.

> scientific, cultured, and elegant but seething with national and commercial rivalries and ambitions, is upheld in any real crisis only by armed force and is dominated by Satanic principles.[11]

The final paragraph of Elder Hofer's brochure emphasizes the readiness of the Hutterians in Manitoba to remain steadfast:

> They expect ultimately to fare no better than their Master, whom the whole city Gadara "besought to depart out of their coasts" (Matthew 8, 28:34). The blessings Christ and his disciples brought to their country were considered insignificant as compared to a thriving swine industry. This industry thought it was being disturbed and threatened. Mankind is still the same and history is repeating itself.[12]

The bluntness of this paragraph is not intended to be offensive, It is simply in keeping with the peasant vernacular commonly used by the Hutterians.

Most Hutterians are very familiar with their history as recorded by their own writers. But the influence of their devotional literature is even greater.

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11. Ibid., 35.

12. Ibid., 48.

The Devotional Writings

The outstanding authors of Hutterian devotional and doctrinal writings are Peter Riedemann, Peter Walpot, and Andreas Ehrenpreis. Reidemann's Rechenschaft was written in 1540 "in the Hessian jails of Marburg and Walkerdorf".[13] It was printed in 1545, of which edition no copies exist today. There are five copies in existence of the 1565 edition, one copy at each of the following places: the British Museum, the Berlin State Library, at the library of the University of Chicago, the Museum at Bruenn, Czechoslovakia, and at the Rockport Bruderhof in South Dakota.[14] The British Museum copy was used by Kathlenn Hasenberg in her excellent English translation, published under the title Confession of Faith. The sub-title reads, "Account of Our Religion, Doctrine, and Faith, given by Peter Riedemann of the Brothers Whom Men Call Hutterians". It has 283 pages and was printed in England in 1950.[15] The Rechenschaft is not only very readable, but also provides a very clear and concise outline of the Hutterian faith. To this day the Brotherhood has not found it necessary to initiate any changes or modifications in the basic interpretations of Christian ideals as presented by Riedemann.

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13. Heimann, Franz (Vienna), "The Hutterite Doctrines of Church and Common Life, A Study of Peter Riedemann's Confession of Faith of 1540", in M Q R, XXIV, 1 (January, 1950). 33.

14. Friedmann, "Book Reviews", in M Q R, XXVI, 2 (April, 1952) 164-165.

15. Hodder and Stoughton (England), in conjunction with The Plough Publishing House.

To Walpot are attributed the Fuenf Artikel which were regarded sufficiently important by early Hutterians for inclusion in the oldest chronicle. In this form they are available to the Hutterians.[16] More recently the English translation of the Third Article with the self-explanatory title True Surrender and Christian Community of Goods, has established its place on colony book shelves. The forty-five page booklet is a reprint from Mennonite Quarterly Review, and appears together with an introduction by Dr. Robert Friedmann.[17]

Andreas Ehrenpreis' Ein Sendbrief ("An Epistle") dates back to 1652, and was published by the Hutterian Brethren in 1920. It breathes a firm but gentle conviction and is universally popular among the Hutterians. The simplicity of the language is similar to Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.[18] The joint Loserth and Friedmann review of it conveys its content:

> The Sendbrief makes a very strong case for community of goods, quoting among others also the beautiful parable of the grain and the grape which have to give up their individuality to make bread and wine (used at the Lord's Table). In like

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16. Zieglschmid, Die aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brueder. 270-316.

17. Published by The Plough Publishing House, Bromdon, England, 1957.

18. Ehrenpreis, (1589-1662) was a contemporary of John Bunyan (1628-1688).

> manner men have to give up their individuality in order to become real brothers (again at the Lord's Table). The Sendbrief is certainly no theological tract, and yet it is one of the strongest and finest products of the Hutterite spirit concerning "brotherly communion, the highest commandment of love."[19]

All Hutterian devotional writings emphasize communal living, it is the "spiritual ark of Noah", "the straight and narrow path". It was realized almost simultaneously with the founding of the Brotherhood that the individual's best guide on this "narrow way" was the "Word". Literacy was stressed by the early Hutterians because the consistent and dynamic influence of the printed message was recognized by them. The devotional literature, next to the Bible, was and continues to be one of the strongest bonds that joins the Hutterian communities.

To the historical and devotional writings must be added Hutterian hymnology. Its purpose serves the same end, which is best expressed on the title page of the Hutterian hymnary: "Remember them which have the rule over you (in German: "Remember your predecessors (Vorgaenger) ...) who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering

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19. Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 166.

the end of their conversation." (Hebrew 13, 7).[20]

Hutterian Hymnology

Numerous manuscripts of Hutterian hymns, copied many times over, can be found at every colony in Manitoba. The sources for the hymnary, Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brueder, an 891 page volume, are three major codices: "a codex of somewhat before 1600 containing 165 hymns on 550 pages, one of about 1650 with 140 hymns on 800 pages, and one of about 1660 with 80 hymns on 780 pages."[21] This hymnary was compiled largely to provide the congregations with inspirational reading material. To this day it is not common practice for Hutterians to use the hymnary at the church service. Instead the lines of the hymns are spoken and intoned by the minister and sung by the congregation. In keeping with Hutterian conviction the emphasis is not on artistic singing, which they regard as an expression of vanity, but on the content and message of the words. Like the folk songs of old, the tunes of Hutterian hymns are passed on by tradition. There is no notation of tunes in the hymnary.

The writer recorded several Hutterian hymns which were sung to the tunes of well-known hymns. In addition several Hutterians consented to an experiment and sang before a Winnipeg hymnologist, Mr. J.P. Classen. In comparing the tunes

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20. Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brueder. (Published by the Hutterian Brethren of America at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1914).

21. Bender, H.S., in Mennonite Encyclopedia. II, 885.

with the notes Mr. Classen's analysis indicated that there was a marked departure from the original.

Hutterian hymns contain up to eighty stanzas. As Bender points out, they were not intended to be sung in full.[22] Many of them may almost be termed epics, narrating the sufferings of the early martyrs. Most of them are preceded by a few biographical lines on the writer. The first hymn is by Felix Mantz, one of the first Swiss brethren, "condemned to death by drowning at Zurich, on account of his faith, January 5, 1527". Hymns two and three were written by Georg Wagner, who on account of his faith"suffered death by burning at Munich, February 8, 1527". The next hymn was composed by Elder Andreas Ehrenpreis "in memory of Michael Sattler, burned alive at Rottenburg on the Neckar on May 21, 1527, after the executioner had cut out his tongue, riveted him on a cart, and torn his body with glowing tongs...." This constant reminder to the reader about early Hutterian martyrs must be regarded as a powerful source of indoctrination.

Another song book used by the colonies is an indiscriminate collection of hymns and songs of various origin, several of them written by contemporary Hutterians. Published by the Hutterian communities in Canada, it has appeared in four editions since 1919. This collection, known as the Gesang-Buechlein, is used extensively in the "German" school and in the home.

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22. Ibid., 885.

Before his untimely death in 1950, Dr. A.J.F. Zieglschmid, who spent much of his life in Hutterian research, collected a volume of Hutterian hymns in manuscript. This is deposited in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, in Indiana.[23]

The Hutterian Leaders

The lives and dedicated work of the Hutterian leaders are in themselves a contribution to the Hutterian heritage. Foremost among them is Jacob Huter. Huter, whose date of birth is unknown, came from Tyrol to the Moravian brethren in 1529. In introducing his name the oldest chronicle reports simply: "At that time there came a man by the name of Jacob, by occupation a hatter (German: Hut - hat), born in the hamlet Moos in the Pustertal."[24]

The Chronicle states that Huter was not without means when he joined the brethren. He was leader of the brotherhood for only two years, (1533-35). His great achievement was the transformation of a loosely joined congregation into organic communities. The Viennese historian Dr. Heimann refers to Huter as a man of "extraordinary passion and depth of faith", a man" of creative and inspired faith", and that he was deeply concerned "with the economic security of the brotherhood

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23. Ibid., 885.

24. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 89.

as the precondition for the full development of a sacred community".[25]

Huter travelled constantly between Tyrol and Moravia, directing refugees to safety. When he was finally captured attempts were made to reconvert him to the fold of the Catholic church. Huter remained steadfast, but even if he had recanted Kind Ferdinand's decision was made: "We are determined that even if Huter should renounce his error, we will not pardon him, for he has misled far too many and we will let the penalty which he has merited so abundantly take its course."[26] He was condemned to death by fire, and the sentence was carried out on February 25, 1536, at Innsbruck.

Two other outstanding leaders of the early period were Peter Riedemann, Senior Elder from 1542 to 1556, and his successor, Peter Walpot, who occupied the position from 1565 to 1578. One of Riedemann's outstanding contributions was his Confession of Faith. During his time, and largely through his influence, the Hutterian communities were imbued with great missionary zeal. Walpot was mainly responsible for the church rules regulating community life and the exemplary schools maintained by the Brotherhood. Both men spent many years in prison. They shaped and molded the work begun by Huter and left an indelible imprint on the history of their people.

Andreas Ehrenpreis (1589-1662) headed the Hutterian

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25. Heimann, F., "The Hutterite Doctrines", in M Q R, XXVI, 1 (January, 1952). 22-47.

26. Loserth, J., in Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 853.

church during the devastating Thirty Years' War. He lived through the expulsion from Moravia (1621), and settled on a Bruderhof in Slovakia. Ehrenpreis wrote extensively and worked at his occupation. He was a miller. Though membership of the congregations declined during this period of stress, it is perhaps only because of the remarkable and solicitous leadership provided by Ehrenpreis that the Hutterians survived at all.

Another leader of note was Johannes Waldner (1749-1824), who began the second Hutterian chronicle. Born in Austria, young Waldner, together with his parents and other Protestants, was transplanted from the province of Carinthia to Siebenbuergen, in modern Rumania but then the frontier of the Hapsburg Empire. The migration was in accordance with Empress Maria Theresa's policy to keep Austria proper Catholic. It is here that the Waldner family joined the Hutterian brethren who had established a community at Alwinz in 1621. Loyally Johannes Waldner shared the vicissitudes of the congregation, and trekked with the group through Wallachia to Ukraine. In the utter isolation here the Hutterians all but disintegrated and Waldner died a disappointed man. He was buried at the Raditschewa Colony, near the Desna River. Many of his descendants are living today in Manitoba.

While Waldner bridged the Austro-Russian period, another outstanding elder bridged the Russian-American epoch. He was Elias Walter. Walter was born in Russia, but during the Hutterian exodus in the 1870's moved to South Dakota. As a

young man he was elected colony manager, only to relinquish the position when he was elected and ordained minister (1900). He was the spiritual head of the short-lived colony established near Dominion City, in Manitoba, at the turn of the century. In 1902 Walter had Riedemann's Rechenschaft printed, in 1914 the Hutterian hymnary, in 1919 the small song book, which he also compiled, in 1920 a selection of the writings of Ehrenpreis, and in 1923 the Gross-Geschichtsbuch. All these books were immediately distributed among all Hutterian communities. Walter had also some other religious books printed for the colonies. In addition he wrote forty booklets of sermons and introductions to sermons (Vorreden).

Even before Walter was elected minister he devoted his spare time to copy by hand the Gross-Geschichtsbuch. Painstakingly he copied it three times, in 1889, in 1890, and 1892.[27] He was also an excellent bookbinder, and bound the hymnary for all colonies. One of these hymnaries, a well-worn volume sturdily bound in 1914, is now in the writer's library.

It is contrary to Hutterian practice to write at length on people still living. The contemporary Elder Peter Hofer is added to our list for one purpose only. He is the senior elder of the Schmiede-Leut' conference, which includes all colonies in Manitoba and South Dakota, and beyond that he is a typical Hutterian leader of today. Reverend Hofer not only heads the Brotherhood at a time of considerable expansion,

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27. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch. 492.

but his work and activity may throw a light on the background of Hutterian leaders of the past.

Though the Schmiede-Leut' group has colonies in the United States and Manitoba, the senior elder of this conference has always been a resident of Manitoba since the Hutterians first came here in 1918. Elder Peter Hofer's predecessors were: Paul Gross, Iberville Colony, 1917-31; Joseph Kleinsasser, Milltown Colony, 1931-47; Joseph Waldner, at first Poplar Point Colony and after it branched out, Springfield Colony, 1947-51. Elder Hofer, a conservative even by Hutterian standards, was sixty-five years of age when he was elected to his present position in 1951.

The home of the elder at James Valley Colony is no different from other homes. As senior leader he has assistants who periodically help him with the clerical work. When he took seriously ill in 1957 the council of ministers asked Elder Samuel Kleinsasser, of Sturgeon Creek Colony, to assume some of the senior elder's duties. By occupation Hofer is a teacher, but has relinquished this work for some time because of age. Elder Hofer spends much of his time in reading. His library contains among other books different translations of the Bible, Biblical reference works, and encyclopedias in German and in English. In the living room, which he uses as a study, are a filing cabinet, a typewriter, and a duplicator.

Elder Hofer is particularly interested in history. In his conversations with the writer he appeared equally familiar

with the current international developments, the history and extent of the Hapsburg empire, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and Mendel's law of heredity. The last two subjects came up when the writer asked whether any Jews had joined the Hutterian brethren during the period of their compulsive conversions. Mendel, or Maendel, is a Jewish as well as a German name. Elder Hofer pointed out that many of the Moravian Mendels were Jews, but that the Hutterian Maendels originally came from the province of Carinthia and did not have Jewish antecedents.

The informal atmosphere that characterizes colony life extends to the Elder's home. During the writer's visits the conversation was repeatedly interrupted. Sometimes Elder Hofer's twin brother, the colony shoemaker, beekeeper, and bookbinder, would come in to join the discussion, or again a boy would bring in the day's mail. There were letters, periodicals, and newspapers. Elder Hofer gave every impression that he was familiar with the world around him. He gave equally the impression of carrying a deep conviction that the Hutterian way was the nearest life there was to the realization of Jesus' gospel.

The large majority of the men and women of the Hutterian colonies are dedicated to live communal lives. They are willing to work and assume responsibilities which carry no rewards or privileges. That this is so must be attributed in no small

measure to the transcending influence of their spiritual and cultural heritage. The ideal of Jacob Huter of Tyrol, a total community which takes care of the spiritual and physical needs of its members, remains the ideal of the Hutterians today. The colony Gemeinschaft is an expression of this ideal.

Chapter VIII

HEALTH AND COMMUNITY STABILITY

The available data indicates that general health of rural populations is better than that of urban populations, despite the fact that medical services are not as accessible in the country as in the city.[1] Since the Hutterians are an exclusively rural people and about one-half of Canada's population lives in cities, one would expect the Hutterian health to be better than that of the average Canadian. Studies that have been conducted in the field of mental health concluded that the Hutterians were "extra-ordinarily free of some forms of mental illness."[2] Though no intensive study has been made of the physical health of the "community people", the almost complete absence of polio and some other diseases has attracted the attention of medical doctors.

One characteristic of Hutterian life with its rural setting and emphasis on plain living is the high birth rate and low mortality rate. Since few members leave the colonies (even fewer do so permanently), these two factors combine to contribute to the rapid and consistent growth of the group.

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1. Nelson, Lowry, Rural Sociology. (New York, 1948). 496-516-. In Canada the two provinces with the largest rural populations, Alberta and Saskatchewan, have the lowest death rate. See: The Canada Yearbook 1954, 188.

2. Eaton, J.W., and Weil, R. J., Culture and Mental Disorders. (Glencoe, Illinois, 1955). 12

Hutterian Physical Health

The health of the members of the Hutterian society is the concern of the whole community. While in individualistic society the group interest in health is largely in terms of dollar values, the cost of medical service, and the loss in earnings, this concern for the economic implications of poor health is secondary in a Hutterian colony. The invalid and his family have no worries about the cost of medical care, the loss of wages through unemployment, or of the future of the family in case of death. Hutterians carry no life insurance, but a man's illness or death in no way affects the economic security of his family. The resultant absence of worry may partially explain the group's good mental health, which is discussed in a later section.

Hutterians are health conscious. A group of small children who followed some outside visitors at one colony were told by the kindergarten teacher to stay out of the pig barns. Turning to one of the visitors the grandmotherly teacher explained: "There are so many flies there. Besides there are the farm animals, any one of them could be a disease carrier. For that reason I don't permit the children to play around the barns."

At another colony an old Hutterian was asked where the minister could be found. The old man interrupted his work and said simply: "He is with the nurses. Mir sind zu fett. (We are putting on too much weight). Later the minister

explained to the visitor that the community felt their diet was too rich, and he had invited a dietician and public health nurse to analyze the colony kitchen's menus. A few days later the same visitor noticed that for the afternoon coffee break the kitchen tables had, beside the customary pastries and sandwiches, large bowls of oranges and apples. This awareness of health habits and rules is pronounced in most colonies.

Hutterian attention to physical health becomes apparent when it is realized that the per capita outlay for medical purposes of Hutterian communities in Manitoba stands at well over thirty dollars. This covers hospitalization, medication, and the services of doctors, dentists, and opticians. A typical colony seventy-five miles away from Winnipeg and with a population of 104 spent $3,391.14 for medical services in 1955. Colony members are free to select their doctors and hospitals. The above mentioned community employed the services of nineteen professional people residing in four towns and in the city of Winnipeg. Its patients used local and Winnipeg hospitals. One patient also used the services of the Mayo Clinic at Rochester.

Referring particularly to the women, Clark attributes "their abounding good health" to "being out of doors so much".[3] Another reason may be Hutterian routine. The old axiom, "Early to bed, early to rise", is followed literally

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3. Clark, op. cit., 370.

All older children and adults rise at about the same time. The time for retirement at night varies with different families, but rarely extends beyond eleven o'clock. Meals are served very punctually, and the emphasis is on home-raised and home-grown produce. Soups are a great favorite, and the usual dessert is fresh or preserved fruit.[4] Another favorite is fowl, especially ducks and chicken. These, with generous bowls of peas, beans, beets, carrots, together with a stout glass of home-made wine, are generally reserved for Sundays.

Patients and invalids remain in their homes. Special sisters, usually under the supervision of the colony midwife, attend to their needs. Medical doctors who were interviewed spoke highly of the work of the midwives. The colony sees to it that their skill is passed on to members of the younger generation. To a much lesser degree this is also true in the case of chiropractors. If a member shows interest in and aptitude for dentistry, he may pursue an undirected (and officially uncertified) study at the elementary level. The former chief mechanic of the Blumengart Colony developed considerable skill as a dentist, which extended beyond mere extraction. He had a dentist's chair and the necessary dental equipment.

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4. The day to day menu of the community kitchen is in itself an item of interest, especially the quantities which are involved in communal cooking. The following ingredients were used by an ordinary colony in the preparation of bean soup: 5 pails of beans, fine cut; 1¢ pails of potatoes; 3 hams; 4 gallons of cream.

To the observer who spends some time at a colony the mangled fingers, gashes, and cuts sustained by children and adults alike seem to occur with unusual frequency. Advanced mechanization from kitchen to livestock barns and the proximity of playgrounds to workshops and heavy machinery may make the Hutterians more prone to accidents than their farm neighbors who occupy individual holdings.

When questioned on the problem of group inbreeding Hutterians maintained that the group at no time in its history had permitted the marriage of individuals related closer than first cousins, a type of marriage permitted in all Canadian provinces. There was also evidence that Hutterian leaders had discussed the matter with medical doctors. According to one medical authority the dangers of inbreeding, always more acute in weak than in healthy stock, are not present today. The group is sufficiently large to permit mate selection with the greatest assurance of safety.

On the whole the good health enjoyed by the members of the community may be the result of a number of contributing factors. They are of healthy peasant stock, have liberal access to medical services, lead regulated lives, believe in plain food, and consciously practice temperance in all things.

A Study in Human Multiplication

The Hutterians have been called the most prolific

people in North America.[5] Some Manitoba briefs demanding restrictive legislation against the Hutterians even voiced the opinion that if left unchecked the group would soon populate most of rural Manitoba. This is a view not warranted by the facts. The Hutterians are prolific, but even if the present rate of increase continues, and the population doubles every twenty years, there would be fewer than 20,000 Hutterians in the year 2000. While a proportional increase in the number of colonies would affect the rural pattern, it would hardly dominate Manitoba's countryside.

The Hutterian growth is characterized by two factors, a high birth rate and a low death rate (Table VII). The

TABLE VII

Population	Date	Birth Rate per 1000	Death Rate per 1000	Rate of Increase
Hutterians	1946-50	45.9	4.4	41.5
Canada	1946-51	27.4	9.3	18.1
United States	1949-51	24.0	9.7	14.3
Mexico	1949-51	44.9	17.0	27.9

Table VII. The vital statistics for the Hutterian communities in Canada and the United States, and for Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Source: See footnote 5.

Hutterian birth rate is equalled by the populations of some countries, but its low death rate is approached only by the most advanced countries. It would appear, however, that the Hutterian death rate of 4.4, provided by the Population Bulletin, is excessively low. In his intensive study Eaton places the Hutterian infant death rate at 45 per thousand, and the total Hutterian death rate as "similar to that of the United States' white population".[6] The Canadian infant mortality rate for the period between 1946 to 1950 ranges from 41 to 47 per thousand, and thus approximates the infant death rate of the Hutterians. There appears to be no valid reason why the total Hutterian death rate should be very much lower than that of the general white population of Canada.

The Hutterians do not equal the high birth rate of the French-Canadians, who reached their peak in the period from 1681 to 1720.[7] Their birth rate stood at 53.7 per thousand. This high birth rate was offset by a high death rate of 21.5. The rate of natural increase for French-Canada was thus 32.7 per thousand, which is lower than that of the Hutterians. (Table VII).

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5. Main sources for this section: "The North American Hutterites" in Population Bulletin, X, 8 (December, 1954) (Washington D.C.); Eaton, W.J., and Mayer, A.J., Man's Capacity to Reproduce. (Glencoe, Illinois, 1953); The Canada Year Book 1954.

6. Eaton and Weil, Culture and Mental Disorders. 25.

7. Henripin, J., La Population Canadiene au Debut du XVIII Siecle (Travaux et Documents No. 22) (Paris, Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques, 1954.) Quoted by Population Bulletin.

The late marriages among the Hutterians reduce their possible birth rate considerably. In Canada and the United States over 70 out of 1000 females in the 15 to 19 age group give birth to infants, one fifth of them illegitimate. On the other hand illegitimacy is almost unknown among the Hutterians, and only 12 out of 1000 females in the corresponding age group give births to infants. Once marriage is consummated Hutterian women continue to reproduce even beyond the age of forty-five. The church does not sanction birth control, and the general attitude is to "let nature take her course".[8]

Robert C. Cook, editor of Population Bulletin, seriously questions a sustained continuation of the high birth rate of natural increase among the Hutterians. He maintains that an increase in the group means a weakening of the primary group relationship. This would necessarily "put the brakes on continued rapid growth". He also suggests that the population growth will bring the group "against a Malthusian wall of declining living standards". Furthermore, acculturation and assimilation may bring about "changes in their patterns of living and reproduction more in keeping with the times."[9]

The Hutterian population pattern is not characterized by cycles. The demographic trend is stable, but not stationary. (Table VIII).

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8. The expression was used in separate interviews by a Hutterian minister and a colony midwife.

9. Cook, op. cit., 105-106.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HUTTERIAN AND CANADIAN POPULATIONS FOR 1951

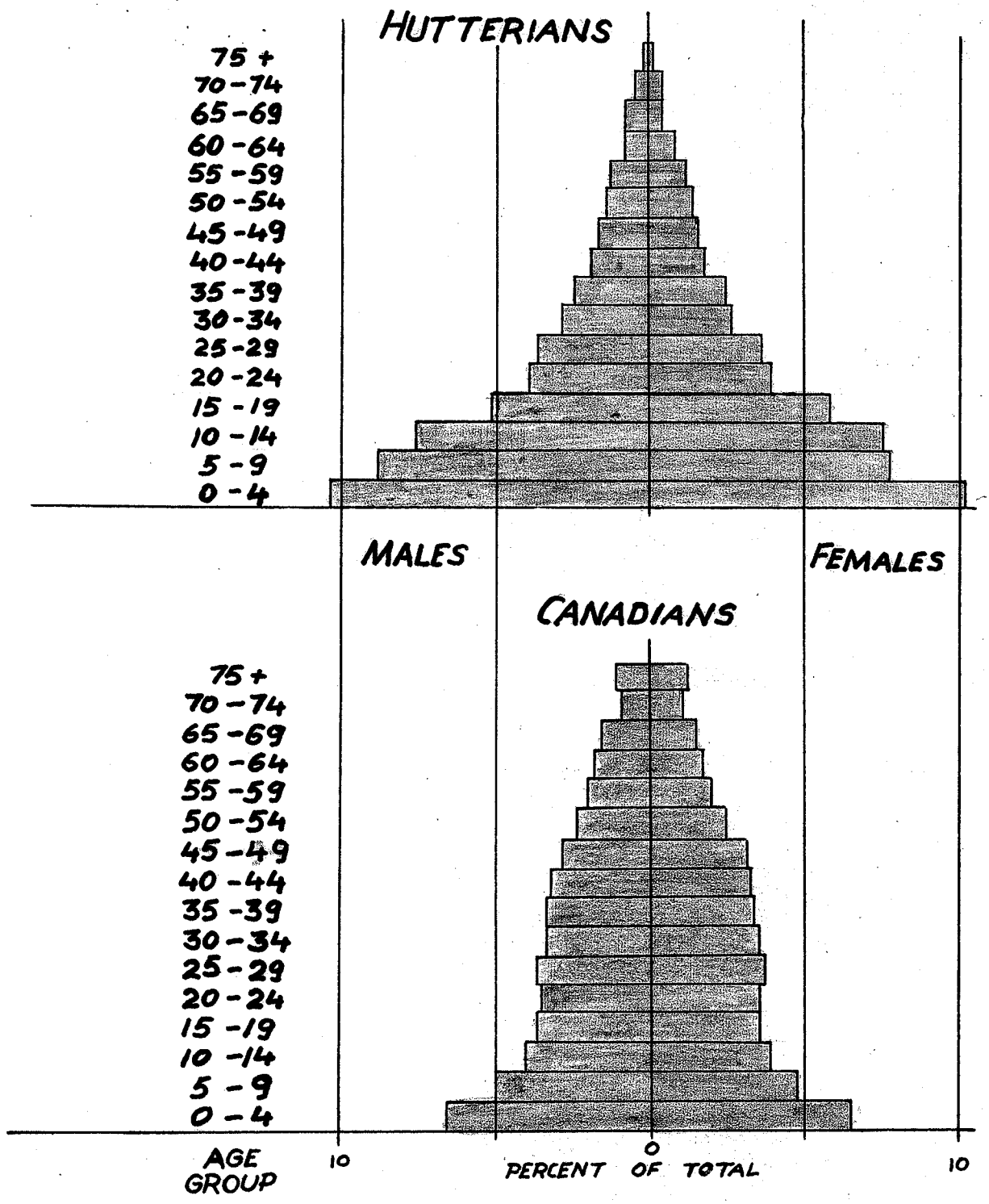

Chart 6.

Hutterian Mental Health

The problem is mental illness has received increased attention in Canada and elsewhere, as the accelerated pace of life exacts its toll. One recent newspaper editorial stated that "in most provinces mental hospitals reported a shortage of accommodation, doctors, and nurses to care for the flood of persons, young and old, rich and poor, who have broken down under the complexities and contradictions, the frustrations and emptiness of their lives."[10] Mental abnormality has been defined as a behaviour which is in some sense defective.[11] It is at least partly attributed to family disintegration, excessive mobility, and social disorganization. Individuals in urbanized society are especially vulnerable to neurosis, schizophrenia, old age psychosis, and even to insanity. As well this atmosphere breeds vice, delinquency, and crime. The urbanized society is also characterized by a high rate of suicide.

When it came to the attention of the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Public Health Service that Hutterians enjoyed a reputation for good mental health, it undertook to send a team of American and Canadian scientists, sociologists and medical doctors, to investigate this aspect of community life. The Hutterians, who lay no claim to immunity from mental illness, co-operated fully in the research

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10. "Ill Fares the Land...", editorial in Toronto Star. January 26, 1957.

11. Faris, R.E.L., Social Disorganization. (New York,1948). 223.

directed by Dr. Joseph W. Eaton. His interdisciplinary team found that the Hutterian "lifetime risk of all types of mental disorders is as low as or lower than that of any contemporary Euro-American group." Moreover, while the Hutterian way provides no "antidote for severe mental disorders", it does provide "an atmosphere within which emotionally disturbed persons were encouraged to get well or to function in a socially accepted manner within the limits imposed by their illness."[12]

Dr. Eaton's team also consulted fifty-five Canadian and American doctors who had Hutterian patients. Their clinical judgments were that compared to their other patients the Hutterians had "less" of the following symptoms: stuttering, nailbiting, chronic headaches, nightwalking, cancer, chronic constipation, spastic colitis, chronic digestive disturbances, kidney malfunctions, hypertensive complications in pregnancy, complaint of menstrual disorders, female frigidity, aggressiveness in personal relationships, worry about illness, feelings of personal inadequacy, chronic nightmares, amnesia, coronary heart disease, malingering, chronic insomnia, drug addiction, extreme alcoholism, nervous tics, fainting, hysterical seizures, asthma, food allergies, hay fever, suicides (including attempts), complaints of poor appetite, urinary tract infections, syphilis, male impotence, interest in birth control information, and fear of death.

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12. Eaton, J.W., and Weil, R.J., Culture and Mental Disorders. 210-212. See also: Kaplan, Bert, and Plaut, Thomas F.A., Personality in a Communal Society, An Analysis of the Mental Health of the Hutterites. (University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1956.)

Between the Hutterians and their other patients the same doctors found "little or no difference" in these symptoms: hypochondriac complaints, arteriosclerosis, dependability in personal relationships, average life expectancy, chronic bedwetting, and eczema. Finally in a third category the clinitians reported that Hutterians had "more" of these symptoms than other patients: obesity, fats in their diet, capacity to endure pain, general good physical health, and general good mental health.[13]

The investigators found that heterosexual relationships were extremely sound (complete absence of homosexuality), and that Hutterian marriages were characterized by a "remarkable stability". They reported only one divorce and two separations for all communities in Canada and the United States, presumably extending over their entire period on this continent. On the whole they were impressed with "The balance, poise and maturity" of the Hutterians.

Even before the Mental Health group made its survey two American sociologists, Bertha Clark and Lee Emerson Deets, had conducted intensive individual research among the Hutterians and noted the absence of murder, arson, burglary, forgery, and other forms of crime.[14] The solicitor of the Hutterian communities, E.A. Fletcher, Q.C., of Winnipeg, who

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13. Eaton and Weil, op. cit. 235-237.

14. Clark, op. cit., 482; Deets, op. cit. 2.

has been their legal advisor since shortly after they came to Canada in 1918, stated that no Hutterian had ever been charged with a major offense. Interviews with representatives of the RCMP and the Winnipeg City Police corroborated this. Said one constable: "Once or twice when a young Hutterian delinquent was hauled up for a misdemeanor we found it best to turn him over to their own elders. They know how to handle such cases better than anyone else."

Perhaps the most serious offense with which Hutterians have been charged is that of smuggling. Hutterians commute freely between the United States and Canada, exchanging truckloads of feed for truckloads of watermelons, or engage in other forms of barter. As a rule these exchanges and the import of purchased articles are reported at the border. In 1957 the RCMP launched a widespread search of the Manitoba colonies. The result was that two communities were charged with a breach of the Customs Act and fines were imposed. The crown counsel said that the colony elders had given the police every co-operation on their vists to the communities.[15]

It is not suggested here that crime invariably has its root in mental abnormality. But tension, mental illness, and social disorganization provide a favourable climate for its existence. The Hutterian communities are well integrated. Individuals are uninhibited and generally pursue healthy interests. Their econimic security is safeguarded by the

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15. Winnipeg Free Press, May 17, and July 5, 1957.

community. The whole mental and spiritual outlook discourages explorative thinking. The result is a society marked by extreme conservatism. It is not a static society, but all changes are introduced and accepted at a slow, evolutionary pace. The community offers to the individual a completely secure and familiar pattern of life. Once he has made the cardinal decision to remain in the colony, and most Hutterians accept this without a challenge, conflict and tension are reduced to a minimum.

It would thus appear that physical, mental, and spiritual security and a temperate pace of living are the chief contributors to Hutterian mental health, and the realization of a society practically void of crime.

Communal Stability

The Hutterians make no claim that their colonies are communities of saints. Though the everyday life is usually harmonious enough, there are problems which periodically confront the community. These range from minor misdemeanours to overt violation of congregation-community regulations. The possession of a musical instrument, a radio, or cigarettes, drunkennes or vanity in appearance, dishonesty or disobedience would alike set into motion the colony's disciplinary machinery. Any transgression is usually soon discovered. The intimacy of communal life, its almost complete lack of privacy in that any member may go into any home without even the formality of knocking, makes everyone "his brother's keeper".

On the whole, boys and men appear to be more often involved in misdemeanours than are girls and women. The women's work is usually done in larger groups, and the social control may be correspondingly stronger. It would appear that a lecture by the minister is also more effective with women than with the men. As a rule if a girl is found using cosmetics or is guilty of frivolous behaviour, the disapproval of the group and a serious lecture by the minister will bring about immediate conformity if not repentance. Even the most daring girls, and many of them are exceptionally good looking and intelligent, are careful to remain within the limits set by the community. With the women rare instances of evil talk or petty jealousy may disturb the harmony of the community and a visit from the minister usually suffices to achieve contrition.

Boys are more ready than girls to violate community taboos. Smoking and the possession of a radio, transistor or electric set concealed in a room are perhaps the most common perpetrations. Usually, the boys who break some regulation are not baptized and thus not formally members of the church. If the guilt is established the first offense may be dismissed with a lecture. If it is repeated the community council may ask the parent to administer corporal punishment. If the violation is continued and the parental punishment is deemed unsatisfactory the council may ask the "German" teacher as the guardian of the community's youth, or some other senior member, to punish the delinquent.

No members of the community, whether baptized or not, are punished by exclusion from the colony unless they show persistent disobedience. Only one case of this nature is on record for Manitoba, and it goes back thirty years. The head of a family joined the Jehovah Witnesses. He was not excluded from the community but was asked not to introduce a discordant note and a belief contrary to Hutterian doctrine into the brotherhood. When the member insisted on using the community as his missionary field and to proselytize he was asked to leave. The man took his family away, but there does not appear to have been any ill feeling on the part of either side.

The very informal modes of punishment for deviant behaviour are stages of physical and spiritual isolation corresponding with the severity of the violation. To the outsider they would appear almost ludicrously ineffectual. But the offender's conditioned sensitivity to group disapproval and sincere consciousness of guilt make communal life extremely unpleasant until the delinquent shows remorse. The extreme forms of punishment are stages of Meidung (shunning), aptly termed by the Hutterians as den Frieden nehmen (taking away the peace). Taking away the individual's peace of conscience until the delinquent makes amends is the very practical effect of shunning.

Depending on the seriousness of the transgression the offender may even be forbidden to communicate with other baptized members, including his own wife. There may be physical isolation where he is assigned a special room. This does not mean solitary confinement, for the offender is

expected to continue with his regular duties. He will be required to take his meals alone in the community dining room seated at his own table. Since by his offense the delinquent has excluded himself from the spiritual community of the brotherhood, he is also isolated from the physical community during church service. Constantly surrounded by a disapproving but not hostile group shunning as a punishment takes effect. The delinquent's peace is restored when the congregation assembles for worship and he announces from the back of the church that he is prepared to ask forgiveness.

Once the community re-admits the offender the other members are forbidden to refer to the offense. But the offender's name is usually entered in the church record, and repeated violations would affect the member's status. On the whole, the community's patience in these matters is remarkable. It is literally based on Jesus's answer to Peter when the latter asked whether to forgive a brother seven times were sufficient, and the Lord answered not seven times "but until seventy times seven" (St. Matthew 18:22). One typical colony had the names of four offenders entered in its annals in the eight years of its existence. None of the offenses appeared very serious to the outsider.

If the offender occupies an important position on the colony he relinquishes the position. The term "is deposed" is used by outsiders, but it is hardly appropriate. The communal training is such that the delinquent, once it becomes known that his behaviour was contrary to the community regulations, does not wait for a formal censure but of his

own volition retires from the position of trust. This is an admission of guilt and places the onus on the offender. In the fall of 1957 a colony manager was guilty of a fraudulant act. He had used some of the community funds for himself without accounting for it. Before long it was discovered and the traditional informal Hutterian procedure took its course. In such a case not only the colony concerned but the other communities as well are deeply sympathetic to the offender who has been weighed and found wanting. In effect this very sympathy contributes to the guilt-feeling of the delinquent. The punishment, prolonged shunning, was administered. At the outset there appeared to be a general acceptance of his eventual rehabilitation. The man will in all likelihood in time again occupy a position of trust.

As indicated elsewhere there are no cases on record where Hutterians were involved in murder, arson, robbery, or other major criminal offenses. There is only one case of suicide in Hutterian history since they came to this continent over eighty years ago. It occurred in one of the colonies in Manitoba, and its cause was extreme alcoholism.

There are no alcoholics in the colonies at the present time. The Hutterians do not advocate total abstinence, but practice moderation. At the colony wine may be served on Sundays or at festive occasions. Mr. H. Goerz, who spent many years as a public school teacher in Hutterian colonies, maintains that "drunkenness is very rare indeed". When the waiter at the Elie hotel (almost one-half of the Manitoba colonies are around Elie) was asked about Hutterian drinking

habits he said that the men coming back from Winnipeg sometimes "drop in for a glass of beer". They "drink it quietly and leave". In his experience none had ever "taken too much".

A widespread opinion held by outsiders is that Hutterians are given to theft, that they will steal from the colony to sell for private gain, or steal from neighbors or from counters in department stores. It is generally assumed that it must be a simple matter for the "hog-man" or the "poultry-man" to steal several pigs or crates of eggs, sell them and pocket the money. Though the colony has no formal system of checks to guard its interests, it takes for granted that its members are honest. The community setting is essentially an extended family setting. In any case the life, work, and possessions of any individual are an open book to the entire colony.[16] Furthermore, it is very rare for an individual to leave the colony by himself. He is usually accompanied by his family, or, on a business trip, by one or two helpers. The "poultry-man" or the "hog-man" does not necessarily take the products of his own enterprise to market. In short, it would require a series of risky machinations for any individual to commit fraud. This and the general dedication of the member to his congregation makes theft from the colony a rarity. That it does occur is

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16. Pitt, E., op. cit. 90.

is evidenced by the case of the "deposed" colony manager already mentioned.

According to Dr. Eaton the opinion that Hutterians do not respect private property is based on rumors. He suggests that these rumors reflect the outsiders' feelings "about the unusual features of the Hutterite way of life". When these rumors were traced to their source they "turned out to have no validity".[17] In several instances this writer traced rumors about Hutterian dishonesty and his findings were a corroboration of Eaton's thesis. A doctor's receptionist claimed that she had seen in the office two Hutterian women looking over their stolen goods, some pillow cases. When the receptionist was asked how she knew the articles were stolen her explanation was that "everybody knows these women carry no money, and I wouldn't put it past them that if they saw something they liked they'd put their hands on it."

Mr. H. C. Payment, the secretary-treasurer of the municipality of Cartier for almost as long as the Hutterians have lived in it, said that in the earlier years people would accuse the Hutterians every time an article disappeared, but this has changed. There are ten Hutterian communities in the municipality and Mr. Payment could not recall a single instance in which a charge of pilfering or theft could be substantiated.

It is not suggested that all Hutterians have a clear

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17. Eaton, op. cit., 142.

record of honesty. But evidence indicates that they as a group are no more guilty of this form of delinquency than their neighbors.

Leaving the community for the outside world is, from the Hutterian view, an offense. While there are some colonies which have not lost a single member of the community, there are others where as many as four have left within one year. These are usually young, unmarried men who have not formally joined the church. Statistics on this item are almost useless because the majority of those who leave eventually return. In meting out punishment to contrite members a difference is made between those who have not formally joined the church and those who are baptized members. This also applies to individuals who have left the colony and then return after an absence.

In connection with the administration of punishment it should be remembered that Hutterians are not fanatics, and accept the fact that imperfect man will from time to time stray from the narrow path.[18] Moreover, while the Hutterians believe that Christians should live separated from "the world", they do not judge the outside world. This they leave to God.[19] Convinced that community living is Christ's directive to man, the Hutterians discourage their members from leaving the security of "the spiritual ark of Noah" (the colony) for the pleasures of the outside world.

Women very rarely leave the communal sanctuary for

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18. Eaton, o;p. cit., 192.

19. Pitt, op. cit., 45.

life outside of it. In two or three cases they left the colony only to follow their husbands; in one or two cases they even refused to do this. Those who leave the colony are usually boys between the ages of seventeen to twenty. Many of them leave to see "the world" with the expressed understanding, but not with the community's approval, to return after one or two years. Others stay away much longer. At one colony the "German" teacher was away for twenty-three years, operated his own business, then returned and settled down apparently quite contented. It is significant that he did not marry until he returned to the colony. Another member of the same community spent fourteen years as a sailor on the Great Lakes before he came back. Once the member returns, shows penitence and accepts punishment, the episode is forgotten. One man who spent many years away from the colony was recently ordained minister.

During the anti-Hutterian agitation in 1947, those in favor of Hutterian restriction also favored legislation "whereby any man, woman, or child" who leaves the colony would get his "equitable share of the colony assets".[20] The Hutterians opposed the move and for understandable reasons. At one colony a member left the community three times and returned twice. At the colony he felt that he "was not a good enough Christian" to meet Hutterian standards; and he felt equally ill at ease outside of it. To apportion his "equitable share" under these

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20. Report, Select Special Committee (Provincial Library, Winnipeg, 1947). 27.

circumstances would have been a challenge to the best legal minds in the province.

The men who leave the colony usually find no difficulty in making their way. Since they have spent some time as apprentices at various community enterprises they are equally familiar with carpentry, work at machine shops, or farm work. They generally qualify for all but better white-collar jobs for which they lack the formal education. One Hutterian teen-ager left a colony shortly before the war and found employment at a garage where his workmanship and skill soon became invaluable.[21] With the outbreak of World War II he joined a tank unit, went overseas, saw action in Holland and France. After the war he returned to work for one of the biggest garages in Winnipeg where he occupied a responsible position. Then one day he packed his belongings, returned to the colony, joined church, and married. His appearance and thinking appear indistinguishable from his co-religionists.

Another young man ran away from the colony twice before the age of eighteen, but was taken back each time by his parents. As soon as he came of age he left again and joined the army. After the war he married and is now comfortably settled in one of the better residential areas of Winnipeg. He owns a good home attractively furnished and complete with a television set. The man, his charming wife, and three children

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21. The story was told to the writer by Mr. E. Howe, provincial agricultural representative. The writer did not meet the young man in question as he was engaged in some field work, but he did talk to his father.

are indistinguishable from other families in the neighborhood. The wife had not known of her husband's Hutterian background until after they were married. The family visits the husband's former colony several times a year, and is in turn visited by colony members. Though the wife finds life very different in the colony, and took exception to their clothes and language, which she does not speak, her attitude towards the colony people is anything but hostile. The husband, who had been away from the colony for eighteen years, is not prepared to exclude the possibility of going back but admits that it is unlikely.[22]

Invariably former colony members show marked toleration if not actual loyalty towards the Hutterian communities and their institutions. "Perhaps the whole fault lies with us," said a twenty-six year old former colony, but not church, member, "for the colony religion is good. When I visit the colony I go to church. When I left the colony I told the boys I'd be back in two years. It's six years now, and I don't know when I'll go back." He does know, however, that regardless of where he is or how long he will stay away, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and all the familiar faces will be all there at their daily tasks. The inner conflict between the emotions of love for the familiar on the one side and the urge for new experience on the other will always present a serious problem to the individual.

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22. See: Footnote 25, Chapter IV.

On the whole, deviant behaviour from the accepted community pattern of life is sufficiently rare that it cannot be considered a serious or immediate factor in colony disintegration. Hutterians themselves talk freely about the inroads the world is making on their way of life. Young men would just as soon have station wagons as the cumbersome buses used for transport, not realizing that a smaller vehicle would in its own way contribute to a segmentation of the group. As it is, several families will visit another colony travelling on one "bus". But a station wagon might be used by one family only. Again, the ministers may reprimand colony women that they encourage vanity in young girls by permitting them to embroider their names artistically in the corner of their shawls.

But to the outsider these inroads of "the world" appear trivial. The popular opinion that the ministers form a hierarchy and wield despotic power over the "colony inmates" is not consistent with the facts. The Hutterians, old and young, men and women, are sincerely dedicated to the ideal of Christian brotherhood, which, to them, is expressed in the "community".

One of the most positive sides of community solidarity is the mutual aid system. Each colony is a completely autonomous economic unit, but may secure interest free, repayable loans from other colonies. Furthermore, if one colony should meet with disaster, crop failure, flood or fire damage, the inter-colony aid becomes operative, and both, produce and

cash is donated freely. The community concerned draws up a list of its minimum requirements and the other colonies contribute feed grain, garden products, and money to meet the need. There have been a few cases where colonies established themselves on rented land but returned to the home colony when economic conditions made retrenchment necessary. Such cases were the Sharpe Farm, near Kaleida, (1925-29), where a colony was established on land rented from the estate of Senator George Sharpe, and the colonies near Teulon (1934-36) and Rose Isle (1929-38). The latter colony transferred to found Jamesville Colony in South Dakota.

If the need assumes greater proportions and affects several colonies, the aid of the kinship groups in Alberta and the United States may be sought. It operates in the same practical manner as inter-colony aid. The formal relationship among the three groups of Hutterians is outlined in the Articles of Association (Appendix I). By these the leaders are to meet in conference once every three years to discuss mutual problems. The Articles were drawn up in anticipation of provincial interference in colony matters. When these anticipated fears, in the form of restriction of expansion, did not develop, the Articles of Association remained practically dormant. Mutual inter-conference aid is not covered by the Articles, but in practice it is the most tangible form of solidarity among the three groups.

Chapter IX

THE HUTTERIANS AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

The public school is the most potent outside agency that has penetrated into Hutterian society. The Bruderhof was exposed to its influence in South Dakota before the Hutterians came to Canada. One of the ultimate objectives of the public school is to integrate the Hutterians as much as possible into the larger Canadian mosaic. Basically there exists a clash of views between the Hutterians and the government as the controlling agent of the public school.

From the Hutterian point of view the public school is "Weltlich" ("worldly") in its orientation. It sets up materialistic objectives; the goal is the achievement of success. The school then proceeds to educate and prepare the pupils in line with these objectives. Moreover, the atmosphere in the public school is exploratory; truths are examined and sometimes restated. This is in sharp contrast to basic Hutterian doctrine and to the basic aim of Hutterian schools. The schools, according to the Hutterians, should be orientated away from the worldliness that stigmatizes man. They should exist to acquaint the child with the eternal truths. These are God's categorical imperatives and a speculative approach to them is morally wrong.

Many Hutterians feel that the "worldliness" of the public school will adversely affect the future of the community Gemeinschaft. Consistent with their doctrine of non-resistance

the Hutterians have at no time challenged the position of the imposed public school. They did introduce religious instruction before and after regular school hours. These classes are conducted by their own colony teachers. It is the Hutterian view that this instruction with its exclusive emphasis on religion partially offsets the "negative, one-sided" influence of the public school.

The Organization of the Public Schools

The school question plagued Manitoba for many years. By the time the Hutterians came to this province in 1918 it was almost settled.[1] The Hutterians realized that they would be required to comply with existing school laws, and were prepared to do so. As they moved to Manitoba the provincial government immediately took steps to see that public schools were formed in their colonies. This was chiefly the work of Dr. Robert Fletcher, who was Deputy Minister of Education for Manitoba from 1906 to 1938. Dr. Fletcher took an active interest in the Hutterians.

The Hutterians settled in areas where the schools were too small to accommodate the increased number of children. Thereupon the Department of Education formed the Hutterian landholdings into school districts. Pending the provision of school buildings classes were held in Hutterian community

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1. Morton, W. L., Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality 1890-1923. (University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, nd. 9 pages.)

buildings. Fully qualified English-speaking teachers were employed.[2]

This arrangement solved the problem which the compact communities posed to the public school districts in which they were located. If the Hutterian children had been required to attend existing schools the affected districts would have had to enlarge their schools and engage additional teachers. The ratepayers most likely would have protested, as they did in an analogous situation in Alberta. Pitt in his Alberta study reports that during the 1930's the Hutterian elders of one colony approached a district board "with the request that, since the colony paid all local school taxes assessed on its property within the district, the Hutterite children be admitted to the Daly Creek School." The board "was reluctant to grant" this request.[3] The Hutterians did not press for admission, later changed their stand and continued to operate their own public school without provincial aid.

The Hutterians could not elect their own school board, and this for two reasons. According to the Manitoba School Act school trustees must be born or naturalized Canadians. The Hutterians were American citizens. Furthermore, elected school trustees must be registered and resident landowners. Because the Hutterians are not individually registered property owners they do not qualify for the office of school trustee.

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2. The information on the early history of the public schools on Hutterian colonies is based on a letter dated September 9, 1957, from Dr. R. Fletcher to the writer.

Public school inspectors were assigned to inspect and report on the colony public schools in their districts in the same manner as on other schools. This system reamined in operation for thirty years. The post World War II anti-Hutterian agitation included a demand that the public school intensify its integration work among the colony people. In 1947, the Select Special Committee of the Manitoba legislature recommended that "the function of the School Administrator, the School Inspector, and the Attendance Officer be vested in a single official who should have jurisdiction over the Hutterite colonies".[4] Acting on this recommendation the Department of Education appointed Mr. B. Grafton to the position. He in turn worked in close co-operation with the Chief Inspector of Schools, Mr. C.K. Rogers. Both men are known throughout Manitoba as educators and administrators, and are also greatly respected by the Hutterians. The relationship between the colonies and the officials of the department of education have been consistently excellent for the past forty years.

All colony schools employ qualified teachers, who are engaged by the official administrator. The colonies whose landholdings are coterminous with the school district operate and finance their own public schools in the same manner as other school districts. In four colonies the community landholdings are included in previously organized school

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3. Pitt, op. cit., ii.

4. Report, Select Special Committee. 25.

districts. These are reluctant to relinquish taxable land, and the Hutterians are equally unwilling to send their children to schools attended by non-Hutterian children. For the colony would have no control over the introduction of audio and visual aids, which are not approved by the community. Under these circumstances the Hutterian colonies choose to continue to pay school taxes to the municipality, but independently finance another school in the colony. Technically these are private schools, but the Brethren make no attempt to interfere in their regular school program. They are for practical purposes public schools which get no municipal or provincial aid.

Annual meetings are held in all colonies, and, according to Mr. Grafton, these are well attended. The official trustee or administrator is present and available for advice. His recommendations are usually endorsed. Thus the Hutterian public schools operate in many ways more efficiently than many rural schools in Manitoba. There is no warm sentiment among the Hutterians for these schools, but they accept them. Community interest in them is active and the administration is in the hands of a capable official. The primary objective of the Department of Education projected for Hutterian schools is the same as that for other schools: to raise the existing standards in all grades and extend general interest in education beyond the grade eight level.

In Alberta and Saskatchewan the Hutterian public schools occupy a position similar to their Manitoba status.[5] There too the colonies insist on having the schools within their own communities. The administration, however, is in the

hands of the larger area school boards. The curricula are those prescribed in the respective provinces, and the persons employed as teachers are regular teachers.

The Curriculum and Teachers

The public schools in the Hutterian communities in Manitoba follow the program of studies prescribed for the province. This writer visited a number of schools on different occasions and the routine at the colony public schools was the same as in any rural school. Colony schools are also inspected regularly.

A survey conducted by the writer for the school years 1956-57 and 1957-58 revealed that almost one-half of the colony teachers were of Anglo-Saxon stock. An almost equal number were of German, mostly Mennonite, origin, and the rest were of Ukrainian, French, and Scandinavian descent. About one-third of the teachers employed were male. As in other rural schools in the province a very large proportion of the colony public school teachers had only permit qualifications.

These teachers attend the annual fall conventions for which two or three inspectorates are generally combined. In 1956, the convention was held in St. James, and in the following year at Charleswood. It is a common practice at Manitoba conventions for teachers to sub-divide into smaller

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5. Information on Saskatchewan and Alberta is based on correspondence between this writer and Mr. R.J. Davidson, Director of School Administration, Regina, and Mr. H.C. Sweet, Assistant Chief Superintendent of Schools, Edmonton.

groups. Generally the teachers in Hutterian schools meet in one special session during which mutual problems are discussed. Usually the teachers develop a strong attachment to the Hutterian children and even to the colonies. Pitt also reports that in Alberta the teachers at Hutterian schools "speak well of the children's cleanliness and manners, of their neatly kept, warm school buildings, and of the fine spirit of co-operation shown the teachers by the Hutterian Elders".[6] A similar note was struck by Mr. C.K. Rogers in an address to a Winnipeg club in 1955.[7]

This writer attended two special convention sessions and met almost all teachers employed at Hutterian schools. Their consensus of opinion was : "We like it there." A number of the teachers have remained at the same school for many years. Miss W. Fitzmaurice has taught at the Milltown Colony school for twenty-nine years. In her report to the convention Miss Fitzmaurice said that several French-Canadian families send their children to the Hutterian school, and everybody "gets along fine."

Almost without exception the teachers take an active interest in the colony. Often they attend weddings and funerals. If they are sufficiently conversant with German they sometimes attend church services. A few random comments selected from teachers' reports to the writer illustrate their

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6. Pitt, op. cit., 77

7. "Hutterite Education Standard Praised by Chief Inspector", in Winnipeg Free Press, March 4, 1955.

relationship with the colony people. Mr. Florence Dundas, teacher at the Oak Bluff Colony, who lives only a short distance away from the colony, wrote: "When I have occasion to stay over night I am always invited to spend the evening at different homes and am made very welcome." "One day in summer half of the colony women brought a couple of bags of beans down and helped me can them," reported Mrs. Tolton of Crystal Spring Colony. "The girls come down occasionally and help me with the housecleaning." Miss Viola Dufresne of Lakeside Colony wrote: "I see a great deal of the people. They are all so friendly." When interviewed another young teacher, Mr. A. Wiebe, at the Blumengart Colony, said: "I eat at the community dining hall and the colony does not want to accept payment for room and board." Mr. Harvey Doell, Waldheim Colony, provided the following information: "I am paying $20 a month. This covers rent for a three room teacherage, oil for heating, electricity, and board."

When this writer arrived at Rosedale Colony at lunch time he visited the two young teachers residing at the teacherage. They did their own light house keeping. But the colony girls had laid out a complete meal, including roast chicken, potatoes, and gravy. The two young female teachers maintained that this was done almost every day of the week.

Though the teacher remains an "outsider", the community's feeling is never hostile towards him. Generally it is the "German" teacher who provides the initial liaison between the public school teacher and the community. Should the inex-

perienced teacher encounter discipline problems a report to the "German" teacher is usually sufficient to check any misbehaviour. He is greatly respected by the children. "The attitude towards education depends a great deal on the 'German' teacher," writer Mrs. Tolton, "if he takes an interest in the children's school work they are more inclined to be ambitious."

The influence of the colony atmosphere is inescapable, and even the teachers are exposed to it. A male teacher maintained he felt "wicked" when he smoked at the colony. A young female teacher said that whenever she used cosmetics and jewellery too generously she felt "positively sinful" in company with Hutterians. Other teachers, themselves usually very young men and women, were less sensitive to the colony mores and said they sometimes offered cigarettes to older boys or invited young people for special radio or television programs. When a good-looking teacher was teased by a colleague that she was seeing too much of the Hutterian boys, the teacher turned defensively to the writer and said: "Those boys are more gentlemanly than our boys. I wouldn't be ashamed being seen with them anywhere in the city. Except for their clothes they are nice, and no different from other people." The Hutterians themselves would hardly be pleased to hear that they were "no different from other people."

A very detailed and lively account of her experiences as a teacher of Hutterian children was given by Joan Sigurdson, now living in Winnipeg. Miss Sigurdson taught at a public

school when the Hutterians moved into the district. Since they did not have a school of their own, she consented to take care of the additional enrolment. She briefed her pupils, and when the colony children arrived school routine continued without interruption. There were a number of surprises in store for the Hutterian pupils. "I recall the look on the faces of the very young ones," reported Miss Sigurdson, "when I brought a radio into the school. They seemed much like what I imagine the Indians must have looked like as they inspected their first cannon."

Miss Sigurdson coaxed the Hutterian children to participate in the Christmas concert, for "many of them had lovely voices for choir work." She took the colony children to a field day which "they enjoyed to the hilt, a number of them taking ribbons for events." Sometimes the teacher felt "much like someone sitting on a land mine," and the Hutterians, too, may have had some reason to feel like the Indians inspecting "their first cannon". It is difficult to assess what such an accelerated course of integration would achieve.

On the whole the public school teachers respect colony ways. The community-teacher relationship is good. The public school teachers on Hutterian colonies are in every respect indistinguishable from a cross section of rural Manitoba school teachers.

The School

Most of the Hutterian school plants are satisfactory. All schools have electricity, many of them have indoor toilets, running water, and oil heat. Usually the "German" teacher supervises the heating and teachers stated that the schools were comfortably warm all winter. All schools have some playground equipment. Many have teeters, swings, sandboxes, and even merry-go-rounds. These are all supplied by the colony enterprises, the blacksmith shop and the carpentry department. Bats and balls are standard school equipment. All text books and school supplies are provided by the colony.

The colony schools lack teaching aids like projectors, television sets, radios, phonographs, and pianos. The Hutterians disapprove of them on religious grounds. Since they are not compulsory and many rural schools in the province do not have them, the official administrator has not forced them on colony schools.

Many colonies have teacherages, but this writer found some of them barely satisfactory. In a questionnaire filled out by the teachers, the teachers classified most of them from fair to good. When he discussed the subject with one married teacher the latter's rejoinder was that in most rural school districts in Manitoba no teacherages were provided, and married teachers were not engaged or were required to live in barely habitable quarters. In comparison, the colony teacherages, usually complete with heating facilities and electricity, were good. The single teachers are usually pro-

vided with a few pieces of furniture by the colony. A typical teacherage has a bed, mattress, a commode, table and chairs, a wash stand, wash basin and pitcher for water. In rural Manitoba the relatively few school districts that have teacherages these are bare of all furniture and usually lack even a heater.

Those colonies which operate private schools for reasons already given have exceptionally good school plants. Sunnyside Colony has cement sidewalks leading from the colony homes to the school. Rock Lake and New Rosedale too have very good schools, the former has exceptionally complete playground equipment, and the latter has running water and other innovations generally not found in rural schools.

On a hurried trip which this writer made to ten colonies immediately prior to the opening of school in the fall of 1957 he found without exception that colony girls had carefully scrubbed the floors and desks. The blackboards were clean and the libraries were in good order. Where there were teacherages these too had been washed and cleaned.

A senior official of the Department of Education claimed that if any rural municipality in Manitoba cared to make a random selection of its schools and compared twenty-five of them with the twenty-five Hutterian schools, the latter would "come out on top". To check this statement the writer visited a number of rural non-Hutterian schools along the old number one highway from Headingly to Portage la Prairie. In comparison with these schools the colony public school plants were in better state and were better equipped.

The Hutterian School Child

The colony child is as a rule friendly, co-operative uninhibited, and obedient, but is always ready for a little diversion. The teachers also find that most pupils lack aggressive initiative and the desire to excel. They rate the teacher's and parental approval very high. The remarkable thing is that though the colony child is exposed for eight or more years to the influence of the public school, daily meets an "outsider" in the person of the teacher, in his lessons in history, geography, and literature is introduced to other people and other ways, he emerges in the end as a thorough Hutterian, convinced that community life as lived on the colony is nearest to the way demanded by Christ's teachings.

One teacher, new to the profession and to the colony ways, told her class about life in the outside world. She painted it in glowing colors, and the children were intensely interested and listened eagerly. When she had finished the teacher asked the senior pupils to write a composition on the topic "The Outside World". The best essay, written by a girl in grade seven, read as follows:

> The outside world is very different from our world. The people do different things which we are not allowed to do on the colony. They go to dances, which are evil. They paint their finger-nails and lips, and put on funny-looking eyebrows. They smoke, which

is just a waste of money and does them no good.

They go to shows in which pictures show a lot about fighting and family quarrels. The families stay up till twelve o'clock at night, which tires the children and can lead to no good. Some parents teach their children only good manners and forget about religion, which is very necessary.

People in the outside world go to beer parlors, and quarrel. Some read bad magazines. Some even steal, rob and kill, as if they didn't have anything better to do. In the summer they spend their time at the beaches instead of doing something useful. People outside do not live in community as we do. They live and work only for themselves.

This essay was typical of those that were handed in. To further explore the colony child's attitudes and interests, the writer pursued further studies. In co-operation with a number of teachers he conducted a project to check colony identification and loyalty of Hutterian pupils. Children who had spent seven or eight years at the public school were given a choice of essay topics. Out of twenty pupils only two showed an interest in the world beyond the colony.

The most popular topic selected was "Our Family". The children revealed in their essays a great attachment to their brothers, sisters, parents, and other relatives who may live in several colonies. They knew their cousins, having spent many summers at different communities. Another favorite topic,

especially among the boys, was "Our Colony". The children were well informed on the life on the colony and expressed what they knew fairly clearly. There usually emerged a complete survey in which the pupils stated the colony population, the number of families and family dwellings, size of barns, number of farm animals and the size of poultry flocks, and the different machinery used by the community. Beyond that the boys showed a great familiarity with every colony enterprise. They knew the number of eggs gathered every day, the price of the land, the yield per acre of different farm crops, and other relevant information. The girls were equally familiar with the work of their mothers and older sisters. "In winter my sisters often sew all day long," wrote one girl, "Rebecca can sew as many as eleven men's shirts a day and they look just as nice as those you can buy at the store."

Some pupils wrote on the topic "An Interesting Trip", but even a tour through some Winnipeg feed mill or department store soon developed into a description of the feeding of poults at the colony, or the purchase of material "from which mother makes the clothes for our family." In two compositions on "My Most Exciting Experience" the experiences turned out to be a mishap with a truck and an incident where the older brother brought home and tamed a squirrel.

A number of girls selected the subject "Sunday at the Colony". The theme in the essays submitted was: "It is wonderful that God takes care of us." There was a moralizing undercurrent as "in church we pray on bended knees like all

Christians should". Small bits of information were introduced in passing which showed that important colony events are remembered and discussed. Thus: "Our younger preacher held the service. He was made preacher on February 15th, 1956."

The one subject selected that indicated an interest beyond the colony was "What I Would Like to Be When I Grow Up". One boy wanted to be a trapper, and another a bush pilot. The rest began their essays, "When I grow up I want to be a "chicken-man" like my father", or "I want to take care of the garden, like my mother", or again, "I would like to be a "cat-man" (caterpillar operator) when I grow up".

One teacher, Miss Mary Nikkel, of Sunnyside Colony, participated in the project but accidentally discarded the essays after reading them. Miss Nikkel wrote: "I am sorry I did not keep the compositions. The general attitude expressed in them was a desire to remain on the colony. The girls wanted to keep a clean house and do the work in the kitchen with the others. One of the boys said he wanted to be a pilot."

In most ways the Hutterian school child is not very different from other school children. Among the things colony children "like" in school are: reading story books, singing and drawing, parties and Christmas concerts, recess, "four o'clock", games, and "when our teacher says 'Put your books away'". The same group stated their "dislikes": too much work, short recess, children who laugh and talk in school, children who make the teacher angry, long school days, and short summer holidays. About as many school subjects were "liked" as were "disliked".

At one colony a new teacher, after introducing herself to the pupils, told them that the outlandish ways of their parents were not in keeping with Canadian ways. She stressed to the children that as Canadians it was permissible for them to break some of the "silly" colony rules. The teacher was soon surrounded inside and outside the classroom by a passivity that made receptive teaching almost impossible. She soon realized that her opinion of the people was tainted with prejudice. She did not change her conviction that the people should be integrated, but felt that her initial technique had been faulty. "As people and as parents the Hutterians are fine," said the teacher, "but their odd customs and clothes have no place in Canada."

The teacher, even if he comes to the colony as a total stranger, is accepted as a friend. Especially the children anticipate the coming of the new teacher with great eagerness. Nineteen year old Audrey Bennet, teaching at the Rosedale Colony, thought she had never met nicer people. "I am invited to their houses," said Miss Bennet, "and I am like at home there. Mrs. W_____, for instance, is like a second mother to me."[8] Another young girl described her first Sunday at the colony: "The girls invited me to church. I had on a Dacron blouse, and they asked me whether I had a coat to wear over it. I felt that the only reason for this request was that the girls wanted their people and the minister to think well of me. When I joined in the singing they liked it."

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8. Interview on February 21, 1958. At the time of the interview the teacher had been at the colony for six full months.

At Christmas the parents of the teacher, who resided in Winnipeg, had to come by car to get all the presents home. Though the number of Christmas presents may depend on the colony and the personality of the teacher, some of them are amply "rewarded". One married teacher received for Christmas: a home-weaved laundry basket, pillow cases, knitted socks, colony made wine, sausages, a duck, towels, and many smaller gifts.

The Christmas concert, attended by parents and older brothers and sisters, has been discontinued by some colonies. The reason is that many teachers, unfamiliar with Hutterian tradition, prepared concerts typical for many Manitoba rural schools. There were comical acts and dialogues, painted faces and padded Santas. Though the Hutterians enjoyed these programs, they felt that they were not in keeping with their tradition. Now the teachers, if they have concerts at all, have their programs on the last day of school. Only school children, dressed in their best Sunday clothes, attend. Where a teacher has been at the colony for some time more liberty is taken by the teacher and this is permitted by the colony. Compositions written by Mr. John Dyck's pupils of Barickman Colony refer to Christmas as the highlight of the year, with the parents in attendance for the concert.

Most Hutterian school districts allot about one dollar per pupil with which the teacher buys presents for the pupils at Christmas. The inexperienced teacher, or the teacher who delegates the work to a shopper of a department store, may present the children with jewellery, ties, and

and other articles, appreciated by the children, but not approved by the colony congregation.

The colony teachers and the supervisor for Hutterian schools agree that on the whole the colonies take an active interest in the public school. One teacher commented on the lack of a competitive spirit in his school. "The children are happy in whatever grade they are in." Another teacher who had taught for many years in rural schools, and spent eight years teaching at one colony school before he retired from the profession, said, "School there is very much like elsewhere, except that their singing is livelier."

Attendance at colony schools is exceptionally good. Twenty colony teachers returned a questionnaire reporting attendance for the first half of the school year 1956-57. The average attendance was 94.4 per cent. Since the schools are located in the colonies, transportation and bad weather are no problem. Some teachers reported that for months the attendance would be almost perfect. The Department of Education awards special certificates to schools with perfect monthly attendance. One young teacher was discouraged when month after month his school had almost perfect attendance, but always, quite by accident, some pupil would stay away from school to see a dentist or get some medical attention. The pupil would fully realize that his absence spoiled the record, and that the visit to the dentist could have been postponed. But the children could not see the reason why they should earn a certificate.

In writing about the education of Hutterian children in Alberta, Pitt maintains that it is "fairly good, in so far as it goes. The trouble, of course, is that it does not go nearly far enough."[9] This is equally true for Manitoba. As soon as the Hutterian school child reaches the age when he may legally stop going to school, he will do so. Only within the last few years have some students continued beyond grade eight. For the school year 1957-58 about one-third of the colony schools have grade nine or grade ten correspondence students. This may compare not unfavorably with many other rural schools in the province.

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.

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9. Pitt, op. cit., 77. Mr. Edwin Pitt's unpublished thesis may be regarded as the most authoritative study on the Alberta Hutterians to date. Another unpublished Master's thesis, completed in 1949 by Kenneth C. Thomas, closely parallels Pitt's survey, but included the Hutterians of Montana. It is in the library of the Montana State University, Missoula. William Knill is currently (1958) writing a Master's thesis in Education, "The Status of Hutterite Schools Within Warner County, No. 5." Warner County is in Alberta. In a letter to the writer Knill says: "The seven Hutterian schools within this county are the only rural ungraded schools left. All the other schools have been centralized and students are sent to them by bus."

His brother was elected as the new "hog-man", and the prospective teacher, age thirty-three, married, and with a family of eight children, is now taking his grade eleven in a private school in Winnipeg. When the writer asked him about his important decision, he carefully corrected the interviewer. "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 discussed at the colonies. Senior Elder Peter Hofer sees no objection to higher education except that it exposes the young people during their formative years to temptations and worldly influences. Submerged indications, too blurred to assess, are that the next ten years may see a less rigid rejection of secondary education.

On the whole, the public school performs its purpose in providing elementary education in the English language to all Hutterian children. Sometimes small incidents at the colony, carelessly reported, may distort the outsider's view of the community people. During and immediately after World War II a rumor was circulated widely that Hutterians removed the picture of the King from school walls. This story is partly true. Schoolrooms are frequently used for church services. Since the Hutterians have an iconoclastic tradition pictures were sometimes removed or hung face towards the wall during the service.[10] As soon as the Hutterians found that

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10. Exodus 20, 4-5.

this practice constituted disrespect to the monarch it was abandoned. At colony schools the picture of the Queen smiles benignly down on her Hutterian subjects, and they sing "God Save the Queen" and "O Canada" as lustily as other Canadian children.

On the basis of comparison with other rural schools colony schools operate satisfactorily. They are centrally administered by an experienced official. The school program is the same as for the rest of the province. The school plants, including supplies and equipment, are as good as or better than those generally found in the rural areas of Manitoba. The problem of getting qualified teachers is acute, as it is for all rural schools. Since the colony school is one of the very few contacts with the outside world available to the Hutterian child, perhaps even greater efforts could be made to engage qualified and capable teachers for the Hutterian school.

Chapter X

THE HUTTERIANS AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

There are no Hutterian rallies, large conventions, or missionary campaigns to attract the attention of the outside world. The Hutterian ideal is "the hidden man" of "meek and quiet spirit" (I Peter 3:4). They deliberately avoid overt proselytising, but they are not hostile to outsiders. At Riverside Colony the writer met Mr. John Yates, a Quaker from England who worked with the Brethren without joining their church. A representative of an Illinois "Total Community" study group, Mr. Russel Yohn, visited numerous Manitoba colonies during the summer of 1957. In his correspondence with the writer he reported very favorably on them. At Sturgeon Creek Colony the writer met two young German immigrants who were seriously considering joining the group. Johann Brueckner, from Burgenland, Austria, and Reinhold Konrad, from Belgrade, Yugoslavia, felt that they had had enough of life's excitement and were now considering exchanging it for the peace of the Hutterian community.

Relatively few people have taken the pains to penetrate the Hutterian isolation, study colony life at close range, and report on their observations. Major encyclopedias, while dealing fully with smaller and less important groups, fail to mention the Hutterian brethren.

Calverton in his history of communal societies in the United States omits them entirely. It is evident that he has not heard of them for referring to such societies in his preface he states, "Many endured a long time; none survive today."[1] The Hutterians of course not only survive but literally thrive.

The relationship of the Hutterians with the outside world falls into two categories: the relationship with kindred groups, and the contacts with outsiders either on a social or business basis. These relationships in turn are briefly discussed here.

The Hutterians and the Mennonites

Many Mennonites are unaware that they share a common spiritual heritage with the Hutterian brethren. Senior Elder Peter Hofer speaks of their common early history as "twins sharing the common cradle". Both, the Mennonites and the Hutterians trace their spiritual roots to the Swiss Brethren. There are some important differences between the two groups. Racially the Hutterians come of southern German stock, while the Manitoba Mennonites are of northern Germanic stock, coming originally from the Flemish and Frisian provinces. Moreover, the Mennonites at no time practiced complete community of goods, though Gemeinsinn and Gemeinschaft (community spirit and responsi-

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1. Calverton, V.F., Where Angels Dared to Tread (New York, 1941). Preface.

bility) were stressed. Nor did the Mennonites at any time in their history cultivate the extreme uniformity in garb and appearance.

During the first two hundred and fifty years of their history there is little trace that the two groups were aware of their respective existence. It was not until 1781, when the Hutterians were already in Russia and the Mennonites had moved from the Lowlands to Prussia, that one, Mathias Hofer, left the community congregation, wandered westward, and discovered the Danzig Mennonites. Hofer was exceedingly pious and objected to the "worldliness" of the brethren who would sing while they worked. The Hutterians had tolerated him, but when Hofer insisted on forcing his views on the community, they suggested that he leave. Hofer left, found his way to Prussia where he related his experiences to Gerhard Wiebe, Elder of the Mennonite church at Elbing. Elder Wiebe wrote a long letter to the Hutterians in Russia pleading with them to show continued tolerance to Hofer.[2] Nothing came of Wiebe's intercession, and Hofer continued his journey westward. He reached Amsterdam and contemplated emigrating to Pennsylvania, but died without either seeing the New World nor his family which he had left behind in Russia.

It is possible that the correspondence between the Hutterian and Mennonite elders affected the subsequent

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2. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch. 352-353.

Mennonite migration to Russia. When the Russian Empress sent an emissary to the Danzig Mennonites in 1786 to invite them to Russia, the Mennonites already knew that the Ukrainian steppes held at least some people who spoke the German tongue.

Later, in Russia the rapid material progress of the Mennonites and the slow development of the Hutterian community encouraged the Russian government to advise them to move from the Desna River to the Mennonite settlement near Melitopol. This task was accomplished under the supervision of Johann Cornies, a Mennonite administrator who worked in close co-operation with the Mennonite churches and the Russian government. Cornies was energetic and tactful, and his name is highly regarded in Hutterian communities in Manitoba. By the time the Canadian and American governments showed interest in the Mennonites as prospective prairie settlers the integration had advanced to a degree that they regarded the Hutterians and the Mennonites as one group. In the 1870's Canada and the United States each received about one half of the Mennonite immigrants, but all the Hutterians decided to settle in the Dacota Territory.

While many of the Hutterians settled on individual homesteads and organized their congregations along the Mennonite pattern, the more conservative group solidified and reverted completely to its old ideal of communal living (Chapter I). Gradually their blood kinship dissolved, the former joining the Mennonites and the latter retiring into greater seclusion. Only during World Wars I and II did

the Hutterians and the Mennonites meet in conference to discuss common problems as conscientious objectors. It would appear that on the whole there is much greater interest among the Hutterians, the smaller group, for the Mennonites than vice versa. Mennonite books and periodicals are read at the colonies, on the other hand the Mennonite Encyclopedia contains mamy articles on the Hutterians as a branch of the Anabaptist family. The first Hutterian student in Manitoba taking grade eleven attends a private Mennonite high school in Winnipeg.

The relationship between the Hutterians and the Mennonites at the congregation level is one of mutual respect, but lacks genuine warmth and intimacy. This is regretted by some leaders in both groups. At the individual level there sometimes exist enduring friendships. Some Mennonite farmers west of Winnipeg signed petitions asking for legislation to restrict Hutterian landholdings, but the Mennonite church and the large majority of its members would oppose such legislation. When one Mennonite farmer was interviewed he maintained that if petitions were circulated in the area asking for restrictive legislation for Mennonites, French-Canadians, Anglo-Saxons, or Ukrainians, some farmers would sign every one of them except for the group to which he himself belonged. "But as long as people with their petitions stay out of the district, "he continued, "we all get along reasonably well, and that includes the colony people." No petitions have ever been circulated in Rhineland municipality where Blumengart Colony lies in

the heart of the Mennonite settlement in Manitoba.

The Hutterians and Kindred Societies

Long before the Hutterians came to North America the United States had become familiar with numerous communal societies. Historically the Hutterians had nothing in common with any of them, but they established liaison with two groups, the Rappists and the Amana Society, both of which had Scriptural rather than idealistic bases. The Hutterian chronicle under the entry date of 1878 reports that the Dakota brethren received some assistance from the Amana Society of Iowa and that the relations between the two groups were "most cordial".[3]

The Amana Society, which practiced community of goods, was founded in New York in 1842 by Christian Metz, a German immigrant. To isolate the group Metz moved it to Iowa where it occupied a block of 26,000 acres. It became very wealthy. Succeeding generations grew lax in the faith of their ancestors and the Amana communities disintegrated and lost in membership. By 1931 the group faced bankruptcy, but reorganized into a co-operative corporation.[4] Religiously sanctioned egalitarianism was replaced by a complex system of stock holding. Since its reorganization the Amana Society

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3. Ibid., 461.

4. Eaton, J.W., Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture. 231-239.

engages in agriculture, manufacturing, and a host of other industries and businesses, and flourishes at an unprecedented pace. In an interview which the writer had with Dr. Peter Rempel, of Iowa State University, Dr. Rempel claimed that essentially little but the form of the spiritual heritage had been preserved, and that in time the Amana people would merge in the American pattern. The Amana Society has about 1400 members.

The relationship with the Amana people never reached the intimacy that was achieved between the Hutterians and the Rappists. This group, also known as the Harmony Society, was founded by another German religious idealist, Johann Georg Rapp, who came to the United States in 1803. One of his communities in Pennsylvania was later sold to Robert Owen. Another community, Economy, in Pennsylvania, developed very rapidly. Its existence was always closely dependent on its leaders, and at times threatened by the admission of irresponsible and adventurous converts. Eventually the group introduced celibacy and gradually died a natural death at the beginning of the present century.[5]

In 1875, when the Hutterians had barely settled in the Dakota Territory, the Rappists granted them a loan.[6]

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5. It is interesting to note that while all standard encyclopedias mention the Rappists and the Amana Society, none make mention of the Hutterians.

6. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 461-464.

Shortly thereafter a Rappist brother visited the Hutterians. In succeeding years the Rappists, who had educated people including lawyers in their midst, gave every assistance to the new colonists in organizing their communities.

The Harmony Society (Rappists) owned land which had rich oil deposits, but they did not want to sell it to speculators. In 1884 the Society invited one Hutterian colony to move to their land at Tidioute, in Pennsylvania. The Hutterians remained in Pennsylvania for two years and then returned to South Dakota, partly for economic reasons. The land at Tidioute was treed, and the Hutterians built a saw mill. This was a departure from the straight agricultural economy to which the Hutterians had become accustomed in Russia and in Dakota. More important, the Hutterians may have sensed that the area would become industrialized and threaten their secluded life. The visionary idealism of the Harmonites may have jarred the very practical prairie peasants. Though the Tidioute group returned West in 1886, the relations between the Harmony and Hutterian people remained friendly.

The writer discussed the Hutterian-Harmonists relations with several Manitoba colony people who could recall that their parents had lived in Pennsylvania for some time. Most of their information on this point was vague. On the surface it would appear that the experience had little lasting significance except that it demonstrated that under certain conditions the brotherhood was prepared to merge its interests with a kindred group. A more permanent

lesson the Hutterians may have learned from this period is "to test the spirits" before venturing into indissoluble unions. This was demonstrated in the Hutterian reaction to Julius Kubassek's group and to the Society of Brethren.

Julius Kubassek was a Roman Catholic Hungarian who came to Canada from Budapest after World War I.[7] A laborer in British Columbia's lumber camps he devoted much of his time to reading the Bible. He became convinced that community life was the substance of Christ's teachings. When he wanted to organize a community he was told that a group of people in Alberta practiced communal living. Kubassek left for Alberta and joined a Hutterian congregation where he stayed for about one year.

Kubassek did not care for grain farming, in which he had little training. In 1940, together with a few brethren, he moved to a farm near Bright, in Ontario. The Alberta and Manitoba congregations provided some financial assistance and Kubassek's new community was a success. At present (1958) it operates a farm of 1,500 acres, but concentrates on the raising of geese. It has the largest goose flock in Canada, and the second largest in North America. An article in Electric Farming reports that the Community Farm of the Brethren has succeeded in breeding what is called a bacon-type of goose. These geese, it continues, "have very little

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7. Sources: Booth, "A Bruderhof Comes to Ontario", in Saturday Night, August 31, 1940; and several interviews with Hutterians who had visited at or been members of the Ontario community.

excess fat, and are extremely full breasted, meaty birds".[8] The article speaks in laudatory terms of all the community's farm enterprises. Though the Community Farm of the Brethren developed beyond expectations, it was disturbed by internal unrest. Two brethren were summarily excluded from the congregation, and this brought the problem to the surface.

The brethren went to the Hutterians in the West and were admitted to their communities. When the Hutterian elders asked the Ontario leader to explain his conduct he ignored the request. It would appear that Julius Kubassek was not overly concerned in preserving the link with the Hutterian brotherhood. The Hutterian communities function on highly democratic lines. Each leader, duly elected, is first and foremost a servant of the community. An authoritarian and dynamic personality, determined on bending the colony's will to his own, would jar Hutterian sensitivity and disrupt institutionalized routine. Only years of conditioning in community living subordinates the personality to submit under all conditions to the common will. Kubassek not only lacked this background, but appears to be a man with singular determination and authority. "He may be a good man," said Dornvetter, a former member of Kubassek's group, "but his is not the Hutterian way. It is Julius' way."

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8. "Electricity Helps in Community Farming" in Electrical Farming (a Hugh C. Maclean Publication, Winnipeg, June-July, 1957). 4.

The Ontario leader continued to ignore the conciliatory moves of the Hutterian brethren, until these terminated all connections. Some more members drifted from the Ontario community to the West, but Kubassek, who has a large family, and seven other families, largely new converts, remained aloof. The Community Farm of the Brethren with a population of fifty-two continues to operate as a successful enterprise.

The Society of Brothers

The Hutterians cultivated and developed very friendly relations with a society which originated in Germany in 1920. This society was organized and nurtured by Eberhard Arnold (1883-1935), and was soon joined by educated men and women.[9] Arnold himself possessed patience, tact, and exceptional qualities of leadership.[10] It appeared as if the two groups would form an indissoluble union. For the Hutterians a new assessment of their position with respect to higher education and spiritual and social segregation seemed imminent. The pregnant possibilities were realized by Zieglschmid, who

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9. Sources for this section: Zieglschmid, op. cit., 654-662; The Mennonite Encyclopedia, I, 162-164; "Die Bruderhoefe in Primavera in Alto Paraguay", in Mitteilungen, Institut fuer Auslandsbeziehungen, (November-Dezember, 1954), Stuttgart, Germany, 304-305; numerous articles in The Plough, The Quarterly of the Bruderhof Communities, (The Plough Publishing House, Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England); "The Society of Brothers", in Time, LXX, 5 (July 29, 1957), 56-57; unpublished manuscripts from and correspondence with members of the Society of Brothers in England, the United States, and Paraguay; Interviews at Forest River Colony, Inkster, North Dakota, in August, 1957.

added a section Weg in die Zukunft (The Way into the Future) to his compilation which was published as Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch.[11] In it he recounted the history of the new movement which had sprung to life in Europe. The pre-mature death of Arnold left both groups void of a leader capable of bridging the differences, and estrangement followed. While there exists at present a complete break between the Hutterians and the Society of Brothers and a rapprochement is unlikely, the mutual influences continue operative. The temporary affiliation indicated that under certain conditions the Hutterians are not antagonistic to higher education and to change.

Eberhard Arnold, who had an American father and a German mother, received his education in Germany. His doctor's thesis dealt with one aspect of Nietzsche's philosophy. Illness took Arnold to Tyrol where he became acquainted with the early history of the Hutterian brethren. When he returned to Germany he became secretary of the German Christian Student Union. At the conclusion of World War I Arnold and some of his friends initiated community living. In 1926 they organized a regular community and named it the Rhoen-Bruderhof.

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10. The Hutterians soon named Arnold's followers Arnold-Leut', just as Kubassek's group had been known as the Julis-Leut'. The Hutterians who occupied individual homesteads in Dakota in the 1870's are to this day known as the Prairie-Leut'.

11. Zieglschmid, op. cit., 654.

It was not until 1928 that Eberhard Arnold learned that the Hutterian brotherhood had survived through the centuries, and continued its existence in North America. He began and carried on an extensive correspondence with these congregations, and his publishing firm soon began to publish the old Hutterian writings. In 1930-31, Arnold visited all the Hutterian communities in Canada and the United States. These were impressed by Arnold's genuine Christian qualities, and decided to extend full membership to his group. In a ceremony at Stand-Off Colony, in Alberta, Dr. Arnold himself was ordained a minister of his followers. The following document confirmed his position:

The Hutterian Brethren
Stand-Off Colony
Macleod, Alberta
March 20, 1931.

To the Bruederhoefe:

Information to the Hutterian Congregations

1. On December 9, 1930, Eberhard Arnold of the German Bruderhof of the church of God, was incorporated into the Brotherhood who are called the Hutterians, at the Stand-Off Colony, with the teaching of Matthew 28, by Elias Walter, Christian Waldner, Johannes Kleinsasser, and Johannes Entz, in the presence of the Stand-Off Colony and Joseph Wipf and Jerg Waldner.

2. On December 19, 1930, Eberhard Arnold was confirmed in the service of the Word with laying on of hands by the elders Christian Waldner, Elias Walter, Johannes Kleinsasser, and Johannes Entz. It took place in the Stand-Off Colony with the teaching of Titus 1, and was delivered by Johannes Kleinsasser of the Buck Ranch Bruderhof. Thereby the

commission of the brotherhood was given to Eberhard Arnold for Germany, there to proclaim the Word of God, gather the zealous, and establish in the best order the Bruderhof existing in Neuhof (Fulda) in Hesse-Nassau.

(Signed) Elias Walter.[12]

On his return to Germany Arnold intensified his work, and established four communities, three in Germany and one in the adjacent principality of Liechtenstein. Hitler's rise to power created conditions unfavorable for the expansion of the communities. In 1937 the North American congregations sent two men, David Hofer, of James Valley Colony, Manitoba, and Michael Waldner, of Bon Homme Colony, South Dakota, to help and advise their co-religionists in Germany.[13]

That same year all four communities moved to England, where a group of sympathizers had already begun the organization of the Cotswold Bruderhof. A second Bruderhof was established, but then the outbreak of the war precluded further expansion. The friendly English atmosphere turned frigid to the group whose members were conscientious objectors, and the communities considered emigration.

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12. From an article on Arnold written by his son, E.C.H. Arnold for The Mennonite Encyclopedia, I, 163. The younger Arnold is at the time of writing (1958) a member of the Society of Brethren.

13. Hofer and Waldner visited not only Germany but also Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, countries in which their faith originated and where their ancestors had lived and suffered persecution. David Hofer kept an interesting diary of which several handwritten copies are in the possession of his children at the Rock Lake and James Valley colonies where the writer inspected them.

A request from the brethren for admission to Canada was turned down by the Canadian immigration authorities. There was a slight stir on their behalf. One writer castigated the government for refusing "sanctuary to a people of stern moral and spiritual discipline" at a time when the country required additional manpower.[14]

Meanwhile the greatest number of the brethren were on their way to virgin Paraguay. The small group which remained behind in England to complete the disposal of the communal property gained new converts before it finished its work. With the consent of the Paraguayan brethren the party remained in England and began a new Bruderhof at Wheathill. The community is active and publishes most of the brotherhood's literature including an English and German edition of a periodical, The Plough.

The group of 650 people who migrated to Paraguay received financial assistance from the North American Hutterians. The new settlers occupied a large tract of land which they named Primavera. Here they built three communities. They also established a centre, Casa Hutteriana, at Asuncion, and a smaller outpost at Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay.[15]

The rural communities engage in agriculture, ranching, and industry. There are flour and saw mills, wood-working

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14. Booth, Gracia D., "A Bruderhof Comes to Ontario" in Saturday Night, August 31, 1940. The heading refers to Kubassek's group, but the content of the article also refers to the European group.

15. Later Society missionaries returned to Germany and established a new Bruderhof at Bad Brueckenau.

shops, brick-burning and sugar processing plants, and potteries. The group had a large proportion of German and British intellectuals. The result was that the new communities soon had excellent libraries (the Casa Hobi community library contains over 20,000 volumes), hospitals, and schools. Some Spaniards joined the brethren and instruction and conversation on the communities is trilingual: German, English, and Spanish.

When rumors reached the North American Hutterians that their South American brethren encouraged folk dancing, amateur theatre groups, and tolerated movies and smoking, they were disturbed. The Paraguayan group thereupon sent two men, Bruce Sumner and Alan Stevenson to visit Canada and the United States. They had a three-fold mission: to allay the fears of the Hutterian congregations about conditions in Paraguay, to invite a delegation to Paraguay, and to ask for material assistance.

Sumner and Stevenson, known among the brethren as Brucevetter and Allanvetter, travelled from colony to colony and partially succeeded in dispelling any misgivings. The two men, dressed in plain Hutterian garb, made a good impression on the congregations, and also astonished the personnel of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange with their perfect Oxford speech.[16] The Hutterians collected and sent to

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16. "English Accent of Hutterians Amazes Traders" in Winnipeg Free Press, January 5, 1950.

Paraguay several tons of clothing, tools, machinery, and hardware valued at about $40,000 and $22,430 in cash.[17] It was an impressive donation. At a meeting held at the Huron Colony in Manitoba on December 21, 1949, at which Sumner and Stevenson were present, the Schmiede-Leut' congregation, encompassing the Manitoba and the South Dakota Hutterians, decided to send two ministers to Paraguay to visit and report on their observations.

At the annual conference held at Sturgeon Creek Colony, near Headingly, on January 31, 1950, the two ministers, Samuel Kelinsasser, of Sturgeon Creek Colony, and Johann Wipf, of Spink Colony in South Dakota, were elected to go to Paraguay. Kleinsasser and Wipf were warmly received in Primavera, but they soon perceived that the rumors which had circulated in North America were well-founded. There followed a frank exchange of views in which neither side showed a willingness to compromise. The Hutterians held that the Paraguay brethren were too worldly, and the Society brethren maintained that the Hutterians had lost the missionary zeal of their ancestors.

The two delegates returned home and reported on their fact-finding mission. The congregations in Canada and the United States admonished their fellow-brethren in Paraguay and looked for repentance. They in turn refused to be

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17. Sources: Interviews and "Das Tagebuch von Pred. Samuel Kleinsasser von Sturgeon Creek Bruderhof, Headingly, Manitoba, Ueber die Reise zu den Hutterischen Bruderhoefen in Primavera, Alto Paraguay, Sued-Amerika, nach seiner eignenen Aufzeichnung 1950. (Duplicated at the Poplar Point Hutterian Community, Poplar Point, Manitoba. 67 closely typed pages.

convinced that their mode of life was inconsistent with Hutterian dogma. The relationship cooled and would have terminated quietly but for an unexpected development.

The Paraguayan group had accused the Hutterians of a lack of missionary zeal. They now became increasingly aware that the extreme isolation in the Paraguayan jungle limited their own missionary work. They requested several Hutterian congregations to admit a limited number of the Paraguayan brethren who would join them and act as missionaries in the area. The request was discussed by the communities and turned down. Some Hutterians openly expressed the opinion that the request was a stratagem to take over the Canadian and American colonies. The Forest River Colony, however, dissociated itself from the decision and prepared to accept a group of Paraguayan brethren.

Forest River Colony is the only Hutterian Bruderhof in North Dakota and is located near Inkster. It branched out from the Manitoba New Rosedale Colony in 1952. When Forest River took the important step and invited some Paraguayan brethren to join them its own community congregation was not unanimously in favor of it. To proceed deliberately on a course that did not have the unanimous consent of all the members was a violation of Hutterian tradition. The initiators maintained that the congregation was ready for new ideas and that the members who objected to the course would soon change their views. Instead the senior elder, Andreas Hofer, and about half the community returned to Manitoba.

The remaining group, which included the second minister, extended a warm welcome to the Paraguayan brethren, among them young Eberhard Arnold, son of the founder of the group. Jointly the brethren with their diverse background and training attempted to manage the farm enterprises. The Hutterians admired the learning of the new brethren. The newly organized school began at nursery stage, which led to the toddler class, which in turn terminated in the pre-school kindergarten. But the Hutterians also discovered that the new members, untrained and unaccustomed to seasonal farm tempo, insisted on short work days. They preferred to spend the pleasant twilight hours in reading, writing, and painting, to "sweating it out" on a tractor or a combine.

The cold, bleak Dakota winters kept the brethren at home and the visitors away. Another group from Paraguay had settled at Rifton, in New York, where it had opened a toy factory. The Society brethren, discouraged by unaccustomed manual labour and monotonously long winters, left North Dakota and persuaded several members of the Hutterians, among them the minister and his family, to join them.[18] They bought an 80-room luxury hotel near Farmington in Pennsylvania, and named it the Oak Lake Bruderhof. The hotel was transformed into a community dormitory and a toy factory.

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18. The Hutterians follow the development with interest. On a visit to Rosedale Colony on February 21, 1958, the writer was told that one of the minister's daughters was training as a nurse at the Society's hospital in Paraguay.

The four remaining families at Forest River were bewildered. Forsaken by their new friends and rejected by the Hutterian congregations they decided to begin anew. Even with all the members present the spacious community dining hall looks deserted. The guest book, left behind by the Society brothers, was inspected by the writer who visited the community in August of 1957. The book contained names of visitors from almost every state of the Union, and even from countries outside the United States. The nursery was preserved, its walls decorated with attractive colony-painted murals. In discussions with this writer the community members at no time used derogatory or disparaging language when they spoke of their newly found and lost brothers. "They were not farmers," said young Mrs. Waldner pleasantly, "but they certainly could use their pens, pencils, and paint-brushes."

It is too early to assess the influence of the short common journey of the Hutterian congregations and the Society of Brothers. The literary productivity of the Society is astounding, and this literature is read at the Hutterian communities. Otherwise Hutterian ways appear unchanged.

Hutterian Converts

The Hutterians do not promote active missionary work, but the communities are open to any individual. There are only about twelve Hutterians in Manitoba who joined as converts

and were not born into colony life. An aged couple which arrived penniless in Canada lives in one colony and enjoys all the privileges of bona fide members. There are also some intelligent young men who joined because they were imbued with genuine idealism. Occasionally, a fervent outsider roams through the communities lecturing the young folk on their sinful ways only to leave again in prusuit of new fields. One of them, John Gabor, was last heard of from Virginia where he is working among the negroes. The younger people may resent this intrusion, but the older Hutterians take it stoically, "It does no harm."

If a convert asks to be accepted into the brotherhood, the Hutterian elders advise him to weigh his step carefully. He is asked to wait approximately a year or longer, to live in community, and to study Hutterian doctrine. During this period any property or assets the convert may have remain his private possessions. If at the termination of the trial period the convert insists that his decision to stay is final, and the congregation agrees that he qualified for membership, he is accepted in the church. He then transfers all claims to his private property to the community. It matters little whether he was a pauper or a rich man when he joined, if he decides to leave the community he forfeits all claims to the community's assets.

During his trial period the novice pursues the assigned duties, is treated in effect like a full-fledged member, except that he has no voice in the administration of the community. Should a novice decide to remain at the

colony indefinitely without joining the church, most congregations would not object, provided the individual lead a life in keeping with Hutterian regulations.

Perhaps one of the staunchest Hutterians is Christian Dorn, known in the communities as der Dornvetter. Dorn brought with him considerable assets when he joined an Alberta congregation. He has since transferred to Manitoba where his oldest son has married a Hutterian woman and is one of the colony's carpenters. Dorn's two younger sons joined the community later. A widower, Dornvetter is tireless in his praise of communal living.

In 1957, a family consisting of both parents and eight young children joined a Manitoba community. The members of the family were permitted to use their own clothes presumably until these were worn out. The man grew a heavy beard and his wife could be seen working in the kitchen. The oldest child, an intelligent boy of fourteen, thoroughly enjoyed the responsibilities which Hutterian men are accustomed to delegate to boys. In the fall of the same year the husband decided that community life was too demanding for one not born into it. Some members of the family, especially the oldest boy, appeared to regret the decision to leave the colony. The trial period was terminated by mutual consent and without ill feelings.

The fact that only a few outside converts join the communities is one of the sources of strength of the brotherhood. The small number of new converts at no time

form a group strong enough to challenge the traditional pattern of the community. Instead the individuals are assimilated, enter the kinship group by marriage, sometimes occupy positions of responsibility, and identify themselves fully with the group.

The Hutterians and Their Neighbors

The relationship between Hutterian communities and their neighbors varies from colony to colony. The anti-Hutterian petitions and resolutions were not so much directed against existing communities but were rather an expression of concern over their expansion. Even agitators for restrictive legislation are often on friendly terms with their immediate Hutterian neighbors. Many colonies have excellent relations with the surrounding farmers, others live in an atmosphere of practical co-existence; no colony is surrounded by hostility.

Many farmers and business people visit the colonies, often accompanied by their families. Though the Hutterians are very hospitable they do not often visit neighboring farmers. One reason for this is that these people may have radios or television sets in their homes which carry programs considered immoral or at least frivolous by the Hutterians. If a well-known and respected person in the district dies, the Hutterians may be seen at the funeral. In an emergency, an accident or mishap, they will offer their assistance. Beyond that they generally remain on the Bruderhof. Their faith and attitude, language, garb, and appearance isolate

them as effectively as if walls surrounded their communities.

The Hutterians remain aloof from most neighborhood undertakings. They are rarely seen at political meetings, fairs, field and sports days, dances and weddings, and similar occasions. But in times of crises they will cooperate with their neighbors. When the Assiniboine River overflows its banks and the farmers rally to man the dikes the Hutterians can be counted upon to contribute more than their share. During a recent flood the army was ordered to assist in the diking. The military personnel were impressed with the efficiency of the Hutterians. One army officer recalled an incident where an emergency demanded that a man take some sandbags into shoulder deep cold and treacherous water. Without hesitation one colony manager jumped into the water and performed the operation.

On another occasion an officer in charge of diking placed a telephone call to a neighboring town and demanded additional help. Jokingly he added, "Send out ten men or five Hutterites". One farmer pointed out that the Hutterians never hesitated to help diking along the northern banks of the river, though their own lands all lay south of the Assiniboine. In reenforcing the northern banks the flood-threat correspondingly increased along the southern banks.

Important data on public attitudes toward the Hutterian brethren were gathered by the Canadian Mental Health Association in its Saskatchewan survey. To the question "What sort of people do you think the Hutterites

are?" the following responses were given: Friendly; moral, decent; work well together, co-operative; look different, dress, beards, etc; Won't mix, take part in community affairs; good business men and farmers; they buy goods in the community; they don't spend much money in town.[19] Other questions preceded the above querry. One question asked the party interviewed to state specifically what they did not like about the district. Significantly not one response included the Hutterians. Only when the question was narrowed down to : "Have there been any recent happenings around Maple Creek district that will be problems for the community as a whole, do you think?" eleven per cent named the Hutterians.[20]

In their own colonies the Hutterians move within a close kinship group and their language is very direct. The urbane, cultured outsider may conceal his true opinion even in his immediate family. A husband may have his own opinion of his wife's new hat, but will tell her that it is "quite attractive". This sensitive decorum is rarely observed by the Hutterians. Quite uninhibited they will give expression to their opinions even to a stranger, be the opinions complimentary or otherwise. People unfamiliar with these ways and manners will naturally take offense where none is intended.

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19. "The Hutterites and Saskatchewan", A Study of Inter-Group Relations, Conducted by the Saskatchewan Division, The Canadian Mental Health Association, (Regina, 1953).

20. Ibid., 38-43.

Similarly, since the very appearance of the Hutterian marks him a member of his religious group, people will use a correspondingly severe measuring stick on him. When a colony uses its snowplow to clear its own roads a neighbor may say, "If they were real Christians they would clear the one-half mile to my farm." This remark was made to the writer. The same farmer would never expect this service from any of his other neighbors. In another district the neighbors stated that colony equipment did clear some municipal roads in winter and did grade them in summer without either the farmers or the municipality paying the Hutterians for the service.

During a two-week stay in one colony the writer observed that a colony's interest in its immediate neighborhood may be greater than is generally assumed. Transient Indians and their families would come into the community kitchen and get food. Since a reservation wasadjacent to the community this practice was quite common.

In the same colony the writer also noticed a child in non-Hutterian clothes in the kindergarten. The matronly teacher explained her presence. Little Eliza was the youngest of five children of a neighboring farmer. The man was poor amd his wife had left him. Every week the Hutterian boys took some colony girls to the farmer's home where they held a housecleaning bee. With the farmer's

consent they sometimes took the smaller children to the colony; Eliza spent most of her time there. A colony couple also made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the wife to return to her home and family.

Other stories could be told, but Hutterians would find this not only in poor taste but also a violation of Christian humility: "But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

Usually people who have had few contacts with the Hutterians have the strongest prejudices against them. The following interview is included because it represents the most extreme antagonism encountered by the writer. The interview took place in a Winnipeg restaurant, and the two men were well-educated professional people. Both of them maintained that the Hutterian leaders were irresponsible and ignorant. One of the men had visited one colony and generalized that "In their homes a dipper may be used alternatively for filling the kerosene lamp and serving wine to guests." "Their ethical standards are low," he continued. His colleague concurred: "It stands to reason that a group that refuses to mix with other people must lack ethical standards."

It is quite possible that the non-conformative ways of a group in some cases are sufficient to disturb, irritate, and arouse otherwise rational people.

Most people who know the Hutterians have quite a different impression of them. A member of the Winnipeg police force said in an interview that he became acquainted with

the colony people when his father had shared a ward with a Hutterian in one of the Winnipeg hospitals. Since both families had visited the respective patients, they had got to know each other, and this had developed into a genuine friendship. Over a period of years now they had visited the colony, and the colony people had visited them. He summed up his impressions in these words: "They are fine people and good Christians. We could learn much from them." A similar opinion was expressed by Dr. Robert Fletcher, for many years Deputy Minister of Education for Manitoba. In a letter to the writer he describes the Hutterians as "industrious people and communists in the real sense of the word, like the early Christians."

In their relationship with other groups or with their neighbors it is evident that the Hutterians are not interested in gaining converts if this means a compromise with their beliefs and traditions. The colony-neighborhood relationship is generally characterized by a mutually friendly atmosphere. However, there is no instance in Manitoba where a colony shows clear evidence of internal break-down and integration into the surrounding community.

C O N C L U S I O N

The Hutterians have been in the province of Manitoba for forty years and on the whole they have been permitted to live peacefully their secluded way of life. But from the very beginning to the present day there have been periodic and sharp public outbursts against them. No sooner had the first group of the Brethren come to Manitoba in 1918 when veterans of the Great War opposed their immigration on grounds that they were conscientious objectors to war and of non-British stock. They went so far as to send a message to the United Kingdom parliament expressing "the regrets of this association that there are men in the public life of Canada who would countenance the state of affairs herein disclosed, while large numbers of good British men would be glad to settle on Canadian farms".[1] They requested that those responsible for the Hutterian immigration "be relieved of appointments and honors" and the Hutterians be deported.

Then again as recently as 1958, prior to the provincial election, the Hutterians were attacked by a member of a group in the Oakville area whose avowed

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1. "Want Hutterites Now in Canada Deported", Winnipeg Free Press, April 9, 1919.

objective is the elimination of the Hutterian communities in Manitoba. Addressing his letter to the Winnipeg daily papers the writer names the Hutterians as the major election issue before the people, "namely - whether Manitoba will remain a free democracy, or become a Communist dominated state".[2]

The initial protest against the coming of the Hutterians was partly a result of the war. Understandably the arrival of German-speaking settlers who were opposed to war was not popular in 1918. As the war period receded feelings mellowed and for the following ten years the Hutterians completely faded from public interest. Occasionally a short item found its way into the press in which a casual visitor or reporter wistfully described the simple setting of the Hutterian commune.[3]

The decade after 1929 saw Canada submerged in the ~~gloom of the~~ Depression. Of the industries affected farming was particularly vulnerable. Droughts caused

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2. Letter signed by W. Metcalfe, Oakville, Manitoba, in The Winnipeg Tribune, June 5, 1958.

3. Cf. Powell, Robert B., "A Hutterite Girl", Winnipeg Free Press, April 21, 1928.

crop failures and areas not hit by drought produced for a market plagued by surpluses. Farmers who wanted to dispose of their land found no buyers. Meanwhile the self-sufficient Hutterian communities expanded steadily. In Alberta a Hutterian could hardly appear on the streets of his local town without being approached by farmers willing to sell him land. In 1934 an item appeared in a Manitoba paper stating that if Winnipeg had a beet sugar factory some of the Alberta Hutterians could be directed to Manitoba.[4] At this time the Hutterians in Alberta expanded at an unprecedented pace. On February 17, 1934, The Winnipeg Free Press carried a press release under the heading: "Hutterites Buy Big Farming Area for $175,000 Cash". The transaction involved 6000 acres. One year later, on November 18, 1935, the same paper reported again: "Alberta Farmer Disposes of 15,000 Acres to Hutterites". In view of the frequent charge that Hutterians displace other farmers, the second item is rather interesting in that a colony was established on 15,000 acres of land formerly belonging to one farm-owner operator.

During World War II public interest was diverted to other channels, but shortly after the war a small group of farmers and businessmen scattered at various points between Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie began

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4. The Winnipeg Free Press, February 17, 1934.

a concerted campaign for Hutterian containment. The agitation found expression in several public meetings, the two most important ones of which were held at Oakville on March 22, 1947, and at St. Eustache a week later, on March 29, 1947. The purpose of the meetings was to persuade the government to pass restrictive legislation since "there is a real danger of all land south of the Assiniboine River between Headingly and Portage la Prairie being occupied by Hutterite colonies".[5]

These meetings succeeded in arousing interest throughout the province. However, when The Winnipeg Tribune printed a series of articles on the subject based on the "on the spot" investigation of staff writers, the case against the Hutterians appeared flimsy indeed.[6] "Oakville used to have three fine baseball teams.... The Hutterites have driven our players out," said one respondent. A second one complained that "You can't do much visiting with them." A third respondent felt that the Hutterians "use more than their share of the doctors, nurses, roads, and telephones." One Oakville resident stated that he was not in favor of any changes in the district. An implement dealer of the district charged that the Hutterians did not support

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5. The Winnipeg Free Press, March 24, 1947.

6. "Farmers Explain Protest Against Hutterite Colonies," The Winnipeg Tribune, May 14, 1947, and subsequent issues to June 12, 1947.

local business. The Hutterian effect on rural communities was illustrated by the decline in membership of a rural church in the Portage la Prairie area.

In several instances, where direct charges were made, the Hutterians attempted publicly to refute the accusations. The implement dealer most hostile to the Hutterians, these maintained, had "tried to make contact with the colonies under which they would be able to buy at wholesale the machinery of his company".[7] When the colonies persisted to buy on the competetive market, the dealer became a leader in the anti-Hutterian agitation. In the case of the church with the dwindling membership the Hutterian legal counsel, Mr. P. C. Locke, released a statement to the press to the effect that the church had failed to engage a minister and hold regular services even before the Hutterians moved into the area.

Meanwhile the meetings at Oakville and St. Eustache had resulted in the appointment of a legislative committee which held its sessions during May, 1947. (Chapter II). At the beginning the Committee was sympathetic to the grievances expressed by those opposed to the Hutterian colonies, though at least one member, John McDowell, stated at the outset that it was simply another instance where

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7. The Winnipeg Free Press, April 23, 1947.

some people wanted to "push other people around". As the investigation proceeded the Committee apparently became less interested in the accusations against the Hutterians and more interested in the Hutterians themselves. Towards the end of the investigation Gordon Churchill, army member of the Legislature, asked John Maendel, a Hutterian leader, how the Hutterians contributed to Canadian democracy, and Maendel outlined how "by large production of foodstuffs, by applying expert knowledge to improvement of breeding herds and farm problems generally" the Hutterians in their own way contributed to the building of a better Canada.

By this time the investigation had stimulated considerable public interest and elicited unexpected support for the Brotherhood. The Manitoba Conference of the United Church of Canada in a resolution went on record condemning "unjust discrimination" against the colonies.[8] Perhaps the most unusual expression of support was contained in a letter from a seventy year old British Columbia farmer, Guy Farrow, who offered the Manitoba Hutterians his 800 acre farm, debt-free and taxes paid.[9]

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8. The Winnipeg Tribune, June 7, 1947.

9. "B.C. Farmer Offers Room For 5 Hutterite Families", The Winnipeg Free Press, May 24, 1947.

In the end the Committee made some minor recommendations to the provincial legislature, clearly indicating that it was not impressed with the case against the colonies. The only practical step taken by the government as a result of the investigation was that the colony public schools were removed from supervision by local inspectors and placed under the supervision of a special inspector.

This should have ended the anti-Hutterian agitation, but it only stimulated the agitators to shift the ground of their attack. In letters to newspapers the Hutterians were accused of "building a Communist country within a country". In an editorial headed "Abetting the Bolsheviks" The Winnipeg Free Press ridiculed the agitators that "on such reasoning Mr. Khrushchev is nothing more than a primitive Christian".[10] Thus the anti-Hutterian agitation has become almost completely irresponsible. When the Alberta Act of 1947 restricting Hutterian expansion was passed at least partly on grounds that it would protect the colonies, Dr. Eaton retorted bluntly, "One would expect a democracy to arrest the agitator rather than throw the victim into jail."[11] Any restrictive legislation in Manitoba cannot be regarded in any other light than overt appeasement to uninformed and sometimes irresponsible agitators.

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10. The Winnipeg Free Press, January 13, 1956.

11. McAree, J.V., "Persecuted Hutterites", Globe and Mail (Toronto), September 26, 1949.

The individuals who originally led the agitation against Hutterian expansion generally were respectable citizens who would have liked to preserve the old farm communities which contributed so much to the stability and solid character of Manitoba. But the province, like the rest of North America, underwent an agricultural revolution which made the old integrated rural community with the small trading centre, obsolete. The infiltrating Hutterian colonies in many instances accelerated this process, but they were the symptoms rather than the cause of this change. The very rapid growth of these colonies drew attention to the group and provided a scapegoat, a ready issue for the frustrated farmer, the marginal businessman, the local office-seeker, and the genuine citizen who was not prepared to see the old order vanish without a protest.

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The Hutterian way of life is based on Christian principles. The Hutterian emphasis on strict family life, their care for the young and the aged, the democratic functioning of their communities, the absence of crime, the refusal to accept assistance from the state in any form, all these are virtues consistent with the highest ideals of the larger Canadian society. As agricultural communities engaged in diverse farm enterprises the Hutterian colonies

contribute materially to the wealth of Canada. The Hutterian emphasis on rural life, frugality, self-sufficiency, and careful business practices is also not inconsistent with Canadian ways.

Most Hutterians speak the English language fluently, and their colonies support the public schools in their communities. Though only a few of the Hutterians use their franchise they all cherish the democratic institutions of Canada.

Their large communal landholdings partly contribute to the disorganization of the older communities in which the colonies were established. However, even individual farmers quite often farm as much land as an entire Hutterian community without arousing protests from their neighbors. Moreover, the general trend in the Canadian and American West is towards land consolidation, and sometimes on a scale that dwarfs the Hutterian communal holdings.

The Hutterians, who are generally opposed to higher education, may change their attitude to secondary schools. Furthermore, almost all Hutterians forty years of age and younger are born in Canada and before long may make use of the franchise. There is evidence that both these developments may take place within the next decade. They would be marginal modifications of the Hutterian way, and would not affect the basic Hutterian doctrine.

The Hutterian church has practiced "avoidance of the world" for over 400 years. There is no evidence that the present leaders and the young generation are prepared or willing to throw overboard their basic beliefs, which include communal life. Canadians may have to accept for the present and for the foreseeable future the Hutterian brotherhood as a Protestant counterpart of the various Catholic monastic orders.

A P P E N D I X

Appendix I

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION[1]

Name

1. The name shall be the HUTTERIAN BRETHREN CHURCH.

Objects and Powers

2. The objects and powers for which the said church is formed are:

(a) To obtain for its members and their dependent minors, as also for the novices, children and persons in need under its care, without distinction of race, class, social standing, nationality, religion, age or sex, spiritual, cultural, educational and economic assistance based upon the life and mission of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, in the spirit and way of the first Christian community in Jerusalem and of the community re-established by Jacob Hutter in 1533 at the time of the origin of the "Baptisers' movement" in such a way that the members achieve one entire spiritual unit in complete community of goods (whether production or consumption) in perfect purity in mutual relationships, absolute truthfulness and a real attitude of peace, confessing and testifying by word and by deed that Love, Justice, Truth and Peace is God's will for all men on earth. All the members, and especially the Elders, are responsible for carrying out the objects of the Church by following exactly the spontaneous direction of the Holy Spirit and by mutual stimulation and education.

(b) Complete dedication in the work for the aims and objects of the Church is expected from all members thereof. The capital and surplus produce and surplus funds of each individual congregation or community of the Church is to be used by such community for social work to which the Church is constantly dedicated, helping poor, weak, and sickly persons who need, ask for and accept this help, especially children, and for the purchase of lands, stock, and equipment for the use of such congregation or community in order that the members thereof may maintain themselves and acquire funds for the purposes of carrying out the aims of the Church.

(c) Each congregation or community of the said Church is empowered:

i. To engage in, and carry on farming, stock-raising, milling, and all branches of these industries; and to manufacture and deal with the products and by-products of these industries;

ii. To carry on any other business (whether manufacturing or otherwise) which may seem to said congregation or community of said Church capable

of being conveniently carried on in connection with its business or calculated directly or indirectly to enhance the property or rights of the congregation or community;

iii. To acquire or undertake the whole or any part of the business property and liabilities of any person or company carrying on any business which said congregation or community of said Church is authorized to carry on, or possessed of property suitable for the purposes of the congregation or community of said Church;

iv. To apply for, purchase or otherwise acquire any patents, licenses, concessions and the like, conferring any exclusive or non-exclusive or limited right to use, or any secret or other information as to any invention which may seem capable of being used for any of the purposes of the congregation or community of the said Church, or the acquisition of which may seem calculated directly or indirectly to benefit the congregation or community of the said Church, and to use, exercise and develop or grant licenses in respect of, or otherwise turn to account the property, rights or information so acquired;

v. To do all or any of the above things as principal, agents, contractors, or otherwise and either alone or in conjunction with others;

vi. To do such other things as are incidental to or conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

(d) Each congregation or community of the said Church in furtherance of the religious objects of the Church and for its own benefit may purchase, acquire, take, have, hold, exchange, receive, possess, inherit; retain and enjoy property, real or personal, corporeal or incorporeal, whatsoever given, granted, devised or bequeathed to it or appropriated, purchased or acquired by it in any manner or way whatsoever and may also sell, convey, exchange, ailenate, mortgage, lease, demise or otherwise dispose of any such real or personal property.

(e) Each congregation or community of the said Church shall have power to borrow money, to issue bonds, debentures, or other securities; to pledge or sell such bonds, debentures or securities for such sum and at such price as may be deemed expedient or be necessary; to charge, hypothecate, mortgage or pledge any or all of its real or personal property, rights and powers, undertakings, franchises, including book debts to secure any bonds, debentures or other securities or any liability of the said congregation or community.

(f) Each congregation or community of the said Church at a meeting at which not less than four-fifth of the male members thereof are present shall have full power to make, establish, and sanction, amend, repeal or abrogate all such rules, regulations, and by-laws as they judge necessary for its good administration and government, providing the same be not contrary to law or to these Articles.

Organization

3. The Church shall be comprised of all of the congregations or communities hereinbefore named and such other congregations and communities wheresoever existing that shall be chosen and elected to membership in accordance with the terms of these Articles any amendments thereof.

4. The Head Office of the said Church shall be at the Town of Wilson Siding, in the province of Alberta.

5. The said Church shall be divided into three Conferences, namely:

   (a) Darius-Leut Group of Hutterian congregations or communities in the Province of Alberta;

   (b) The Lehrer-Leut Group of Hutterian congregations or communities in the Province of Alberta;

   (c) The Schmied-Leut Group of Hutterian congregations or communities in the Province of Manitoba.

Board of Managers

6. The Church dogma and Church discipline and the affairs, powers, privileges and all matters affecting and pertaining to Hutterian Brethren generally, shall be administered, managed, exercised, transacted, conducted and controlled by a Board of nine managers, three of whom shall be appointed by each of the said Conferences, provided, however, that except as to matters of a purely administrative nature, no resolution or decision of the said Board shall be binding or effective until approved, ratified and confirmed by each of the said Conferences.

7. The said managers shall elect from among their numbers:
   (a) A President who shall be known as the Senior Elder;
   (b) A Vice-President who shall be known as the Assistant Senior Elder;
   (c) A Secretary-Treasurer who shall be known as the Secretary.

8. The name and residences of the Managers who are to serve as Managers of the Church until the election of such Managers and Officers are: (The names change from year to year).

9. The managers of the said Church shall hold office for the term of three years or until their successors are elected or appointed.

10. Any of the said managers may be expelled or removed by a vote of a majority of the members of such Board of Managers, or by the conference by which he was elected or appointed.

11. Vacancies caused by death, removal, expulsion or otherwise shall be filled by the Conference by which the said manager was elected.

12. Whenever a vacancy occurs in the office of Senior Elder, Assistant Senior Elder or Secretary the Board of Managers may from their own number fill such vacancy at any annual, general or special meeting of the Managers, and such officer appointed to fill the vacancy shall hold office, for the remainder of the term of such office which became vacant or until a successor has been elected.

13. No officer or manager of the said Church shall receive or be entitled to any reward or compensation of any amount or character whatsoever for any time, labor or service that he may give or render to the Church.

14. At any meeting of Managers each member present in person or represented by proxy shall have one vote and all questions arising at such meetings shall be decided by a majority vote, and the Senior Elder or the person acting in his stead shall have a casting vote, or if it is the wish of such meeting a question may be settled by lot rather than by the Senior Elder's casting vote.

15. At any meeting of the Board of Managers five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

16. An Annual Meeting of the Board of Managers shall be held on the second Tuesday in June at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon.

17. Any meeting of the Managers may be held at any place by order of the Senior Elder.

18. Special Meetings of the Managers may be called at any time by order of the Senior Elder, by two of the Managers, by notice in writing sent by mail at least seven clear days before the day fixed for the holding of such meeting.

Organization of Conferences

19. There shall be three Conferences, namely, the Darius-Leut Conference, with head office at Wilson Siding, Alberta; the Lehrer-Leut Conference with head office at Rockport Colony, Magrath, Alberta; and the Schmied-Leut Conference with head office at Poplar Point Colony in the Postal District of Poplar Point, in Manitoba. (Subsequently changed to James Valley Colony, Starbuck, Manitoba.)

20. The affairs, powers and privileges of each of the said Conferences shall be administered, managed, exercised, transacted, conducted and controlled by a Board consisting of two delegates from each of the congregations or communities comprising the Conferences.

21. The said Board shall be known as the Conference Board and it shall have a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the members of the Conference Board and shall hold office for a period of two years.

22. The names and residences of the Conference Board who are to serve as representatives of the respective Conferences until the election or appointment of such Board members and officers are: (There follows a list of the members for the Darius-Leut, the Lehrer-Leut, and the Schmiede-Leut).

23. The Conference Board shall exercise control over the Church dogma and Church discipline within their respective Conference, and shall have charge of all matters pertaining to Hutterian Brethren generally within their respective Conferences, and shall have power to take such action as they deem meet in respect to matters affecting or pertaining to the Hutterian Brethren within their respective Conferences.

24. Any member of the said Conference Board may be expelled or removed by a vote of the majority of the members of such Board.

25. Vacancies caused by death, removal, expulsion or otherwise shall be filled by the congregation or community by which the Board member was appointed.

26. Whenever a vacancy occurs in the office of Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Secretary the Conference Board may from their own number fill such vacancy at any annual, general or special meeting of the Board, and any such officer appointed to fill the vacancy shall hold office for the remainder of the term of such office which became vacant or until a successor has been elected.

27. No member of the Conference Board shall receive or be entitled to any reward or compensation of any amount or character whatsoever for any time, labor or service which he may give or render to the Conference.

28. At any meeting of the Conference Board each member present in person or represented by proxy shall have one vote and all questions arising at such meeting shall be decided by majority vote, and the Chairman or the person acting in his stead shall have a casting vote, or if it is the wish of such meeting, a question may be settled by lot rather than by the Chairman's casting vote.

29. At any meeting of the Conference Board two-thirds of the total number of Board members shall constitute a quorum.

30. An Annual Meeting of each Conference Board shall be held at such time and at such place as the Chairman shall appoint.

31. Special Meetings of the Conference Board may be called at any time by order of the Chairman or by five of the members of the Conference Board, by notice in writing, sent by mail at least four clear days before the day fixed for the holding of such meeting, and such meeting may be held at any place indicated in the said notice.

32. At the Annual Meeting in 1951 and every third year thereafter the Conference Board will elect from among themselves three members of the Board of Managers of the Church.

Organization of Congregations

33. The property, affairs and concerns of each congregation or community of the Church shall be managed and the business of the said congregation or community shall be carried on in accordance with such by-laws, rules and regulations as may be made and enacted as provided in Article 2(f) hereof.

34. No congregation or community of said Church shall be liable for the debts, liabilities, or any financial obligation whatsoever of any other congregation or community of said Church.

Membership

35. Each congregation or community shall be comprised of all persons who have been elected to membership in that congregation or community upon their request and who have become members and communicants of the Hutterian Brethren Church in the manner set forth in the book written by Peter Riedemann hereinbefore referred to, and who have been chosen and elected to membership upon a majority vote of all the male members of that congregation or community at any annual, general or special meeting thereof.

Holding of Property

36. No individual member of a congregation or community shall have any assignable or transferable interest in any of its property, real or personal.

37. All, property, real and personal, of a congregation or

community, from whomsoever, whensoever, and howsoever it may have been obtained, shall forever be owned, used occupied, controlled and possessed by the congregation or community for the common use, interest, and benefit of each and all members thereof, for the purposes of the said congregation or community.

38. All the property, both real and personal, that each and every member of a congregation or community has, or may have, own, possess or may be entitled to at the time he or she joins such congregation or community, or becomes a member thereof, and all the property, both real and personal, that each and every member of the congregation or community, may have, obtain, inherit, possess or be entitled to, after he or she becomes a member of a congregation or community, shall be and become the property of the congregation or community to be owned, used occupied and possessed by the congregation or community for the common use, interest and benefit of each and all of the members thereof.

39. None of the property, either real or personal, of a congregation or community shall ever be taken, held, owned, removed or withdrawn from the congregation or community inaccordance with its by-laws, rules and regulations and the provisions of these Articles, and if any member of a congregation or community shall be expelled therefrom, or cease to be a member thereof, he or she shall not have, take, withdraw from, grant, sell, transfer or convey, or be entitled to any of the property of the congregation or community or any interest therein; and if any member of the congregation or community shall die, be expelled therefrom, or cease to be a member thereof, his or her personal representatives, heirs at law, legatees or devises or creditors or any other person shall not be entitled to, or have any of the property of the congregation or community, or interest therein, whether or not he or she owned, possessed or had any interest in or to any of the property of the congregation or community at the time he or she became a member thereof, or at any time before or thereafter, or had given, granted, conveyed or transferred any property or property interest to the congregation or community at any time.

Rights and Duties of Members

40. Each and every member of a congregation or community shall give and devote all his or her time, labor, services, earnings and energies to that congregation or community, and the purposes for which it is formed, freely, voluntarily, and without compensation or reward of any kind whatsoever, other than herein expressed.

41. The members of a congregation or community shall be entitled to and have their husbands, wives and children, who are not members thereof, reside with them, and be supported, maintained, instructed and educated by that congregation or community, according to the rules, regulations and requirements of that congregation or community, during the time and so long as they obey, abide by and conform to the rules, regulations, instructions and requirements of that congregation or community.

42. Whenever a member of the congregation or community shall die, then his or her husband, wife and children, who are not members thereof, shall have the right to remain with, and be supported, instructed and educated by that congregation or community, during the time, and as long as they give and devote all of their time, labor, services, earnings and energies to the congregation or community, and the purposes thereof, and obey and conform to the rules, regulations and requirements of the congregation or community, the same as if the said member had lived.

43. The husbands, wives and children of each and all the members of a congregation or community, who are not members thereof, shall give and devote all their time, labor, services, earnings, and energies to that congregation or community and purposes for which it is formed, freely, voluntarily and without compensation of any kind whatsoever other than as herein provided, and obey and conform to all the rules, regulations and requirements of the congregation or community, while they remain in or with the congregation or community.

44. No congregation or community shall be dissolved without the consent of all of its members.

45. The act of becoming a member of a congregation or community shall be considered as a Grant, Release, Transfer, Assignment, and Conveyance to that congregation or community of all property, whether real or personal, owned by any person at the time of his or her becoming a member of the congregation or community, or acquired or inherited at any time subsequent thereto; such property to be owned, occupied, possessed and used by the congregation or community for the common use of all its members.

Expulsion of Members

46. Any member of a congregation or community may be expelled or dismissed therefrom at any annual or general meeting of that congregation or community upon a majority vote of all the members thereof, or upon the request of such member, or by his or her having left or abandoned the congregation or community, or having refused to obey the

rules and regulations and the officers of the congregation or community, or having refused to give and devote all his or her time, labor, services, earnings and energies to the congregation or community and the purposes thereof, or to do or perform the work, thereof labor, acts and things required of him or her by the congregation or community or to attend and engage in the regular meetings, worship and service of the members of the congregation or community.

Officers Given Certain Powers

47. The officers of a congregation or community upon first having obtained the consent of the majority of the male members of that congregation or community may from time to time if they see fit to do so contract for, buy, sell, assign, transfer, encumber, guarantee, hypothecate, mortgage, pledge, charge, lease and disposeof any or all of the real or personal property of assets of that congregation or community for any purpose whatsoever; and also as security for any moneys borrowed or any part thereof may give to any money lender, mortgagee, bank, person, firm or corporation all or any bonds, debentures, warehouse receipts, bills of lading, negotiable instruments and all such other securities and documents necessary or required by or on behalf of such money lender, mortgagee, bank, person, firm or corporation, and may also give to any bank securites as required under the Bank Act as security for any moneys borrowed from time to time from the bank.

Admission of Further Congregations

48. The Board of Managers may by a majority vote admit to membership in the Church and may join to one of the existing conferences or otherwise as they deem meet any congregation or community which makes application to join the Church and which complies with and conforms to the religious doctrine and faith of the Hutterian Brethren Church.

Amendments

49. These Articles of Association may be repealed or amended or new Articles may be adopted from time to time at any annual, general or special meeting of the Board of Managers or at any other meeting of the member Conferences called for that purpose by the Board of Managers.

WE, the undersigned, being the proper officers in that behalf of the said congregations or communities, having severally read over and had explained to us the foregoing Articles of Association, and understanding the same and having been so authorized by the congregations or communities to which we respectfully belong, DO HEREBY SEVERALLY AGREE to adopt and abide by the said Articles of Association.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the several congregations herein named have executed these Articles by the hands of their proper officers in that behalf.

DATED THIS FIRST DAY OF AUGUST, A.D. 1950.

/There then follow the signatures of the Managers, in each case the minister and the colony manager, of the community, of the DARIUS-LEUT, LEHRER-LEUT, and SCHMIEDE-LEUT/

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1. Constitution of the Hutterian Brethren Church and Rules as to Community of Property. Pages 4-10, with changes inserted by E.A.Fletcher, Q.C., solicitor for the Hutterian Brethren.

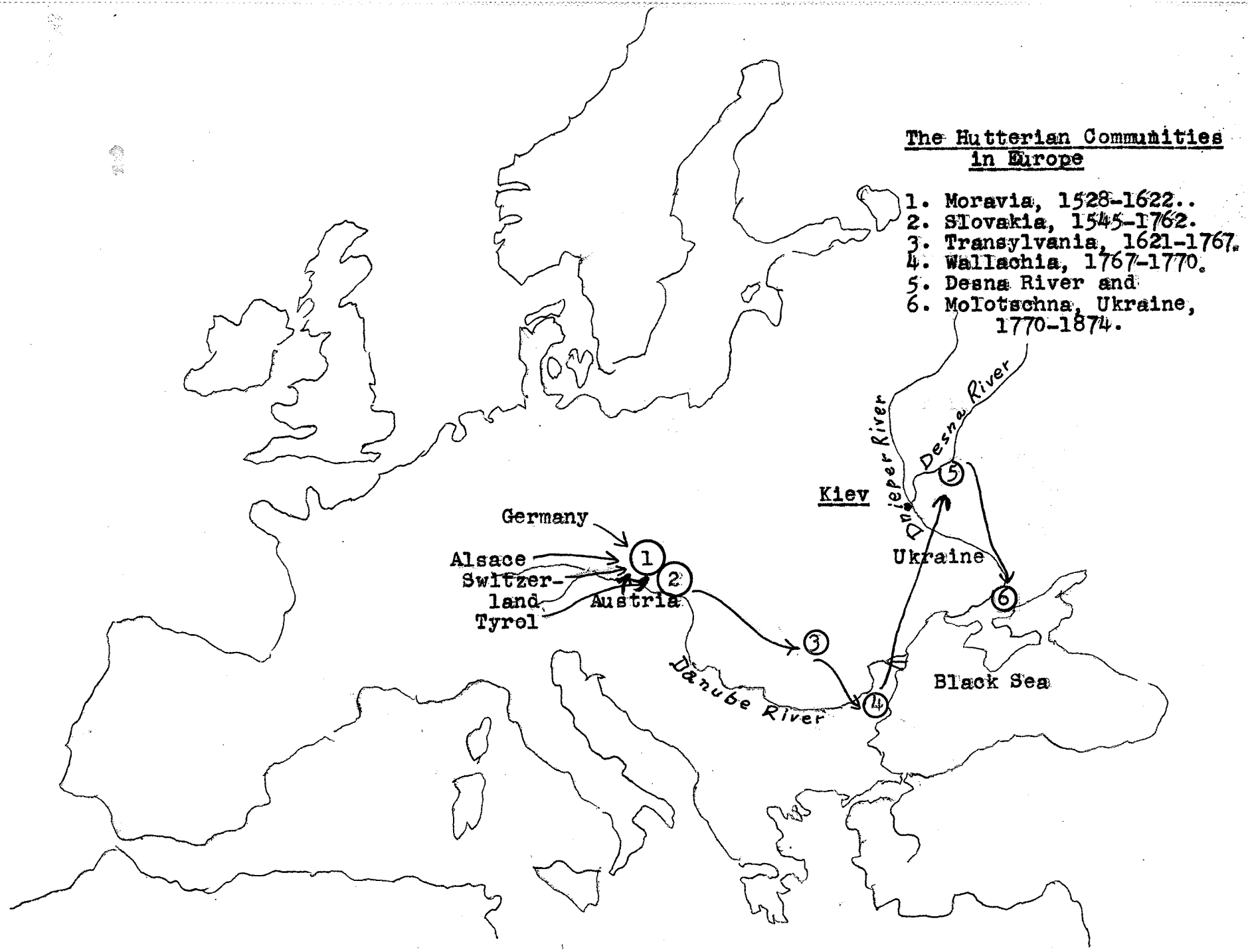
Appendix II

THE HUTTERIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

Name of Colony	Address	Year Settled	Population 1950
Darius-Leut			
1. Ayers Ranch	Grass Range, Montana	1945	54
2. Deerfield	Danvers, Montana	1947	65
3. King Ranch	Lewistown, Montana	1935	61
4. Spring Creek	Lewistown, Montana	1945	26
Lehrer-Leut			
5. Birch Creek	Valier, Montana	1947	95
6. Glacier	Cut Banks, Montana		
7. Miami	Pendroy, Montana	1948	112
8. New Milford	Augusta, Montana	1945	105
9. Miller Ranch	Choteau, Montana	1949	100
10. New Rockport	Choteau, Montana	1948	101
11. Hillside	Sweet Grass, Montana	1950	
12. Rockport	Pendroy, Montana	1947	101
Schmiede-Leut			
13. Blumengart	Wecota, South Dakota		
14. Bon Homme	Tabor, South Dakota	1874	58
15. Hutterian Colony	Graceville, Minn.*	1957	
16. Glendale	Frankfort, South Dakota	1949	97
17. Forest River	Fordville, North Dakota	1950	
18. Graceville	Winfred, South Dakota	1948	71
19. Huron	Huron, South Dakota	1944	74
20. Jamesville	Utica, South Dakota	1937	107
21. Maxwell	Scotland, South Dakota	1949	72
22. Millerdale	Miller, South Dakota	1949	54
23. New Elm Spring	Ethan, South Dakota	1936	102
24. Pearl Creek	Iroquois, South Dakota	1949	94
25. Platte	Academy, South Dakota	1949	68
26. Riverside	Huron, South Dakota	1949	48
27. Rockport	Alexandria, South Dakota	1934	84
28. Rosedale	Mitchell, South Dakota	1945	92
29. Spink	Frankfort, South Dakota	1945	94
30. Tschetter	Olivet, South Dakota	1942	94

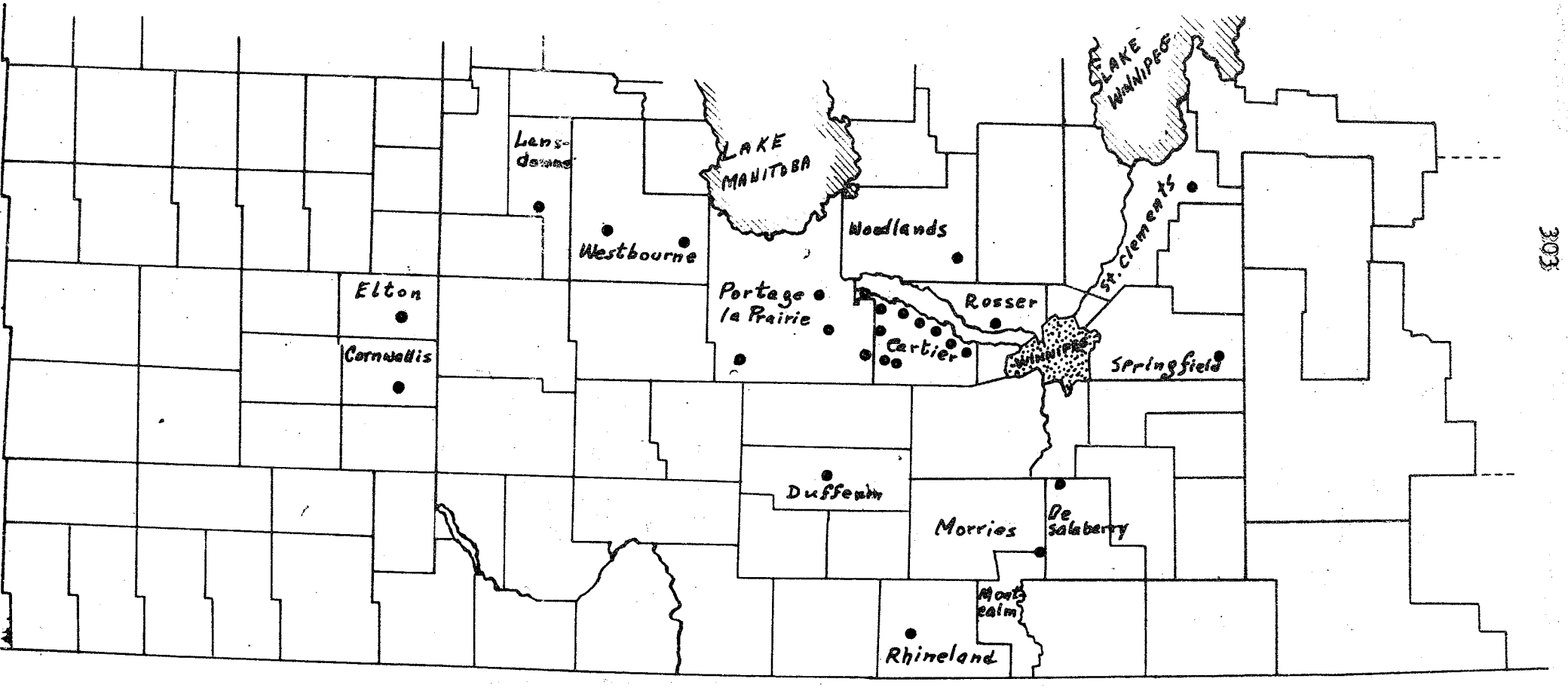
1. Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 861-862.

* New colony visited and recorded by the writer.


The Hutterian Communities in Europe
1. Moravia, 1528-1622..
2. Slovakia, 1545-1762.
3. Transylvania, 1621-1767.
4. Wallachia, 1767-1770.
5. Desna River and
6. Molotschna, Ukraine, 1770-1874.
Germany
Alsace
Switzer-land
Tyrol
Austria
Danube River
Kiev
Dnieper River
Desna River
Ukraine
Black Sea
1
2
3
4
5
6

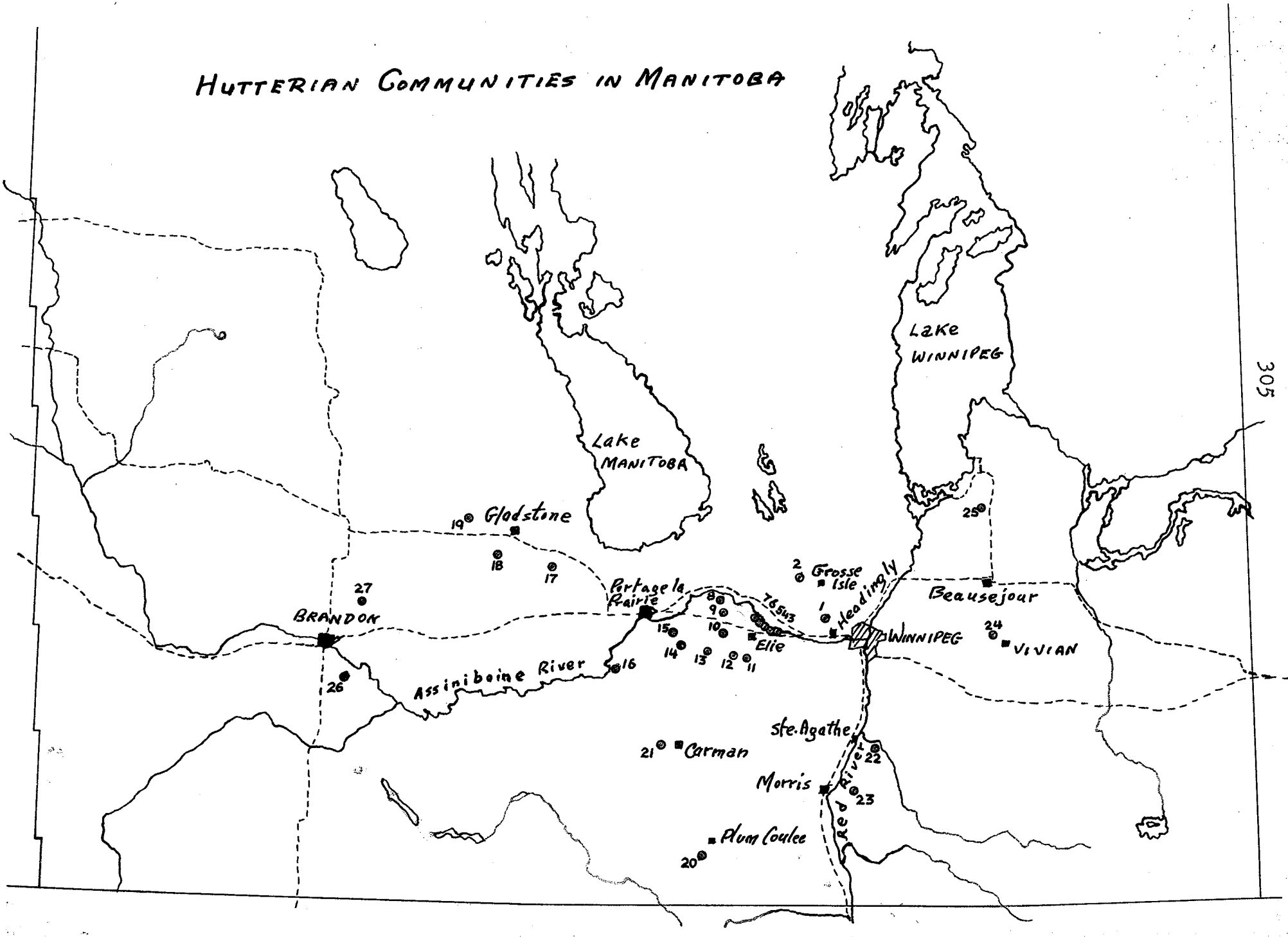
Municipality	Name of Colony
Cartier	Barickman Huron Iberville James Valley Maxwell Milltown Lakeside Poplar Point Rosedale Waldheim
Cornwallis	Clear Spring
DeSalaberry	Crystal Spring
Dufferin	new colony
Elton	new colony
Lansdowne	Riverside
Montcalm & Morris	Oak Bluff
Portage la Prairie	Bon Homme Elm River New Rosedale Sunnyside
Rhineland	Blumengart
Rosser	Sturgeon Creek
Springfield	Springfield
St. Clements	Greenwald
Westbourne	Bloomfield Riverdale
Woodlands	Rock Lake

SOUTHERN MANITOBA, ITS MUNICIPALITIES AND HUTTERIAN COMMUNITIES



Hutterian Colonies

1. Sturgeon Creek
2. Rock Lake
3. Lakeside
4. Barickman
5. Maxwell
6. Iberville
7. Rosedale
8. Poplar Point
9. Huron
10. Milltown
11. James Valley
12. Waldheim
13. Bon Homme
14. Sunnyside
15. Elm River
16. New Rosedale
17. Bloomfield
18. Riverdale
19. Riverside
20. Blumengart
21. A new colony
22. Crystal Spring
23. Oak Bluff
24. Springfield
25. Greenwald
26. Clear Spring
27. A new colony


HUTTERIAN COMMUNITIES IN MANITOBA
Lake MANITOBA
Lake WINNIPEG
Gladstone
BRANDON
Portage la Prairie
Assiniboine River
Grosse Isle
Headingly
Elie
WINNIPEG
Beausejour
VIVIAN
Ste. Agathe
Carman
Morris
Red River
Plum Coulee
1
2
7 & 8
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Community Dwellings at the New Rosedale Community

1. Two-family Unit
   a. minister
   b. colony manager

2. Two-family Unit
   a. "turkey-man"
   b. "goose-man"

3. Four-family Unit
   a. carpenter
   b. mechanic
   c. mechanic
   d. "poultry-man"

4. Four-family Unit
   a. "cattle-man"
   b. farm-foreman
   c. "poultry-man"
   d. "hog-man"

5. Single Family Units
   a. "cat-man" (machinery)
   b. "German" teacher
   c. minister and shoemaker
   d. carpenter
   e. supervisor of kitchen and grounds
   f. "cat-man" (incl. road maintenance)
   g. "turkey-man"

6. Three-family Unit
   a. aged couple
   b. "turkey-man"
   c. carpenter

A - Kindergarten School

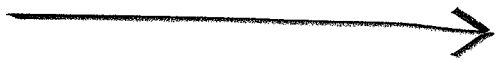
B - Public School

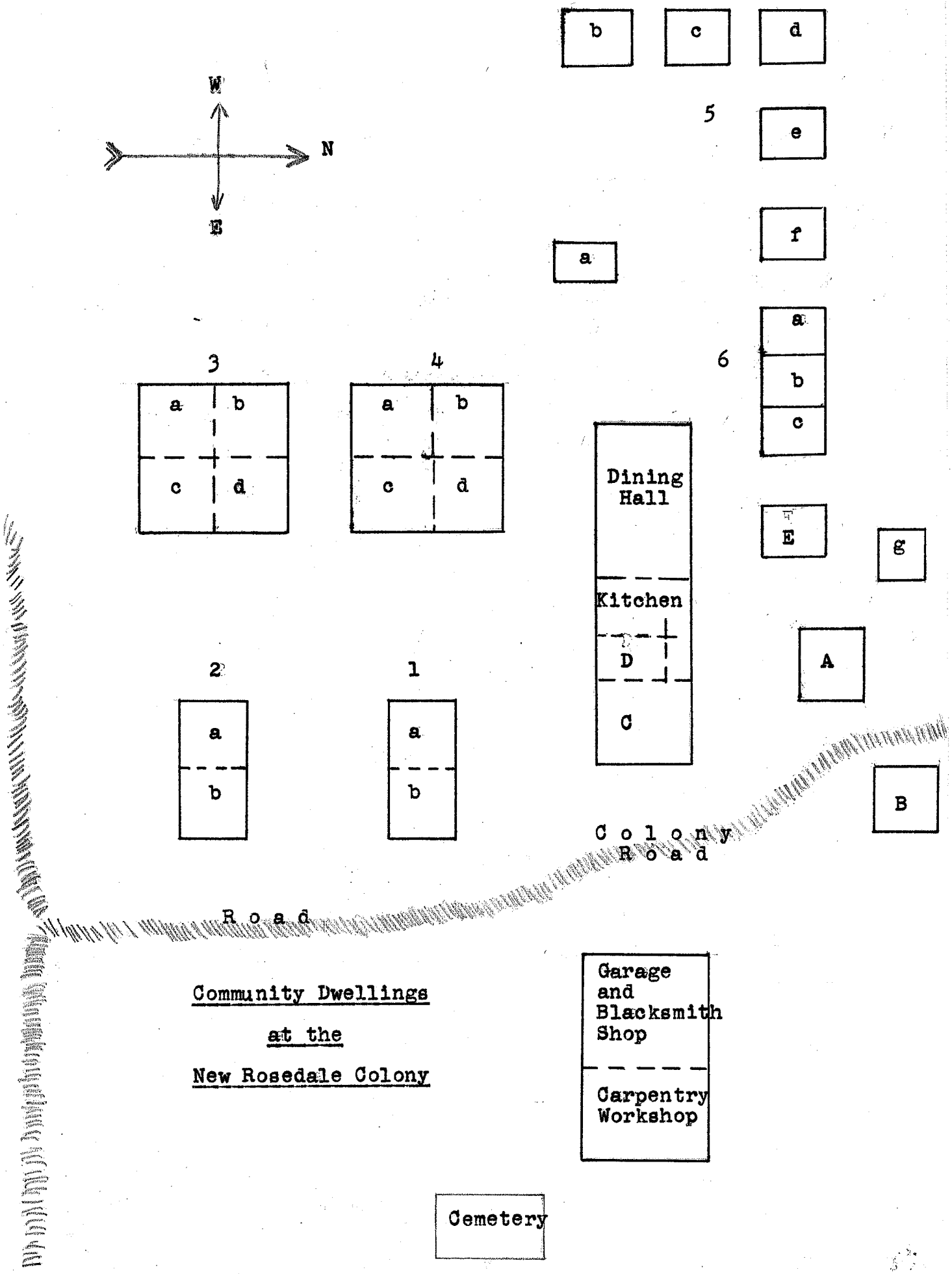
C - Assembly Room

D - Bakery, Dining Hall (Children from 6 to 15)

E - Teacherage for the Public School Teacher

(Not shown: cattle and pig barns; chicken, geese, and duck houses; hatcheries; apiaries; feed barns and granaries; turkey compounds.)





Community Dwellings at the New Rosedale Colony

Appendix III

Excerpts from H.W.Donner's Introduction to Utopia (Sir Thomas More's Utopia)[1]:

> In Utopia there are no classes...there is neither private property nor hereditary privilege... Everybody is born free and given the same opportunities. The same education is provided for all, women as well as men, and all are expected to do the same amount of work. No idleness is tolerated, and thanks to the fact that everybody performs manual labor, the hours of work can be restricted... Agriculture is the chief industry and an occupation which all the citizens must learn... Sufficient labour is always available...
>
> *
>
> All citizens dress alike in coarse garments of white linen and cloaks of natural wool... All vanities are held in the utmost contempt. The houses are all similar, but so solidly built that no time is unnecessarily wasted in repairs or new construction, and every ten years they exchange houses... There is no lock to the doors and so no privacy. They have nothing to conceal and nothing to guard...
>
> *
>
> Once the marriage is accomplished, it is difficult to dissolve. This is done in cases of adultery... The husband chastizes his wife, and the parents their children, and the younger always wait upon the elder. Special care is taken of the sick and the aged... The sons do not leave their homes on getting married, but bring their wives there, and as the children grow up the sons in their turn will bring young wives home... Thirty families form one such "ward" which possesses a great hall where they have their meals in common, the women on one side of the table, the men on the other...Mothers with small children, however, eat in the special nursery...
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> *
>
> The Utopian prince can reach no decisions in affairs of state, unless supported by the council...In

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1. Donner, H.W., Introduction to Utopia, London, 1945. pp. 29-53.

economic matters the whole island is like one family... The priests are elected...and afterwards consecrated. They are held in deep reverence. It hardly ever happens that a priest has to be punished for an offence, but if it should occur he is not tried in court, but left to God and his conscience...The priests take charge of the moral education of the people. It is their duty to guide the citizens with good counsel in all matters...

*

Last they pray to God as the maker of all good and of themselves. They thank Him because He has created granted them to live in the richest and happiest of all commonwealths and in the worship of the truest religion...

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The outstanding contemporary scholar of Hutterian history is Dr. Robert Friedmann, of Western Michigan College. Formerly of Vienna, Friedmann is a scholar in the classical tradition and devotes his research to early Hutterian history and doctrine. He departs from Dr. Bainton's thesis that the Anabaptists emerged as the extreme left wing of the Reformation. Friedmann maintains that there was a fundamental difference between Anabaptism and Protestantism, that Protestantism, as well as the emotional reactions within it as expressed in Pietism and Revivalism, is "more a faith believed than a faith to be lived".[1] On the other hand, according to Friedmann, the Anabaptists "understand their order as a restitution of the eternal order of God's kingdom - as far as this is possible in frail human beings".[2] From his numerous writings it is clear that Friedmann sees in the Hutterian way of life the ultimate projection of Anabaptist faith.

Friedmann represents in his own person a link between European and American scholarship in Hutteriana, for he has become recognized on both sides of the Atlantic as an eminent authority in his field.

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1. Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Pro testantism", in MQR, XXIV, I (January, 1950). 17.

2. Ibid., 24.

The European School

The great European scholar of Hutterian history was the Austrian jurist Joseph von Beck (1815-87). He collected extensive material on the Hutterians without ever learning of the group's continued existence in Russia and in the United States. Some of it was published in Vienna in 1883 (Geschichtsbuecher der Wiedertaeufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn). On Beck's death his collection passed to Johann Loserth, a professor of history at the University of Graz. Much of Loserth's research on this subject appeared in the Mennonitisches Lexikon. Friedmann refers to Loserth as "the most capable histiographer of the Hutterites".[3] Later in his life Loserth deposited Beck's source material with the state archive at Bruenn, in Czechoslovakia.

Dr. Rudolf Wolkan rediscovered the Hutterians in 1890 when he learned through John Horsch that the group had survived, and had communities in South Dakota. Wolkan's Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, also known as the "Large Chronicle", is discussed in Chapter VII.

Several other European historians of stature concerned themselves with aspects of the Hutterian past. While the three named scholars were Austrian Catholics, a Lutheran cleric, Dr. Hans Fischer, of Vienna, as recently as 1956 brought out a biography on Jacob Huter.

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3. Friedmann, "Bibliographical and Research Notes", MQR, XXIV, 4, (October, 1950). 353.

The American School

Besides the already mentioned Dr. Friedmann, two Mennonite scholars, the late John Horsch and Dr. H.S. Bender, editor of the Mennonite Quarterly Review and editor-in-chief of the Mennonite Encyclopedia, concentrated their research on early Hutterian history and doctrinal writings.

Two American sociologists, Dr. Bertha Clark and Dr. Lee Emerson Deets, were the pioneers to conduct field research in contemporary American colonies. Dr. Clark's excellent study of the Hutterians appeared in two issues of The Journal of Political Economy, in 1924, and remains a valuable source for any student. Deets was professor of sociology at the University of South Dakota when he conducted his field work at the Hutterian colonies in that state and in Manitoba. His The Hutterites; A Study in Social Cohesion was published in 1939 and is an interesting evaluation of the cohesive mortar that binds the brotherhood. Deets' anticipated disorganization of the communities through the introduction of farm technology and increased commercialism has not materialized.

The intensive mental health survey conducted by a group headed by Dr. Joseph W. Eaton, sociologist of Wayne University, psychiatrist Dr. Robert J. Weil of Dalhousie, and Harvard psychologist Dr. B. Kaplan, has already been mentioned.

At least one American writer, Marcus Bach, professor

at the University of Iowa, has attempted to exploit the Hutterian subject in the form of fiction. Whatever the literary qualities of the book, The Dream Gate does not succeed in capturing the atmosphere of the Bruderhof. The hero, Little Mike, may be too young or the author's acquaintance with his theme too short for a penetrating anatomy of Hutterian communal living. The picture on the flap cover suggests a Pennsylvanian Amish farmer rather than a Hutterian. The book was favorably reviewed by national periodicals and leading newspapers. The CBC television production "The Devil's Instrument" - a harmonica - was an adaptation from an episode in Bach's novel.

In Canada two studies on the Hutterians merit mention. One is a master's thesis on the Hutterians in Alberta by Mr. Edwin Pitt, at present principal of the Claresholm School, Claresholm, Alberta. The unpublished thesis is in the library of the University of Alberta. The second is a study of inter-group relations, "The Hutterites and Saskatchewan", conducted by the Saskatchewan Division of The Canadian Mental Health Association.

During World War II a British cinema enterprise filmed a war story in Canada. Part of the story was filmed at the Iberville Colony, in Manitoba. The Hutterians did not approve of the project, did not appear in the film, and gave only reluctant consent to the use of their colony. The screen story, "The 49th Parallel", was subsequently also released in the United States under the title "The Invader".

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