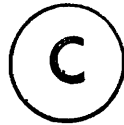McGill University

CHANGE IN RELIGION, ECONOMICS, AND
BOUNDARY CONDITIONS AMONG AMISH
MENNONITES IN SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO

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Abstract

In explaining modernization in an Ontario Amish
Mennonite community, this thesis follows Kuhn's model
of change in the sciences, detailing especially the
interaction of internal religious ideology with outside
events. An ambiguous traditional ideology promoted
supportive interpersonal relations through objective rules,
isolating the individual behind tight boundaries, sub-
ordinating him to community discipline. Revivalism,
however, introduced an alternative early in the 1900's--
salvation through individual piety, not community rules--
and opened boundaries. By the 1950's, prosperity and
farm mechanization led to increasingly modernized outside
contact for individuals, through wage labour and consumer
purchases. Anomalous under traditional ideology, these
experiences supported the revivalist ideal, and led to
its eventual domination. Kuhn explains transformation
through the interaction of scientific theory and independent
phenomena; we show how new individualized experiences
arising when ideological debate opened boundaries resolved
questions about the validity of competing ideologies.

Résumé

S'inspirant du modèle des révolutions scientifiques
développé par Kuhn, cette thèse explique la modernisation
d'une communauté ontarienne Amish-Mennonite par l'étude de
l'interaction de l'idéologie religieuse et d'évènements
externes. L'idéologie traditionnelle encourageait par
des règles objectives les relations de soutien interper-
sonnel, isolait l'individu à l'intérieur de frontières
étanches et le soumettait à la discipline communautaire.
Vers 1900, un renouveau religieux vint affaiblir ces
frontières en introduisant le choix d'un salut par
dévotion personnelle plutôt que par obéissance aux règles
communautaires. Dès 1950, la mécanisation des fermes
et leur richesse augmentèrent les contacts avec le monde
extérieur, surtout par le travail salarié et la consommation.
Ces nouveaux développements, anormaux pour l'idéologie
traditionnelle, vinrent appuyer l'idéal du renouveau
religieux et en assurer finalement la domination. Reprenant
la thèse de Kuhn, cette étude montre comment des expériences
individuelles nouvelles, à la suite d'une ouverture des
frontières de la communauté, ont résolu le débat entre
idéologies concurentielles.

Preface and Acknowledgements

The thesis represents an original contribution to knowledge
in several ways. It presents new data on Amish Mennonites in Ontario,
integrating this with previous research in an original explanation
of the community's history. The statistical analyses, while they
often rely on data published elsewhere, have not been performed
previously, and are used to support our particular argument. Our
theoretical model is based on the works of Kuhn, but modifies his
scheme to allow us to explain social change in ideological communities.

Our thanks go out to many people who provided data, and supported
the project throughout. Members of the Amish Mennonite community were
unstinting in their co-operation, and many took a keen interest in
the study. I was asked several times to summarize my findings in
public meetings, and many people have expressed an interest in reading
the thesis. Community support, however, has been tempered by a
desire for anonymity, which I have tried in every way to honour.
Thus I cannot mention specifically community members who shared
so much in teaching me their history. The thesis could not exist
without them. I hope that whatever the community may learn from
reflecting on the thesis will be sufficient to repay all support.

A number of others, however, also deserve special thanks. Ken
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The thesis committee was

    Dr. Bernard Arcand, supervisor

    Dr. Richard Salisbury

    Dr. Bruce Trigger

Contents

Appendices

<u>Introduction</u>

This thesis is an attempt to construct a theory to account for the role of ideology in social change among the Amish Mennonites of Ontario. Our theory proceeds on an analogy with that proposed by Thomas Kuhn to account for change in the natural sciences. Kuhn shows how "paradigms" in the minds of scientists guide their activity, but also how that activity influences scientific concepts and theories. In this thesis we consider how ideologies, or "community ideals," both support and are supported by community activities. The interaction Kuhn sees between scientific data and scientific theory we see between the changing reality external to the group and community ideology. The interaction in science takes place in the course of the experimentation and theory refinement; we see the interaction in the process of change of community institutions.

Both ideological and social characteristics of the Amish Mennonite community make it an appropriate setting for this study. Amish Mennonites traditionally defined very clearly what was "internal" to their community, and what was "external." This well-defined boundary between the community and the wider social context was established and maintained by the Amish Mennonites themselves, and was not forced on them from outside. The boundary was justified by a religious ideology, and assumed an important place in that ideology. In attempting to realize the true Christian life, Amish Mennonites have traditionally shunned the "world" outside their community, and attempted to keep to the highest standards of their religious "discipline." During this century, however, many Amish Mennonites have accommodated themselves to the "world", amd relaxed some of the restrictions placed by religious rules. Intense public debates accompanied this process; it was clear to the participants that the debates about opening the boundary were at the same time debates about the proper religious ideology for the community. During the course of these debates, three distinct positions emerged, each with its own resolution of the relationship between religious ideology and the degree of isolation from the rest of Canadian society.

It is therefore clear in a study of community history what sources

of change have arisen internally, and which have come from outside.
In that the boundary itself is maintained by local people and justified
by religious ideology, we must consider not merely internal and external
sources of change, but must take account of the role of that ideology
in any explanation of change we might offer. Even if we conclude that
change has been forced on the community by outside influences, we must
show how internal ideology interpreted external influence. We are thus
forced in this kind of ethnographic situation to consider how internal
and external factors interact. Since the debates about the boundary
have been public, we do not have to infer that ideological positions
underlie institutional modification. We can instead see three different
ideological positions, and assess the impact of each position on sub-
sequent history.

    We concentrate our attention on the way in which religious ideol-
ogy has affected change for several reasons. This approach presents the
history of the community more or less from its own perspective, for
local people attribute changes to the religious position taken by
various groups. Such an approach builds on the experience of the anthro-
pologist, who lives with the people whose history he studies, and who
comes to understand change through their eyes. At the same time, we ad-
dress an important question in the theoretical literature. The clarity
of the data among the Amish Mennonites concerning the role of ideology
in social change allows us to speak very directly to the centre of that
theoretical debate. This clarity, however, does limit the scope of our
investigation somewhat, and the choice of the Amish Mennonites as an
appropriate ethnographic field limits the generality of our conclusions.
This limitation, however, clarifies the analogy with Kuhn's theory we
wish to explore.

    We have set our theoretical stance in the context of anthropolog-
ical theories of change in the first chapter of the thesis. Before that,
however, we present a short general history of the Amish Mennonites as
background material. In this history, we will outline the main features
of the ethnographic context which must be explained theoretically. We
also provide the reader with a summary within which later, more detailed
descriptions, may find a meaningful place.

History of the Amish Mennonite Community in Canada

The history of the Amish Mennonites actually began in the early days of the Reformation. Shortly after Zwingli became the spiritual leader of the canton of Zürich, a number of his more radical followers separated themselves from the Reformed church. These men wanted a church of true believers committed to a Christian life based solely on Biblical princ-iples. Infant baptism to them was simply a sign of incorporation into a civil-religious institution of men, rather than into the kingdom of Christ. They formally separated from the state church, taking the step of rebaptizing one another into their new faith. Rebaptism became the symbol of their renewed commitment; from this practice came their name, the Anabaptists. (1).

Both Roman and Reformed churches treated the Anabaptists as heretics, and persecuted them severely (2). Soon after the formation of the group, suf-ficient of their leaders had been martyred to transform the Anabaptists into isolated, secluded, often secret congregations. Migration was a response to the persecution, and many of the Anabaptists left the more settled areas of Europe for the agricultural frontiers. Rulers would often welcome the hard-working farmers without too much concern for their religious scruples.

By the late 1600's, the Anabaptists in Switzerland had been scattered into neighbouring Alsace and the Palatinate as well. (3) Two of the leaders of the groups conceived different interpretations of some of the basic rules of Christian lifestyle. Jacob Amman, the stricter of the two, insisted that when a member of the group transgressed the rules of church discipline, he was to be banned and shunned, set back from not merely the communion table, but also from all social interaction with believers. Amman was attempting to maintain the church as a group of pure and dedicated Christians, avoiding the temptations of the evil world. Amman travelled widely, proselytizing, and the debate between the followers of Amman and the more moderate Anabap-tists could not be settled. In the end, Amman excommunicated the more mod-erate elders. The group that followed him became known as the Amish, while the others were known as Mennonites, after an early Dutch leader Menno Simons. (4).

The Amish found life in Europe a struggle between their faith and the demands of secular rulers. Traditionally non-resistant, the Amish had to petition for exemption from military service, not always success-fully. The possibilities of setting up life in the new world, with its promise of freedom from poverty, constant migration, and religious in-tolerance, were explored as early as 1765, when some Amish groups emigrat-ed to Pennsylvania. In 1821, one of the Amish brethren set out from

Bavaria to investigate conditions in Pennsylvania. Land in this state,
however, proved too expensive, and the advice given was to search for
cheaper land in Canada. The Governor of Upper Canada was anxious to en-
courage settlement, and was willing to sell the Amish an entire block of
land for their use. Mennonite settlers from Pennsylvania had pioneered
in the Kitchener and Waterloo areas in the early part of 1800 and the
Amish asked for land directly west of the Mennonite settlement. The
land set aside was a strip six concessions wide across the centre of
Wilmot Township.

> "Each settler was promised 50 acres of free land provided he
> would clear a two-rod strip along the front of a 200 acre
> plot, build a cabin and pay a small surveyor's fee. The
> settler could purchase the additional 150 acres of his plot
> at a later date for $2.50 an acre." (Gingerich, 1972, 28).

The terms were considered very favourable, and the Amish started to emigrate
around 1825. A report in 1829 stated that about 50 plots had been settled.
Migration from Europe continued until about 1850. The Amish community in
Ontario continued to expand after that time, but immigration ceased.

In 1837, the Amish settlers in East Zorra Township of Oxford County
(adjoining Wilmot) formed a new congregation; in 1848, a smaller group
in Hay Township, some sixty miles north, also formed a congregation.
Soon there were considerable numbers of Amish living in Wilmot Township
in Waterloo County, in East Zorra Township in Oxford County, and in North
and South Easthope in Perth County. Settlement to the north of Wilmot
was officially blocked at first, as Wellesley Township was a clergy
reserve. In the early 1850's, however, Wellesley was opened for settle-
ment, and by 1859 a new congregation was organized in the area. Further
Amish settlement continued to the west of Wellesley, in the Townships of
Mornington, North Easthope and Elma in Perth County. A new congregation
was founded there in 1874. The establishment of this congregation marked
the end of this stage of territorial expansion for the Amish. The five
congregations mentioned--Wilmot, East Zorra, Hay, Wellesley, and
Mornington--were the parent bodies for all later church expansion.

By 1870, the Amish Mennonites no longer lived as pioneers, but as
settled farmers selling their produce on the national market. In the
early 1870's, for instance, the members of the group founded a mutual
aid union for relief in case of fire and storm damage, which suggests
people had sufficient assets and sufficient funds for this kind of pro-

ject. Economically, the years of the 1870's were unsettled, and later
in the century, the country experienced a depression. (5). Commodity
prices paid to farmers fell, and a number of community members left
for the promise of cheaper land in the United States. (6).

During this period, there were also changes in church life.
The strict Amish pattern of a strong church discipline administered by
the ordained men was challenged by religious practices from the outside.
Especially important were the attempts to introduce a revival pro-
gramme into the church. Urban Mennonites from the United States had
been influenced by revival preaching, and saw it as a way of winning
more young people to active church life. Among the Amish, generally
slower to accept any innovation, the first effect of the changes was
felt during the 1880's. A number of members wanted meeting houses built;
others felt this was a move toward "worldly" outside practices. The
opposition to the new practice was sufficiently strong in the northern
parts of the settlement area that several families left the main church
body to form the Old Order Amish.

The issue of revivalism, however, was not resolved with the Old
Order schism. The issue of Sunday school for adults, an innovation pro-
moted to allow the presentation of the revivalist programme during weekly
worship, arose in the early years of this century. Another schism dev-
eloped in the north over the issues of Sunday school and revival meetings,
and two new congregations were formed. These began as separate conserva-
tive bodies, but later affiliated loosely with the Beachy Amish in the
United States. Less conservative than the Old Order, they have still
retained much of the separate traditions of the Amish Mennonites.

With the introduction of Sunday school, the remaining congrega-
tions of Amish Mennonites entered a new phase of their history. Shortly
thereafter, these congregations officially formed the Amish Mennonite
Conference of Ontario, later called the Western Ontario Mennonite Con-
ference. Traditional Amish worship was continued, but revivalism was
also an important theological position in the community. Much of the
history of the Western Ontario congregations can be seen as an attempt
to integrate the new revival theology, and the social institutions aris-

ing from it, with more traditional Amish Mennonite practices.

During the period immediately following World War II, a number of significant changes took place in the Western Ontario group. Rising prices paid for farm produce gave the farmer a greater disposable income. Much of this was spent modernizing the farm. Electricity was brought in, and farm machinery was purchased. The labour saved through the use of machinery changed the pattern of work on the farm. Farmers were less dependent on other neighbours for labour, and the sharing of labour in the community became less and less important. Farmers also depended less on family labour; older teenagers were freed to work for wages in the local towns and cities. The mechanization of the farm thus freed a number of people for wage labour, and made the farming enterprise more and more the individual concern of the operator.

The 1940's were also years of considerable change in the church. A re-awakening of the revival spirit, especially among young people in the congregations, led to demands for the expansion of religious institutions. Many of the existing meeting houses were modernized, and new buildings were purchased as mission efforts. The actual mission work of the church was fostered by the selling of farm produce and the sending of money to the Conference to administer. The mission congregations did not in fact attract outsiders but did relieve congestion in the parent congregations.

During the 1950's and 1960's farm costs began to rise at a higher rate than farm prices, and the operator was faced with a squeeze between prices and costs. This favoured an operation run more efficiently, and on a larger scale than had been the case previously. The efficiency of production was increased through selective breeding of stock and crops, and through the use of more machinery. Greater yields from field crops, and the decreased labour through mechanization, made it possible to expand animal production. Farms did not however grow tremendously in land area. Land prices during the 1950's rose sharply, and the purchase of a second farm was not within the capabilities of many farmers. As farming became a more demanding business, more young people could not or did not choose to farm for a living. Thus the move away from farming to wage

labour increased.

Within the church, the period of the 1950's and 1960's was one of debate about the place of church discipline in the lives of members. The ordained men tended to take a hard line about discipline, rejecting the desires of members for a more modern lifestyle. Many members of the northern area felt the leaders were not aggressive enough in mission and revival work, and concerned themselves too much with matters of discipline. Debates about the place of church discipline, and the extent to which individual members might choose their own lifestyle, became the order of the day. In 1955, a schism resulted over issues of discipline. A small group of members formed the Conservative Mennonite fellowship, loosely affiliated with similar groups in the United States and other parts of Canada. This did not, however, resolve the series of debates, which actually continued until about 1970. After this, revivalism and evangelical theology came to dominate church life in the Western Ontario Conference.

All this time, from 1940 to 1970, the Beachy Amish had also changed, but somewhat more slowly and quietly. The group had accepted modern farm implements at the same time, and to the same degree, as the Western Ontario members. Though they were perhaps somewhat slower to move from the older mixed farming regime to the more modern specialized operation, they moved economically in more or less the same direction as their associates. They remained, however, committed to the farm, and very few took up wage labour. Traditional practices within the church were maintained. Although electricity and modern home conveniences were permitted, the boundary to the outside in general was strictly maintained. Religiously, the group remained more or less stable until the 1970's. A considerable number of individuals, however, left the church. Most of these joined the more progressive Western Ontario congregations in the area. Thus the Beachy Amish remained stable in theology and in much of lifestyle at the expense of losing members.

The Amish Mennonite Community in 1973

The area of Amish Mennonite settlement in Ontario today is concentrated within the triangle formed by Kitchener, Tavistock, and

Listowel. The total population in this area is around six thousand.
Of these, many are farmers, the rest mostly wage labourers or small
businessmen in the local towns and cities. Family and church connec-
tion, and residence define community membership. Any descendants of
the first Amish settlers in Ontario who reside in the area and maintain
affiliation with any of the various congregations are community members.
These criteria would omit those who remain in the area, but have given
up church affiliation, as well as those who leave the area. In recent
years, some of the more progressive congregations have attracted a few
converts, and there has been some in-marriage, but by far the largest
part of the community has been recruited by birth.

Members of each of the three major groups already discussed live
in this region. The Old Order, who number about 500, maintain Amish
Mennonite traditions from the 1880's. They worship in homes, use only
horsepower for transportation and field work, and require distinctive
forms of dress. Almost all are farmers, and leave school after grade
eight for full-time farm work. Somewhat more progressive are the
Beachy Amish, of whom there are about 400. Although almost all are
farmers, they have accepted modern farm machinery. They retain a
distinctive form of dress and a separate lifestyle, but are not as
strictly separated from Canadian society in general.

Our study concentrates on the largest group of Amish Mennonites,
who no longer retain the name "Amish" in referring to themselves. There
are about 4,200 members of the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference.
No longer distinctive in matters of individual lifestyle, they still
maintain a strong religious belief, and have kept the church as the
centre of their community life. Fewer than half are farmers today,
and almost all young people finish high school.

The data for the study were gathered during a three year period
from 1973-1976. The researcher lived in the community, participating
fully in the lives of the local people. Interviews and life histories
were collected, and used to reconstruct a history of the community.
Interview data were supplemented by summary statistics from a number of

sources. Several extensive genealogies were made available to the researcher. These list dates of birth, death and marriage in addition to names of parents and children. Since the number of families in the community is small, and many marriages are between community members, a sizeable percentage of the population is represented in these sources. Residence and congregational affiliation were determined for people listed in the genealogies. J.Winfield Fretz placed some of his data on Waterloo County Mennonites at our disposal, for which the author is grateful. His summaries of ages and occupations for various Amish Mennonite congregations have been referred to in several appendices.

Land registry records were also searched to produce a complete list of Amish Mennonite settlers who owned land. When farms were sold to or by Amish Mennonites, the price of the farm was also listed. For Waterloo County, a complete listing of mortgages granted by Amish Mennonites in the region around Wellesley was compiled from the land registry records. These data give a sense of the economic history of the farm. To supplement these statistics, published statistical summaries for Ontario have been collected from the various federal census-es, and from the statistical summaries published by the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

During the fieldwork, the records of the Fire and Storm Aid Union were made available to the researcher. Since these records date back to 1872, they form a valuable record of economic changes in the community. These records listed heads of household by congregation, and thus supply a list of many of the members of various congregations at different times. They also list the amount of insurance paid, and consequently allow the calculation of variations in amount of personal property at different times.

Little has been written on the Amish Mennonites in Ontario. One chapter in L.J. Burkholder's A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario, (1935) treats the early history of the community. This was written by Jacob R. Bender, a local Amish minister. The most impor-tant reference work is Gingerich's The Amish in Canada (1972), which

is a comprehensive history of the community by a local historian.
Well written and unusually detailed, the work shows the deep sensitiv-
ity to community organization that comes only with a lifetime of
acquaintance. Our work concentrates on the Amish Mennonites around
Wellesley, leaving out consideration of the southern congregations.
We present certain statistics that are not included in Gingerich's
work. On the whole, however, we depend on his book for many matters
of community history.

Material on the Amish Mennonites, and other Mennonites in North
America generally, is much richer. Frank Epp's Mennonites in Canada
(1974) is required reading for anyone interested in Mennonite history.
Epp discusses Amish Mennonites, but he relies heavily on Gingerich's
material. The other crucial resource on Amish and Mennonites in Canada
is Donovan Smucker's bibliography (1977). Since Smucker has been so
thorough in gathering both published and unpublished scholarly writing,
and since all entries are carefully annotated, we simply refer the
reader interested in more material to his collection.

The thesis itself presents the ethnographic material in histor-
ical order. After the discussion of theory in chapter one, we outline
the organization of the traditional community. We stress here the way
in which religious ideology legitimated institutions and a particular
lifestyle within the community, and maintained the community boundary.
Thus chapter two presents a description which serves as a baseline for
later discussions of change. Chapter three focusses on the schisms
that accompanied the introduction of revivalist ideology and religious
institutions during the period from 1880 to 1920. Through this dis-
cussion, we see how the ideological position of the progressive segment
of the community was transformed. The next two chapters detail the
way in which the new revivalist theology was incorporated into relig-
ious institutions in the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference congrega-
tions from 1920 to 1950. Chapter six introduces the important economic
changes of the 1940's and 1950's. The attempts by members of the West-
ern Ontario congregations to reconcile these economic changes and their
consequences with the religious life of the community are outlined in

chapter seven. Chapter eight treats the parallel changes among the
Beachy Amish, and shows the relationship between the Beachy Amish
and Western Ontario congregations following the economic changes of
the 1940's and religious debates lasting to 1970. In our final sum-
mary, we consider how the various theoretical approaches of chapter
one explain the overall patterns of change in the community.

1-1

Ideology in Theories of Social Change

Our ethnographic outline suggests that the history of the Amish Mennonites presents an excellent opportunity to explore the adequacy of theories on the role of ideology in social change. Two major forms of institutional change appear in this history, each with an apparent interplay of internal and external causes. We could regard as the most significant change in Amish Mennonite history the ideological shift to revivalism, and subsequent changes in religious institutions. We might alternately consider changes in economic organization as crucial in opening the community to the outside, and in introducing more modern institutional and ideological patterns into the community. Corresponding to each of these viewpoints is a tradition of explanation of social change in the anthropological literature. One tradition attempts to show how internal institutions shape the course of change, and tends to concentrate on the way internal ideology develops to give meaning to changed circumstances. The other attempts to show how external events not only lead to changes, but also provide the community with a new organizational outline quite independent of any internal ideology. Studies in this tradition concentrate on economic changes and their effect on the community, and the way internal ideology must follow, not shape, such institutional responses. We will explore both of these positions in this chapter, and also trace out in general some of the deficiencies both of these approaches share. We then develop our own model of the place of ideology in social change, following the work of Kuhn, which we feel overcomes these general problems.

The first type of explanation suitable for our data focusses on existing institutions within the community. Since we are interested in change in small agricultural communities, we will discuss the substantivist economic literature on change in peasant communities as one example of theories stressing internal factors. We will also, however, deal with theories of religious change, especially those of Victor Turner, as an example of a somewhat different theoretical position within this general type of approach. Both theories have roots within the structural-functional paradigm, and retain the assumption that changes in any one

institution will affect the organization of others within the community. Much of the work of these theorists, therefore, concentrates on close analysis of institutional change. Sequences of changes are said to exemplify changes in organizing principles underlying institutional arrangements. While these principles are clearly analytic categories for the theorist, and not formal plans used by local people, they are often "discovered" in those institutions which local people claim organize their social life. Thus these approaches tend to concentrate on the way in which institutions which exemplify an ideology, and thus in the theorist's mind exemplify the organizing principles of the community, influence change in other institutions. In anthropological studies, these ideological institutions have tended to be religious or political, though some studies have concentrated on "principles" of local status differentiation.

The idea that a change in ideology is crucial to the understanding of the direction of change in a community should provide a reasonable explanation for our case. The Amish Mennonite community exhibits a well-defined change in religious ideology. In general, this kind of change in religion is associated with modernization, especially because it involves a shift to a more individualized faith. The adoption of the new ideology precedes other social changes in the community, and those that adopted the new ideology seemed to change more quickly and completely in lifestyle than those who did not. While this theoretical approach may not explain all changes, it would for many focus on the most important changes in community organization. Since a number of studies based on the substantivist position in economic anthropology have examined this kind of ethnographic situation, we will first consider their contribution to the explanation of change.

The Substantivist Position

The basic principles of the substantivist position are presented in the work of Polanyi. One sees in his work the distinction between a tight institutional analysis, and a very abstract typology of social organization. At the institutional level, Polanyi is interested in

explaining why the autonomous institution of the market developed in
Europe. His interest in the autonomy of the market stems from his de-
sire to explain how European society becomes dominated by economic legit-
imations. He claims

> "Once the economic system is organized in separate institu-
> tions based on specific motives and conferring a special
> status, society must be shaped in such a manner as to allow
> that system to function according to its own laws." (Polanyi,
> 1957, 57)

Polanyi identifies the high capital investment associated with the
factory system as the key factor in the development of this autonomous
economy. The capitalist wished to integrate his entire system of pro-
duction according to commercial principles. If he could purchase labour
as if it were simply another commodity, he could be free of the uncertain-
ties of recruitment based on social relations. Once labour had been
turned into a commodity, the economic system became entirely dominated by
the monetary exchange of commodities, and eventually all the rest of
social life became dominated by this "market principle."

This institutional analysis is not, however, an explanation of
change. Polanyi's general model consists of a classification of societ-
ies, according to the organizational "principles" embodied in their
social institutions. There are four such "principles," of which the
most important are reciprocity and barter. (Polanyi, 1957, 56). Polanyi
borrowed part of this theory of economics from the work of Mauss, who
developed very similar terms to describe the differences in social organ-
ization between non-Western and Western society. (Mauss, 1967). For
Polanyi, social change comes about with a change in the underlying organ-
izational "principle". Once a key institution has changed its principle,
other institutions are forced to respond, and eventually the community
is completely reorganized.

Strictly speaking, this is not a theory of change--that is, it
does not tell us why the changes take place in the original institution.
The theory gives us a set of categories useful in describing the changes
that do take place, and suggests we investigate fully the way in which
various institutions influence one another in the process of change.

Thus Polanyi's theory stresses the connection between various kinds of
social organization, and shows how institutional patterns present at
any given time are related to those patterns found earlier in society.
There can be no explanation in this theory, however, because the actual
events leading to the change are not part of the theoretical scheme.
Nor does the typology explain why one "principle" should give way to
another. Polanyi's institutional analysis can provide us with suggest-
ive patterns that can be found to reoccur in various situations, but
cannot explain them.

What Polanyi offers us, therefore, is an abstract description of
a pattern implicated in social change. His theoretical scheme cannot
explain the pattern—it merely identifies it as important. Later studies
have examined the pattern, and attempted to answer the question, "What
brings about a transition from reciprocal types of economic systems
to market-oriented ones?" Anthropological work on peasants has looked
very closely at the institutional analysis of ideology and change. As
economic changes are forced on peasant societies, local communities are
forced to deal with the "market principles" of economic organization.
The studies on peasants concentrate on the way in which such forced changes
are integrated into community institutions. Since the theoretical posi-
tion is that changes in one institution will affect all others, and since
the important legitimations are found in community ideology, it is only
reasonable to examine the way in which ideology serves as a somewhat
conservative force in this process of change. Thus these studies do not
show how ideology determines change, but how, given the introduction of
new economic organizations, ideology shapes the impact of that change on
the rest of community institutions. Since continuity between institutions
is stressed, the institutional analysis becomes an outline of the way in
which internal institutions have limited and shaped external influences.
The basic confrontation is still that of different organizing "principles;"
the modern economy and the introduction of money provides an alternate
and autonomous structure and ideology outside all traditional legitima-
tions, (Nash, 1966, 107). It is, however, the confrontation of such

external and internal systems of legitimations that is most important
in the actual analysis.

A good example of this approach is provided by Foster's study of
change in Mexico. Foster shows how key changes in community organiza-
tion depended first on internal changes in the system of prestige. The
old prestige system maintained the legitimations of traditional society;
its replacement meant a new legitimation for alternate social inter-
actions. Such new interactions and institutions, however, developed
some twenty years after the changes in the system of prestige. (Foster,
1967, 312). The important institutional changes following the change
in prestige systems involved a transition from investment in the com-
munity and its ceremonials to investment of new outside wealth in in-
dividual pursuits. (ibid, 313). Foster suggests that since change in
a community ideology took place before changes in economic institutions,
this ideological shift conditioned later change. Since the ideological
shift can be seen as an example of a shift to a more "market oriented"
ideology, Foster can conclude that the ethnographic example supports the
position that a change in organizing principles precedes and shapes
institutional change in the economic sphere.

The work of Dalton also follows in the tradition of Polanyi. In-
stead of stressing internal ideological change, however, Dalton focusses
on the way in which certain aspects of the wider economy impinge on
local traditions. He insists that

> "the process of community change starts with impingement
> from without." (Dalton, 1971, 213)

Subsequent changes are somewhat shaped by the "character of this initial
incursion." (ibid, 213) as well as by internal principles of organization,
and internal institutional patterns. In this theory, only the confronta-
tion of traditional by modern systems is sufficient to bring about the
basic change in organizing principles.

Cancian argues that internal forms of social organization affect
the confrontation to which Dalton refers. Cancian's argument is that
internal distinctions in economic status influence economic behaviour.
(Cancian, 1972). He defined typical individuals according to

social rank in the community, assessing response to various innovations
and changing conditions. His data support the assertion that members of
different internal economic groups and strata respond differently to
changes in economic opportunity. His argument is essentially that in-
ternal social traditions modify the confrontation between the two econ-
omies, and that internal legitimations and principles of organization
are thus the key to understanding change.

Victor Turner's Theory of Change

The substantivist economic approach to modelling change is not
the only example of that type of theory that studies the way internal
institutions control the development of social change, The work of
Victor Turner illustrates a quite different set of assumptions about
how change takes place. His theoretical material shows significant
developments during his career; we can conveniently divide his explana-
tions of change into two types.

Turner's early work concentrated on the way in which symbols
served as a means of resolving some of the social ambiguities associated
with matrilineal inheritance and virilocal residence in Central Africa.
The conflicting demands these cultural ideals placed on individuals
were reflected and resolved in symbolic ritual. In his study of healing
among the Ndembu, Turner shows how certain individual desires can be
reconciled with the demands of social ideals, and how people are aligned
in new relationships consistent with these ideals. In this work, Turner
does not show how these ideals are themselves changed, merely how they
form a background against which the internal activity takes meaning.
(Turner, 1967, 1969). The key to understanding changes of this sort
comes in the alternation between normal social life and ritual. Ritual
allows a reflection upon social life, and provides a kind of language
for reformulating social relations. (Turner, 1967, chap. IV and VII).
Thus, to generalize, each society has within itself certain institutions
which allow a kind of change, and certain inherent confusions in ideals
that demand that people involve themselves in change.

In his more recent work, Turner develops a more historical model
of change in symbolic systems. What was for the Ndembu an institutional

distinction between normal village life and politics on the one hand, and rituals of various kinds on the other, becomes in general an historical alternation between two kinds of association. Turner's category distinction is that between "structure" and "communitas." Everyday life, lived within a particular system of symbols unreflectively, is social "structure"; the unusual, reflective stance toward social order is "communitas." While we may have institutionalized "communitas" as in Ndembu ritual, we may also see processes that embody a "communitas" approach to social order. Turner in fact feels that there must be a fluctuation in any system between these two modes of association, as structure lacks a creative component, and communitas an organizational one. Thus changes in religious systems may be understood as movements away from a structured system of religious life into one based on communitas. This view of religious change comes close to that of Weber, especially in reference to the routinization of charisma. (Turner, 1969, 1974, Weber, 1963, Gerth and Mills, 1946, Chapter XI).

Turner's model of change is more subtle than that of the substantivists in several ways. Turner shows how a society can have a tendency to change based on its internal organization. Thus instead of assuming that ideology is a conservative force, Turner in fact tries to show the opposite--that it is often a creative institution. The institutional analyses of the substantivists suffer from a problem associated with the structural-functional roots of the approach--while the analysis may seem reasonable, there is nothing necessary about it. Alternate courses of change would be equally reasonable. Turner's emphasis on internal ambiguities, and internal modes of creating solutions to problems raised by these ambiguities, gives a much sharper picture of why a particular sequence of change has taken place. For the substantivists, the only necessary pattern is the switch from reciprocal to market principles; for Turner, the patterns of change are much more specific.

Turner also shows us where we cannot expect to find necessary connections between different institutions. He is one of the few theorists who include creativity as a necessary part of theory. Turner's

approach allows us to examine how symbolic material provided by the
institutions of a community, and material introduced by contact with
other communities, can be integrated into a new system of meanings.
By telling us we cannot expect necessary connections between material
going into and new symbolic orders coming out of the creative process,
Turner makes it clear where the limits of any mechanical explanations
of change must be.

Even though Turner's theory of change takes us much further than
does the work of the substantivists, it still suffers from some of the
problems that must occur for any theory placing an emphasis on explana-
tion in terms of internal organization. If we understand events only
as they are given meaning by internal legitimations and institutions,
we have no escape from these internal meanings. Such a theory cannot
account for the uniqueness of any event, and thus cannot explain change.
It can document that a change in organization has occurred, and may out-
line the connection between institutions before and after the change,
but it cannot show why a particular event leads to that change. Any
theory that claims internal institutions determine the direction of
change eventually collapses into one of two positions. The first posi-
tion is similar to that of Weber--change is essentially irrational, and
comes from the unintended consequences of incorporating outside patterns
of action. Since such patterns are by definition independent of and
outside of the internal system of explanation, they must be outside the
range of any explanation confined to expounding the development of in-
stitutions within a community. Once a new institution is introduced, or
some change is adopted, the theory can show how adjustments are made so
that the change is made meaningful. But there can be no explanation of
why such a thing was allowed in the first place. An alternative to this
position is that people accept new systems of legitimation because it
allows them new scope for action. To claim this, however, is to claim
that ideology and legitimation (and behind them, presumably, principles
of social order), follow social practice. Then changes in events intro-
duced from outside introduce new patterns of organization into the com-
munity, and we no longer maintain that internal organization shapes the

course of events.

       This problem of accounting for the relationship between meanings
and legitimations on the one hand, and actual social events on the
other, we shall call the problem of context.

       The theories that we have examined so far show how a meaning may
be assigned for each event, but not how new meanings can be introduced
from the wider context. While such theories may have an implicit compon-
ent that describes the organization of context and meaning, this compon-
ent cannot be made explicit without distorting the central claims of the
theory.

Change as a Result of External Factors

       The alternate position to that which we have been examining
concentrates on social change as a result of external factors. According
to these theories, internal ideologies do not shape the course of
change--their structure is in some way a response to changes in the wider
social context. We will consider two such theories--the formalist posi-
tion in economic anthropology, and the Marxist position. Formalists are
interested in showing how the structure of internal organization arises
from the institutionalization of rational individual choices. The change
in central organizing principles which the substantivist sees as determ-
inative of modernization, the formalist sees as derivative. In the con-
frontation of modern and traditional systems, individuals find new oppor-
tunities for action; the resulting change in organization within the
community simply represents the institutionalization of rational choices
under these new circumstances. Marxist theory, on the other hand, con-
centrates not on individual choice, but on more abstract social patterns
of class domination. Internal organization as it is represented in
ideology is merely an apologetic for the structure of class domination,
and thus cannot explain change. To do so, one must escape the mask of
ideology, and ground explanations instead in the real processes under-
lying social forms. These processes are identified with the material
production of the community, in an attempt to escape all human representa-
tions and distortions.

       These theoretical positions also receive support from the material

on the Amish Mennonites. Both of the major institutional changes in
community history originated outside the community. Revivalism was
developed outside the Mennonite faith altogether, and the economic
changes came as a result of transformation in the Canadian economy.
Further, the association between mechanization of local farms, other
changes in economic organization in the progressive community, and
changes in religious ideology is clearly outlined by such theories. In
general, this type of external theory illustrates any association be-
tween events at the boundary of the community and subsequent internal
adjustments. Such theories also receive considerable empirical support
from the sequence of change in the community. Modernization in the
community follows a pattern similar to that in other non-Mennonite
communities. This suggests that the change is not simply an internal
development, peculiar to the Amish Mennonites, but the result of extern-
al factors that have similar influences on various peoples.

Of these two arguments, we first consider that of the formalists.
Basically, the formalists argue that no change in fundamental organizing
principles need be postulated to explain modernization. The same eco-
nomic rationality pervades traditional and modern communities. The
difference in institutional patterns arises not from a difference in
central organizational principles, but from different economic opportun-
ities open to people in different circumstances. These economic oppor-
tunities depend on the relationship between the local community and the
wider economic context, and thus on the way the boundary between local
community and context is formulated. For the formalists, choices made
at the boundary in response to conditions outside the community deter-
mine the organization of community life. Formalists are usually concern-
ed to show that people act rationally within the particular constraints
of their situation.

An excellent outline of the issues raised by the formalist
position is given in Smith's study of the fiesta system. (1977) He
claims that functionalist interpretations of the fiesta have considered
it as an institution inhibiting change, in that it demands emotional

and financial commitment that could have been directed elsewhere. Smith contends that the conventional functionalist or substantivist view of the fiesta concentrates too heavily on the internal organizational implications of the fiesta. The fiesta is consequently viewed as a defensive institution isolating peasants from exploitation by the greater society, and thus holding up the forces of modernization. (Smith, 1977, 21-22). Smith's own position is that

> "in the case at hand these ideological perspectives would
> lead to a neglect of crucial national-level political forces,
> important local conditions and resources, and the complex
> interaction of these factors that in fact determines sta-
> bility and change in Indian communities." (ibid, 4-5)

Smith sees the fiesta as a response to the structural position of the community in the wider economy. Since community members are neither too poor to afford the fiesta, nor too rich to use their resources in other ways, their choice to maintain the fiesta can be seen as rational within the constraints of their economic system. (ibid, 21).

This kind of approach has also been recently explored in the study of modern farmers. Friedmann shows that with the rise of the modern world market for wheat in the later 1800's, simple family commodity production replaced large capitalist production of wheat. (1978) Friedmann argues that only the household could continue to produce under the economic conditions of periodic collapse of the price of wheat. The retention of small holdings and devotion to wheat production is not a sign of economic backwardness, but a rational accommodation to the realities of the market.

This theme has been explored in anthropology by Max Hedley. His paper shows that

> "the empirical phenomena regarded as evidence for tradition-
> alism and dualism reflect the continuous dynamic response of
> producers to evolving conditions of production." (Hedley,
> 1976, 423)

Hedley carefully shows that small Alberta farmers are not acting within backward traditions, but are rationally protecting themselves against the uncertainties of their occupation. Hedley singles out several factors that make small, mixed farms reasonable in Alberta. He first cites

the cost/price squeeze that comes about because of rising costs to the
farmer, and fluctuating commodity prices. The farmer must continually
shift the emphasis of his production if he is to survive under these
conditions. Hedley also shows that labour input is especially vulner-
able on the farm. Labour is needed intensively at certain times of the
year, and there is no general pool of labour available for hire. Thus
the farmer must be careful to plan to spread his labour requirements
over time. Perhaps most important in the situation Hedley studied in
Alberta is the low capitalization of operations, and the inability of
the farmer to expand because of this.

The theme in these three studies is that local groups assume
the organization they do as responses to their condition of domination
by the wider social system. To explain social change, one must outline
changes in the economic and political context of the local community.
When these change, new opportunities open or close to the local people.
Since local response is essentially rational, exploiting whatever con-
ditions exist so as to maximize some good for the local people, the
only source of change is the change in the wider context. In the forma-
list view, the central fact explaining the lack of modernization in peas-
ant communities is not the inability of peasants to give up their tradi-
tional reciprocal principles of organization, but the fact that they are
politically and economically dominated by the wider society. Under such
conditions, the rational response of individuals, institutionalized in
internal organization, leads to a peasant-type social order.

The Marxist interpretation of history on the other hand, concen-
trates not on individual choice but on relations between social classes.
It still stresses, however, the importance of the relations at the
boundary of the social system. Marx's materialism insists that boundary
relations between the social and non-social worlds are the key to under-
standing change. This materialism arises not so much from a desire to
create a detached scientific theory, as from Marx's attempt to unmask
the ideological rationalizations of social domination in favour of the
reality of social life. Marx was forced to ground his theory in the
material world, and in the social relations that ensure the continuation

of social life in that world. His own theory of social conflict insist-
ed that only by escaping from social interaction as a ground for theory
and action could one escape the distortions of human rationalizing,
self-serving ideology.

Marx's materialism stemmed as much from his moral as his intellect-
ual commitments. Intellectually, Marx rejected Hegel's philosophical
study of history in favour of an empirical study of historical events.
Marx explored the conflict of classes in his earliest works (Giddens,
1971, 19-11), and the theory of class domination he developed led him
to the position that the presentation of the modern capitalist system
by the economists of his time simply reproduced an illusion. His moral
commitment was to unmask this illusion.

The illusion resulted from the conflict of interest between
social classes, a conflict basic to social life. Those in dominant
positions legitimated the entire social order through ideology, espec-
ially in the capitalist system. Marx did not, however, base his theory
on the notion that material factors determined ideological factors.
Marx specifically criticized Feuerbach for this kind of crude model.
(Marx, 1965). As Giddens points out, for Marx,

> "human consciousness is conditioned in dialectical inter-
> play between subject and object, in which man actively
> shapes the world he lives in at the same time as it
> shapes him." (Giddens, 1971, 21)

Thus the basis for any valid social theory must be in the reality of
material production, not the illusion of class ideology. A science of
man must be

> "founded upon the study of the creative and dynamic inter-
> action between man and nature, the generative process
> whereby man makes himself." (ibid, 22)

It was Marx's view of the conflict of interest in society that drove
him to consider this interaction between man and nature as the basic
process for change.

The theory of change in Marx therefore rests not on the develop-
ment of internal organization, but on the impact of changes in the
wider context of society. Marx criticized the idealists because they

failed to realize that community ideals represent particular distortions
of the class situation, not the actual workings of the system. The
dominant class

> "is able to disseminate ideas which are the legitimations
> of its position of dominance." (ibid, 41)

> "The import of this is that ideology must be studied in
> relation to the social relationships in which it is embedded:
> we must study both the concrete processes which give rise
> to various types of ideas, together with the factors which
> determine which ideas come into prominance within a given
> society. (ibid, 41)

The real difficulty in dealing with ideology does not come from the sup-
posed confrontation of material and ideal factors for change. It arises
instead from the fact that ideology is a distortion.

> "The main point about the 'superstructure' is not that it
> embodies ideas, whereas the relations of production do
> not, but that it is comprised of a system of social rela-
> tionships which order and sanction a system of class
> domination." (ibid, 43)

Since the ideological superstructure legitimates the system as it is, we
cannot look to this sphere for the source of change. Change can only
arise from the independent, real domain. Contradictions between legiti-
mations and the material reality arise when new forces of production
are introduced.

> "These 'contradictions' become expressed as overt class
> conflicts terminating in revolutionary struggles fought
> out in the political sphere, and manifest ideologically
> as a clash between competing 'principles'." (ibid, 44)

This insistence that changes take place because of what happens outside
the central legitimations of the social system is essential to Marx's
theory of change. His materialism is simply a corollary of this position.
Marx does not consider how the system might, by its internal organiza-
tion, be more or less open to outside influence. In his desire to ground
a theory in reality, he ignores the dialectic that must take place be-
tween internal representations and the boundary of the system's ability
to explain situations.

Simply because Marx ignored the dialectic at the margins of a
system of representations, does not, however, mean that it would be in-

consistent with his theory to consider it. It would be quite possible
to consider an independent domain defined not categorically, in terms
of the boundary between the social and natural worlds, but empirically,
in terms of the range of social experience internal legitimations could
account for. Events outside those legitimations would be independent
of them, and would offer grounds for challenging their validity, even
if the grounds were not material per se. Such a theory would retain
Marx's insight that legitimations justify organizations of domination,
but would not insist on a strict materialism.

Such a theory, or one close to it, is presented by Maurice
Godelier. Godelier is especially relevant to this discussion because
he addresses the problem of ideology and its relationship to change.
He sets this discussion in a general theory of the structure of domina-
tion and the way ideology and domination are related.

Godelier's methodology locates him within the Marxist tradition.
He sets himself the task of working out

> "the structural analysis of social relations, in such
> a way that we could analyze the 'causality of structures',
> each in turn and, in particular, the causality of modes of
> production on different social structures, thereby bringing
> about an understanding of the mechanisms of their reproduc-
> tion and change." (Godelier, 1977, 1)

This structural analysis, however, is not based on empiricist approach-
es to social structure as a summary of observable social relations.
Godelier claims

> "scientific thought cannot hope to discover any real links
> or inner relationships between things, if they start from
> their apparent links or superficial relationships." (ibid,
> 3)

Godelier maintains that rigid empiricism will simply reproduce the ideo-
logical legitimations of the system, not its true structure. Thus the

> "mode of production is a reality which requires to
> be reconstructed, to be reproduced in thought, in the
> very process of scientific knowledge." (ibid, 24)

Rather than "fetishize" any one institution as the mode of production
dominant in the social system, Godelier instead insists on a functional
definition of the distinction between infra- and superstructure.

1-16

Modes of production include intellectual as well as material aspects
for Godelier. Consequently one cannot insist that any institution be
purely material, and another purely ideal, as one would in a split be-
tween mode of production and legitimation based on institutions alone.
The search is for that institution which functions as a mode of pro-
duction. (1978, 764)

Godelier insists on the importance of the functional definition
of infrastructure because it allows him to solve a specific problem.
The functional definition of modes of production allows him to

> "reconcile the hypothesis that it is the infrastructure
> which is determinant in the last analysis with the fact
> that in certain historical societies one finds a super-
> structure occupying a dominant position." (1978, 765)

Godelier's solution to the problem is to claim that for a social activ-
ity to be considered dominant, it must, in addition to its own internal
and explicit functions,

> "function directly and internally as a relation of
> production." (1978, 765)

Thus the institution that seems to dominate social life, in that it
provides the models and legitimations for much of social activity, must
for Godelier function as a relation of production. Godelier is not
simply stating a definition--whatever functions as a mode of production
must be dominant. He claims that one first decides what the dominant
institution is, and then one shows how it serves as a relation of pro-
duction. Godelier claims his task is

> "to explain how it is that kinship (or religion) comes to
> function as a relation of production, and hence to dominate."
> (1978, 760)

Among the Amish Mennonites, for instance, we would show how
religion, which clearly dominates the organization of the traditional
society, also functions as a relation of production. Our material sug-
gests that Godelier's formulation is abstract at best. While the church
did limit economic activity to farming, in the more progressive commun-
ities it did not control the kind of farming, nor the actual operation.
The actual relationship between institution and production may thus be
more complex than Godelier suggests.

Godelier goes on to discuss the role of ideology in changes of modes of production. He rejects the notion that ideology is simply a false view of things, or that it is simply a legitimating value for current organizations. (1978, 766). He insists that ideology can only be understood within a more general theory of domination and consent.

Godelier suggests that domination is legitimated because of the consent of the dominated. (1978, 767). He asks the question

> "under what conditions do dominated groups come to share interpretations of the world that legitimize the exist- ing social order not only in the eyes of the dominant group, but also in their own eyes?" (1978, 767)

Godelier answers this question in the following way:

> "for relations of domination and exploitation to have arisen and reproduced themselves durably in formerly class- less societies, such relations must have presented them- selves as an exchange and as an exchange of services."

> "the services rendered by the dominant individuals or group must have involved, in the first place, invisible realities and forces controlling (in the thought of these societies) the reproduction of the universe and of life." (1978, 767)

To support his claims, Godelier quotes Firth's study of Tikopia. Firth shows that aristocrats on Tikopia have little material advantage from their position, but have considerable religious responsibility in main- taining the cycles of nature. (ibid, 768). Godelier's point is that at some time (he identifies it with the sedentarization of hunter/ gatherer populations and the development of agriculture), a certain group within the society was charged with the task of maintaining season- al cycles. Later, this dominant group extracted material advantages in return for its services. The dominant group holds its position because it alone knows how to maintain the natural and social world.

Godelier shows that this theory of domination is tied to a model for social change. He suggests first that any social order provides itself with a screen against the realization of the true nature of domination in the group. In that society, all social problems will be phrased in terms of the dominant institution.

1-18

> "Each mode of production thus spontaneously engenders
> a specific mode of screening, of occultation--in the
> spontaneous consciousness of members of a society--of
> the content and foundations of their social relations.
> Far from taking a society's own illusions about itself
> for reality, my theoretical approach seeks to lay these
> bare and explain their existence." (1978, 768)

It becomes impossible for anyone to reflect directly on the forms of
domination in that they present themselves as problems within social
institutions, rather than about them, and in that these problems, contain-
ed within institutional categories, do not permit reflection on the true
state of affairs. Thus change cannot arise from within a system as a
"development" of an ideology. But in analyzing the collapse of the
Athenian slave system, Godelier comments

> "the slave system piled up internal blockages, which, in
> the long run, were to weaken it and slowly to reduce it
> to stagnation. But it was to take a good deal more than
> that, and barbarian invasions in particular, before these
> slave relations ultimately gave way to other forms of
> domination." (1978, 768),

In this passage, Godelier suggests that the real contradictions
between things as they are and things as they are ideally supposed to
be eventually leads to the potential for collapse, which is in the end
triggered by an outside event. This theory of change is consistent
with other materialist thought, and especially with the idea of social
life as a set of masks against conflicts of interest.

Godelier thus integrates ideology with modes of production, the
internal legitimations of patterns of dominance with institutions that
mediate between social organization and the natural world. He remains
committed, however, to a model of change that attributes the organiza-
tion of change to those events independent of any internal system of
legitimations. Thus he is still within the general tradition that sees
events from across the community boundary not simply as an impetus to
change shaped by internal institutions, but as the factors determining
the new organization of community life.

A problem arises with both formalist and Marxist theories when
we try to specify how external and independent events influence internal

organization. By definition, those events are independent of the ideology which defines meanings for the community. While this independence may give events a suitable distance from internal ideology, it also makes it difficult to show how such events are relevant to community organization. Any community constantly deals with events at its boundary; the problem is to discover exactly what events disturb community ideology sufficiently to cause a change. It would seem that only those events which address controversial or ambiguous aspects of internal ideology will produce change. But if the internal organization defines a set of relevant events, external factors are not solely responsible for change. Any criterion for relevance in these theories is unstated.

Even if we assume that certain changes at the boundary must be relevant for any community, simply on the grounds that domination by outsiders and the introduction of money as a basis for the economy must disrupt any non-Western system, we still must show how such disruption becomes translated into the particulars of the new community organization. Thus the problem of relevance is merely one aspect of a more general problem with both of the general types of theory we have already discussed. It is the basic assumption of both types that change can be explained as the result of the actions of either internal or external factors. We clearly prefer a model based on the interaction of external and internal factors for change. In such a model, internal organization based on ideological legitimations defines relevant questions; independent events encountered at the boundary of the community speak to these questions, and shape internal organization in the process.

Kuhn and a Model for Social Change

Although the Amish Mennonite community seems distantly removed from modern science, in fact there are a number of structural similarities between the two. Both groups are constituted around well-defined concepts which govern activity and give it meaning. These concepts also define clearly what the boundaries of group activity are, and the way in which these boundaries should be maintained and crossed. In addition, Kuhn gives us a theory in which change is explained as the result of the interaction of central concepts within the community and external phenom-

ena from across the boundary. This has considerable appeal in outlining
the ethnographic situation of the Amish Mennonites, and also overcomes
the problems of context and relevance.

Kuhn's model of change in the physical sciences has attracted
considerable attention among anthropologists. Commentators on his
work have discovered in it an ambiguous richness suggesting applications
outside the physical sciences. Those who have explored such suggested
applications, however, have not always used Kuhn's theory as he himself
outlines it, and have consequently left behind some of its explanatory
power. In a study of the use of the term "paradigm" which Kuhn has made
so popular, Masterman has shown there is more involved than is often
recognized. (Masterman 1970). Masterman separates Kuhn's uses of the
term "paradigm" into three categories: metaphysical bases, or central
metaphors, that inform an entire scientific outlook; specific achieve-
ments recognized in the scientific community as models; and problem-
solving devices which organize research in specific areas. Much of the
application of Kuhn's concept "paradigm" has assumed only the first of
these three definitions. Outside of science, "paradigm" normally refers
to a worldview, or central myth or metaphor, assumed to organize every-
day behaviour and provide explanations for that behaviour.

At least one author has argued that in the physical sciences,
it is in fact the third aspect of paradigms--paradigms as puzzle-solving
devices--that is the most important. Diane Crane shows first that
Masterton singles out this third aspect as distinctive of science, and
then goes on to contrast the way other writers on change in ideas have
also used Kuhn's first definition more than the third. She concludes

> "This discussion suggests that there are in fact two
> facets to the cognitive event that stimulate the growth
> of knowledge: the paradigm as a way of seeing, a per-
> spective, a pattern, and the paradigm as a special kind
> of tool or problem-solving device." (Crane, 1972, 30)

Crane suggests that while paradigms as central metaphors have wide
currency in the sciences, paradigms as problem-solving devices are very
restricted, and apply to specific areas of research. (ibid, 30).

When Kuhn details how changes in paradigms actually take place,

he tends to consider the very specific workings of these "problem-solving" aspects of paradigms. The paradigm exemplifies a particular abstract arrangement for a data field. This abstract model defines the relevant connections between data, and controls expectations about data and the future course of research. (Kuhn, 1972, Chap. II). The paradigm also defines what is to be considered unexpected in the data field--the "anomalies" in the data. (ibid, 52). At first, anomalies are treated as "puzzles" to be solved within the existing paradigm. As more and more anomalies occur, however, pressure to change the paradigm mounts. A new paradigm incorporates the anomalies produced by research under the old paradigm into a new structure of relevancies, although it may leave unexplained some of the data successfully incorporated into the older paradigm. (ibid, Chap. IV, VIII).

The key process at work here is the interaction between paradigm and anomaly, a process that can only work in a limited and well-defined data field. The paradigm actually constitutes this field, translating independent phenomena into data within its structures of relevance. It is this independent quality of phenomena, that allows the development of anomalies. The more explicit the paradigm about how the data should be organized, the more the anomalies, and the more dynamic the science. This very rapid dynamism of science suggests the success of Kuhn's interpretation, for it is an essential consequence of the theory.

Kuhn's theory answers some of the problems we encountered in earlier discussions of explanations of change. In showing how a science changes through the incorporation of particulars from outside itself, Kuhn avoids the problems of both context and relevance. Kuhn does not present us with a theory of the internal development of scientific ideas, nor does he consider science as a process of "getting the right answers" in the face of the facts. It is the interaction of internal systems of relevance and external phenomena independent of them that leads to change. This process, however, is accompanied by another, which Kuhn calls "normal science." In normal science, we find the articulation of a particular theory with the rest of scientific data, and with other

scientific theories. A paradigm which solves one problem calls out to
be applied elsewhere. While Kuhn does not himself detail how the pro-
cess of application can also generate scientific change, the physical
sciences provide such examples. Astronomers, for instance, tradition-
ally confined themselves to the study of stars through the analysis of
visible light. When the electromagnetic spectrum was developed as a
theoretical construct, however, the potential for further information
about the universe was opened. In this case, the refining of theory
led to the development of new systems to translate events into relevant
data, and thus into new information which has challenged other paradigms.

The essence of Kuhn's model may be neatly summarized in the
following diagram:

$$\text{Experiment} \rightleftarrows \text{Phenomena}$$
$$\text{Paradigm} \rightleftarrows \text{Data}$$
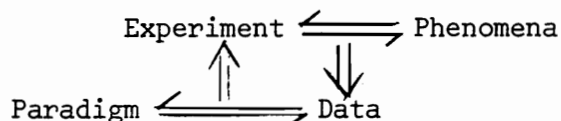
From the diagram we see the two basic processes of science. The inter-
action of experiment and phenomena produced data. When these data is
anomalous, it affects the relationship between the data traditions of
the science, and the paradigms. Such an interaction is the "revolution-
ary" science of Kuhn. This revolutionary science in turn produces new
experiments to extend the new paradigm, and to refine the paradigm
through the process of normal science. It is clear that there is no
causal hierarchy in this model. Changes in one part of the cycle feed
back on themselves, as each of the two processes operates on the exper-
iments and the data. The model also makes clear that paradigms do not
confront phenomena directly. Only through the conceptual processes of
carrying out experiments and constituting data does change occur. Data
is the representation of phenomena within the structure of relevance
defined by the paradigm; experiments are the processes at the boundary
constituted by the interaction of data and paradigm which translate
phenomena into data. Thus in Kuhn's model, there can be no question of
control of the direction of change by either internal systems of meaning
or external and independent phenomena. We have instead the interaction
of concepts and phenomena in the products of the activity of science.

This schematic model suggests the key features of Kuhn's model which we wish to develop into a model of social change in communities with well-defined ideologies and boundaries. Science, however, is a much more purely conceptual endeavour than is social life. Thus while we may keep the general structure of Kuhn's model, we must make some changes if we are to understand social change with it. The distinctions between science as a mode of thought, and other kinds of social thought have been discussed quite extensively as well, in connection with the development of modern systems of thought (Horton, 1973, Wilson, 1977). The logical and methodological rigour of science, its restriction to very narrow lines of inquiry, and its value commitment to a so-called 'pure' theorizing remove it directly from the course of everyday life. Thus we need to develop a model that incorporates social institutions as well as concepts, and relaxes the intellectual rigour of science.

The conceptual structure, and the basic categories of our model can be set out as follows:

Boundary Institutions ⟺ Social Context

Ideal ⟵———————⟶ Internal Traditions
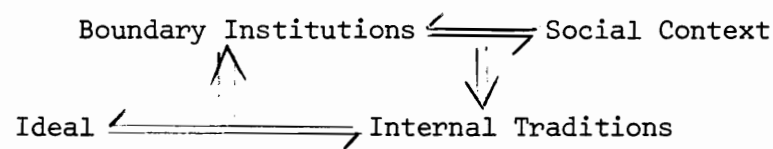
As in Kuhn's model, the "ideal" is essentially a conceptual category, while the categories that stand for "experiment" and "data" in Kuhn's model are here social institutions. Thus our model stresses the way in which conceptual patterns from either inside or outside the community are modified in social interaction.

The concept of the "ideal" corresponds to Kuhn's paradigm. The "ideal" of a community, or the ideal order of it, is an abstraction about the basic organization of the system, the limits of activity within that system, and the justification and meaning of those activities. Individuals in a community like that of the Amish Mennonites recognize the ideal, and use it to give meaning to their daily lives. In that the ideal is an abstraction, however, it must take recognizable form in some representation. The representation is the embodiment of the abstract ideal in a specific institutional pattern. When this representation takes a linguistic form, we call it an "ideology", or in the case

of a religious ideal, a theology. This use of the term "ideology", is thus close to that of Geertz. (1973). The concept also closely parallels Godelier's "idéal," in reference to the abstract component of behaviour that guides and explains activity.

The representation of the ideal in the community need not, however, take linguistic form, or only linguistic form. Among the Amish Mennonites, less emphasis is placed on discursive theology than on practical social expressions of the ideal. The organization of the church is,in this case, the clearest representation of the ideal. When people wish to know what their culture is "really" about, they turn to the organization of the church as an ideal model. Other theorists have noted how certain institutions may serve this function of allowing people to remind themselves "how things really ought to be." (Tom McFeat, personal communication).

The ideal disciplines activity within the community just as the paradigm controls research in science. The particular institution that serves as representation of the ideal also serves politically to enforce ideal organization. When the ideal is well defined, activity controlled by it takes on a rational and intentional character. Thus the ideal may be taken as a goal; all activity then accommodates itself to the goal, and the realization of the goal becomes a community project. In this sense, the category "ideal" is similar to Godelier's "superstructure," which functions as an underpining of and justification for things as they are, and is integrated with the infrastructure in an attempt to maintain that particular state of things.

The category of the ideal is contrasted with two forms of concrete social organization. The distinction between these two types arises from the fact that any ideal is limited in explanatory power. Those aspects of social life for which the ideal serves as a legitimation form the internal social structure; those outside the control of the ideal, and thus independent of it, form the external or independent context. This distinction is most useful in working with communities in a complex society. Traditional anthropological definitions of culture hinge on such criteria as linguistic differences, and major differ-

ences in the form of kinship and political organization. Implicit in
such criteria is the further stipulation that such cultures are more
or less isolated from one another, and that each one forms a complete
social world, able to reproduce itself without help from the outside.
This model is clearly too simple, but the simplification of treating
anthropological populations as if they were in some way complete worlds
has persisted in much of the literature. This simplification simply
cannot work in the case of the Amish Mennonites, who form a community
which, however well defined, is not completely isolated from the larger
society. The distinctiveness of the community comes from its internal
ideal; the limitations on that ideal provide for the integration of
the community into the wider society.

The independent context is the source for the evidence about the
adequacy of the ideal, just as the physical world is the source of con-
firmatory or anomalous data in science. This context by itself, however,
merely provides events; the ideal defines the relevance of those events.
In science, events are constituted as relevant data by experiments. In
our model the social institutions that translate independent events we
will call "boundary situations" or "boundaries"; the internal institu-
tions shaped by the ideal and legitimated by it, "traditions." In this
case, we use the term "boundary" to refer to more than a simple con-
ceptual division. A boundary situation is a special kind of social
institution through which external contexts are made relevant to insiders.
This use of the term is consistent with other anthropological work on
boundaries especially that of Barth and Paine (Barth, 1966, 1969, Paine
1971).

Both boundaries and traditions are internal social institutions.
In communities dominated by strong ideals, the conceptual limits between
inner and outer social contexts are likely to be well-defined. There
may equally be a clear distinction between those institutions serving
as boundaries and those serving as traditions. Since changes in the
boundary will mean a different set of external influences in the com-
munity, the community is often interested in maintaining its boundaries.
The insistence in physical sciences that data must speak to theory, and

that theory must adapt to the data is not a part of most social ideals. People are usually more interested in keeping potential anomalies out than in proposing situations in which they might be expected to occur.

Up to this point, we have assumed that the ideal of the community is consistent and unambiguous. Under such an assumption, the reasons for change must come from without. The internal traditions would be legitimated and given meaning by the ideal, and thus could not be an independent source of evidence leading to the need for change. Similarly, the ideal constitutes a boundary that consistently translates the events of the independent context into evidence about the adequacy of the ideal. Only when the independent context changes does new evidence enter the community. Although this model may be appealing in its simplicity, there is no compelling reason to assume that ideals are always consistent and unambiguous. Just the opposite may reasonably be expected. Groups with such ambiguities are usually spoken of as having "internal contradictions." Although there has been an interesting exploration of the situation of actual logical contradiction in social affairs (Bateson, 1972, Watzlawick 1967, 1974) generally the word "contradiction" means simply "ambiguity." The ambiguity seen to occur most often is the lack of coherence between what people say is happening, or ought to be happening, and what the analyst takes as the reality. This kind of ambiguity is not at the root of change in many Marxist models. It is actually, however, a variation of the model of external change, for the lack of fit is between the ideology as internal justification, and the "real" situation of production. As we have argued, one need not go this far with the idea of independent evidence.

It is quite possible that the ambiguity in the system actually arises from within the ideology or ideal itself. The ideal may be the source of an ambiguous project in the community, or its application to internal traditions may lead to ambiguous legitimations. Ambiguity in the ideal leads to the development of competing alternate institutions or patterns of behaviour, each with a legitimation apparently consistent with the ideal. When competing interpretations of the boundary arise, the situation for fresh evidence from the independent context arises,

even though no changes in this context itself may have taken place.
What has changed is the way in which the independent context is consti-
tuted as such by the community ideal.

Our model thus offers two basic processes that account for
change. In the case of changes in the external context, new opportuni-
ties for activity are presented to community members. The patterns of
internal traditions change. When these changes are relevant to the in-
ternal ideal, appearing as anomalies, they lead to the development of a
new ideal better suited to legitimating the situation. The new ideal
defines a different structure of relevant information, and new boundary
institutions to constitute the independent context. Depending on the
change that has taken place in the independent context, this may lead
to further changes in internal traditions.

Though the cycle of change is initiated from a different point
in the case of ambiguity, the overall result is the same. Ambiguity in
the ideal reconstitutes the boundary and the relevant evidence from the
outside, opening the community to a new kind of evidence from the in-
dependent context. This initiates the cycle already outlined of changes
in traditions and subsequent changes in ideal and boundary. Thus re-
gardless of the source of change in the system, eventually the entire
cycle is involved in the attempt to resolve the situation. The overall
social processes of change involve the same two steps outlined by Kuhn
in his model of change in science. The rates of change will be different,
but the general structure is similar. In our model, as in Kuhn's, we
insist that changes come about through the interaction of internal ideal
and external, independent evidence in the social institutions of the
community.

We are now in a position to move to an assessment of the ethno-
graphic material. Our interest here is to show how our model explains
the course of social change in the Amish Mennonite community. Through-
out our specific discussion, we will allude to "rational" or rationalized"
social forms. We borrow this term and its meaning from Weber. We follow
Weber's use of it to summarize the movement into a modern system of social

institutions and legitimations. It serves therefore as an easy way to refer to the overall direction of social change in the Amish Mennonite community. Thus our material on the history of the community is presented in order to show how the theories of Turner, the formalists, and Godelier, can be synthesized into a general model of the role of ideology in social change adequate to account for the move to "rationality" in the modernization process.

Ethnography of the Traditional Amish Mennonite Community

In this chapter, we wish to set out the ethnographic description of the traditional Amish Mennonite community as it existed before major ideological changes took place. Our description concentrates on the way in which the church served as the paradigmatic representation of the community ideal, and the institution that governed the boundary isolating the community lifestyle from that of other Canadians. The ambiguity inherent in the theology of the community is outlined first. This ambiguity underlies categorical distinctions in community social structure, and defines the need for a boundary. Within the community, the church served as an ideal model for the conduct of family and farm life, maintaining the traditional forms of reciprocal interaction among community members. At the boundary, the church limited individual access to the outside. The ambiguous category of the individual was thus kept out of association with rationalized social contexts by the ideal of the community.

Traditional Amish Mennonite Theology

The theological categories used to represent the community ideal, and to justify the separation of the community from the rest of the social world, reflect the ambiguity of that ideal. We begin our discussion of these categories with the distinction between brotherhood and discipleship. These terms come from the work of modern Mennonite scholars who have written on the theology of the early Anabaptists. The theological position of the Amish Mennonites before 1900 was very similar to that of the Anabaptists. Thus discussions of Anabaptist theology that centre on certain confessions of faith apply equally to the Amish Mennonites. A discussion of modern Mennonite interpretations of the Anabaptists is given in Appendix G.

The two terms brotherhood and discipleship reflect the two aims of the theology. Brotherhood refers to the special reciprocal relations that were to obtain in the community of believers. Each man was to be at peace with the others. Neither physical force nor any form of coercion was possible between members of the brotherhood. Supportive and loving relations between believers, and mutual aid in times of distress, were

enjoined. It was possible for community members to treat one another
in this fashion because of the principles of discipleship. These princ-
iples of right Christian living became a well-defined set of community
rules, the discipline. Individual believers submitted their personal
lives to the discipline, which organized the entire community, and
marked its separation from the rest of the world. Thus while the brother-
hood marked the reciprocal relations within the community, the discipline
marked the rationally constructed boundary to the outside.

The difference in types of human relations implied by the distinc-
tion between brotherhood and discipleship was actually based on a vision
of the cosmos that was similarly divided. This division involved the
split between the spiritual, or Christian world, and the temporal, or
carnal world. Menno Simons, one of the important organizers of the Ana-
baptist movement, described the difference in the two kingdoms thus:

> "here is faith, there unbelief; here truth, there falsehood;
> here obedience, there disobedience; here believer's baptism
> according to God's Word, there infant baptism without Script-
> ural warrant; here brotherly love, there hatred, envy, tyranny,
> cruelty, and plentiful bloodshed; here a delightful service to
> others, there much wrangling, legal action, gossip, cheating,
> and in some cases, also theft, robbery, and murder. Here men
> pray in the Spirit of truth, there they persecute God's right-
> eousness; here is trust in Christ, there is idolatrous rites.
> In fine, here is Christ and God, and there is Anti-Christ and
> the devil." (Simons, 1956, 300)

The quote might well stand as a summary of the differences between the
Anabaptists and the rest of the world, at least in their own ideal terms.
The cosmic split between the kingdoms of God and Satan cannot be recon-
ciled. In the end of time, God will prevail over Satan, but in human
history, God and Satan are at war. The warfare shows itself also in
the division between the Christian church and the state. The true
Christian will shun the state and its mechanisms, substituting instead
the way of Christ. The split between church and state was, for the
Anabaptists, also irreconcilable, merely the earthly expression of the
division between God and Satan. While God and Satan, however, warred
against one another, it was the Christian's duty to avoid the state and

its means, but not to war against it. The early Anabaptist confessions of faith show clearly that the church recognized the place for civil authority and the power of the sword for the unregenerate, though this kind of authority could not find a place among Christians. One of the earliest, probably the earliest, Anabaptist confession of faith, the Schleitheim Confession, devotes one of its seven articles to "The Sword", and the use of violence within and without the brotherhood, making the points that while the sword may be used as power by magistrates, the true Christian cannot himself use violence of any sort against another man, (Wenger, 1959, 210,211).

The avoidance of the things of the world to be practised by the Christian was complete. The Schleitheim Confession shows how the two kingdoms were divided:

> "For truly all creatures are in but two classes, good and bad, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who (have come) out of the world, God's temple and idols, Christ and Belial; and none can have part with the other." (Wenger, 1959, 209)

Since it was not possible for any good to come from the things of evil, it was necessary to separate oneself completely from the evil things. The Confession stresses this:

> "From this we should learn that everything which is not united with our God and Christ cannot be other than an abomination which we should shun and flee from." (Wenger, 1959, 209)

This separation was part of the clarification of things as they were. The split in the cosmos was to be recognized as such, and the true Christian was to realize that the world itself was split between the kingdoms. Having clarified the true situation, the church took the logical step of avoiding the domains of evil.

The avoidance of the world of Satan was not, however, the only task of the true Christian. The split in the cosmos and the social world was also reflected in the individual. Each person was thought to have two opposed sets of desires--the carnal and the spiritual. The carnal desires led the individual into the world and the domain of Satan, while the spiritual desires led him toward Christ and the church. It was at the level of the individual that the division in the cosmos could be mediated. That division, which involved warfare and strife at

the cosmic level, and avoidance and suffering at the social level, involved for the person a yoking of the carnal desires to the spiritual. It was not possible for the individual himself to perform this mediation --only through the intervention of Christ into history was the mediation possible. Once the person accepted Christ into his own life, he was then supported in his new life by the social discipline of the other believers. While it was not possible for the individual to represent by himself the perfect Christian life, it was possible for the community to approach this identification with God's kingdom.

The idea that man is divided into spiritual and carnal impulses is expressed in the Dortrecht Confession. This document, drawn up in 1632 by Mennonite churches in Holland, still serves as the central confession of faith for many Mennonites. It consists of eighteen articles, which outline the plan of salvation, the organization of the church, and some basic articles of discipline. The article entitled "Of Repentance and Amendment of Life" (number six) begins:

> "We believe and confess, that, as the 'imagination of man's
> heart is evil from his youth', and consequently inclined to
> all unrighteousness, sin and wickedness, that, therefore, the
> first doctrine of the precious New Testament of the Son of
> God is, Repentence and amendment of life. Gen. 8:21; Mark
> 1:15". (Wenger, 1959, 218)

The article goes on to outline that no sacrament can qualify the believer for salvation--only a personal choice to repent and amend his life can suffice. It is important that the individual is also the locus for salvation, and not the community. Salvation is a private, personal choice, which then becomes expressed as an amendment of life.

The article called "Of the Law of Christ, which is the Holy Ghost or the New Testament," (number five) states the following about the discipline that seals the Christian life:

> "All men without distinction, if they are obedient through
> faith, follow, fulfill and live according to the precepts
> of the same (the New Testament), are His children and right-
> ful heirs." (Wenger, 1959, 218)

The only ones excluded from the "precious inheritance of eternal salvation", are:

> "the unbelieving and disobedient, the headstrong and uncon-

verted," (Wenger, 1959, 218)

These passages stress the condition of man without discipline as lost, and also stress the importance of obedience to the discipline as the sign of the Christian life. The sin most likely to overtake a member of the Amish Mennonite community was that of pride. Pride was the sin of allowing individuality to emerge. It meant doing things that were unique and personal, instead of simply following the discipline. A person acting in this fashion was not separated from the world. The Christian community established the discipline; those acting outside it were acting as outsiders within the community. Acting in a worldly way also meant dominating situations and others instead of interacting with them in a supportive way. The proper lifestyle involved submission to the public discipline, and the support of others. This lifestyle was expressed in the concepts of non-resistance and brotherhood.

Non-resistance was expressed specifically in the Dortrecht Confession in Article XIV, entitled "Of Defence by Force." The force to be avoided was not simply military force, but force in general--the use of coercion against others. The article states:

> "we are not to do wrong, or cause offence or vexation to anyone, but to seek the welfare and salvation of all men." (Wenger, 1959, 223)

Within the brotherhood, unity and Christian love were to be the rule. The unity of the brotherhood, which is stressed especially at the time of communion, expresses both the idea of equality and supportive fellowship, as well as the unity of all lifestyle under the discipline. The later discipline of the local conference states:

> "as a body of believers having a unity of faith in the bonds of peace and love should frequently be observed to keep the suffering and death of our Lord vividly before our minds." (Gingerich, 1972, 220)

The emphasis on unity within the faith is considerable. All members of the church should be at peace with one another, and should participate in the spirit of love and support for one another in church life. After church conferences, people often remark favourably on the spirit of unity, even in the discussion of contentious issues. The

divisions in the church which have occurred are considered by many
as shameful breaks in the unity of the brotherhood. One man suggested
such splits were the work of the devil--that when believers were acting
as true Christians, such splits could not occur. The overall value of
unity within the brotherhood is considerable. In the course of certain
debates about changes in the church, it has become clear that a group
of believers did not want the change, but were not willing to make a
stand against the new proposal, choosing instead to oppose silently.
Rather than break the unity of the congregation, such proposals were
often dropped.

The sin of individuality was the sin of acting as those outside
acted. Thus the individual was not merely the locus for the personal
choice at salvation, but also the symbol of worldliness in the community.
Ideally, the inner world of the church was pure, having a completely
consistent pattern of discipline. The only way the church had of en-
forcing its purity was through the ban, or the practice of excommunica-
tion. In article XVI of the Dortrecht Confession, an outline of the ban
is presented. It is the "spiritual punishment" for faults,

> "so that what is pure may be separated from that which is
> impure." (Wenger, 1959, 224)

Those willfully sinning are to be cast out

> "as an example and warning to others, and also that the church
> may be kept pure from such 'spots' and 'blemishes'. (ibid,224)

This emphasis on retaining the purity of the disciplined society is con-
sistant with the impulse to clarify and stabilize social categories.

The attempt to separate Christian and non-Christian life was thus
based on the basic metaphor of the community. The relationship between
the category "individual" and the boundary was significant in the tradi-
tional Amish community, for this category bore the ambiguity of the basic
community organization. Since the boundary was the setting in which
people confronted evidence about the adequacy of their category system,
it became important to align that experience and the category "individual"
correctly. If the person was identified with external rational exper-
ience, or if the rational evidence of the outside was incorporated into

the community and associated with the individual, the experience of
people tended to contradict the internal ideal. Thus it was important
that the ideal control the access of individuals at the boundary to the
outside, and limit internal experience to the reciprocal interactions
of brotherhood.

The theology outlined in this section was used by community members
to explain and legitimate the organization of social life. But the com-
munity was not preoccupied with theology. More important than theoriz-
ing in the traditional Amish community was what one did. The discipline
was a set of rules for right action as well as an implicit theory. Thus
it is important that we consider not merely the theological categories
of the community, but also the social organization of the church.

Church Social Structure

The basic unit of the social structure of the church is the con-
gregation, a voluntary association of believers each of whom joined the
congregation as a young teenager on confession of faith and baptism.
Most children join the congregation of their parents, and traditionally
the congregations were geographically based. Since the congregations
met in homes, there was a limit on the number of members in any one group.
Congregational size was also limited by the distance one might have to
drive to get to the most distant home for the service. In the days of
horse and buggy, when a person moved away from the settlement area of one
congregation, he would join another more closely located to his residence.
When a congregation became too large to meet conveniently, or when members
of the congregation were scattered at inconvenient distances, the deci-
sion might be made to divide into two groups. Such a division was norm-
ally made amicably by the entire group, who then divided on a geograph-
ical basis. Those families living in one area would attend one of the
new meetings, and those in another the second. The choice, however, was
up to the people involved. Even though a person might live geographic-
ally in the area in which it was expected he would attend meetings with

group A, it was quite possible that he could meet instead with group B if that was his desire. As long as the division was reasonably even, people were happy.

Each congregation was completely separate from all the others, and had autonomy in matters of church policy. In the traditional church there was no authority higher than the congregational leaders, and no congregation could enforce its dictates on any other. Historical and regional ties, however, linked many congregations, and in practice there was considerable unanimity in matters of church policy. In an area that was heavily settled by Amish families, there would be a loose federation of congregations. The leaders of these congregations would meet inform- ally for discussion of church matters. Marriages between such congrega- tions were common; along with ties of kinship went those of friendship. When there was substantial agreement between two congregations on all issues considered important by both of them, the two congregations were said to be "in full fellowship". This meant that while there was a dis- tinction in the circle of meetings in which members participated, for all other purposes the groups were one. In general, when a new congregation was formed, the two groups remained in full fellowship. It was possible, however, that disagreements could arise in matters of church policy. Each congregation was free to interpret the basic discipline as it chose, and this led to small regional differences. For instance, the speed of singing varied somewhat in the different congregations; as long as this variation was kept within certain limits, and the church leaders did not think the singing was becoming too worldly, there was no real difficulty. But disagreements about the substance of church policy did arise, and if there was no resolution of the difficulty, could lead to divisions that split the congregations. When the differences in the discipline between two groups were large enough, the two could no longer be in full fellow-

ship, and moving between them in a formal way would result in excommun-
ication. Thus it was permissible to visit with people, but in certain
cases it might not be possible to marry someone of another congregation
on penalty of excommunication. Occasionally these church splits might
be sources of considerable hard feeling; one group might excommunicate
the other as happened, for instance, when Jacob Amman excommunicated the
other Mennonite ministers and their followers and founded the Amish.
Thus there were essentially two kinds of differences between congrega-
tions. First, there were the spatial differences between those congre-
gations that remained in full fellowship and agreed on matters of dis-
cipline. Then there were the differences on matters of discipline that
separated congregations from those with whom they were not in full fellow-
ship, though the two groups might live intermingled in the same physical
region. When we speak of a church or congregation, the name simply
refers to that group. But a number of groups having like beliefs about
discipline would make formal associations, often called "conferences" to
express their fellowship with others of similar practice. In the study
area, there are four major fellowship groups, with clear boundaries
between--the Old Order Amish, the Beachy Amish, the Conservative Mennon-
ites, and the Western Ontario Conference. The congregations within any
one of these groups were not in full fellowship with those in any of the
other groups.

Interestingly, the divisions that separated the fellowship of con-
gregations were not about theological matters, but about the church
discipline. Thus all four of the groups share the same confession of
faith, and in fact share it with other Mennonites not from the Amish
background. In matters of confession of faith, the Mennonites and Amish
are one, regardless of their stance on the interpretation of that con-
fession. But the matters of discipline, which were essentially a con-
gregational matter, could easily separate one group from another.

Within the congregation itself, the basic categories were three--
the children, the ordained men, and the lay members. Children attended
services regularly, but were not yet members. The Amish and Mennonites
do not recognize infant baptism. The congregation can only be a voluntary

group of committed believers, and only adults are aware of the importance
of the commitment, or its implications. Children are strongly encouraged
to join the church at the appropriate time, but only as young adults.

The lay members of the congregation include all men and women who
have become baptised members of the group on confession of faith. The
church did not encourage converts, but when someone was willing and had
some reason to join, it was possible for .hém to be baptised, or rebap-
tised. Mennonites and Amish from other congregations in full fellowship
with the congregation in question might join on the presentation of a
church letter indicating their good standing in the home congregation.
In that case, the entire group would give assent to the new membership.
If the person had been baptised as an adult in another congregation, or
even another church, and sincerely wished to join the congregation in
question, they might be received into the fellowship by a vote from the
lay members. Lay members attended the services and meetings of the con-
gregation, and could speak at such policy meetings. In the traditional
church, however, there were no committees for the lay members. There was
no church property, except the hymnals and the benches, so there was no
need for the institution of trustee (when buildings were later erected
for worship, the law of the larger society required the election of
trustees to administer the property of the church). The church was not
really a special institution in the lives of the traditional Amish Mennon-
ite community. It did not have special programmes, other than the regular
worship services. The work of the church was the work of the community
itself. As such the community members all participated in the congrega-
tional government, each member having an equal voice.

Community policy, though decided by the members of the community,
was in fact administered by the ordained men who served as church leaders.
Men so ordained were always chosen from the local congregation to serve
in that congregation, and administered the congregational life as repre-
sentatives of that community. Ordination was for life, though age or
chronic illness might make it impossible for a man to carry out his duties.
In such a case, another man would be ordained to the same position, though
the original ordination was not revoked. Ordained men received no special

teaching or training outside of their own Bible study, and were not paid
by the congregation. They were expected to farm for a living while still
putting the needs of the church first. Private Bible study and reading,
and discussion with the other ordained men were the forms of preparation
for the conduct of services, and had to be fitted in to the farming rou-
tine. The ordained men were also supposed to live exemplary lives, and
be proper Christian models for the rest of the community. It was thus
something of a hardship to be chosen for ordination.

While the ordained men had considerable influence in the formation
of congregational policy, men ordained in one congregation served only in
that group. An ordained man might be invited to preach in another group,
but in matters of community policy and congregational discipline, an or-
dained man had no authority outside his own congregation. This autonomy
between congregations is retained even today in those groups that have
formal conference hierarchies. Local congregations are not policed by
the conference, and may choose not to adopt practices recommended by the
conference. Conference officers may act as mediators in local disputes,
but have no power to enforce recommendations. The ordained men are thus
clearly responsible to their own congregations, and obtain whatever in-
fluence they have over the congregation from their position as congrega-
tional representative. The only exception to this generalization is in
the matter of ordination itself. A congregation cannot ordain by itself--
only another ordained man may actually perform the service. So long as
the congregation has an ordained elder, he can perform the ordination of
others in his congregation. But in the case of the death of the elder,
another elder from a local congregation in full fellowship must perform
the service.

There were three ordained positions in the traditional church.
The first of these was the deacon, who was concerned with managing the
social services provided by the church. Then there was the minister, who
was a preacher and teacher. Finally there were the elders, often called
bishops, who were the chief preachers, the main administrators of the
discipline, and the ordained men who presided over the various rituals
that were implicated in daily life. Together the ordained men met to

maintain the spiritual life of the congregation, to discuss any community problems, and to uphold and apply the discipline.

The deacons were always chosen from the adult lay men of the congregation. When the congregation needed a new deacon, the elder would ask for nominations from the congregation. If only one name was proposed, the unanimity of the group was respected. Generally, however, several men were suggested, and the choice among the candidates was made by lot. This general procedure was also used in the choice of the other ordained offices. In the process, the ordained men met in the ministers' room, taking with them a Bible for each man whose name was in the lot. In one Bible a white card with a prayer or scripture verse was placed. The Bibles were then tied shut, and handed to another ordained man who had not been present in the back room. The Bibles were then displayed before the men in the lot, who stood before the entire congregation. Each man chose a Bible, and then together they opened the books and examined them. The man who had chosen the Bible with the card was then ordained. In this manner, both the congregation and God had a hand in selecting the leaders. It was thus not possible to run for office, though a man with a well-defined interest in spiritual matters might find himself nominated.

The deacon's office was primarily to manage the deacon's fund, to serve as a watchman for the discipline, and to act as a messenger for the bishop. The deacon's fund was collected twice a year at communion. It was the only collection made in the church. After the communion service, all the men left the service by the door at which the deacon stood. As they passed the deacon, they put a cash donation into his pocket. The deacon had no record of the amount donated by each member, but did keep an account of the monies in the fund, and of his disbursements. The fund was mainly for the relief of widows, orphans, or those temporarily in need. Though the deacon was accountable to the entire congregation for his administration of the fund, it was his sole prerogative to actually disburse money.

While the duties of the deacon were essentially administrative, those of the minister concerned the preaching of the Word. The minister read the Bible during the Sunday service, and delivered the first exhor-

tation. The duties of the two were thus rather different; consequently, many ministers were ordained directly from the lay men, in the same manner as the deacons. In some congregations, however, ministers were usually chosen from among the deacons. In these groups, a man would first be ordained deacon, and then later he might be reordained as a minister, at which point he ceased to be a deacon. This practice, however was not as distinctive of the traditional church as was the practice of ordaining both deacons and ministers directly from the lay men.

The elder or bishop was the spiritual head of the congregation, and the only one ordained to preside at weddings, baptism, communion, ordination, and excommunication. The elders were almost always chosen from among the ministers, only very rarely from among the deacons, and never directly from the lay men. As the spiritual head of the congregation, the elder chose the Scripture passage for the Sunday service and delivered the main sermon. He also presided over all services which marked transitions in social status, as outlined above. In addition, he was the chief administrator of the church discipline. It was the responsibility of the elder to interpret the rules and apply them to specific situations, to admonish and chastise believers, and ultimately to maintain the boundary between the church and the world.

Thus each of the ordained offices dealt with some aspect of the church, either as an ideal model of the ideology of the community, or as the institution of social control. The deacon dealt with the formal sharing and mutual aid given to those in need. The minister concerned himself with spiritual nourishment of the congregation through Bible reading, exhortation, and prayer. The bishop or elder had oversight first in those services in which the church service presented an ideal model for social order, and second in the actual control of social life through the community discipline. The elder was thus the most important of the ordained statuses for a discussion of the social implications of the ideology. We will continue a discussion of the place of religious ideology in social life in a closer examination of the major services as both ideal models for the community, and as situations of social control.

The ordained men presided over two types of church services--
congregational services, and services for the community. Congregational
services included regular Sunday worship, as well as the services of
baptism, ordination, excommunication, preparation for communion, and
communion itself. All of these specially mentioned services took place
during the course of the regular Sunday service. Not all services, how-
ever, were strictly for congregational members. Community services were
oriented to a wider group than the congregation alone. There were two
such services--weddings and funerals, always held during the week.
Family and friends of the wedding couple or of the deceased attend the
service. Since networks of family and friendship often crossed congre-
gational or fellowship boundaries, and sometimes included non-Amish as
well, community services were not restricted to congregational members.
Such services consisted of two parts--the public ritual, which took place
at the home of the bride's parents or the deceased, and the private feast
for those specially invited to the wedding or specially close to the de-
ceased. The form of public ritual was similar to that of the regular
Sunday worship. Congregational services formed the church life of the
religious community, and presented an ideal for community social life.
Community services, on the other hand, dealt with the religious sanctifi-
cation of essentially private events.

The Church Services

The worship service was traditionally held every other Sunday, in
the home of a member. The service began in the morning, lasting into the
early afternoon. After the service itself a light meal was served, and
most people stayed on to visit during the afternoon. As the day wore on,
the older people returned home to do the evening chores. The young un-
married people often met again Sunday evening by themselves for hymn sing-
ing and courting. On the Sundays when no church service was held, members
visited one another for a festive Sunday noon dinner and afternoon visit.
Communion was celebrated twice a year; the week before the communion
service a special preparation service was held. Baptism, ordination and
excommunication services were held irregularly, as the need arose.

The Sunday service was a special context, different from weekday

life. There was a special religious language for the service. The German Bible used in the traditional Amish services was the Martin Luther translation; its archaic High German phrases were quite different from the everyday Pennsylvania Deutsch of the members. The ministers and elders delivered the sermons in a special singsong lilt, considered the appropriate form of public oratory on sacred occasions. There was, in addition to a special Sunday language, a special Sunday dress. During the week a man would wear overalls and boots, a dark shirt, and a straw hat; on Sunday, he changed into a black suit with white shirt, no tie, and a formal black felt hat. Women changed into heavier long dresses, a black bonnet, and a formal apron.

Preparations for the regular Sunday service began the day before, when benches for the congregation were brought to the home at which the service was to be held. Women from the congregation also gathered to help prepare the Sunday meal. After chores were complete Sunday morning, the members drove to the service, and having unhitched the horses and put them in the barn, the people gathered for a short visit before the service. At this time, the ordained men met together to plan the morning worship, and discuss any church matters. The people gradually took their seats, the men in one room and the women in another. The older people tended to sit near to the front, and children sat with their parents according to sex, except for infants who stayed with their mothers. The young unmarried men often came in together after most of the others were seated, and the leaders came in last. The service then formally began.

The regular worship service began with the singing of hymns by all members. No musical instruments were used in accompaniment, but song leaders from the congregation began singing, and the other members joined in. All tunes were learned by rote from the singing of other song leaders. The singing was in unison, from a thick hymnal, the Ausbund, a compilation of verses from early Anabaptist martyrs. After the singing,

one of the ministers gave a series of opening admonitions, followed
by the reading of the Bible, admonitions, and prayer. Then the elder
gave the main sermon, after which the other ordained men were called
on for "Zeugniss" or testimony. Laymen were also called on for
testimony--usually these were older men sitting in the front benches
of the congregation. Any announcements were then made, and a closing
hymn was sung.

The communion preparatory service differed from the main serv-
ice in the special stress laid on church discipline. The Bible text
for this service, Matthew 18, stressed:

> "humility, warnings against offence, and
> admonitions to reconciliation, forgiveness
> and unity," (Gingerich, 1972, 52)

The main sermon

> "elaborated on Christian conduct, warned
> against the worldly trends and sins in the
> church and called for obedience to the Amish
> 'ordnung'" (Gingerich, 1972, 52)

After testimony from the other ministers, in which the ordained men
asked for forgiveness from any they might have offended, the entire
congregation was asked to assent to the rules of the congregational
discipline.

> "This was done by the ministers going up and down
> each row of worshippers and asking for an expres-
> sion of peace with God and with the brotherhood.
> If anyone had a grievance he wanted to express,
> or if he was unsatisfied with the way the min-
> isters handled the affairs of the congregation,
> he had the privilege of saying so." (Gingerich,
> 1972, 52-3)

Thus twice each year the congregation actually met to give assent to
the discipline or ordnung, and to formulate new policy.

The communion service was rather longer than the normal Sunday
worship, and only the baptised adults attended. The children remained
at home, or stayed with relatives. The sermons on communion Sunday were
longer than normal, and traced out the entire religious history of the

Bible. The first sermon traced out the beginnings of the world in
Genesis, then the stories of the captivity and the release under Moses.
Once the general history of the Old Testament had been completed, the
elder gave the history of the New Testament, dwelling especially with
the passion and death of Christ. After the sermons, the Lord's Supper
was celebrated, using simple bread and grape juice. After this, the
ordinance of Christian service, or foot washing, was practised. In this,
the women retired to another room, and basins of water were provided.
Pairs of believers washed the feet of one another, then dried them with
a towel. After this, they stood, shook hands, and gave one another a
kiss, called the Holy Kiss, wishing one another the Lord's blessing. At
the end of the service, the men filed past the deacon, depositing their
contributions to the deacon's fund in his pocket.

Communion was taken only by baptised members. Candidates for
baptism announced their intentions to the ordained men. A class of in-
terested young people was assembled, and instruction was given by the
ordained men. This instruction consisted of lectures about the meaning
of the Christian life, the nature of the church discipline, and the res-
ponsibilities of the member. The ordained men used the confession of
faith as their guide in instructing members in matters of belief, and the
candidates were often required to learn and recite one of the articles
before the congregation during the baptismal service. The baptism itself
took place during the regular Sunday service. Candidates for baptism
were kept in another room before the service. The elder then asked the
congregation if there were reasons why any of the candidates ought not
to receive baptism. Once the congregation had given its approval, the
candidates were led in to be seated at the front of the congregation.
After the main sermon, the elder would question them about their faith,
and then have them recite the baptismal vows. Water was then poured on
their heads, and the words of baptism pronounced over each one. (see
Gingerich, 1972, 48)

Unlike the services for the congregation, the community services
centred on the individual or individuals undergoing transitions in
lifestyle, and especially productive and reproductive capacity. Weddings

marked the establishment of a new unit, and funerals the breakdown of the old. The wedding was also the recognition of the personal choice between the spouses, and the commitment through that choice to full adult status in the community. This ritual choice followed the other personal choice made by the individual--the commitment to the Christian life and discipline made at baptism. But while the choice to join the church was an entirely public matter, and was recognized by the entire congregation during the Sunday service, the union of spouses was not conducted on Sunday, and attendance was by invitation. The marriage service itself followed the general pattern. After singing, the couple came forward and sat at the front. Then a Bible passage was read, and the elder gave a short sermon. After this, the vows were exchanged and the wedding pronouncement made. This was followed by testimony from the other ministers, usually in the form of admonitions and blessings. It was customary to invite the parents and grandparents, sisters and brothers, of the bride and groom, all the aunts and uncles on both sides, and any unmarried cousins. Further invitations would be sent to any other relatives close to the family and any friends outside the family. The wedding service, held in the morning, was then followed by a large meal and a hymn sing.

Funerals were marked especially by silence. The service itself was usually in the afternoon (other services were in the morning). An announcement of the funeral was passed by word, and in later times through an obituary in the local daily paper. The body of the deceased in a coffin was placed at the front of the congregation, and the immediate family sat in the front benches. Anyone was welcome at the service, even non-Amish people who had known the deceased. There was no singing, though a hymn might be read. After the usual Bible passage and exhortation, often in this case on the importance of keeping the discipline, seeing that life was short, the family and ordained men retired to the graveside, where a short service was held. Although anyone was welcome at the graveside, often those that were not close to the deceased did not attend, especially if it was at some distance from the home. Burial was made in the church plot, but burial was in order of death, and the graves were unmarked with headstones. As the person was ideally equal in the community

2-19

in life, so in death. The close relatives had a small supper following the graveside service.

In sum, a similar pattern was repeated in all worship services. Lay members sat quietly and listened to the exhortations of the ordained men, which dominated the service. Since the entire family attended all services except communion and funerals, the entire community was usually represented at Sunday services, and much of it at community services. The service was quiet and dignified. It did not feature calls for conversion, evangelical exhortations, prophecy, religious healing, ecstacy, or emotionalism of any kind. Nor did the service stress inner life or piety; admonitions about right living were the core of the faith. There was no choir or special singing, nor playing of musical instruments. Thus no individuality was expressed during the service except by those representing the community. By their silence, each member expressed submission to the community and its representatives. Gingerich sums up the worship service in the following way:

> "Worship consisted of participating together rather than an individualistic communion with God. It was just as important to be on talking terms with one's brother as with God. In other words, Amish worship was characterized by fellowship rather than reverence, by practical admonition rather than inspiration. This does not mean the Amish have little reverence for God, but that reverence was not so much expressed in worship as it was in obedience to His Word in the practical affairs of life. In this sense their worship reflected their theology as much as did their emphasis on practical Christianity." (1972, 56-7)

The Implicit Church Hierarchy

Through its representation of community values, the church served as an ideal model for the organization of community life. The seating plan, for instance, emphasized certain basic social categories that the church used to create this ideal model. Of the category distinctions emerging from the seating plan, one of the most important was that between ordained men and the lay members, who sat facing one another. Among the laity, men and women were separated, men sitting to the left of the ordained men, and women to the right. Three groups had special relationships to the ordained men, and sat closer to them: the older members, the youngest members, and offenders. Older members sat nearest

the ordained men, on benches placed at ninety degrees to both ordained and lay members. This arrangement was justified on the grounds that older members tended to be deaf, and thus needed to be closer to the preachers, and that older members needed to be nearer the stoves at the front in winter. The men on the "amen" benches were asked for testimony, and were the only lay members to participate individually in the service. These men were also the ones whose counsel in church affairs was most influential.

Unmarried but recently baptized people often sat together close to the front. These newly-created Christians were the handiwork of God through the elders and ministers. Soon they would marry and join the adults behind them, but while they were unmarried, they were considered especially prone to wander from the discipline. The time between baptism and marriage was a time to solidify the commitment to the ideal community, and to decide on the commitment to a spouse that ushered in full adult status. Since the young people were in a somewhat dangerous state, vulnerable to leaving the community and its ideals, they needed to be under the watchful eyes of the ordained men.

Transgressors of the discipline were required to sit in the front benches, so that all might see them. The offender's presence on the front bench was often sufficient to mark him as vain or worldly but repentant. The transgressor stood out from the unified group of lay people, under the sentence of the elder.

Adults sat further back, children with their parents. There was no distinction in this group between baptized and unbaptized. The word of the preachers was for the entire community.

Thus there was an implicit religious hierarchy in the seating plan. This hierarchy represented the amount of say each group categorized in the seating plan had in the course of church life, especially in relation to the discipline. Children and unmarried adults had no say in running the church. Lay members had a strong say in formulating church policy, but little in the everyday administration of that policy. The elderly men were deeply respected by the ordained men, and their council was sought in the processes of formulating and administering the discipline.

The ordained men actually administered the discipline, and thus had the most say in the way in which congregational affairs were run.

The category system presented in church was not, however, simply a reflection of the organization of church discipline. These categories also marked different statuses within family life cycle. Thus the categories also dealt with the productive and reproductive cycles of the community. Within the context of the worship service, these categories were organized into an organization that closely paralleled church discipline. This was accomplished by placing the changing events of actual lives into a typical pattern applicable to all community members. This typical pattern was given meaning by the church. In this sense, the church served as a general model for the organization of these contexts.

Family and farm, however, responded more to their own internal organizational logics than to direct church control. Family life was essentially organized around personal interaction, and posed no challenge to the idea that community members interacted supportively. Although farm life was a context of rational production, it was a productive context that could be organized as a discipline. The commitment to farming as the only economic activity suitable for community members meant that all community members were involved in the same productive activity. The ability to routinize the activity, especially on the mixed farm in Ontario before the Second World War, made it possible for the church to control it indirectly through an ideal model. In the following sections we will discuss family and farming in the traditional community.

Life Cycle

The life cycle of the typical Amish individual was organized by both the necessities of farm production, and those of religious ideology. The individual lived out his years within a well-defined system of categories marking the different stages of his life. These stages were fixed for all members of the community, and were identical for each person. The stages reflected both the religious and the economic careers of the person, but at the same time routinized this career pattern. Thus within the traditional life cycle, the unique personal experiences of individuals were routinized into identical social categories experienced by all members of the congregation. A unique career was impossible in this system--the system of social categories dominated particular events.

The life cycle begins with the birth of the child. There were no

special religious rituals marking birth, though in custom mothers with newborn infants usually did not attend services until the infant could be brought along. When the infant was between six weeks and two months old, the mother brought it to the worship service, formally introducing it in this manner to the community. Babies are highly desired in the community even today, and a mother with a newborn child is the centre of attention.

As the infant matured, it gradually would be able to leave its mother, and if it was a boy, would eventually sit with the men during the service, usually beside his father. The age grading in school marked differences in the childhood period, but there was no grading within either the church or the home. Children were expected to help their parents with the farm work, and tasks were assigned to them that were appropriate to their abilities. The boys helped in the barn with the choring, and in the fields. As the boys got older, they learned by ex- perience what it was to be a farmer, and became able to perform all the farm tasks. Girls similarly learned from their mothers how to cook, sew, and work the garden; since women also helped in the barn with the chores, and occasionally in the fields, most girls also learned to do the work boys could do. Women tended to help the men with repetitive chores in the barn, such as milking, and with the field work that required simply labour, such as stacking hay on the wagon. Women without children would help their husbands considerably, especially as such women were usually married to a young farmer just beginning the operation. Women did not tend to help with the work that was not labour intensive, but which re- quired specialized knowledge, such as determining which crops to plant, or how to fertilize particular plots of different soil. Such tasks were left to the men.

The major change that took place at the end of childhood was bap- tism. In some Old Order communities, baptism was deferred until the per- son was ready for marriage. In those communities, the young people eased into the stage of courting without any formal ritual. Among the congre- gations that later became the Western Ontario Conference, baptism occur- red during the early teens. At this time, the young people were instruct- ed in the meaning of church life by the ordained men, and then baptised.

Once baptism had taken place, the young people entered a different category. Though they were church members, and thus formally had a voice in the formation of church policy, they were in fact expected to be silent in church matters, allowing the older people to run church affairs. It was expected that the young people would get together for recreation and mutual acquaintance. Evening courting, especially Saturday and Sunday nights, became the rule. Sunday evenings were usually reserved for the young people as a night for hymn sings. The baptised, but unmarried folks would meet together to sing and chat. The songs chosen were usually hymns to tunes too fast for regular worship use.

The economic freedom of the young people was also reflected in their ability to work off the home farm. When there was enough labour at home, the young people often worked at other local Amish homes for wages. These wages were not, however, the property of the young person, but went back to the family treasury. Young girls hired out as maids and cooks, often in larger families when a new baby arrived. The new mother looked after the infant, and the hired girl took care of the rest of the children. Young boys would hire out as farm labour to families that had no such labour. However, the young people were involved in an important decision. They had to choose a marriage partner, and with that, the life of an Amish adult. The choice was open as to who the spouse would be, so long as the person was within the brotherhood. But this was also a time when some people chose to leave the community, and the fear of this alternative being chosen meant that the older people watched the young people with some concern.

Once the marriage partner was chosen, and the wedding performed, the new couple usually established their own farm. The union of the spouses was a union for both production and reproduction. It was expected that the husband and wife would work together at their complementary roles to produce on the farm, and to increase the fellowship with children. The marriage and establishment of the farm involved the transfer of the essentials of farming from one generation to another. The couple had to buy land, raising both the down payment and the mortgage funds for the purchase. They also had to buy implements for the farm, stock, household

goods, and still have enough to buy feed and seed, and pay taxes. Thus
the marriage of the couple involved a considerable redistribution of
resources within the community.

In general, farmers were willing to hold the first mortgage on
their own property, so the mortgage money was available. This was true
even when the older farmer was a non-Mennonite selling to a Mennonite.

The sources of mortgage funds are discussed elsewhere in detail,
and will not be more than summarized here. A father usually did not
have to hold the mortgage for his older sons, as the farmer selling the
farm would do so, though occasionally a father would buy a farm, holding
it only a short time until his son took over. The family was, however,
a source of loans for the elder sons to keep the operation going. The
youngest son usually took over the home farm, with the father usually
holding that mortgage.

The various implements, stock and household goods that went into
the farm were purchased by the couple, or occasionally by their parents.
Such purchases were usually made at auction sales. The young woman an-
ticipating marriage would attend sales, and buy furniture and household
items with money on loan from her parents. Sometimes the young man
would buy implements and stock of his own, sometimes he would wait until
he was ready to start farming to build his operation. In some families,
money for the purchases was tendered in the form of a loan, and then re-
paid to the parents. Old account books exist from the middle 1800's, in
which the list of household goods purchased for the children was kept,
and the final account eventually paid off. In other families, some
household and farm effects were provided in exchange for the wages or
labour the children had given.

Once the young couple began to farm, the birth of their first
child confirmed their adult status. As more children came along, there
was more labour on the farm, and less need for the farmer to rely on
sharing help with his local relatives, or hiring help, to run the farm.
From the time that the parents had their first child until the eldest was
baptised, the farm itself gradually became easier to run, as the labour
increased. Eventually, there comes a period during which the operation

of the farm could be more or less contained. The extra labour rep-
resented by the baptised children could then be hired out to increase
the family income against the time that loans would need to be made for
the marriage and establishment of the children.

Finally there comes the day that the youngest son is ready to
marry and begin farming on his own. This was usually the time that the
older couple retired from farming and left the farm to this son. In the
case of a family with several younger daughters, the father might contin-
ue farming until the marriage of one of the younger daughters, and then
leave the farm to his daughter and son-in-law. When the older couple
were ready to pass the farm along, they usually arranged a sale, and
planned to exchange living quarters with the young people. In the past,
this meant the older folks would move into the small apartment attached
to the main house. They might also leave the main farm house, and live
instead in a smaller house on the land. At the sale, everything not need-
ed by the older couple would be sold. The house and barn would be liter-
ally cleaned out, and even dishes and linen, scrap lumber and old iron
would all be offered to the highest bidder. This marked the dissolution
of the tie between the older couple and the farming production process.
The older man would usually help the younger children with their farming
operations as long as he was able, and the woman would perhaps help her
children by establishing a larger garden and sharing the produce with the
families, or by helping the young wife on the home farm. In any case,
after the sale and the retirement of the couple, they no longer managed
the farming operation by themselves. The children having set up their
own enterprises, the older couple lived in their apartment on the home
farm for the rest of their years.

The major transitions in the life cycle were thus birth, baptism,
marriage, and the sale. Each of these events had implications not merely
for the person involved, but also for the others of his family unit at
the time. For the parents, birth was associated with full adult status,
and the hiring of help. Wages paid to such help were the prelude to
starting another new marriage. Baptism meant the beginning of the court-
ing period, and the freedom to work off the farm, and also a change in

the farming style of the parents. Marriage began a new farm through
the redistribution of goods at a sale and the dissolution of an older
farm. The marriage of the younger children meant the preparation of a
sale by the parents, and the sale itself the transfer of the management
of farming operations to the next generation.

Thus the cycle of life stressed the place of each individual in
larger categories of time than he would himself experience. Time was
categorized and its flow turned into a timeless routine of stages, each
of which was inhabited by all members of the society. The cycle of the
generations was tied into the productive cycle of the farm itself. In
this kind of cyclic situation, everyday experience took on the same kind
of routine and controlled nature associated with the church discipline.

Farm Life

Farm life, unlike family life, involved rational planning in the
processes of production and exchange. The farmer had an accumulated body
of knowledge to the specific conditions of his farm--the subtle variations
in soil from one field to another, and the particular characteristics of
each animal. Labour was recruited from the family, or through the forma-
tion of community labour groups to handle labour-intensive tasks such as
threshing. This recruitment was based on traditions well established in
the community, and thus required little thought on the part of the individ-
ual farmer. Most of the farmer's attention was devoted to production in
his operation. The rationality of farm production had to be given a mean-
ing by the church,which stressed human interaction as the ideal of com-
munity social life. In order that the rational logic of the farming oper-
ation be related to the religious discipline, production was first dis-
tinguished from exchange in the traditional community. The production
process was dominated by various set routines, with little strategic lee-
way for the individual. Thus production could be itself turned into a
kind of discipline, wherein each farmer worked much as his neighbours
did. Farm production was not an activity in which individualism could be
practised. Exchange, however, involved contact with the outside, and the
use of money. Thus the context of exchange was objectified, while in-
ternal production was carried out according to interaction and traditions

of reciprocity. Internal production could be controlled by the church giving an ideal model for it; exchange required direct control, specific injunctions to regulate the boundary to the outside, in order to keep individuals from becoming involved with those outside the community.

Production

The routine of the traditional mixed farm, and the limits on change and innovation inherent to it, made it an activity that could easily be considered as a discipline. The routinization came from the farmer's dependence on natural cycles of growth and maturation. The limitations of the farming enterprise came from the way in which farms were integrated into the larger market. Farmers did not set commodity prices, and fluctuations in prices paid to farmers were the rule. In the face of such fluctuation, the mixed strategy softened the impact of price drops in any one commodity. Farmers were not able to increase the efficiency or scale of the operation due to lack of technological advances. The mixed farm was consequently an ideal form of production for a community whose ideals were based on a disciplined life.

The activities of farming centred around the cycles of natural growth and production. The daily cycle of farming activity was organized around the needs of the farm animals. In the morning, the cattle had to be fed, their bedding cleaned away and replaced, and the animals milked. Horses and pigs also had to be fed, along with the chickens. The horses would then be harnessed, in preparation for the daily work in the fields, during the spring and summer. After the morning chores had been completed, the farmer had his own breakfast, and then prepared for the work of the day. The work period was broken up by the large noon meal, which was prepared by the women in the family, and eaten together by all family members. At the end of the day's work period was another repeat of the morning chores, with the unharnessing of the horses, their bedding down, the milking of the cows, and the feeding of all animals. Then the farmer had his supper, and probably retired shortly thereafter. The daily round of work would involve the farmer in three kinds of activity--working in the barn itself, working in the fields, and going to town to buy or sell. The work in the barn would include animal care and the repair of implements. Field work varied

with the season, and will be detailed shortly. Work in the field usually
involved working with plants. In town, the farmer sold his produce, and
bought the raw materials and implements for the farm, while his wife did
the shopping for the home.

While the daily cycle centred on the animals, the yearly cycle
centred on the plants. As long as the farmer could get out on the land,
usually from the early spring, after the ground had dried up, until well
into the fall, before the ground froze hard, there was some kind of work
to do in the fields themselves concerning the growing of crops. After
the spring thaw, the ground was heavy with water, and the farmers waited
impatiently for the spring seeding. The seeding implements were cleaned
and prepared, the seed bought and the team harnesses made ready. Once
the field had dried sufficiently to allow the team to walk on it without
bogging down, the field was prepared for planting with a harrow, which
levelled the plowed furrows and broke up the ground into small pieces.
Then the planting was accomplished, and the farmer would wait for the
plants to come forth. A typical farm schedule is reproduced below.

May	First week.	Begin seeding, with intensive work for 2-3 weeks. Then fencing and fence repair for about a week. Corn planting late May, with cultivating, for about 2-3 days (whereas about 50 acres of grain were planted, only about 5-10 acres of corn were planted.) Cut thistles for 1-2 weeks. Pick stones.
July 1		Haying for three weeks.
August 1		Cut the wheat, and stook it, thresh part or all.
August 15		Cut and stook other grain, 1-2 weeks. Gang plow the grain fields until silo filling.
Late August		Threshing of grain (sporadic. A small amount was threshed early, and then the threshing rig did the rest later. This might mean the farmer waited for some months.)
Later in September		Fall plowing, with a single furrow plow. Between Fifty and eighty acres would be plowed, which meant about twenty-five to forty man-days of plowing. Sow winter wheat.

At some point during the fall the apples, mangels and potatoes were
harvested.
Winter tasks--repairs to implements. Hauling manure from the pile by the
barn to the fields. Barn repairs. Wood cutting.

When the farmer was not busy with the work in the field, he could
spend time examining implements, caring for the animals, and helping around
the house with repairs.

Mixed farming was the main operational strategy in the region be-
for 1950. Under this system, most of the land was used to raise grain

and hay, with a little corn silage and mangels and turnips as dairy ra-
tion. The field crops were fed mostly to the animals, and the animal
products sold. Farmers kept cattle for both milk and meat, hogs, and
chickens, mostly for the eggs. Winter wheat was grown as a cash crop, but
generally the farmer put in only one field or ten acres of cash grain.
The rest of the grain, mostly oats and mixed oats and barley, was fed to
the animals. It was possible to vary the emphasis of the mixed strategy
within limits, but these were not large.

The animal operations were integrated to some extent. In the days
before refrigeration, there was no way to keep milk cool for extended per-
iods of time. Dairy processing plants were located in the area, and local
men trucked the milk in cans to the dairy twice each day, picking up after
each milking. The dairy would process the milk, returning whey in the cans
to the farmer. This was fed to the pigs. When cream separators became wide-
spread, many farmers shipped only cream to the dairy, feeding the skim milk
to the pigs.

Most of the farms were divided into eight to ten small plots by fences
and hedges. Since the average farm was one hundred acres in size, this meant
the average field was about ten acres. In the fenced area the farmer threw
the rocks he picked from the field after spring planting, and thorn hedges
were allowed to develop. These fields were about the right size for plowing
with horses, and were tied into the cycle of crop rotation. One man suggested
his routine was to put silage corn on the field one year, and then use the
land for grain for two years. After this, the land would be seeded in hay,
and used for pasture for two years. After the first cut of hay was taken off
the field it was used as open pasture for the cattle. A summer fallow year,
in which nothing was seeded, could also be inserted in place of one of the
pasture seedings. The summer fallow field was manured, but was not cut. It
might be used for pasture. This procedure helped in weed control, and put
moisture back into the land.

The sequence of field crops was fixed more by the needs of the soil
and weed control than by the marketplace. It was possible to expand the
amount of land devoted to winter wheat as a cash crop when the price was
good, though there was sufficient fluctuation from year to year that ex-
panding wheat production on the strength of a good current price was not
always sound practice. There was a wider fluctuation in the number of
animals kept on the farm. A farmer would have a team of two heavy horses
for the field work--usually an older, experienced horse, and a

younger horse that would learn from the older. He might also have a
lighter carriage horse for the buggy. Farmers also kept eight to ten
milking cows, and younger cattle as replacements. The number of milking
cows was limited partly by the amount of feed that could be grown, and
partly by the amount of labour the farmer could devote to milking. A
person working by hand could milk only four or five cattle at a sitting,
and younger children would not be able to accomplish that. Farmers did
not expand the milking herd, nor allow it to shrink, to a great extent.
Replacement cattle were home-grown. It was not generally possible to
buy milking cattle in any quantity. It took two years from the birth of
a cow until she began to milk, so dairy cattle were a long-term invest-
ment.

 The number of chickens and pigs raised on the farm, however, could
vary considerably. Most farmers kept two sows as breeding stock, and
raised the baby pigs. It was possible to expand the pig operation rather
quickly, as the cycle can be as low as six weeks. Thus the farmer could
take advantage of the changes in hog prices to change his operation.
Similarly, changes in the price of eggs could be used to advantage
through an expansion of the chicken flock.

 While the farmer thus had some chance to develop a strategy of
farming, his opportunities were highly limited by the commitment to ag-
riculture as the only lifestyle, and by the limited possibilities within
agriculture at the time. The climate of the area permitted certain crops
of only limited kinds. Livestock provided a better return, and a more
certain return, than did cash crops on the whole. There was a steady
market for livestock, but prices were not high. Once the farmer was
committed to raising livestock, he was committed to growing certain kinds
of crops. Thus the dairy operation required a protein rich crop that
could be stored during the winter, and which would yield consistently in
the local climate. There were considerable limits on the labour avail-
able in the area, and the farmer had about one hundred disposable acres.
The most efficient way to utilize this area was thus fixed in the pro-
duction of grain and hay as animal feed. Before the advent of machine
technology, there was little the farmer could do to either expand or in-

tensify his production.

A number of social factors also limited production by farmers.
The region in question was one in which there was an out-migration of
non-Amish. This out-migration is reflected in the consistently rising
percentage of Amish and Mennonite people in the townships in question.[1]
Because these non-Amish people were leaving, land was available for pur-
chase by any young man who wished to own it. The price for land was low
enough to allow young people to begin their own operations. There was
thus not a pool of farm labour from the local community available. This
meant the individual farmer was limited in the expansion of his own op-
eration. While he might have the money to expand the operation, he could
not count on having the labour to run the new farm. A young man would
buy the land instead, preferring to work his own spread to working for
another man. There thus developed an economic situation in which a more
or less set number of small farms, parallel in their structure, and com-
pletely autonomous, interacted only with the outside. The only excep-
tion to this autonomy of local farmers came in the pooling of labour for
certain tasks. It is interesting in this regard that as soon as machine
technology became available to replace the local labour sharing, even
though that machinery was more expensive than sharing labour, farmers
bought the machines.

There was a considerable value placed on the autonomy of the com-
munity members in economic affairs. The area did not develop a series of
integrated specialty operations, but a group of very similar parallel
production units. This lack of integration meant there was no hierarchy
in economic terms, no internal economic dependency, and no internal dif-
ferentiation among those who stayed on the farm. This autonomy and sim-
ilarity of the farming operations was consistent with Amish ideology.

Exchange and Marketing

Even though farm production occupied much of the time of community
members, it was incomplete without exchange. The marketing of farm pro-
duce, and the exchange of the money so obtained for farm and home staples,
was an important part of farming. Exchange was involved in the farming
operation in other ways too. Exchanges were involved in the production

Table 1

Type of Exchange	Parties to Exchange	Occasion for Exchange	What was exchanged
Shared	Family Members	Work on farm, in home Meals	Labour Food
	Church Members	Regular Worship	Participation in ritual, conversation, light meal
		Special worship	Participation, conversation, full meal
Reciprocal	Families	Visits	Conversation, food
	Farms	Work	Labour, food
Rationalized	Farms	Farm sale Hired help	Money paid for household items Money paid for labour
	Farm and market	Marketing of produce Purchase of staples	Farm goods exchanged for money Money exchanged for farm and home staples

process, and in the transfer of resources when a new farm was established.
In this section on community exchange, we will show how exchanges were
legitimated and given meaning by the religious ideal. Exchange within the
community was almost always reciprocal, and thus followed the ideal pat-
tern of the ideology. Exchange across the community boundary, which had
to be rational, was carefully controlled, so that individuals did not have
direct access to the outside.

It is helpful in outlining the forms of exchange in the Amish Men-
nonite community to present them in tabular form. Table 1 lists the major
occasions of exchange, and a summary of that exchange process. In addition
to reciprocal exchange, and rational exchange mediated by money, we include
a third category, "sharing." Sharing is informal exchange in which mutual
expectations are not of a formal return of values offered, but merely of
participation within the exchange. Sharing is limited to family inter-
action and church life. Within the family, labour and the fruits of labour
were shared. Similarly in church life all members shared the responsibil-
ities of creating the church community. Sharing thus marks the closest
form of exchange in an interactive context; reciprocity is a more formal
kind of sharing with the expectation of just repayment, usually in kind.

A number of distinctions between different types of exchange emerge
from the table. There was first an important distinction between exchanges
within the community, and those across community boundaries. Reciprocal
exchange and sharing dominated community exchanges, while exchange with
outsiders was mediated by money. Farm produce was always sold for cash.
Milk and butter were sold to a local dairy; hogs and cattle were sold in
local stockyards. Usually a farmer paid a local trucker to deliver his
animals to market, and received from the trucker the proceeds of the sale.
Farm produce was occasionally taken directly to market and sold by the
farmer. The money that farm produce fetched was then exchanged for food
staples, cloth and clothing, farm equipment, and materials. Money was also
paid for taxes and mortgages and loans. Though money was handled by in-
dividuals, the produce tendered and the goods purchased were for the farm
and family, not the individual. The purchase of goods strictly for in-
dividual satisfaction was considered vain, and forbidden by church dis-
cipline.

Exchange with local non-Amish neighbours was limited to reciprocity in the exchange of farm labour. Farmers might join the local threshing crew, working at Amish and non-Amish farms in turn. Exchange might also be complementary. One farmer related that his father used to help his neighbour harvest. The neighbour had no children, but provided the threshing machine, while the Amishman provided labour. No payment in cash or kind accompanied these exchanges. A local threshing ring, for instance, simply worked all the fields of the members. Since most farmers worked the same amount of land, the labour was equitably spread.

Money circulated among community members on only two occasions. Money was paid to hired help, and money was exchanged with the establishment of a new farm. Money paid in wages generally returned to the family account. The young person was working in anticipation of buying a farm himself; the established farmer paid him as a way of storing the reciprocal obligation to work for him. The money could then be translated into material goods needed to start the new farm. The wedding gifts given by both parents to the new couple were the form the family used to transfer income and past labour into a form suitable to the new enterprise. Thus money paid in wages was closely associated with the other context in which money circulated in the community.

The establishment of a new household was accompanied by the partial dissolution of the older one. When a couple purchased a farm, the previous owner often held the mortgage for them, thus providing himself with an income. Then all the effects of the farm were sold at auction, which represented a redistribution of goods to new households from those leaving production. The sale also provided the older couple with money to live on. The money that was needed by the new household came mostly from the family, and represented a redistribution of wealth within the family sharing context. Thus although money was exchanged within the community at the establishment of a new farm, that exchange did not take the form of competitive market purchase, but a redistribution of resources that happened to be stored in monetary form. The church's ideal commitment to farming as the proper lifestyle thus meant that investment in the farm was necessary in the community. Rules forbidding the import of personal

goods into the community similarly restricted the spending of money,
which thus had a limited use.

The commitment to farming, which involved specific kinds of pro-
duction and exchange, allowed the church discipline to serve as an ideal
for all community life. Within the community, the rational activity of
production could be represented in typical categories, and given a repet-
itive character that transformed it into a kind of discipline. A dis-
tinction between reciprocal and rationalized exchange was clearly made.
Thus within the community, relations could be based on the principles of
reciprocity and supportive interaction. Internal rational activity was
given meaning by the church, and most of the activity of community members
was based on reciprocal principles. Rationalized activity was kept at
the boundary.

If the ideal models of right activity provided by the church gave
meaning to activity within the community, such models could not serve
completely at the boundary. In boundary relations, community members en-
countered the outside directly. The boundary was therefore the channel
to the outside for individuals, and consequently had to be directly po-
liced. It was not sufficient to give an ideal model of reciprocal life
in the community by representing categories drawn from productive activi-
ty in an ideal context. Specific rules limiting access to the outside
were required. These rules of church discipline maintained the community
ideal of the Christian life.

The Church and Direct Control of the Boundary:

The Discipline

The church discipline consisted of a number of statements about the
conduct of Christian life. A number of statements in the discipline refer-
red to matters of community organization such as the mode of appointment and
ordination of church leaders. Though such statements were a formal part of
the discipline, they became unquestioned traditions, rather than matters of
policy. Other statements consisted of rules of individual lifestyle. These
general statements were interpreted partly by the community itself, and
partly by the ordained men as its representatives. Disciplines were rare-
ly written, through a few that have survived from early Amish and Mennonite
churches are discussed in Appendix J.

The rules of the discipline were rehearsed at each preparation service two weeks before communion. At this time, each member gave assent to the discipline. New matters of discipline could be raised at this time. The ordained men were generally the only ones who announced new rules, or new interpretations, though generally these announcements were preceded by considerable discussion among the ordained men and influential laymen. It was also possible for individual members to speak out at meetings, though it was rare. Such a course of action would only have taken place had there been a sizeable fraction who felt their position was not being represented by the ordained men.

The rules of the discipline rested on Biblical injunction. Such injunctions were often very general in form. A good example of this can be found in the article on nonconformity in the 1925 "Rules and Discipline of the Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference," which reads,

> "XI. Nonconformity to the World
> a). Intemperance. Prov. 23:29035. Gal. 5:21. I.Cor. 9:25. I. Pet. 4:3.
> b). Unholy Conversation. Eph. 4:29. I Tim. 2:16.
> c). Fashionable Attire. I. Tim. 2:9. I. Peter 3:3. Jer. 4:30.
> d). Covetousness. Col. 3:5. I. Tim. 6:10-11
> e). Worldly Amusements. Titus 2:12. I. Pet. 4:3-4
> f). Sunday Desecration. Gen. 2:3. Exod. 20:8.
> g). Pride. James 4:6. I. Pet. 5:5."
> (Gingerich, 1972, 221)

It was up to the congregation to come to some agreement in each case as to what specific behaviour constituted any of these sins. Once such an agreement had been made, it became part of the discipline. The ordained men administered the community discipline, and often made interpretations of it, thereby setting community policy by example.

The Elder and the Forms of Social Control

Once the church discipline had been decided on by the general meeting of the brotherhood, it was the responsibility of the elder to enforce it. The elder had several means for carrying out his function as administrator of the discipline. First, he had the opportunity every

other Sunday to directly admonish the congregation about right living.
Sermons served as a way for the bishop to discuss matters of discipline
before the congregation, pointing out areas of nonconformity the church
felt important, and indicating the interpretation of the council of
ordained men on various issues. The elder would rarely settle matters
of the interpretation of the discipline himself; the Sunday meeting
would be a forum for the discussion of such matters. Once the inter-
pretation was announced, however, the elder himself would enforce it,
personally calling offenders to repentence.

When the elder saw clear evidence of transgression, he would
likely go first to the person involved and ask that he mend his ways.
In cases involving only trivial offences, the matter might be left
there. More serious offences demanded a confession of repentance and
a promise to amend behaviour before the elder. Generally the offender
was also required to sit on the front benches following such a con-
fession, though no public pronouncement was necessary. For matters of
more gravity, a public confession might be required. The offender in
this case would be required to publicly state before the congregation
the nature of his offence, and to ask for forgiveness, promising to
mend his ways. A member whose offence was grave, or who would not
repent when asked, would be forbidden communion by the elder. Finally an
offence could be so grave as to demand excommunication. In the tra-
ditional church, this meant the member was not only forbidden entry
to the service, but was also shunned by all believers. He was not to
share a meal at the same table as believers, nor were believers to
have any business or personal dealings with him, save to convince him
of his error and hope for his repentance. Such a man might be rein-
corporated into the faith on sincere repentance and confession. In the
Old Order, the ban and the shunning were strictly practised, while among
the congregations of the Western Ontario Conference, excommunication
generally was only practised in a religious setting, and then rarely.

The discipline generally made reference to sins in general, rather than in specific: *Terms* In one case, for instance, a group of young people were holding a barn dance, with musical instruments and dancing, in the barn of the farm beside that of the elder. It was late, and everyone assumed that the elder was asleep. Apparently, however, the noise of the party reached the ears of the bishop, who dressed formally and walked over to the barn. Once the young people saw the bishop, they stopped the party. In the silence of his presence, the elder announced that he would see all the young people on the front benches the next day. However, although dancing and musical instruments were forbidden, the elders were sometimes somewhat lenient with the young people, unofficially permitting them vanities that were forbidden to the married people.

Certain sins, such as fornication, adultery, or stealing were considered so serious as to merit immediate separation from the church. Repeated minor sins might also accumulate to the point at which the transgressor would be required to make public confession. In some cases, the transgressor might not acknowledge the severity of the problem, choosing to think himself in better graces with the elder than he actually was. On one occasion, a repeated minor offender appeared for communion. When the person came to the front to take the cup, the elder simply asked the person if he was in the right relationship to God to take communion. Such a challenge implied the answer, and the person simply left the service.

Because the rules were rather general, the elders did not make specific interpretations about them until the issue arose in the congregation. Thus an elder who noticed that a certain practice was becoming common within the congregation would debate its adoption, and decide for himself how he felt about it. If he approved, nothing would be said. If he did not, a specific ruling would be announced in the

sermon. Members who had adopted the innovation would then be expect-
ed to renounce it. Or the bishop might simply call someone forward
to answer for the adoption of some practice, making an example of them
for their worldliness and in the process, ruling against whatever the
offence was.

While the power of the elder in calling sinners to repentance
was considerable, he did not exercise his control like a martinet, He
was first of all expected himself to live an exemplary life. Often
the elder would overconform to the discipline, forbidding certain prac-
tices to himself that he would tolerate in members of the congregation.
He certainly lived up to the standards of the strictest of his fellow
members. The only power the elder actually had was the power of com-
munity opinion. He controlled the lifestyle of the congregation by
invoking a community standard. Should the elder himself fail to live
up to this standard, and be accused of being too worldly, he had no
answer. It was essential to the office that the elder listen to the
most conservative opinions, and represent them.

The elder therefore listened closely to the opinions of the in-
fluential members of the congregation. Usually these were the elder-
ly men, and through them, the elderly women. It was up to the bishop
to maintain the peace and unity of the congregation by not alienating
members through any ideological stand he might take. In this respect
the elder did not lead his congregation--he made sure first that the
discipline represented the will of the congregation, and then that the
interpretation of the discipline was followed by all members. The
elder actually mediated between the congregation and the wider commun-
ity, and was the focus for community opinion.

The formal evidence available to the members of the congregation
about the limits of permissible behaviour always came from the elder.
When the ordained men agreed on matters of church policy, there was no

division, even over contentious issues. There might be defection of in-
dividual members, but there could not be the formation of alternate opin-
ion into a faction without the faction being headed by an ordained man.
Individuals could not represent community policy. They were to be sub-
missive to the elder, and to obey and support him in all things. He was
the one person responsible for the discipline and through it, the salva-
tion of the congregation. He maintained the purity of the congregation
through discipleship. This left the brotherhood free from the task of
mutual criticism, able to practise the brotherhood that was the religious
ideal. In public, the individual was silent. Men that might make major
farming decisions without any advice would not think of speaking to pub-
lic issues. On matters of policy, it was the elder who spoke. He thus
actually had considerable influence as to what issues became matters of
discipline. If sufficient numbers of the members, however, felt some
matter was important, the elder usually would allow a formal discussion.
Thus the elder, in his role as public administrator, was actually more of
a politician than a bureaucrat, dealing with the desires of the congrega-
tion, and mediating potential disputes in the name of community policy.

Boundaries Around the Amish Community

The church discipline and the ideology behind it both enforced
separation on the Amish community. The community was not merely marked
as different from other communities, but it was also in various ways
closed off from the rest of Canadian society. This bounded nature of the
community was entirely self-generated in Canada. There was never any
persecution from the outside experienced by the Amish, nor any discrimi-
nation against them in matters of employment or any other form of oppor-
tunity. The Amish decided to be a separate people and enforced that sep-
aration in two ways. First, the people within the community were kept in
it, and second, those without were kept without.

People were kept within the community in several ways. First,
there was a well-defined criterion of membership in the community--those
who were baptised congregational members were part of the Amish brother-
hood, along with their children. Thus the "insiders"--those that kept
the community discipline--could be clearly recognized. Those that re-

fused to do so were excommunicated. By keeping the line between the in-
side and the outside clear, and the social sanctions against being out-
side strong, the elders kept members from drifting away to the outside.
Congregational identity was also marked by the special dress and hair
styles of the Amish, and could thus be experienced clearly by the congre-
gational members even outside the worship context.

Along with the well-defined boundary to the outside went specific
prohibitions on association with outsiders. There was very little social
mixing with non-Amish; visiting was to be within the brotherhood. While
neighbours did go to school together, Amish and non-Amish alike, the
Amish had little occasion to meet with other outsiders in any context
save the very impersonal one of buying and selling at the market. Those
few who did work in the local villages were involved in some farm-related
occupation, such as blacksmithing, or feed and seed selling. No Amish
went beyond grade eight in school, and the various professions that would
have taken them into a broader social context were closed off as a result.
No Amish were permitted to involve themselves in any way in politics.
The Amish not only would not run for office, they would not vote. The
fact of their rural nature was also important in their isolation. Being
farmers almost to a man, the Amish stayed at home and had little time for
frivolous entertainment. They were physically and socially removed from
meeting very different people. The commitment to farming also meant the
commitment to a physical area from which people were leaving, not one to
which outsiders were constantly coming. The Amish did not meet many new
people in their lives, and were thus not exposed to much outside influence.

The restrictions placed on the community in order to keep members
from defecting to the enticements of the outside were paralleled by var-
ious impediments to outsiders coming in. The church itself was closed to
outsiders, and did not welcome visitors. No evangelical campaign to
attract new members was practised. The distinctive customs of the wor-
ship service, and the use of the German language, would have made the
service strange to most outsiders.

Outsiders were not encouraged to join any of the Amish social occa-
sions, and the Amish themselves dealt with outsiders mainly through the

medium of the market. Market relations were impersonal, and mediated
with money, while internal relations were very personal and individual,
and were almost never mediated with money, but with conversation and real
communication. Outsiders were not drawn into this circle. Though the
Mennonites had a good reputation within the community, and were not dis-
criminated against directly, there was some feeling that they were differ-
ent and not a group one would want to join.

One important area of the maintenance of the boundary between the
Amish and the outside was in the area of marriage. The control of mar-
riage was a control of both the inside and outside of the boundary, for
by permitting marriage only to other Amish Mennonites, the church kept
the inside in and the outside out at the same time. The traditional rule
on marriage was that marriage was to be only between believers, and in
practice, only between those of the same fellowship. This meant that
marriage between an Amish Mennonite and a non-Mennonite meant excommunica-
tion for the couple. This practice was an article of the earliest dis-
cipline, and was codified in the local "Rules and Discipline" of even the
most liberal Amish group in 1925.

If one examines the actual pattern of marriages, it becomes clear
that the isolation of the Amish Mennonite community in terms of marriages
is marked. From about 1850 until 1925, the proportion of marriages be-
tween Amish Mennonites and non-Mennonites remains at about five percent.
(This material is summarized in Appendix K). Of those that actually
married outsiders, a few did bring the spouse into the Amish congregation.
This acquisition of spouses, however, took place mostly during the pioneer
period, ceasing around 1880. After that time, those marrying out of the
church usually left the church, and usually left the community at the same
time. The choice to marry out was accompanied by a similar choice not to
commit oneself to the ideology of the Amish group. In fact, it is possible
that the choice to reject the Amish ideology and practice came first, and
the marriage to the outsider came after. Even though the actual marriage
was part of the choice, and gave a public statement of it, it could well
have been simply the expression of decisions made before marriage. There
is some evidence to support this view in the pattern of marriages from the

period following 1940. From this time, those who married non-Mennonites
tended to leave the community and the farm, while those that remained
home and on the farm married locally within the church. Had people mar-
ried before working out their relationship to the community, one would
expect more non-Mennonites on farms. The very small number of non-
Mennonite spouses on the farm, and the much higher percentage of such
spouses in urban areas, suggests that the choice of lifestyle had been
substantially made before marriage. Perhaps one cannot generalize from
marriage patterns of the 1940's back to the period before 1900, but the
patterns are consistent with one another, and the relationships suggestive.
They receive further support from baptismal records. It seems that many
of those who marry spouses from a more progressive conference organiza-
tion have actually been baptised in one of the congregations of that con-
ference group first. Thus the commitment to the new conference group
came before marriage was being considered at all. Certainly the commit-
ment to marriage was viewed ideologically within the community as a
commitment to the productive and living styles of the Amish church, so
it was not surprising that marriage choice was an important step in a
life cycle, and was strictly controlled.

    The concern with boundaries to the outside was merely the reflect-
ing of the internal ideology of the necessity for purity in the Christian
life, and the general division in the cosmos between good and evil. The
structure of the boundary was merely the reverse of the internal organiza-
tion of the community. The Amish did not simply wish to get away from the
rest of Canadian society--they wanted to be different, and to maintain a
distinctively different life project. In order to maintain this project,
it was necessary to define clearly who was and was not involved in the
project, and to maintain the isolation of those involved so that attention
was concentrated on the project itself. Since the project was a total
life experience, it could not brook interference from outside influences.
The containment was particularly subtle, in that it was often not merely
the particular features of the outside that were shunned, but the very
organization of the outside experience. This was perhaps best seen in the
refusal to participate in war, politics, or law. For the Amish, all

these activities rested on the use of compulsion between men, and a sense of hierarchy and domination in social status. Committed to an egalitarian model of brotherhood, they would not involve themselves in any other form of human interaction. It is important that one see the Amish as trying to maintain not merely a particular set of customs simply as a venerable tradition, but a particular style of life and association. They had an ideal image of right living which they were trying to live out in practical terms. That image was both particular and general at the same time--particular in the sense that specific prohibitions for or against certain behaviours were invoked, general in the sense that the group would not involve itself in contexts in which different forms of relationship were the basis of association. This subtle sense of the form of relationship as well as its content was reflected in the way in which insiders were to approach one another through the personalized equality of the brotherhood, but outsiders were to be approached through the formal and impersonal, but still equal relationship of the market, and direct monetary exchange. One shared with one's neighbours and family, but one purchased services from the outside. What one did not do was involve oneself in any context in which relationships were not on an equal level.

Thus the boundary to the outside protected not merely a traditional lifestyle, nor a collection of ethnic traits, but a unified project to maintain a particular form of social interaction as normative. In the traditional project, however, the formal language through which this control was effected, and the descriptive language used to outline what was being controlled, were the same. It thus appeared (often to insiders as well as outsiders), that what was being controlled was simply a particular set of customs, and that the project of the group had simply collapsed into a dead and mindless set of rules for right living. This tension was built into the very nature of the community as having a project at all, and also found expression in the somewhat contradictory nature of the historical compromises in that project. When enough insiders believed that the project had collapsed, they revived it, but in a form quite different from that originally at the base of the community.

We have represented the social structure of traditional institu-
tions in the Amish Mennonite community as a particular accommodation of
the internal ambiguity of the ideal to the social context. We outlined
the ideal of creating a community in which there is reciprocal inter-
action enforced by rational means, and then showed how it affected the
internal traditions and boundary of the community. Within the community,
the religious ideal served as an ideal model, taking categories drawn
from production and reproduction, and giving them religious meaning.
Farming was a logical form of production, in that it could be routinized
in a form resembling the church discipline. The separation of types of
exchange echoed the religious ideal, and kept the internal organization
based on reciprocal interaction. Since the boundary could not be com-
pletely reciprocal, but had to deal with the outside, it was rationalized,
but controlled directly by the rules of the church discipline. The am-
biguous category of the individual is thus isolated from social experience
organized in rationalized terms.

This traditional organization did not resolve the inner tensions of
the ideal; it merely kept ambiguous categories away from evidence that
would tend to falsify the basic project. The particular compromise de-
pended on production being routinized, and on the tight boundary that
kept individuals inside. If either of these conditions were not met,
the ambiguous category would be exposed to rationalized experience. In
the next section, we shall examine a series of events in which external
rationalized experience was introduced into the community, in the form of
a new religious ideology.

The Coming of Revivalism

The first major change in community organization came with the
introduction of a new religious ideology, revivalism. Although revival-
ism arose outside the Mennonite church altogether, it was accepted by
the Amish Mennonites because it was relevant to the basic ambiguity of
the community ideal. Instead of insisting on the subordination of the
individual to the community, revivalism stressed the importance of the
personal conversion experience. From this experience would flow the rest
of Christian life. For the Amish Mennonites, revivalism represented an
alternative formulation of religious life within ideal categories. It
also renewed the spirit of communitas that had apparently been missing
in the community. As we shall see, however, the acceptance of revivalism
had unexpected consequences. The community split twice over the issue of
accepting various institutions based on revivalist ideology. In the pro-
cess, the boundary to the outside was redefined in those groups accepting
revivalist ideology. The acceptance of a new ideology, and the reformu-
lation of the boundary to the outside, changed the way in which community
members handled the ambiguity inherent in their ideal. When circum-
stances at the boundary changed after World War II, the groups that had
accepted revivalism faced new evidence that identified the category of
the individual with outside rational organization. This spelled the end
of the traditional Amish system of church discipline for these groups.

The Revival Issue

Revivalism became an issue for Ontario Mennonites during the lat-
ter years of the 1800's. Various renewal, revival, and utopian movements
arose in North America during the nineteenth century. (1) Mennonites be-
came involved with the revival movement later than other denominations;
the Amish Mennonites around Wellesley were later still in confronting the
revival issue. The debates over revivalism among the Amish, however,
were similar to those in other branches of the Mennonite church. In this
chapter, we will consider the first confrontations between revivalism
and traditional ideology, from the formation of the Old Order in the
1880's to the Sunday School movement in the early 1900's. In later
chapters, we will consider further revival confrontations in the 1940's,

and the 1970's.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to consider the history of
revivalism in North America outside the Mennonite church.
Summaries of the development of this movement may be found in Weisberger,
(1958), Mead (1963), and Clark (1948). Weisberger, for instance, docu-
ments the changes in the movement, from its first outbreak in the form
of spontaneous emotional possession to the high-pressure evangelical
campaigns of men like Dwight L. Moody. In the process, the new faith
challenged both the sedate, aristocratic forms of worship and an un-
compromising theology in which salvation was in the hands of God alone,
unknowable by the believer. What men like Moody offered was a simple
formula--only believe and accept salvation, and you are saved. This
straightforward theology, which expressed itself in an equally straight-
forward social system stressing personal holiness and mission work,
appealed, according to Weisburger, especially to rural people who had
recently migrated to the cities. These people came mostly as wage
labourers, but even though they earned their living in the city, they
had no other identification with it. It was impossible for them to
identify with the urban aristocracy, but they also found no home with
the immigrant poor. The revival faith offered them a new identity. The
new faith steered a middle course between the austere and complex re-
ligious forms of the aristocracy, and the apparent moral depravity of
the poor. It thus gave the new urban dweller, faced with making sense
of a new environment based on wage labour instead of farming, a focus
around which to organize and make sense of this new life.

Within the Mennonite churches, the revival made its impact first
in the United States. As church members brought the revival message to
the brethren, they felt the obligation to make their new convictions
widely known, through revival preachings, and evangelical meetings, and
publishing programmes. One of the first of these leaders was John H.
Oberholtzer, a Pennsylvania Mennonite minister. Though his theology was
Mennonite, and his overall style was an expression of both traditional and
innovative forms, he felt the church needed new methods to reach out. He
objected to the practice of the bishops, who would not sanction "English
preaching, Sunday schools, extra meetings for prayer and evangelism, better

relations with other denominations, involvement in community affairs,
changes in clothing styles." (Epp, 1974,137). Though his aim was to re-
vitalize the church, his impact was felt perhaps more in the area of
church organization than in the area of evangelism. While still within
the Conference in which he was ordained, he wrote a new constitution, in-
tended to clarify and regularize meetings, and guarantee a voice to dis-
senting minorities. (Epp, 1974,139). In the end, those subscribing to
the document were expelled from the Conference, and formed their own
group. Within the new body, Oberholtzer introduced Sunday schools, musi-
cal instruments, and a well-organized church government. He published
his ideas through both a religious periodical, which stirred missionary
interest, and the proceedings of the church council.

Oberholtzer's new group, which became known as the General Confer-
ence of the Mennonite Church of North America, attracted some attention
in Canada, but mostly in areas such as Niagara. In the early 1840's
Daniel Hoch of the Vineland area openly espoused the new revival faith.
Hoch had a strong evangelical interest which could not be reconciled with
the stand of the other ordained men in the Canadian church at the time.
He was expelled in 1849, and immediately joined Oberholtzer's group.
(Burkholder, 1935, 190). Hoch himself stayed in the General Conference
until his death, but many of his followers found the new group still
too traditional. Other leaders, however, arose in the period around
1850, with a strong evangelical emphasis that the church as a whole
was not prepared to tolerate. These men invited evangelists from the
United States to hold meetings in their communities, and the new move-
ment grew. The Canadian leader of this group was Solomon Eby, a minister
from Port Elgin, in Bruce County, where a small Mennonite settlement
had been established. He was instrumental in introducing an American,
Daniel Brenneman, to Canada. Brenneman was an eloquent preacher who
gave his sermons in English, and sang bass. These two men, with their
revival emphasis that stressed a highly emotional approach to worship,
and their independence, were expelled from their respective Conferences
in 1874 (Epp, 1974, 151). They joined with a number of small dissident
groups to form the Mennonite Brethren in Christ in 1883. This group
stressed evangelism and gathered converts in considerable numbers.

3-4

According to Burkholder,

> During the first quarter century of their history a major
> emphasis was given to experimental rather than doctrinal re-
> ligion. There was a free mingling in worship and work with
> the Holiness and Free Methodist people. Some of the members
> came to experience 'sanctification as a deeper work of grace.'
> The meetings often were noisy and sometimes disorderly.
> Later, however, more emphasis was given to faith and less to
> demonstration and the meetings now are conducted more sober-
> ly. Later in their history 'The Second Coming of Christ'
> was stressed and a few became almost fanatical on this
> teaching. Still later a few ministers began to teach that
> 'Speaking in Tongues' was an essential evidence of having
> received the Holy Ghost." (Burkholder, 1935, 194)

Certain members of the group in fact left and joined the Pentecostal
Church in the early 1900's. A number of the themes in the worship ex-
perience of this group appear in the modern Mennonite church.

The General Conference and the Mennonite Brethren, even though
they both arose from an interest in revival faith, were rather different
bodies. The General Conference was the more moderate group. They saw
themselves as renewing the Mennonite tradition through new methods. The
Mennonite Brethren, on the other hand, were more interested in exploring
the new "experimental" faith than in remaining true to old traditions.
In Canada, the General Conference attracted members mostly from the
Niagara area. Other congregations were founded when Dutch Mennonites
from Russia came to Canada in the 1920's. The Mennonite Brethren evan-
gelized widely in Ontario, and still maintain twenty congregations. They
have, however, moved away from the particularly Mennonite aspects of their
heritage, even to the extent of calling themselves today simply the
Brethren in Christ. Thus the two movements that split away from the
larger Mennonite church during the 1800's represented different approaches
to the acceptance of the revival impulse.

These two responses to the new faith were not, however, the only
ones within the church. There were two other important changes that took
place in the wider Mennonite community in Ontario. One of these was
the formation of the Old Order Mennonites; the other the reform movement
to accept the new faith within the Mennonite church itself. The forma-
tion of the Old Order congregations was a direct protest against the new

revivalism. These congregations aimed at reform of the church, but
through a stiffening of traditional forms and deliberate rejection of
any new faith. The reform movements within the church, however, intro-
duced some of the new revivalism into the traditions of the Mennonite
congregations. It is this later process that is especially interesting,
in that it is the form of social change among the Amish Mennonite con-
gregations studied in this thesis. It is significant that during the
arguments about revivalism, splits away from the main body of the Mennon-
ite church occurred in both directions--groups arose enthusiastically
interested in the new kind of religious expression, and others arose
violently opposed to it. It is this polarity we want to investigate in
detail in the split between Cedar Grove and Maple View congregations. In
order to complete this background summary of changes in the Mennonite
church as a whole, we must now turn to discussions of both the Old Order
groups and the reform movements within the church itself.

The Formation of the Old Order

Those members that eventually left the Mennonite church to found
evangelical and revivalistic congregations had a mirror image in those
who founded the Old Order. The first of these movements toward a more
traditional Mennonite religious and social life arose in an area in which
the full range of opinion about the revival issue was represented. In
the Goshen-Elkhart, Indiana area, the church leaders took up various
positions. Bishop Jacob Wisler represented the most conservative. There
was a quarrel between Wisler and Joseph Mohrer, an evangelical preacher
who finally left the Mennonite church altogether and joined the Evangel-
ical Church. In 1871, Wisler himself was expelled from the Conference--
the bishop performing the explusion, John F. Funk, was a key reformer
within the church, about whom more will be said later. Shortly there-
after, Daniel Brenneman, an opponent of Wisler, was also expelled. He
later founded the Mennonite Brethren in Christ. (See Epp, 1974, 260-1).
Thus we see how leaders who took public stands on the issue of revivalism
were intimately connected with one another. Their debates arose, and
their positions solidified, in the political process of plotting the fu-
ture direction of the congregations over which they had control.

3-6

Wisler's Old Order movement was centred in the United States,
but similar sentiments existed in Canada. Three bishops in the Mennon-
ite church expressed sympathy for the more traditional viewpoint, one in
each of the three traditional settlement areas. Problems came to a head
when one of these men refused to baptize thirty applicants who had been
converted in a revival meeting in 1885. Another bishop, however, did
accept these applicants for baptism. The church leadership was clearly
divided on the matter, and the bishop who refused to baptize the appli-
cants withdrew from the Conference in 1887. Efforts at reconciliation
were continued until 1889, at which time the split between the two groups
was finalized. Most of the members following the Old Order Mennonite
faction were in Woolwich Township of Waterloo County, though there were
small groups in Markham and Niagara. Further information on this split
and later developments within the Old Order Mennonites can be found in
Epp, 1974, Chapter 11, and Burkholder, 1935, 197-216.

The Mennonite Church in Ontario was not the only Anabaptist body
to suffer through a conservative split at this time. The Amish also
faced some of the issues of the new faith during the 1880's when an Old
Order Amish faction split away from the rest of the church Amish. The
Amish in both the United States and Canada had begun to deal with some
of the issues of internal Doctrinal change during the middle of the
1800's. From 1862 to 1878, a series of meetings of ordained men, called
Diener-Versammlungen, were held, in the United States to try to reconcile
differences in practice that had arisen among the various Amish groups.
Representatives from the Ontario congregations attended these meetings;
the Ontario Amish recognized their historical connections through faith
to other Amish groups. In 1865, this group drew up a discipline for the
guidance of members. The discipline contains eleven articles, each of
which deals with specific practices. Various practices, such as attend-
ance at fairs, wearing of gaily-coloured clothing or fashionable hair-
styles, possession of rubber raingear, stylish buggies, or brightly
coloured wall decorations, were forbidden. Members were not to serve in
"worldly offices," especially the military or police. Spiritual songs
and tunes, notes and fast tunes were all forbidden. (McGrath, Aylmer,

1966). The articles of the discipline reflect some of the problems
faced by the church at the time.

Even though the meetings continued until 1878, there was not
general agreement, and the Amish did not meet again after that time. In
Ontario, there was clearly difference of opinion over various issues,
though it is no longer possible to outline in detail what the contentious
issues were for this particular area. But during the 1880's, one issue
arose which led to an irreconcilable debate, and for the first time in
Canada, the Amish community split into two separate groups. These groups
were not merely separate new congregations, but parallel religious com-
munities. Members of one community did not participate in the worship
services of the other, and different forms of religious and social life
were set up in each group.

The church split of the 1880's seems to have been focused around
the issues of meeting houses. Certain church members wanted the com-
munity to build meeting houses for worship and cease the custom of meet-
ing in homes. Others opposed the move on the grounds that meeting houses
reflected a worldly custom. At the time, a small shed had been built by
the graveyard in the Wellesley area, for use at funeral services during
inclement weather. Having to deal with specifics like this often forced
the community to formulate policy, and perhaps this process occurred
around the issue of the funeral shed. Church members in the south gen-
erally favoured the building of meeting houses, as did their leaders.
Opinion in the northern part of the Amish community, however, was divided.
Several of the ordained men opposed the building of meeting houses;
these men formed the nucleus of a group that separated from the larger
Amish body over the issue. A few individual families from the south
joined the northern splinter group. These families sold land in the
south and moved north, as it was not practical to make the thirty-mile
buggy ride to church every other Sunday. The faction that continued to
meet in homes became the Old Order Amish. In the beginning, they had no
bishop to minister to them, and consequently they sent to the nearest
Amish settlement in the United States when they needed the services of
the bishop. This community was in Holmes County, Ohio, and the Old Order

Amish were known locally as the "Holmesers" which might also have been a pun on their place of worship.

The split did not, however, make much difference in the lifestyles of the two groups at the time. Those congregations that did erect meeting houses continued in the pattern of church discipline common to both groups, and did not immediately adopt outside customs unacceptable to the Old Order people. The Old Order members maintained their membership in the Fire and Storm Aid Union. The Old Order did become an endogamous community, and was separate in church affairs.

The most significant difference between the two groups seems to have been the symbolic importance of building a meeting house. The construction of a special place for worship outside the home separated church life from the rest of social life for some people. Gingerich comments that the Old Order refused to make any separation between sacred and secular life:

> "In Amish society there was no sharp dichotomy between the sacred and the secular. Planting and harvesting was as sacred in its way as singing and praying." (Gingerich, 1972, 76)

In particular, the Old Order refused to allow any separation between farming and religious life. They retained the ideology that the church congregation was the one forum for settling all matters of lifestyle. By insisting on this, the Old Order Amish retained church control over technological change, containing innovation within a religious context. To this day, the Old Order Amish still use horses as the only power source in the fields. Although they do allow stationary gasoline engines in the barns, they will not permit electricity or electric motors for farm work.

Those groups that did allow meeting houses, whose history we will follow in more detail, apparently never again made any issue of technological change, at least in the farming context. New farm methods and machines were accepted on an individual basis; the church simply had nothing to say about them. Though it is difficult to see how meeting houses themselves could be an issue around which the issue of technological change might be focused, it is not hard to see that behind this specific issue was the more general issue of the place of religious control over social life. The Old Order, in choosing to retain rigid church

control, thus made every innovation, including that of technology, a
religious issue. Those that rejected the Old Order position were left
with the problem of formulating their own new position. Since their
congregations were separate, their programmes could not overlap. The Old
Order had taken a stance for total church control; therefore, the other
group made different plans. When technological innovation became an
issue for the Old Order, it thus became a non-issue for the others.

The Issue of Sunday School

Even if the debates over modern farm technology never again became
an issue for the church Amish after the debate over meeting houses, the
issue of revival faith for all the members of the church Amish was still
not settled. Certain features of the new revival faith were contentious
among the church Amish. Much of the new preaching was in English, not
German, a move that suggested that the older Mennonite heritage was being
ignored. The evangelical appeal stressed the certainty of personal
salvation as the key Christian experience. The older Amish theology
suggested that while a man might hope for salvation, the final decision
was in the hands of God alone. All a good Christian might say about his
spiritual state was that he hoped God had given this gift to him.
Those that suggested that they knew they had been saved seemed presumpt-
uous in the eyes of the more traditional. The emotional appeal of the
revival conversion, and the spontaneous emotion associated with revival
meetings made the entire endeavour suspect in the eyes of more sober
worshipers. For a people that had stressed the necessity of turning
one's back on the rest of the world, the new emphasis on conversion
through mission work was contradictory. And finally, and perhaps most
important, the issue of Sunday school focused many of the objections
the more traditional Amish had toward the revival faith.

Among those who promoted the Sunday school, and the other innova-
tions associated with revivalism, was the Indiana bishop John H. Funk.
Convinced that the Mennonite church needed reform from within, he embark-
ed on a vigorous publishing programme to promote the new faith. He
began to publish a monthly paper, one edition in German and an almost
identical one in English, in 1864. Through these he promoted evangelis-
tic meetings, missionary projects, the formation of a general conference

in the old Mennonite church, and Sunday school. He also embarked on a
book publishing campaign, printing 118 titles in 44 years, in both English
and German. (Epp, 1974, 243). Though deeply influenced by D.L. Moody,
and convinced that Moody's message was essential for the Mennonite church,
he still maintained a Mennonite stance, preaching pacifism and the reviv-
al of the Mennonite heritage. Twenty-four of his books were reprints of
Anabaptist sources. (Epp, 1974, 243). Influential as these publications
were, perhaps the greatest impact made by Funk came through his Sunday
school materials. They offered Bible study from the point of view of the
revival faith, and as they became the main study aid in Mennonite Sunday
schools, they were an effective channel for the promotion of new religious
ideas.

The idea of Sunday school had found popularity in Ontario as early
as 1841 in the Kitchener Mennonite church (Burkholder, 1935, 76). But
opposition to the innovations by the more conservative meant that the new
institution did not flourish until much later in the 1800's. One of
the reasons that such conservative brethren did accept the Sunday school
was the abolishment of German schools. There were several German schools
in the Waterloo county system before 1900, including one in Wellesley
village. There was also, however, opposition to them, and all were
finally closed, amidst considerable resistance by urban, non-Mennonite
Germans, in the early part of this century. (see McKegney, n.d.). Even
though the Wellesley area itself was not threatened with the loss
of German to the same extent as other parts of the church Amish settle-
ment region, in that German Lutherans and Catholics made up a consider-
able part of the non-Mennonite population of the Wellesley area, it was
not clear how children would be taught to read and write German.
Those that wished to avoid adopting not merely the English language, but
also the worldly ways of the non-Mennonites around them, could accept
the German instruction in the Sunday schools.

Along with the Sunday schools went the revival efforts of various
Mennonite evangelists from the United States. Within the Mennonite
church, as opposed to the Amish, one reason for the emphasis on evangel-
ism at home was the declining number of young people attending Mennonite

services. At the conference of the Mennonite church in 1890, one of the men noted that there were many young people outside the church who ought to be gathered in. The body agreed to ask J.S. Coffman, an associate of Funk's, to hold revival meetings. He came twice, in 1891 and 1892, and added many of the young people to the church. Having sparked their interest through revival preaching, the church was obliged to hold these young people through the Sunday school. (Burkholder, 1935, 162-3). Other revivals were held in 1904 and 1905 by A.D.Wenger, who offered fifteen series of meetings in Ontario.

Once Sunday school had been established in the Ontario Mennonite churches, it spread quickly after the Old Order Mennonites split away in 1889. The first Sunday school conference was held in 1890. (Burkholder, 1935, 159). The ordained men of the church were still wary of the new institution, and wished to maintain some control over it. Laymen participated actively in the Sunday schools, reading and interpreting the scriptures, and it was felt that some sort of instruction for Sunday school leaders would be appropriate. Thus in 1899 the first Bible conference was held among Ontario Mennonites. It was aimed especially at the young people who had been gathered in by the new revival. (Burkholder, 1935, 246). Out of this Bible conference grew the Ontario Mennonite Bible School in 1907. (Epp, 1974, 246).

Among the Amish, the new institution of Sunday school was accepted more slowly. It does not seem that the issue of Sunday school was specifically part of the debate that created the Old Order, but several of the congregations of the church Amish in the south adopted Sunday school in the early part of this century. The first Sunday schools were established in East Zorra and Poole, both in 1903. In East Zorra, the Sunday school alternated with the preaching service. At Poole, the group had Sunday school and preaching services every Sunday, with both mostly in German. But from the beginning this congregation used the lesson helps published by John Funk. The Wilmot congregation established a Sunday school in 1906; at first, it was in German, and dealt only with the New Testament, but soon after it was in English, and used the lesson guides published by Funk. Young people's meetings were held at this congregation in the evenings--these were mostly in English. (Bender, 1935).

3-12

The congregations in the south had also accepted the newer songs
of the revival tradition. The old Amish hymnal is the Ausbund, a collec-
tion of song texts written by Anabaptist martyrs. But around 1900, some
of the church Amish adopted another hymnal, the Unparteiische Lieder-
sammlung (Nondenominational Song Book). It had newer tunes, and faster
hymns. It had been used in the singing by young people, but became a
part of the adult worship service only at this time. Between 1910-1915,
all the church Amish adopted the new Lieder and Melodien, which contained
four-part harmony indicated by notes on staves, and had an English appen-
dix.

In the northern part of the Amish settlement area, however, the
process of adoption of the Sunday school and the new hymnal was not with-
out conflict. The Mornington congregation was divided in its acceptance
of the new innovations, and a church split took place in 1903. The
bishop, and one minister and deacon, left the old group to found their
own congregation. They retained the Ausbund, did not adopt the Sunday
school, and generally retained a more conservative tradition. Although
this congregation was not affiliated with any Amish or Mennonite confer-
ence at the time, it has since become known as a Beachy Amish group,
identifying itself with similar Amish Mennonite groups arising in the
United States.

The argument used to promote the revivalistic cause and the Sunday
school was that the church was losing young people to the outside, and
that the new revivalistic faith would help retain these people. Evidence
suggests that in some areas in Ontario defections of young people amounted
to a loss of between 60 to 70 percent of the third generation descendents
of original Mennonite families (Epp, 1974, 234). The area around Welles-
ley, however, was not afflicted with this kind of loss. There was no
significant rise in the number of people leaving the church during the
period from 1860 to 1910. Almost all young people married local Amish
Mennonites and remained in the area. The following table lists the num-
bers of people married in the ten-year periods from 1860 to 1910, and
their residence. By far the largest number remained; a few families mar-
ried in the period from 1860-70 left for the United States during the
1880's. Only a very few married outside the church.

3-13

	Married Local Amish Spouse	Married Amish Spouse, Emigrated to U.S.A.	Married Non-Amish Spouse
1860-69	8	6	0
1870-79	6	1	0
1880-89	19	2	2
1890-99	16	1	0
1900-09	24	3	1
	73	13	3

These figures, taken from genealogies of Amish Mennonites in the Wellesley area, suggest that other factors must account for the spread of the new revival faith, and the institution of Sunday school, in the Wellesley area. The community did not adopt the new revivalism to retain young people--traditional church practices were successful in this regard. Yet it was the young people in the congregations around Wellesley who were most involved in the revival movement.

We have already mentioned the marginal place of young people in the church. Although members, they were not listened to in matters of discipline. Young people, however, did have the time to develop inter-personal ties outside the farm, and visited in the southern part of the Conference area. Here, where Sunday school was more easily accepted, they had experience with revivalism as individuals. The revival programme gave them a theological base for their own sense of religious value. The community of young people involved in the revival faith was distinctive--members refused to smoke or drink, kept the rules of the discipline scrupulously, and spoke of religious matters as the most important aspect of their lives. Thus the new revival faith offered the young people a religious identity that had been missing in the traditional church.

For the older people, however, this new group of young people with their lifestyle more tightly disciplined than that of their elders, were confusing. Smoking and drinking in moderation were permissible in the traditional congregations; the young people who refused to engage in these practices, and claimed to have an important religious insight challenged their elders. It was impossible simply to condemn the young people for worldliness and say they were indulging their individuality

and sinful nature. Few older people had the same experiences as the
young people, and thus they were perplexed by them.

Other issues were debated in the church at that time. The period
from 1900 to 1910 was one of rising prosperity, after a number of lean years.
With increased wealth, community members could purchase goods from the out-
side. Individual purchases threatened the tight boundary that kept individ-
uals from unique activities. There were several arguments phrased in
terms of the acceptability of innovations.

Faced with these issues, certain community members tried to harden
the discipline. This group attempted to close the boundary between itself
and the "world" and in the process,to eliminate the revivalist faith. This
group retained Amish traditions,maintaining the subordinate position of
young people and the old definitions of individual and the boundary. Al-
though the group allowed the introduction of farm machinery in the 1940's,
no religious change took place in the group until the 1970's

There were thus two groups within the Wellesley congregation,each with
its own understanding of the issue of Sunday school. The more conservative
group had fewer ties to the southern section of settlement,and less personal
involvement with revivalism. They interpreted the emphasis on individuals
in revivalism as contrary to church discipline. The other group promoted
revivalism on the basis of personal experience. For them, revivalism offer-
ed a much richer personal religious experience,and a new sense of communitas,
that was not available in the traditional church service. Given this lack
of understanding, a conflict was bound to occur.

The Cedar Grove Split

The actual split within the Wellesley congregation of the church Amish
took place in 1910. There were apparently three types of issues involved in
the split. The first of these concerned Sunday school and the new hymnal.
There were also issues of lifestyle outside the church itself, and there
were leadership issues. We will deal with the material on the split in this
section, and then follow it with a summary of the implications of the split
for the two church communities that emerged after it.

We have already mentioned that the Sunday school issue was crucial in
a number of debates within the Mennonite churches in Ontario before 1900.
While no church members had objections to increased Bible study, there was
considerable uneasiness about introducing a new form of religious expres-
expression into the congregational worship services. There were essen-

tially two reasons for this. For the general congregation, the Sunday
school was identified with the new revival movement, which a number of
older church members were not ready to accept. The Sunday school was
viewed by both those who favoured it and those who opposed it as the
avenue of entry for the new revival programme into the church. Those
favouring the innovation were anxious to use the Sunday school as a
platform to propagate their new religious views. Since many of the
Sunday school supporters were younger people, the more conservative
elders were uncomfortable with the proposed change. It did not seem
appropriate to them that young people would be carrying the spiritual
message of the church.

For the ordained men, however, the Sunday school constituted not
only a forum for the teaching of the revival faith, but also a rearrange-
ment of the leadership patterns of the local congregation. In the Sunday
school, laymen publicly expounded on the scriptures. Up to the time of
the introduction of Sunday school, only the ordained men made such public
commentary. Among the ordained men, who saw their station as one concern-
ed with preserving the tradition of the church, the change in church
structure implied in the Sunday school was of uncertain value. Already
in Canada, the new revival faith had put the ordained men of the congre-
gations into a new position. Before the revival movement, the ordained
men were the only spiritual guides for the group. But the revival move-
ment, with its main impetus and leadership coming from the United States,
brought with it the outside evangelist. Dynamic preachers travelled to
Ontario and instituted mass meetings with a tone very different from
that of the local worship services. Though the evangelists themselves
agreed that revival was not the whole of church life but only a means to
introduce people to the life of the church, the local worship services
looked very different to new converts convinced in revival meetings. In
all this, the local ordained men were cast in the role of preservers of
tradition. Thus when some of the younger people agitated to introduce
Sunday school, and thus to provide some of the evangelical appeal that
had won them to the church in the first place, the ordained men were un-
certain how this would affect their standing in the congregations. Sunday

3-16

school leaders were elected from the congregation by nomination and vote,
not chosen by lot. To a conservative bishop, the new innovation looked
suspicious.

The adoption of the new hymnal also introduced the new revival
faith into the worship service and the local community. The new hymnal
suggested by the progressives had not only fast tunes and revival hymns
in it, but also an English appendix. The older hymnals had only the words,
with no music. Hymns were sung in unison. The new hymnal, however, had
four-part harmony in staves with shape notes. The older hymns were com-
pos   by Anabaptists, while the new hymns were mostly written by non-
Mennonites.

In the church-related issues of the Sunday school and the new hymn-
al, a number of other themes emerged. First there was the polarity be-
tween the local traditions and the outside. The outside in this case was
represented by the new revival faith and its institutions. Not only were
these foreign to the local Amish Mennonite community, but the proponents
of them looked to the outside for guidance--outside the local area, and
outside the Amish tradition. Another theme was the polarity of the two
faiths represented by the different cultures--a faith based on discipline,
and one based on the new religious experience of salvation. The local
community represented not only the Amish tradition of local church control
and sober worship, but also a theology based on the concept of discipline
founded in a community. The new revival faith stressed instead individual
salvation, and looked widely for its dynamic leaders. The particular
historical debates of the period centred around these three structural
alternatives;

> local versus outside forms of church organization/worship
> discipline versus salvation as the core of theology
> community versus individual as the locus of spiritual interest.

In addition to the doctrinal issues that led to the church split,
there were several issues concerned with lifestyle. A number of women had
expressed the desire to wear coats instead of the required shawl, as in-
creased protection against the cold. A number of men wished to wear caps
with brims only in front, instead of the Amish hat, with its wide brim all

around. Perhaps the most important of these issues, however, was that
of the telephone. At the time, telephones were a new innovation in the
community. A Wellesley physician apparently set up the first lines to
ease his own travelling. He bore the initial expense of the phone
lines, and hired someone in town to work the switchboard. The first
line ran west from Wellesley to the small settlement of Kingwood. When
the doctor was in that area, he could stop off and see if any other
calls had come in for him; thus he did not have to drive all the way
back to town, only to find he was needed a few farms away from the place
he had just left. The doctor rented out the phone lines to others who
wished to use the service themselves. Local Amishmen saw the system
installed and heard it in use. Some wished to have a telephone but many
did not understand the principle involved. Some felt it was diabolical
to have voices sounding from nowhere. Others simply felt it was an in-
novation that was wrong for the Amish community.

The underlying issues finding expression in the debates about
telephones, shawls and caps involved the ways in which members of the
Amish community were related to outsiders. Shawls and the Amish hats
were distinctive signs of the separateness of the Amish--calling them
into question meant blurring the sharp boundary between the Amish and
the rest of Canadian society. Hooking into the phone system meant
making the outside directly available to the Amish, instead of having
contact mediated through the ordained men. Thus the issues of lifestyle
also centred on the distinctions between tradition and the outside,
and the community and the individual. Those that wanted to identify with
the outside were saying that the distinctive Amish traditions of sep-
aration from the world, church discipline, and the domination of the
community over the individual no longer contained the core of the cen-
tral community project. For them, it was no longer Amish to identify
with the particular solution of a logical and historical problem that
had guided the community up to this time.

We must finally consider certain issues concerned with the leader-
ship in the community. The elder of the congregation was a strict man.
His aim was apparently to leave the church exactly as he had found it.

(Gingerich, 1972,82). His unbending attitude was seen as overly conserv-
ative by some of the ordained and laymen alike, especially in that other
congregations had accepted the Sunday school and new hymnal some years
before. Though the elder himself could not be faulted in his strict
interpretation of his ordained station, his unbending approach led to the
polarization of opinions that could not be reconciled. The difficulties
that resulted in the split of 1911, which arose partly from the strict
interpretation of the elder's role were to rise up again and again for
each of the elders in the Wellesley community. The man who interpreted
his role very strictly ran the risk of polarizing any opposition. Those
elders who, on the other hand, tended to a more liberal interpretation of
their office allowed individuals to gradually take on more and more of
the responsibility for their own salvation through the new faith, and to
involve themselves with the outside directly, rather than through the
mediation of the church. In the face of the individualistic alternative,
in the form of the new revival faith, the role of the elder became more
and more difficult to manage.

The political polarization of the community that attended the
strict definition of the elder's role led to agitation by the followers
of the revival faith for representatives in the public life of the com-
munity. The Sunday school was one institution that allowed proponents of
the new faith a public platform for their views. But there was also some
desire to have ordained representatives, who might sit within the councils
of those who actually determined community policy. The matter of ordina-
tions within the Amish community is difficult to explore. There seem to
be a few formal rules beyond those already outlined concerning who might
be ordained, how this took place, and at what times. If one examines
the actual ordinations that did take place, however, a cultural pattern
seems to emerge. This material is summarized in Appendix H. What is
important for this discussion of the church split in Wellesley is that
the church offices had been filled shortly before, and there were con-
sequently no vacancies likely to appear. Neither the conservative nor
progressive factions could elect a representative. This matter is worth
pursuing in some detail.

3-19

Within the Wellesley congregation, the number of ordained men in the offices of deacon and minister began to drop after 1890 and the Old Order split. Before that time, the Wellesley congregation had maintained one bishop, two ministers, and two deacons. But during the period from 1890 to 1910, the numbers of ordained men fell to one bishop, and 1.2 ministers and deacons on the average. (see Appendix H). The Wellesley congregation ordained a new deacon in 1890, to replace the man who went with the Old Order. On his election to minister in 1897, another deacon was ordained to replace him. That left the congregation with a bishop, two ministers, and a deacon. In 1901, the bishop died, and the younger minister was chosen by lot to succeed to the office of bishop. This left the congregation with one man in each of the offices of the church. The oldest man among these, the minister, continued to serve the church until 1928; the two younger men served until the 1940's (though in the Beachy Amish congregation). Thus in 1910 no new ordinations were likely in the Wellesley congregation for some years. If either the progressive or conservative group was to elect new representatives to the council of the ordained men, a new set of offices had to be created. After the split, two deacons were elected in 1914 to assist the minister at Maple View; at the Beachy Amish church, a deacon was added in 1913, and a minister and a deacon in 1916. Thus five new men were ordained in the years immediately following the split.

The actual course of the debates about these various issues has been forgotten. Apparently each side stated its position in more and more intransigent ways, so that eventually it was concluded that a split was the only possible course of action. The bishop and the deacon in the congregation sided with the more conservative faction; the minister, who at the time was the senior ordained man, remained with the more progressive group. The Beachy Amish congregation built its own building over the hill and across the road, about one-half mile away. The actual announcement of the split occurred at a highly emotional meeting, according to one witness. There were apparently no personal recriminations involved, but each side stood firm on its conscience. To this day the split is considered an unfortunate event, one about which it is not easy to talk ob-

jectively.

After the 1911 schism, the Wellesley community consisted of two parts, each with a different project. The more conservative group chose to maintain the traditions of church discipline, and although this group did accept modern farming practices, in many ways there was no major change in the community ideology until the 1970's. The more progressive group, however, took up the challenge to reformulate their traditions so as to include the revival faith. Much of the rest of the history of this group, on which we shall concentrate, can be seen as an attempt to develop a new system of religious control.

The progress of the schism shows clearly the way in which the community appropriated the outside religious ideology into an internal area of ambiguity in the community. The issue for the Amish was the place of the individual within the community; revivalism became an issue because it addressed this ambiguity. The two groups involved in the schism each represented one possible response to the question of the place of the individual. The impact of the revival issue on the Amish was in proportion to the ambiguity about the place of the individual. This ambiguity was not merely an issue of specific lifestyle, nor of the Amish tradition, but also of the very structure of the discipline as a controlling ideology. The church discipline in the issue of revivalism faced an issue grounded in the experience of people as individuals, who chose to explain their experience strategically instead of within the discipline.

Thus the issues of the schism of 1911 were actually being argued at three levels. The first of these was the level of the specific innovations. The second involved the ambiguity of the individual as a traditional problem for the Amish. For the conservatives, the new faith seemed a worldly innovation. They enforced the old discipline and in the process, left the more progressive faction with a problem. In that the conservatives played down the importance of the individual, the progressives found themselves playing it up. The progressives were thus in a position of espousing the incorporation of a theology that seemed opposed to the basic Amish religious ideology. The new theology stressed personal

conversion as the key to the faith, not discipline. This conversion was
an event in history, that led to further change and development for the
individual. Thus the new faith was much more historical than the old,
and the progressive faction, in having to deal with this problem, also
more historical. It had to work out a compromise, essentially a problem
of changing, while the conservative faction simply remained the same.

The progressives actually solved its problem at the third level.
They maintained that what they were doing was actually realizing the
original Anabaptist vision of right Christian living, though the
Wellesley Amish Mennonites did not phrase their argument in these terms.
They maintained that the project of the community could not be identi-
fied with the outward lifestyle of the community members, but could only
be found in the inner attitudes and motives of believers. For them,
what was being controlled was not behaviour, but the motives behind it.
This was a compelling synthesis of Amish tradition and the new theology.
In both the individual was the locus of religious interest; in both,
the individual was ambiguous. The revival faith was simply understood
as an alternative form of the basic project of Christian life.

Thus both groups polarized around the ambiguity of the individual.
The progressive faction, however, left itself some future problems.
First, there was a need to develop religious institutions based on
the revival ideology. The Sunday school was the most important of
these at the level of the congregation; in the next chapter, we will
see the development of the church conference was another such pro-
gramme. Once such institutions were developed, however, there was a
need to integrate them into the older traditions of religious life.
This became a much more difficult project, as the basic forms of the
religious ideologies were different. The attempts to make the recon-
ciliation between the system of church discipline and the revival pro-
gramme brought up again the ambiguity of the individual. For the
Wellesley congregations, the issue became that of who was to define
the limits of individual behaviour--the church, or the person?

The Impact of Revivalism

Those congregations that accepted the Sunday school, and with it at least some public commitment to the revival ideology, were faced with the problem of integrating new religious ideals and institutions into the existing traditions. These groups had to work out a position between the Beachy Amish, whose stance was too conservative, and the non-Amish, who were too "worldly." People in these groups needed to formulate new religious organizations responsive to the demands of the new faith, and yet still integrated into existing institutions. This creative endeavour was partly an exploration in the implications of the new faith within the community, and partly an adjustment of religious traditions in the face of external changes. This chapter and the next document some of the internal adjustments in the church during the period from 1912 to 1955. Following that we will consider outside changes that affected the community during the 1940's and 1950's.

Those espousing the revival ideology in the beginning were clearly in the minority, at least in the northern part of the Amish settlement area. The ordained men remained committed to the older traditions of worship; the elders especially were caught in a dilemma concerning revivalism, as they felt themselves responsible for the community's salvation. Those interested in revivalism insisted that responsibility for salvation was personal. The role of the elder was based on the position that the elder was sole mediator between the community and the outside in matters of lifestyle. As long as there were elders in the congregations, they tried to define both lifestyle and faith for the community. This brought them into conflict with strong revivalists. Most of the people in the congregations, however, were slow to accept any innovation, and were more or less satisfied with the older

forms of worship. For them, the Sunday school was modification enough.

Not everyone was interested, either, in the new religious prac-
tices. It seems as if those most concerned in the Maple View congrega-
tion formed a small group of young people, who met together to express
their convictions. The conversion experience stood at the heart of
criteria for membership in this group. After having this experience,
the person would meet with others who had similar experiences for Bible
study and group fellowship, and support in living out the new faith.
This group of young people, for instance, abstained from both drinking
and smoking, which were permitted at the time by the church rules. They
felt that those who indulged in such practices were not really express-
ing a Christian lifestyle. At the time, apparently many people made
light wine in their homes, and a small glass would be set out for visit-
ors. This would be refused by those involved in the revival groups.
Other young people in the church apparently set up or attended barn
dances, which although forbidden by the church, were held anyway. The
revival groups avoided these also, finding social contact in their
religious activities. They attended revival meetings together when
these were available.

The minority group did not have as much influence over the organi-
zation of the church as it might have liked. Though members felt they
were living a genuine Christian life without compromise, and were very
strict on themselves regarding the transgression of their own rules, they
did not succeed in immediately changing church policy, nor in getting a
substantial voice in its formation. Smoking and drinking continued
among church members at Maple View until at least the 1940's, though it
must have stopped rather earlier in the southern congregations. One man
who moved up from the south commented that he was shocked at the amount
of drinking that went on when he first arrived in the 1940's. Members
of the revival group apparently felt that because of their strictness,
they should have a stronger voice in church affairs. One man comments
that he approached the bishop as a young man in the 1920's, suggesting
that the man was taking too liberal a stand on a matter of church dis-
cipline. The bishop would not change, whereupon the man suggested that
the bishop listened only to the older men, who sat in the front benches

of the church. These men drank, smoked and went to fairs, all activi-
ties of which the church nominally disapproved, but permitted in prac-
tice. The younger people did none of these things, yet when the bishop
wanted testimony after a sermon, he looked to the front benches only,
and in church meetings, he counted only the votes from the older men.
It took some time to work the policies of the new revival faith into
church structure.

During the period from 1912 to 1955 there were, however, some
changes in church organization under the pressure of the new faith, to
which we now turn. There were two periods of religious dynamism within
these years: one from about 1912 to 1930, and the other during the early
part of the 1940's. In the first of these periods, the Amish Mennonite
congregations that had accepted Sunday school set up two Conferences--
the one for the Sunday school, and the other for the church itself. The
first missionaries were sent out. The minority revival position made
itself known through its position on lifestyle issues, its emphasis on
revival meetings, and its interest in new forms of music in the church.
During the second period, young people were also centrally involved in
new forms of spiritual activity such as Bible study and missions work,
English preaching entered the service, and there was a considerable ex-
pansion in the programme of the church. These programmes were sufficient-
ly successful that by the middle 1950's the new revival faith had estab-
lished itself as the rising alternative to the old emphasis on church
discipline, and had a firm institutional grounding in the community.
We now turn to a fuller description of these changes.

The Beginnings of Mission Work

One of the important features of the new faith was the implied
mission to spread the news of salvation. The salvation experience was
not merely for the individual, but something to be spread to others. The
Mennonite church in general has not had a history of missionary work.
After the first evangelical outreach of the Anabaptists, persecution and
migration, in combination with the separatist theology of the group,
closed off missionary efforts. These efforts were not renewed in the
Mennonite church as a whole until after the new revival faith had taken

hold, during the latter part of the nineteenth century. For the Amish Mennonite community in Ontario, mission work was not started until after the debates about the new faith had run their course. Once the Sunday School, an institution symbolic of the new approach to religion, was accepted, a missions programme began among those churches that had accepted the innovation.

One of the first of these mission efforts was actually directed at the local area, rather than the foreign mission field that held such a glamourous appeal for so many groups. Started in a small town in the southern part of the settlement area in 1913, the purpose of the mission was to reach the unchurched in that area, as well as to unite the revival efforts of both Amish and Mennonites in the area. The founder of the mission had been strongly influenced by the new revival faith, and also Pentecostalism. His personal mission did not receive wide support from church leaders, but it did have an impact, in that those convinced by the message of the new revival faith found a meeting place in it. The man encouraged mission work in the local area, and at least one of the people influenced by the mission later became an influential Sunday school superintendent. (Gingerich, 1972, 90-96).

Revival services held in centres such as this mission church stressed not only the need for personal salvation, but also the application of the conversion to lifestyle. Among other things, mission work was stressed. One young man from the southern part of the conference, convinced he was called to mission work, attended Bible school in Chicago in 1918, and with his wife served as missionaries in the area of Youngstown, Ohio. After that mission closed, they volunteered to do mission work in South America, and he was finally ordained in 1924. (Gingerich, 1972, 100-101).

In 1925 another couple joined them in South America, the husband being the brother of the wife of the first missionary. This man was in many ways the champion of the new revival movement in the area for many years. A man of conviction, with speaking talent, he established the respectability of the new revival faith for many people in the conference. His first conversion had come in the small mission mentioned earlier. At the time he left to do mission work, there was considerable debate

about the propriety of his action. He claimed he was certain of his
salvation, and that he was called to mission work. The ordained men
in the area were, however, uncertain about both claims. At the time,
the Amish theology was that one might hope for salvation, but that it
was a gift from God, and not something one might be certain about. To
claim that one was certain about it was to be vain. Because mission
work was not in favour, the claim that one was called to do missions
work was also suspect. There was a heated dispute over these issues in
the local congregation. The missionary couples had their supporters,
too; both men had been proposed as deacons, and had apparently received
votes from the congregation at their nomination. (Gingerich, 1972, 101).
In the end, the church leaders seemed to feel that even though the
couples were young and rather too progressive for the congregations, it
was better to send them with the church's blessing.

These two couples were successful missionaries in Argentina, but
they continued to have considerable impact in their home area too. They
had not only embraced the new faith in words, they had decided to live
out a lifestyle that broadcast their new commitment for all to see. The
man who went in 1925 visited Canada frequently, and his dynamic preaching
converted many young men who later became church leaders. He became the
man to whom those involved in the new revival faith could point as an
example of a good Amishman who was also serious about revival. He
taught in Bible schools while on leave, and through this teaching, reach-
ed other young people with the message of the new faith. The mission
effort started at this time also continued, though foreign missions were
not staffed by local people for some time. The conference started a
missions committee in 1925, mainly to collect funds for missions efforts.
(Gingerich, 1972, 102).

The impact these two missionary couples had on the rest of the
conference members illustrates two interesting themes. The first is
that conference ties were important in mediating the process of social
change. In that all the congregations were made one by the conference,
all the members could point to the missionaries as "one of us." A man
willing to take a stand could serve as a model for all the conference
congregations, not merely the one from which he came. Beyond the impor-

tance of conference ties, however, is the importance of having a leader
for the new movement. The missionary couples were living out the im-
plications of their faith, but it was not an idiosyncratic project.
This faith was shared widely, especially by the young people in the
conference, who before this time had no leader to identify with in their
midst. Though the personal conviction may have been stronger for the
missionaries, it was the kind of conviction that others had at the same
time. It thus became possible to see what the new faith ought to look
like in the actual life of Amish people. Here again we see ideological
issues coalescing around particular spokesmen which then give them
social expression. This is the same process by which church splits
occur--a spokesman having a valid claim to be a public witness for a
position serves as a head for a social group. In this case, the vali-
dating claim was not through a church office as in the old system of
organization, but through the experience of salvation and the conviction
of his calling. The incident demonstrates the essential differences
between the two kinds of religious expression, and the central contra-
diction of the community.

Revival Meetings

When missionaries from the area returned on leave from the mission
field, they held meetings to report on their work, and to arouse inter-
est in it. These meetings were part of the revival meeting programme in
the community, which became an accepted part of the religious life of
the area during the 1920's. Various preachers, mostly from the United
States, were invited by Ontario Mennonite churches to hold such revival
meetings. Early meetings in Ontario were held in the 1890's; the Amish
Mennonites did not become deeply involved, however, until rather later
(Epp, 1974, 245; Gingerich, 1972, 184). For those who did attend such
meetings, these gatherings helped consolidate the commitment to the new
faith. Sunday school leaders were often among those that attended, and
they made the new ideas known in the local congregations. During the
revival meetings, certain individuals later to become influential in the
affairs of the conference first made their commitments to the new faith.
Through the influence of the revival meetings, young people's Bible

meetings were started, mostly in the southern part of the conference region, in the 1920's.

When a revival leader was in the area, members of the local congregations often asked the person to come to the church to speak. These meetings took place during the evening, and had to be arranged rather secretly. Apparently the local ministry would not allow the organizers to publicize the meetings in church, nor to formally arrange meetings for several consecutive evenings. It was therefore whispered about that the revival preacher would hold a service that Sunday evening. After the meeting, those attending would be asked, "If we had another meeting tomorrow night, would you come?" Everyone would agree they would come, and the meeting would proceed. One man suggested that meetings for an entire week would be planned in this fashion, so as not to offend those that were not in favour of the meetings.

Even when there was no evangelist from the United States in the area, Sunday evening meetings tended to stress the revival theme more prominently. As there was no Sunday evening service in the Beachy Amish church, young people from those congregations attended Sunday evening services in the more progressive churches when they wished. A number of such young people actually joined the more progressive church by baptism, and left the congregations of their parents. Some probably left because the church discipline in the more revivalistic congregations was less strict, but others clearly found the revival theology more meaningful than the older system of discipline. The Sunday evening meetings, even in the most conservative Old Order congregations, had traditionally been singing gatherings for young, unmarried people, and served as courtship occasions. With the annexation of the courtship tradition to the new revival theology, those that found spouses through the gathering also found a new religious form.

People attended not only Mennonite revival meetings in churches and other halls; but also services in other churches. Many local church members today recount their participation in evangelical Baptist and Methodist services, as well as Pentecostal meetings. These people were often highly in favour of the emotional freedom of these services, though they did not always wish to bring that freedom back to their own

services. Many people also listened to radio preachers, who had a strong-
ly evangelical message and who stressed the new evangelical music that
also carried the revival theme.

The revival tradition, though it had received some formal recogni-
tion in the Sunday service through the Sunday school, continued in a more
concentrated form outside that service. The experience of the Sunday
evening meeting, the revival meetings, and the other non-Mennonite evan-
gelical services all served as both models of what the new faith could
be, and as chances to participate fully in that religious life. These
religious experiences, existing outside the mainstream of Sunday wor-
ship, complemented those changes which took place in the local congrega-
tions. Those included the Sunday school and the Sunday school confer-
ence, and the church conference that followed soon after.

Changes in Church Music

One area that expressed the new revival faith within the local
congregations, and for many expressed it very essentially, was music.
Although the introduction of new musical forms into the Sunday worship
service may not have seemed as important a structural change as the re-
alignment of political power in the community inherent in the appointment
of Sunday school superintendents from the laymen, for many believers the
new music represented a tangible expression of the new theology. Those
that have commented on the revival campaigns of the late 1800's, es-
pecially those of Dwight L. Moody, have stressed that much of the message
of those revival meetings was in the music. Many of the revival songs
became popular with Mennonites. Those who espoused the new revival
faith also wanted revival music during the service, and the changes in
the hymnals used during the Sunday service marked important issues in the
acceptance of the revival faith.

The oldest hymnal still used in non-Catholic Christian churches is
the Ausbund, a collection of songs assembled from the writings of early
Anabaptist martyrs. This large hymnal has fewer than two hundred hymns,
but each runs to many verses. In the traditional services and in Old
Order Amish congregations today, the song leader who knew the hymn simply
started singing the tune, and the congregation joined in. The tunes were
not written down, but learned from constant repetition. Singing was done

very slowly, often in a rather nasal tone, and in unison.

The next hymnal was the Unparteiische Liedersammlung (Nondenomi-
national Song Book), a much smaller book than the Ausbund. This new
book contained some of the hymns from the Ausbund, but in addition con-
tained newer hymns sung to faster tunes as well. This book was origin-
ally used only during the Sunday evening singings by the young people,
but it gradually began to see use during the Sunday service. The speed
of the singing was controlled by church discipline. One man recounts
that a certain songleader went to another congregation for Sunday ser-
vice, and discovered they sang considerably more briskly. He returned
to his home congregation, and led the singing at a faster pace than the
congregation was accustomed to, and at a pace faster than the bishop
thought appropriate.

During the period around 1910, a new hymnal was introduced. This
was the Lieder und Melodien (Songs and Tunes), published by Funk's press
in Indiana. The title page suggests the hymnal be used in the "Church,
the Sunday School, and the Family Circle." The hymns were chosen by a
committee that included Funk, and several revival preachers close to him.
The German texts are drawn from several sources, including the Ausbund,
and the tunes are all arranged for four-part singing. Part of the Sunday
school teaching programme included training in sight singing, with the
shape notes used in the book. In this notation, a different shape is
used for each of the eight tones of the scale. Thus no matter what the
key signature, the relative pitch of the note was clear to anyone school-
ed in the system. Included at the end of the book was an appendix of
English hymns, a copy of a current evangelical hymnal. No tunes were
given for the English songs, but the Amish Mennonites were used to sing-
ing tunes from memory without aid.

By the early 1930's, another hymnal had been introduced. This
was the Church and Sunday School Hymnal. It contained English words
with the tunes in the front, and a German index without tunes. The songs
are highly based in the evangelical tradition. This hymnal is still
used in some of the congregations, though in general it has been super-
seded first by the Church Hymnal, containing mostly evangelical songs,
but also some more traditional material omitted in the Church and Sunday

School Hymnal, and more recently by the new Mennonite Hymnal.

But the official hymnals were not the only avenue by which
new musical forms entered the local congregations. At the evening
services, gospel music was often sung. This kind of music was often
arranged for quartet singing, and was written by evangelical non-
Mennonites for radio and revival preaching. The Stamps Gospel
Quartetes is still used in the community as a basic source for
men's singing groups.

Country and western gospel music is also popular in the com-
munity. A number of the younger men during the 1930's and 1940's
learned to play stringed instruments, mostly guitar and violin, to
accompany local dances. Although this was against church policy
at one time, it was not something the church dealt with too strict-
ly. Along with the dance tunes went the gospel tunes of a similar
nature. This music presented a strong contrast with that used dur-
ing the church service. It stressed personal conversion and salva-
tion in everyday terms, and was often very sentimental. Composed
by outsiders, it was taken up by certain members of the community,
and was the most essential form of the new musical tradition.

Changes in the outlook of the community on mission work,
revival meetings, and music did not, however, affect the structure
of the church. These changes existed outside that structure, as
alternatives to the religious life of the worship services. The
new revival faith did, however, make a direct impact on the organ-
ization of the religious life of the community. The adoption of
Sunday school gave laymen a formal voice in the elaboration of
religious doctrine. From the Sunday school movement arose the
first inter-congregational organization since the Fire and Storm
Aid Union--the Sunday School Conference. Shortly thereafter, a
church Conference was also organized. All of these changes illus-

trate the way in which religious traditions were altered after the adoption of the new ideology.

<u>The Sunday School and the Sunday School Conference</u>

We have already outlined the impact of the Sunday school on the religious traditions of the community. In order to develop some understanding of the way the Sunday School affected the religious life of the community, we will present a description of the modern Sunday school. While there have been changes in the Sunday School since 1910, the modern organization of this institution is not so different that it cannot serve as model for the earlier Sunday School.

The Sunday School lesson today consists of a mixture of Bible study and practical application of the lessons from the text. In each lesson, printed in pamphlets available from Mennonite sources in the U.S.A., there is a selection from the Bible. Around this the lesson writer weaves his theme. The typical Sunday school programme goes in this fashion: After the congregation has assembled, the senior superintendent begins the service with a prayer. He then reads the Bible text suggested by the lesson writer, and may make some comment on the text. Then the general meeting breaks up and people assemble in smaller classes. Traditionally these classes were segregated by age and sex. The oldest men meet together, then the oldest women meet in another class. Younger men form another class, and younger women another, until all baptized adults are assigned to a class. In this kind of organization, a class is composed of from about seven to fifteen people. One person from the class is chosen as teacher for a period, usually a year. That person may then continue the class by reading again the scripture passage, and commenting on it, or may elicit some discussion from the rest of the class.

Unbaptized children are also assigned to classes, but such classes

are organized by school grade and age, with boys and girls together.
Those young people considered to be at an appropriate age for baptism
form a special class instructed usually by the ordained men. Recently,
some of the classes for younger adults have not been segregated by sex,
but young married couples are meeting together. In such a class, the
discussion proceeded in the following manner: After the reading of the
scripture lesson by the superintendent, the class assembled at the back
of the church. Chairs were set round a central area, in which a box of
toys to amuse small children was placed. People in the class sat to-
gether in couples, the women holding any infants, and the children old
enough to sit up in the centre. Here they could play quietly with the
toys, and still not roam about outside the supervision of their parents.
The class teacher then passed around a small envelope in which each
family put a donation to pay for the Sunday school lesson materials, and
the teacher marked down the attendance for the day. Then the teacher
opened with prayer, or asked another person to lead in prayer to begin
the discussion. The teacher usually gave some general introduction to
the lesson, and then the group read the Bible text round the circle,
each person reading one verse. This accomplished, the discussion proper
began. The teacher attempted to get a discussion going around some of
the ideas in the text, and the lessons often touched on the application
of the message from the text to everyday life. On some occasions, the
discussions were freer than on others. When large numbers of small
children were present the lessons often took second place to baby-sitting,
comforting fussing babies and disentangling prize toys from little fists
that had grasped them away from some other wailing child. At the appoint-
ed hour, the other senior superintendent came to the front of the church,
and gave a general summation of the lesson. That concluded the Sunday
school service.

The lesson texts that formed the core of the lessons were intro-
duced into the Sunday schools during the 1920's. These were always
written by Mennonite educators from the U.S.A., and were mostly Bible
study guides. But they also served as the avenue for various changes.
First, they were written in English, and it was through the Sunday
school that English entered the worship service. The lessons also

stressed the beliefs associated with revival faith, as they were written by those interested in propagating this approach. The conversion experience, and the attendant changes in lifestyle were forcefully presented through the Sunday school materials. Each quarter there was a temperance lesson also, and gradually this practice entered the community through the Sunday school. (see Gingerich, 1972, 95-96). Thus those leaders that were interested in the new revival faith were given considerable support by the printed lesson helps of the Sunday school. People were very aware of the way in which this revival message was being spread through the Sunday school: one man suggested that it was very hard to bring up his children correctly when they constantly received Sunday school teaching.

As the Sunday school movement gained in popularity among the Amish Mennonites, there arose a movement to have all the congregations meet to discuss some of the issues associated with the new institution. An Amish bishop from the United States had urged the local people to begin a conference among the congregations to discuss church issues, especially after he was refused entry to Canada during the First World War due to his pacifist position. At the time, he had   oversight at the Poole congregation, and was a man of considerable influence in the other Amish Mennonite congregations. His urgings to found a church conference were not given acceptance until May 1922, when the first Sunday school conference was organized. At this meeting, a number of issues related to Sunday school, and a number of others that were apparently important but only slightly so related were discussed. All the speakers were ordained men, even though the Sunday school was primarily a lay institution. The topics treated, according to Gingerich, were the following:

"What is the Object of the Conference, Learning to Trust Each Other, conditions of Success in Sunday School Work, Qualifications of a Sunday School Superintendent, Teacher's Preparation and Responsibility, Attitude of Sunday School Toward Superintendents, How to Interest Our Young People in Christian Duty and Privileges, The Family Altar, The Value of Memorizing the Bible, Effective and Defective Teaching, Punctuality, Our Responsibility Toward the Child, The Value and Power of Song in Sunday School Work, The Sunday School Worker's Reward." (Gingerich, 1972, 94).

4-14

The conference was attended by many laymen, and marked the first time
an inter-congregational organization relating to religious life in the
Amish Mennonite congregations had been set up. The conference was a
great success, and similar meetings were held each year, during early
September, until 1957. At that time, a committee of the church confer-
ence took over the activities of the Sunday school conference.

At the first meeting of the conference only the ordained men
spoke. Later, laymen were invited to make presentations, but only or-
dained men were chosen for the executive committee. This practice re-
flects the traditional Amish feeling that only ordained men are to speak
publicly on matters of the faith, and represented an accommodation be-
tween the traditional forces that were wary of the Sunday school, and
those that wanted greater lay participation. The actual interaction
between laymen and ordained men regarding the Sunday school executive
was, however, more complex than that in which the ordained men contin-
ued to exert full control. According to Gingerich,

"Sunday school superintendents participated in choosing the
members of the executive as well as in making decisions on guest speak-
ers and other matters related to the annual meeting." (1972, 95).

Thus even though the ordained men retained the positions that symbolized
traditional oversight, it seems as if the actual planning was very much
influenced by the laymen who were elected as Sunday school superintend-
ents by their congregations. The organization of the Sunday school con-
ference thus parallels that of the more traditional church. The ordained
men occupied the formal positions of public authority, and were the ones
to state policy, but a group of committed and interested laymen actually
helped shape that policy. The ordained men were not given absolute
authority; their positions, and public assent to their rulings, depended
on their obtaining the counsel and support of the influential leaders in
the church. In the traditional church organization, those leaders were
generally the older men, and through them, the older women in the con-
gregation, who had an ideological commitment to the old church traditions.
In the Sunday school, the influential leaders were the men and women in-
terested in the new revival faith. Thus a traditional pattern of author-
ity was transferred from the level of the congregation to that of the
Sunday school conference, which united all the congregations having

Sunday school. The basic conflict in authority at the congregational
level raised by the introduction of the Sunday school could be mediated
at this level.

At the congregational level, it does not seem possible to have
resolved this conflict. Given the traditional definition of the ordain-
ed men as the only spiritual leaders of the group, as well as the ad-
ministrators of a public discipline, it was not possible for these men
to simply realign their role to rely on the Sunday school superintend-
ents as advisors in church policy in a formal way. To have done so
would have been to redefine the bishop's role as already outlined. No
doubt some of the bishops did consult Sunday school superintendents in
their congregations on matters of church policy, but in no case was
there a more formal rearrangement at the congregational level which gave
the Sunday school superintendents a voice in church affairs until the
formation of the church council, of which the Sunday school superintend-
ents were ex-officio members. The Sunday school movement represented
among other things an implicit redefinition of the role of the ordained
man, and his relationship to the congregation. It implied more of a
professional ministry concerned mostly with spiritual matters, but not
involved directly in community administration, and it implied a more
formal lay participation in the church. At the congregational level,
changes in line with this new philosophy could take place only after a
change in the role of the bishop had been effected. The arrangement of
power at the Sunday school conference represented only a first step in
this process, which was effected gradually in the congregations. It is
significant that the conference itself, with its particular form of or-
ganization, was discontinued about the time that the southern congrega-
tions ceased appointing bishops. Congregational redistribution of
authority made that form of the Sunday school no longer necessary. It
is also significant that the duties of the Sunday school in Christian
education, which remained its relevant field after the theological de-
bate was resolved and the social implications of that debate realized in
new forms, were absorbed by the church conference. This organization,
founded shortly after the Sunday school conference, and in many ways a
more traditional response to the new institution, gradually assumed the

role of a major institutional expression of the new revival theology.
The Sunday school was not itself a complete religious body, but the in-
sights of the new faith, when combined with the more traditional church
organization of the congregational level as reflected in the church Con-
ference, developed through this institution into the major religious
ideology of the changed Amish Mennonite community. It is to a descrip-
tion of this other institutional body that we now turn.

The Church Conference and Its Founding

        A year after the first Sunday school conference, the Ontario
Amish Mennonite Conference was established. The congregations that had
accepted the Sunday school were all founding members. This meant the
congregations of Wilmot, East Zorra, Maple View, and Poole, as well as
the group in Blake township some sixty miles north were all members.
Maple View and Poole had been so designated to distinguish them from the
Beachy Amish congregations in the townships of Wellesley and Mornington.

        The establishment of a church conference which formally united the
various congregations was a distinct change for the Amish Mennonite com-
munity. Congregational autonomy had always been the rule among the
Amish Mennonites, with no higher authority than the bishop in any con-
gregation. Under the pressure of the new revival faith, however, and
the introduction of laymen into the worship service through the Sunday
school, there was a need felt to redefine the tradition of the community.
The conference was originally a rather conservative group; only the or-
dained men had a vote for many years, and the constitution of the group,
which consisted of a document outlining the place of the conference, and
another that served as a codification of the proper church discipline,
expressed traditional values more clearly than those of the new faith.
Gingerich comments that during the period after the introduction of new
religious ideas, and church splits,

"The congregations were standing and working independently, and naturally
were drifting further apart. Much of the earlier informal sharing was no
longer taking place. The disruptive influence of the division in the
late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was no doubt responsible
for the discontinuance of the ministers' meetings. The failure to re-
solve the differences and tensions created by the changing times and
needs resulted not only in divisions, but in deep personality clashes,
suspicions, and distrust which marred the Christian fellowship. Forma-

tion of a church conference was one attempt to restore that broader
fellowship." (Gingerich, 1972, 98).

  - An American bishop served as the first moderator of the conference;
succeeding conferences were moderated by one of the bishops from the
southern part of the Amish Mennonite settlement area. This man contin-
ued to serve until 1937. During the early years of the conference, or-
dained men from the south ran the organization. One can see the church
conference as both a reaction to the introduction of the Sunday school,
and an attempt to reformulate the organization of the church in the light
of the new revival faith. As a reaction to the more progressive Sunday
school conference, the church conference affirmed the roles of the or-
dained men, and the importance of church discipline. After a short out-
line of the faith, section II of the <u>Rules</u> <u>and</u> <u>Discipline</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Ontario</u>
<u>Amish</u> <u>Mennonite</u> <u>Conference</u> deals with the ordination and duties of the
ministry. Ordination was to continue in the old pattern, with names put
forward by church members, and the final decision to be by lot. The
duties of the three ordained offices were also reaffirmed. No other
church offices were mentioned. Thus while it became the norm to have
Sunday school within the conference churches, the formal church organiza-
tion for the worship service was not changed.

    Other articles within the <u>Rules</u> <u>and</u> <u>Discipline</u> stressed tradition-
al values also. Sections following those on the duties of the ministry
dealt with the practice of foot washing, the necessity of a devotional
covering for women, the command that Christians greet one another with
the holy kiss (an embrace and kiss on the cheek), and the value of a-
nointing with oil in the case of extreme illness. Other sections for-
bade marriage with unbelievers, or to members of other denominations,
dealt with nonresistance and nonswearing of oaths, forbade membership
in secret societies, and condemned life insurance. Section IX, entitled
"Nonconformity to the World" simply listed the areas in which a Christian
was to be nonconforming. These were
"Intemperance, unholy conversation, fashionable attire, covetousness,
worldly amusements, Sunday desecration and pride." (Gingerich, 1972, 221).
Each of these areas was supported by scripture references. A complete
outline of the document is presented in Gingerich, 1972, 218-223.

4-18

Article XVI, just before the conclusion of the document deals with some of the aspects of the new revival faith. Entitled "Mission Work," the article states:

"We encourage mission work and a liberal support to home and foreign missions from each congregation in this Conference district. Matth. 28:19-20. Acts 1:8. II. Cor. 9:6-7. Gal. 6:9." (Gingerich, 1972, 222). After the final article, which stated that laymen were to be encouraged to attend Conference meetings, there followed a plan of salvation, which was a combination of traditional and modern principles. The plan itself had five points. The first four of these followed the first five articles of the Dortrecht Confession closely, outlining that man fell from grace through disobedience to God, and was redeemed through Christ. But the new Rules and Discipline differed somewhat from the old Dortrecht Confession regarding salvation. The old confession stated that all must repent, being evil from birth. Salvation does not come from the sacraments, nor from church fellowship, but from sincere repentence and amendment of life.

The new plan for salvation did not stress the condition of original sin, but stated instead

"That salvation is now offered as a free gift to all them that accept the terms of the Gospel principles that primarily affect all believers, viz:
(a) Faith Heb. 11:1,6
(b) Repentance. Acts 17:30. II Cor. 7:10
(c) Conversion. Matth. 18:3
(d) Regeneration. John 3:3
(e) Justification. Rom. 3:28, James 2:20. Heb. 10:38
(f) Redemption. John 3:16
(g) Sanctification. John 17:19."
    (in the original, the Bible passages are also quoted in their entirety. Gingerich, 1972, 222-223).

The much more elaborate system of salvation in the new document reveals the influence of the new faith emphasis on the importance of the individual conversion experience.

As regards the organization of church life for the believer in the local congregation, therefore, the new organization mainly stressed traditional organizations and orientations. Within the theology of the document there was, however, some recognition of the importance of the emphasis on the new revival religion. As for the Conference itself, it

also wrote a constitution stating its aims and organization.   This

document mainly sets out the offices of the conference and the duties

associated with them, in the most general terms.   The object of the con-

ference was to be

"to consider questions relative to the work of the church, and adopt
such measures as shall advance the cause of Christ, and promote the
unity and general welfare of the church." (Gingerich, 1972, 215).

All ordained men were members of the conference and each had a vote; no

laymen were members.   The officers of the conference were the Moderator,

Assistant Moderator, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and Treasurer, to be

elected by conference for one year "or until their successors are elected

or appointed." (Gingerich, 1972, 215).   These officers formed the Execu-

tive Committee, which acted in the name of the conference between General

meetings.   The Moderator had the duty of running the meetings, and of

appointing all committees "except the executive committee and committees

on arbitration, which shall be elected by Conference." (Gingerich, 1972,

216).   Beyond the duties the Conference laid out for itself in Article

II "Object" already quoted, the only other specific duty of the Conference

laid out in the constitution was Article VIII "Conference Leadership"

"The Conference shall endeavour to lead and unify the churches in uphold-
ing such rules and discipline as are necessary to restrain upon Gospel
principles, the great modern tendency to worldliness and in promoting
spiritual life in the churches." (Gingerich, 1972, 217).

It is interesting that the article, like the first, stresses the import-

ance of the unity of the fellowship, and then goes on to combine the

traditional interests in discipline with the more modern interests in

spiritual life.   The constitution of the Conference places great reliance

on the ordained men, and their ability to recognize and deal with problems.

The Moderator has considerable power to identify problem areas, and to

appoint committees as he sees fit.   Thus the conference organization takes

the basic congregational order as a metaphor, with the moderator as the

bishop of the conference, enjoined to maintain the traditional values of

the community theology.   The Assistant Moderator is like the minister of

the local congregation, in that he assists the Moderator and acts in

council with him;   the offices of Secretary and Treasurer are those

traditionally carried out by the deacon in the congregation.   As the

members of the local congregation are to defer in church matters to the
bishop, so the members of conference trust and defer to the Moderator
of the conference.

Committees of the Conference

As the work of the Conference developed, various committees were
appointed to aid the Conference executive. Most of these committees
were set up to administer new programmes that were expressions of the
new revival theology. Thus the conference, though at the beginning an
organization that was set up to establish the traditional organization
of the community, gradually incorporated within that tradition the new
religious ideas of the revival faith.

The first of the committees concerned with the new faith was the
missions committee. I have already outlined the careers of the first
missionary families to leave from the Amish Mennonite community in
Ontario for mission work in South America. Those couples were actually
commissioned by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities of Elkhart,
Indiana. But this body approached the newly-formed Ontario conference
to support the missionaries. The conference agreed, and consequently a
missions committee was set up in 1925 to collect and dispense funds for
this purpose. (Gingerich, 1972, 99). It is interesting that at the
time the committee was formed, it had a very limited purpose, and was
only organized in the first place because of the activity of certain
members of the conference and the initiative they had taken. Apparently
the missions committee had no other duties until certain changes took
place in the 1940's and 1950's, which we will examine later. The mission
effort was, however, a direct expression of the values of the new faith,
and in supporting it formally, the conference organization gave its
approval at least in part to the effort.

In 1932, the conference appointed a Bible school board as a com-
mittee of the conference. Bible schools had become popular in Ontario
following the revival efforts around 1900, but for the Amish Mennonites,
had not become part of the community until the early 1930's. A number of
ordained and lay men in the southern part of the conference settlement
area finally won approval of the concept of a winter Bible school for
young people. The first such school was held in the fall of 1932 in the

4-21

East Zorra meeting house (Gingerich, 1972, 99). Few of the young people
who attended were enrolled in high school, and the winter was a good
time for farming families to allow them to attend. The schools, which
were soon held in other congregations as well, and were an important
part of religious instruction for the next twenty years or so, stressed
Bible study for young adults. Many of the teachers were influenced by
the revival faith, and gave their teaching that slant. More will be
said about Bible school later in connection with schools in the Welles-
ley area.

During the 1930's, requests came from other Mennonite groups for
delegates to their organizations, especially to the mission boards. In
1936 the conference appointed a delegate to sit on the meetings of the
General Mission Board, and on the Ontario Mennonite Mission Board
(Gingerich, 1972, 100). Inter-Mennonite cooperation had been stressed
by many interested in the mission effort, as a way of co-ordinating funds,
personnel, and enthusiasm for mission projects. The appointment of del-
egates to other conferences was another sign that the Amish Mennonites
were leaving behind the emphasis on local congregations as the only form
of religious life, and were concerning themselves with the missionary
emphasis enjoined in the new faith.

The Awakening of the 1940's

We have shown how the revival faith of the 1920's was introduced into the community, and how alternate institutions were developed to represent the new ideological position. The new faith was not the dominant ideology of the church, nor had it replaced the traditional emphasis on church discipline. Young people were perhaps those most interested in the new revival theology; older men, who dominated both local congregations and the church conferences, still maintained traditional attitudes and social forms. However, the introduction of Sunday school, Sunday evening services, and mission work had given the revival ideology a formal institutional status in the community. Revivalism was no longer merely an outside theology that in some ways represented the inversion of traditional categories such as "community" and "individual." It had become an alternate ideal. By the 1940's, many of the implications of this new ideal had been worked out; it was clear how this new ideal would affect the lives of believers. It also became clear that there would be a confrontation between the traditional and newer forms of religious organization, for they represented not merely different theological programmes, but programmes that were fundamentally opposed.

Two important developments of the 1940's heightened the tension between the two religious ideals. On the one hand, those interested in revivalism began to emphasize individual spirituality and personal commitment. On the other hand, a number of changes in the economic organization of the wider society affected the productive activities of community members. Taken together, these two changes involved community members in a kind of social experience that was increasingly individualized. This experience questioned the validity of the traditional Amish Mennonite theology as a community ideal, and led eventually to its replacement by a theology based on revivalism.

5-2

In this chapter we will discuss the new emphasis on personal
salvation that arose during the 1940's. Revivalist theology was first
promoted through its institutional representations. There had been
no direct debate about individual religious experience; the arguments
were about Sunday school and conferences, mission work, and Bible study.
During the 1940's, however, an increasing emphasis was placed on the
personal experience of salvation. The congregations were divided not
into those who wanted Sunday school and those who rejected it, but into
those who had experienced personal salvation and those who had not.
Thus the key issue was shifted from one concerning community organiza-
tion to one centred on the individual's religious experience. The
institutional representation of revivalism was acceptable as long as
the new ideology was subordinate to a strong discipline and a tight
boundary to the outside. While the introduction of revivalism forced
the community members to face the inherent ambiguities in the ideal,
it did not overwhelm the traditional compromises that made it possible
for the members to live with those ambiguities. The experience of the
1940's and 1950's changed that. Both within the church and without,
community members were faced with new kinds of social experience - an
increasingly individualized experience which could not be legitimated by
the traditional ideals. The pressure for change in the life of the
church came again from the young people.

Young People in the 1940's

Bringing young people into the activities of the church was a con-
cern of the leadership of the southern congregations within the Conference
during the 1930's and 1940's. Various Bible study and young people's
meetings were planned during this time, and the winter Bible school pro-
gramme got its start. The Sunday school conferences were also strongly
evangelistic in tone, and young people were attracted into the church
through them. At the Sunday school conference in 1942, a Pennsylvania
minister was the keynote speaker.

"In his concluding sermon he made a strong plea for Christians to dedicate
their lives to God. An invitation resulted in numerous people making
commitments." (Gingerich, 1972, 123-4.)

Because of the success of these meetings, the evangelist was asked back in
the fall of the same year to head revival meetings in one of the south-
ern congregations. Other meetings were held for a number of years follow-

ing, with gratifying results.

A number of people commented on the importance of these revival meetings for their own understanding of the faith. These young people were the first generation following those originally committed to working out the new revival faith in an Amish Mennonite context. Their parents had been the first ones to support revivalism, and the first to attempt to introduce it into the church organization. But the young people who grew up in the 1940's had a somewhat different experience with the faith than had their parents. For one thing, they had been brought up in a church in which the revival programme was at least a part of the worship experience. They further had more experience with non-Mennonite forms of worship. They grew up in a period when the isolation traditionally enforced by the Amish Mennonites was breaking down. Later in this chapter we will outline some of the important changes in the way Mennonites interacted with non-Mennonites at this time. In sum here, these young people worked outside the community more often than did their parents, and often attended non-Mennonite worship services, in which a strong evangelical faith was propounded. A number of young people were also exposed to the evangelical preaching of other Mennonites not from Amish background, through revival meetings, through various forms of religious education, and through the religious programmes of the alternate service camps of the Second World War. Revivalism looked to these young people more like the form of real Christianity; the Amish traditions of theology and church organization seemed to some like holdovers from an uninteresting past. Regardless of how the people coming into the church at that time felt about the Amish Mennonite traditions, they had before them an image of the Christian church as a revival institution which squared with their experience outside the Mennonite community. Thus when the time came to make a choice in the basic theology of the community, the choice was made by those brought up with both traditions.

The young people in the church threw themselves into a number of activities that reflected the evangelical emphasis of the faith. One such project involved raising money for missions overseas by raising turnips. At the time, turnips were a standard crop in the area, used as

both human and animal food. All the work done on turnips was done
strictly by hand, as few farmers grew more than an acre or so of the
crop. It was essentially work done between the other field work.
Turnips were planted in the spring, and then hoed when the family had
the time. Harvesting was also done by hand. Because of the large
amount of handwork and the very low investment in seed and equipment,
turnip raising was ideally suited to a farm project that would involve
numbers of young people in communal labour.

Young people also set up and attended church programmes. Young
people's Bible study meetings were held Sunday evenings, and provided
a chance for groups of like-minded teenagers and young couples to share
their understandings of the faith. Young people also participated more
actively at this time in Sunday school teaching and the summer Bible
school programme for younger children. Because of the interest among
young people in the work of the church, a young people's Conference was
established in 1945. This gave members of local congregations opportun-
ities to meet together to express their common faith. Local congregations
also sponsored weekend meetings to offer discussions of such topics as
"choice of vocation, courtship, marriage, spiritual life, personal
habits, and Christian ethics. During the fifties, the Riverdale con-
gregation at Millbank held annual missionary prayer conferences par-
ticularly geared to young people." (Gingerich, 1972, 124).
In 1948, under the sponsorship of the Commission for Christian Education
the Mennonite Youth Fellowship was formed. The Commission was a board of
the Mennonite General Conference, a North American organization of which
both the Ontario and Western Ontario Mennonite Conferences are members.
Local groups within the congregations were founded, aimed at promoting
the three themes of faith, fellowship, and service.

A certain part of the life history of one Amish Mennonite man
brings together some of the changes in the religious life of the young
people in the 1940's. This particular man, although from the area
around Wellesley, had relatives in the southern part of the conference area
and was thus acquainted with new efforts in the faith. He was at the same time
very much a man of the local traditions which included smoking and drinking.
Drinking especially was considered a sign of sinfulness by those of the

new faith background. The young man in question did his share of
drinking, and went to the barn dances that were the secular recreation
for many of the young people. At the time, going to barn dances was
not approved by the church. First, it was felt that musical instru-
ments were not suitable for Christian expression, and second, danc-
ing was definitely a worldly amusement. But a number of young men
learned to play the guitar and fiddle, and played at the barn dances.

At one point, however, this young man attended a revival meet-
ing in the south, and was converted. He was very serious about his
conversion, and immediately gave up smoking, drinking, and attending
barn dances. The evangelist who had converted him talked for some
time with the young man, and encouraged him to increase his new-found com-
mitment by attending Eastern Mennonite College in Virginia, where the
evangelist was on staff. This young person was one of the first to
attend the school, and one of the first Amish Mennonites from Ontario
to obtain higher education.

He returned from EMC with a profound spiritual conviction, a
new lifestyle, and a desire to enter the mission field, but within his
own area. At the college, he had become very serious about his faith,
and had returned wearing a straight-cut coat (rather like a Nehru jacket,
with a high, round collar open in the front to reveal a white shirt and
no tie). This new fashion caused some concern at home. It was very
much part of the time to change dress style to express spiritual convic-
tion. Some men had taken to wearing ties, for instance, as a sign that
they identified with the outside evangelical community that wore them as
part of their Sunday best. Then there were others that rejected ties (and
still do today), not because they identified with the older Amish tradi-
tions that forbade ties, but because the tie seemed to them to be incon-
sistent with the moral purity of the newly converted Christian. One
evangelist apparently went through the area condemning ties. It was the
custom at the time for those with strong spiritual conviction to kneel
during public prayers. To accomplish this, the people turned, with their

feet toward the front of the church, their arms resting on the benches,
and their faces to the bench backs. The evangelist said that he didn't
want a tie getting in his way when he knelt down to pray. Many felt he
had a good point, and stopped wearing the tie. But the straight-cut
coat was a real innovation. It became the style for those that really
identified with the new faith, and was worn proudly as a sign of the
person's conversion. It was taken as a real sign of non-conformity
with the unconverted and sinful world, wherever it might be found.
Among those that did not wear the coat, however, it was noticed that
some who did still pulled fast business deals that seemed inconsistent
with their new stand on holiness and conviction. People apparently had
the following saying about the coat:

> "Can I borrow that coat? I've got a lame horse I want to
> get rid of."

Regardless of what others did who wore the coat, the man who had
innovated the style became the leader of the local young people concern-
ed with the salvation faith. He was instrumental in starting a literary
society in the Wellesley congregation, mainly as an alternative to the
barn dances which formed the heart of social life among the local young
people. Interested in gospel outreach, he felt the barn dances were an in-
appropriate way in which the Christian life should be expressed.

The Wellesley literary society was one of several such groups in
the conference. The first of such meetings were held in 1933 in one of
the southern congregations. Gingerich comments on them:

> "These had their origin in general society in the 19th century
> and came into the Mennonite church early in the 20th century, just a
> little later than young people's Bible meetings." (1972, 104)

> "Meetings were usually held on a monthly basis and consisted of
> essays, talks, debates, and a newspaper, usually with considerable humor.
> The meetings were conducted in parliamentary style." (1972, 104)

One of the members of the original Wellesley society commented that the
activities of that group consisted partly of Bible study and the discussion
of spiritual topics, and partly of singing and drama. The group produced
a newspaper. The group provided the young leader with a forum in which
to express his religious convictions. Those that joined the small group
were themselves more interested in the new faith than were some of their

compatriots of the time, and the church leaders, seeing their interest,
encouraged the group. The group served at least one member as a commun-
ity in which the separation from the older traditions of the congrega-
tion, with their emphasis on church discipline during the worship service,
and on dancing and drinking in the recreation of the young people, could
be expressed.

    We will take up shortly the career of the leader of the literary
society and his mission efforts. For the moment, there remain two areas
in which young people of the 1940's were involved in contacts with the
new revival faith--the winter Bible school programme, and the alternate
service camps.

The Winter Bible School Programme

    Mention has already been made of the winter Bible school programme
in the conference. It was the first step of education past grade eight
for many young people, and was also a forum for the presentation of evan-
gelical teaching. In the northern part of the conference area, a Bible
school programme was established at the Poole congregation during the
later 1930's. The course of study was designed to cover the entire
Bible during the six-year term of six-week courses, but certain parts of
the Bible were stressed. The teaching for one such six-week course, for
instance, concentrated heavily on the book of Romans. The teacher would
have the students read the text for the day, and would then go through
each verse to explain the meaning of it. Along with the specific Bible
study went more general lessons in Christian ethics and lifestyle, temper-
ance, and proper theology.

    A similar curriculum was established in Wellesley somewhat later.
A large local hall was made available for the daytime sessions, which
concentrated on Bible study and discussions of Christian living for
young people. The students had some of their meals in the hall, and
boarded with townspeople. The daytime sessions were taught by local lay-
men interested in the work, and by outside ministers. At the end of the
programme, revival meetings were held during the evening, to which all
the local people were invited. This was one of the first forms of
missions outreach from the Mennonite congregations into the general local
community. Although the hall was not formally part of any of the local

congregations, it was run by Mennonites with an interest in the mission
endeavour. It served not merely as a Bible school, but also as an in-
stitution for evangelical outreach. While the local ministers approved
of the Bible study curriculum for the Mennonite young people, they were
less sure of the outreach programme. There was apparently some debate
about the validity of any local outreach evangelical campaign. It was
(and to a certain extent still is) assumed that all people in the local
area had a church background. It was thus considered poaching to try to
win converts from the other churches, even when those converts might
have been alienated from their home church. Whereas foreign missions
were working completely outside the community, and were not establishing
the revival faith at home, local missions were a very visible and avail-
able expression of the evangelical movement. The general style of the
evangelical movement, quite apart from the implications it had for a
different theology and community organization, also offended Amish
Mennonites. Having been raised in a worship service that was strictly
controlled and very emotionally contained, many of the older Mennonites
were simply uncomfortable in the presence of the more freely emotional
evangelical services. The local ministers expressed conditional approval
of the Bible school for its educational efforts, but made it clear that
they would not approve if it became a channel for unacceptably emotional
preaching or Pentecostal services.

The War Experience

The new evangelical programme became forcefully present for a
number of young men who were engaged in alternate service during the
Second World War. The Mennonites have always been a peace church. The
earliest settlers decided to come to Canada only after the government
agreed to honour their stand on military service and allow complete mili-
tary exemption. The government during the history of Amish Mennonite
settlement has honoured this commitment, and young people who were members
of the church were granted military exemption, either on the basis of
their contribution through farm work, or in the form of alternate service.

At the beginning of World War II, members of various peace churches
(which included not only the various Mennonite and Amish groups, but all
the Dunkers, Quakers, and Doukhobors) organized a Conference of Historic

Peace Churches. The military committee of this body negotiated with
the government, handling all matters of government policy relating to
conscientious objectors, and interpreting this policy to the local
churches. This committee made deputations to Ottawa concerning changes
it wished to see made in the laws relating to conscientious objectors,
and tried to keep track of the ever-changing laws about them. The
conference also looked after the administration of the various govern-
ment directives.

One government action, for instance, was the levy of a tax of
$25. per single person and $15. for a married person on all conscientious
objectors, to be paid directly to the Red Cross. Certain of those who
were conscientious objectors applied for exemption from this tax on the
grounds of financial hardship; the committee had to decide each of these
cases. The local branch of the committee also had to decide which of
the young men applying for the status of conscientious objector would be
given exemption for farm work, and which would serve in the labour camps.
Within the Wellesley area, a committee was set up to determine agricultur-
al policy and settle matters pertaining to the administration of the
government's directives. This consisted of three members--one from the
federal government, one the provincial agricultural representative for
the county, and one a local Mennonite layman. Since the agricultural
representative and the Mennonite layman knew the situation and the people
best, they were the ones who actually decided who was to be assigned to
the camps, and who was to pay the tax; the federal representative simply
made sure the law was followed.

Many of the men in the Wellesley area were granted exemption from
the labour camps on the basis of their contribution to the farm effort.
But several young men from the area did serve in the alternate service
labour camps. For a number of those men the labour camp experience was
important in shaping their lives. At first, the men served only four
months in camps operated by the Department of Mines and Resources. Later,
however, men were inducted for the duration of the war, and some served
as long as four years. The work at that time, was performed under civil-
ian control through the Ministry of Labour. The young men were paid 50¢
a day in addition to their maintenance.

5-10

Camp life involved considerable hard work, but the men were well treated. Those that were involved in the camps did not mind the physical labour involved, and were generally very positive about the experience. The case of one young man inducted into the labour camps gives some insight into the programme. He was sent to the west coast as a forest worker. There was some threat that the Japanese might decide to send incendiary balloons against the forests of British Columbia, and the work camp was established to provide fire fighters in the event of this emergency. The men generally involved themselves with cutting roads through the mountain forests and cleaning up fallen timber. At one point the men were stationed in Vancouver, cutting firewood and distributing it to local residents. Later, the men were involved in a planting programme in a burned area in the forest. The general life of the men apparently did not differ from that of any woodsman of the time, except perhaps there was some sense of a shared purpose among the men. Men were not segregated by religious affiliation, and the young Amish men met other Mennonites, Doukhobors, and members of churches not associated with a peace stance, but who personally opposed the war. They worked a regular time period, and then had some time off, which they could spend as they chose.

The men in the camps often developed very strong friendships with the other fellows, in the manner of any group of people undergoing the same experience. The religious experience of the men was also considerably broadened, as each of the churches with members in the camps sent ministers for the men. Many of the services held for the men were evangelical, as even in those churches that might not have been completely convinced of the value of the new faith, it was those more evangelically inclined preachers who sought out the work camps, to make sure the men had a proper religious programme. The Old Order men involved in the camps were exposed to the new faith, often for the first time. One such man had been raised in the house Amish church, but his experience with the new faith at the camp led to his conversion. He returned to his home congregation to spread the word, but he found it impossible to express his newfound convictions, and left. He was shortly thereafter ordained a minister in the Western Ontario Conference, and has been

instrumental in winning converts from the Old Order to the new faith.

Further Mission Efforts

The idea of promoting the revival faith in the local area, begun in the Bible school movement and in the evangelical efforts among the Old Order, began to take further shape following the end of the war in 1945. This evangelical campaign took two directions. First, there were efforts within the conference itself to establish new congregations to reach those Amish Mennonites in various areas without churches. Second, there were efforts aimed more directly at providing revival preaching and teaching. Even though the new congregations founded by the Conference were often more evangelical in their outlook than the traditional congregations, they were patterned on the older model, and posed no threat to the established leadership. But the mission efforts of those that wanted more and more evangelical preaching could not be contained within the older church forms, and the men who supported them were forced to move outside the traditional structures. We will outline first the more innovative forms of missionary efforts, and then provide a description of the Conference mission programme in the context of general church expansion of the post-war period.

The more innovative and aggressively evangelical missions projects were initiated by concerned laymen. There were two such missions projects in the northern part of the Conference area, one founded by the young man mentioned earlier in connection with the Literary Society, and the other by two men involved with the Wellesley Bible school. Both of these efforts represented attempts to extend the evangelical efforts of the time outside the Mennonite church, and to win any people to a Christian lifestyle. The northern congregations were not unanimous in their support for either of the projects, and essentially both were carried out by the individuals concerned. Eventually the Conference did assume responsibility for these two mission efforts, but they did so only after debate.

The first of these projects was initiated in the period around 1948. The head of the Wellesley Literary Society felt that his vision of a ministry to the local area was not being served, and he apparently tried to realize his missionary plan within the local church structure. It was not, however, possible to convince the local leadership that a

missions effort in the Wellesley area was desirable. The young man, and
a small group of followers around him, therefore went to the Department
of Agriculture, asking them to point out certain areas in which there
was the chance to found a new settlement. They wished to work in an
area that was suffering from rural depopulation and needed a new sense
of community to hold it together. Several sites were suggested, and
the group eventually chose to settle at Ailsa Craig, near London,
Ontario. At the time, the region was populated mostly by older farmers
whose children had left home, and who had no continuing sense of com-
munity in the area. The group set up their church in the area, and
attempted to attract local people to join. They were not perhaps as
successful in this as in attracting other concerned Amish and Mennonite
people to their missions projects. The leader left shortly thereafter
to found a further missions effort in London. Various other projects
have been initiated from the group since then.

The those in the home congregation of the leader were more supportive
of the endeavour at a distance than they had been when the man was at
home. A number of church members suggested that the person was unhappy,
and would have preferred to do missions work at home. Certain members
also felt that the local congregation had failed to use the talents of
the man at home, and that it was unfortunate that he had to found his
mission effort elsewhere. It was clear to the man himself, however,
that even though his home congregation was moving to a more evangelical
stance, that move was not coming quickly enough. To do missions work
required leaving that community.

The other missions effort arose from the work of two concerned
laymen in the Wellesley congregation. These men had been active in the
Sunday school programme, and in the winter Bible school. They felt it
was important to have a missions programme in the local town to minister
to any who wished a more evangelical church, but did not find what they
wanted in their own congregation. An argument was made that the Welles-
ley church itself, outside the town, had many members, and that there
was a place for a congregation in the town for those people living
locally. But it was clear that those sponsoring the new project wished
to establish a more evangelical worship service and stress the new faith.

The local ministry opposed the idea. They said they did not want the radical Mennonites or the Pentecostals to have a voice in the community religious policy.

These men supported missions work, but they felt that any true missionary effort would also involve teaching of Mennonite lifestyle and church discipline. They realized the conversion experience, especially if it was accompanied by strong emotion, might not be the only sign of a mature faith. Preaching that stressed only conversion was preaching that left the believer no place to go after the conversion experience, except on to further emotional experiences such as those of the Pentecostal Church. For them, mission work meant not only spreading the evangelical message, but also showing that being a Christian meant having a distinctive lifestyle. In an argument with the local bishop, one of the proponents of the new mission effort stated it would be wonderful to have a strong missionary presence in the community. The bishop agreed that mission work was good, but stated that even better would be a missionary in an Amish coat. It would be truly impressive, he felt, for the missionary to carry not merely the word of salvation, but also the distinctively Mennonite emphasis on discipleship and right lifestyle. Thus the conflict between the two sides went far deeper than the concern with local missions. It was another expression of the basic structural alternatives inherent in the community project.

The local men supporting the missions project in the town had received considerable support from a visiting evangelist. These men wanted, however, to have the support of the local ministry for the project. The evangelist, while he supported missions, also realized that without that support, the project likely would not grow. Being himself a Mennonite, he also subscribed to the value of unity in the brotherhood. A general meeting of the ordained men from the area, along with the evangelist and representatives of the Conference was held over the matter of the new mission church. The Conference representatives were younger men from the south who supported the missions efforts; the evangelist felt somewhat removed from the proceedings, in that he was not from the area. He apparently tried to play the role of mediator,

stating the case for the effort, but also realizing the value of unity.
The local bishops opposed the mission effort. The final decision was
that the project might go on, but the local ministry actively dissociat-
ed itself from the whole thing. Even though the Conference helped with
the project, it did not receive unqualified support. The congregation
established by the lay leaders went ahead, and survived for some time,
but never grew. One of the leaders, seeing that the project was not
supported, returned to the Maple View congregation. The little mission
church, founded around 1954, continued until the death of its other
founder in the middle 1970's, at which point it disbanded.

The missions effort within the church was certainly perceived by
the local ministry as a kind of redefinition of the faith in evangelical
terms. The older theology of church discipline had stressed the isola-
tion of the Amish Mennonite community from the rest of the world. But
the interest in missions work inverted the old formula. Instead of try-
ing to hold back the encroachment of the world, and instead of trying
to contain the members of the church within their isolated community, the
missions programme was interested in carrying the faith to outsiders.
The sacred community still had an identity, in that all within it accept-
ed the new evangelical emphasis. But membership in the community was not
to be defined by birth or congregational membership, and could extend to
those not traditionally part of the old system. Though there was still
an effort to maintain a perfect ideology of the Christian life, that
effort was not tied to the project of shutting the community off from
the rest of society; instead, the rest of society was to be brought the
precious message that bound the community together. The new faith thus
completely eliminated the old rationale for the isolation of the community,
and with that, the rationale for the old social forms. The role of the
bishop was especially redundant in the new system, for although the com-
munity still needed a spiritual head, it did not need a community rep-
resentative to administer an isolationist discipline, and individuals
with a sense of their own purpose were quite willing to take over the
spiritual leadership. The basic conflict between the community and the
individual, itself an expression of the underlying logical alternatives
inherent in the community project, was outlined in the debates over

mission work.

The Conference leadership, however, could support the concept of missions work in the context of providing congregations for those who had none. This meant that the establishment of Conference supported and initiated projects could take place, but only when local congregations were crowded and needed space to expand, or when there was no local church to minister to the Amish Mennonite population at the time. In the post-war period, there was a considerable expansion of the church programme, along with some changes in the organization of the mission work of the Conference. These new missions projects were not as specifically linked to the dedication of certain individuals, but were more community planned and administered. Though they did tend to gather more evangelical people (and were sometimes considered an appropriate home for those with evangelical inclinations by those without), they were established on the older pattern of churches. We will now turn to an investigation of these new congregations.

The first mission church sponsored by the Conference was the River- dale church in Millbank. The missions committee of the Conference was expanded from the original three members to five in 1943, and had been looking around for ways to extend the mission programme of the Conference. This missions programme took on the task first of providing a senior citizen's home in the south in 1945. In 1946, it purchased an old and unused Presbyterian church in Millbank, which was a small town north and west of the Wellesley congregation area. The new congregation existed as a mission for only one year; after that, it was filled up by those people from the Poole and Wellesley congregations living in the area. It was given congregational status in 1947. The congregation was organized along more traditional lines than were later evangelical congregations. A minister was ordained in 1948, and a deacon in 1949. In 1951, the congregation decided to ordain a bishop. This was the only bishop ordained in a congregation established after the mission expansion programme of the 1940's. As it turned out, both the deacon and the minister were nominated for the office, and the lot fell to the deacon, an unusual event. The bishop later left the Conference altogether with several members from the new congregation; that story comes later.

The next mission congregation to be established was that at Ailsa

Craig, already mentioned. The leader of the movement to establish this congregation left for London soon after, to establish a mission there. Part of the mission efforts he directed resulted in the formation of an Amish Mennonite church in London in 1953. This congregation, now called Valleyview, has continued as a more mainline evangelical congregation, trying to attract people from non-Mennonite background, as well as serving the needs of those Mennonites in London.

In the later 1940's, one of the members of the Presbyterian church in Crosshill, about five miles north of the Maple View church building, approached the local Mennonite ministers. The congregation had dwindled, and the church officials were contemplating selling the building to the Township of Wellesley for use as a community hall. But this older person wished to see the building continue as a church, and asked the Mennonites in the area if they would be willing to purchase it and use it for worship services. There was some debate about the matter, but the decision was that the congregation was indeed getting larger, and that it might be worthwhile to purchase the building. Just whether the ministers made the decision, or whether it was the mission board of the Conference in consultation with them isn't clear. There was, however, some feeling that the trustees of the Maple View congregation should have been the ones to make the final purchase decision. Once the purchase was made, however, the issue was settled.

Once the building was purchased, the expectation was that those people living in the Crosshill area would go to the new building for services. At first there was no regular ordained man assigned to the congregation, as it was not established as a group in its own right, but as an extension of Maple View. A Sunday school superintendent was assigned to the building, and eventually the ordained men arranged their schedules so that Sunday services might be held at both meeting houses. This meant that the service took place at ten Sunday morning at Crosshill while Maple View was holding Sunday school. The ministers would then travel back to Maple View for the morning worship service, and Sunday school would be held at Crosshill.

The congregation held a rather ambiguous status vis-a-vis the home congregation. Several families left the already small group to form the

Zion missionary church in Wellesley already mentioned. Others left with the Conservative Mennonite split, to be detailed later. Because the numbers did not swell at Crosshill, it did not attain autonomy from the home church until 1970. For some members, it was merely more of Maple View, for the benches were crowded at home. For others, it was the little sister congregation, or as some called it, the back fifty, where church affairs simply weren't so important. For yet others, it was the dumping ground for those that did not like the church policy at Maple View. This meant especially that the more openly evangelical members were encouraged to attend, or selected to attend, this congregation. This was one of the explanations why several left to form the new missionary church in Wellesley. We will continue with the history of this congregation in detailing the Conservative Mennonite split, and in outlining the debates of the 1950's and 1960's.

The final missionary effort resulting in a new congregation took hold in 1952 in Stratford. The congregation began as a Sunday school, which then developed as a Bible school held during the summer for young children. Finally the group became large enough to approach the Conference about status as a congregation. This was granted in 1952; the congregation was called the Avon congregation. The original founder of the Sunday school, and another layman, served as first lay, then licenced ministers until 1962, at which time another man took over. The congregation has remained rather small, but has a larger attendance than membership.

Although this completes the summary of the mission churches established in the post-war years, a complete outline of the growth of the church at this time would be incomplete without some indication of changes in the established congregations. The years from 1940-55 were years of considerable expansion and renovation of the churches traditionally members of the Conference. The expansion programmes were mostly because of population pressure on the existing facilities; the renovations were partly an answer to the growing numbers attending, and partly an answer to the new activities of the church after the revival movement. Alterations in the interior design of the churches reflected the newer understanding of the worship service, and the need for extra room for

Sunday school. We will detail those changes now.

The original Amish congregation in Canada was in Wilmot Township.
The population here had expanded so that two meeting places were filled
on alternate Sundays by the time meeting houses were built. By 1939,
services were held at both places each Sunday, though ministers and
Sunday school superintendents alternated, the two being considered one
congregation. Gradually, however, the two meeting places each began
to form a separate congregation.

Renovations were begun on the southern building, called the Stein-
man's church after the donor of the land. The building was considered
inadequate, especially for Sunday school, as it had no basement. The
old building was torn down, and a new brick structure was erected, with
a full basement. At this time, the new building was reoriented, with
the long axis perpendicular to the main road in front. Only one en-
trance door was placed in the front, and there was a small foyer in
front of the auditorium.

Although there was a dwindling congregation in the northern building
near St. Agatha, renovations were also begun in 1948. The pulpit was
placed along one of the shorter walls; shortly thereafter the building
was jacked up, turned with the long axis perpendicular to the road,
and placed on a new foundation with a basement. This renovation pro-
gramme was completed in 1953. By 1957, the St. Agatha congregation had
become independent of the Steinman's congregation.

Although the congregations in Wilmot Township renovated their
facilities to conform to new uses of the church building, their numbers
did not grow tremendously. The other southern congregation, however,
experienced considerable growth in the period from 1935 to 1965. In 1925,
the old meeting house in East Zorra Township was enlarged to accommodate
the growing membership. In 1935, another vacant church building was
acquired in the settlement of Cassel. This congregation was given auton-
omy in 1950. But the crowding at the home church was not alleviated.
Church meetings started in the nearby town of Tavistock in 1942. The
group there rented a Presbyterian church until 1949, when the building
was sold. In 1950 the group erected their own building, and became a
separate group. Finally, the original building in East Zorra was removed

and another built to replace it in 1951.

Expansion in the north was dealt with mostly by the purchase of the two churches in Millbank and Crosshill, as already outlined. The Maple View congregation had erected a new building in 1928, frame with insulbrick siding, and with a full basement for Sunday school activities. The Poole congregation had made renovations to its building, so that by 1946 a basement had been added.

Thus the period from 1945-55 was marked by various forms of church expansion. All the original congregations either renovated their facil- ities, or expanded into more than one meeting place, or both during this time. Some of this expansion was due apparently to population pressure alone, some of it to the desire for mission work, and all of it was un- doubtedly financed by the increased prosperity of the post-war years.

Prosperity and Economic Change

We have outlined the pattern of internal reorganization follow-
ing the revival movement of the 1940's. Changes in community organi-
zation at this time, however, were not restricted to the church. In
this chapter, we shall document some of the important economic changes
following World War II, and their impact on the community. The most
significant change came from the increased prosperity in farming follow-
ing the War. Commodity prices paid to farmers rose more quickly than
did farm costs during the period from 1945-1955. This money was spent
on modernizing the farm. Electricity was installed, and new machines
were purchased for field work. Mechanization decreased the need for
reciprocal farm labour within the community, and also for shared family
labour. Young people of the Western Ontario Conference began to work
off the farm for wages, and thereby to increase the disposable income
within the family. The economic changes of the post-War years therefore
tended to break down the isolation of the farm community, and to give
the individual access outside the boundary. Eventually, changes in farm-
ing tended to make it more a business than a lifestyle, and thus to intro-
duce into the community a kind of rationalized production process. These
changes involved the person as an individual in a kind of social exper-
ience that called for legitimations in rationalized terms, and tended to
discredit the traditional Amish ideology.

Prosperity from 1943-1954

Farmers point out that the period from 1942-1954 was especially
profitable, and independent evidence bears them out. During the period
following World War II, established farmers were rather cautious about ex-
panding their operations, fearing another depression. Farm produce prices,
however, continued to rise until the middle 1950's. Farmers point out
that during this period most people put in electricity. As long as a cer-
tain number of residents along a country road were willing to sign up, the
power company would string a line along the road. Each household, however,
had to pay for the line from the road to his own house, and supply the
poles. The farmer also had to bear the expense of wiring the house and
barn. The total cost of installing electricity could easily be several
thousand dollars. Once the wiring was complete, the household could purch-

ase washing machines, stoves, and refrigerators, and milking machines for
the barn. Many people also modernized their homes with new linoleum,
fresh wallpaper and paint, and new furniture.

The period following the Great Depression of the 1930's must have
seemed comparatively bountiful to any farmer. The prosperity of the
1940's however, was apparently unequalled in this century. One indicator
of this prosperity is the comparison of price indices. Various cost and
price indices are presented in Appendix L, along with a discussion of
their derivation. The price indices attempt to show the basic income a
farmer could expect from his operation, while the cost indices suggest how
much he paid to run his operation. The index value of 100 is the same for
both indices, which means that only relative changes can be assessed.
These changes, however, show clearly that prices rose steadily between
1942-1954, and at a faster rate than costs. We also see that the ratio
of prices to costs during the period was higher than at any time before or
since. Figures for farm income for Ontario, also given in Appendix L, sug-
gest the same pattern.

A more refined indication of the profitability of the farming opera-
tion can be obtained from a comparison of the indices for wholesale prices,
also given in Appendix L. If we compare the prices paid for animal produce
to those for manufactured goods, we see the same steep rise in farm produce
prices during the period after World War II. Since most of the farmers in
the Wellesley area obtained their income from the sale of animal produce,
this index suggests the basic profitability of farming at the time.

Graphs of actual prices paid to farmers for produce are reproduced
in Appendix M. The price paid for beef during the period from 1935 to 1970
rises more or less constantly, with a significant jump in price from 1948 to
1952. The price of eggs fluctuates more widely, but also shows a signifi-
cant rise from 1940 to 1950. Prices for pork show a pattern similar to
that for eggs. Butterfat prices rise from about 1940 to about 1948; the
price for fluid milk shows the best rise from 1945 to 1950. The general
implication is that farmers ought to have been doing well during the period
in question.

We can, however, document the rise in farm prosperity indirectly
for the Wellesley region itself, not just for Ontario as a whole. One set
of data comes from the records of the Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm Aid
Union, the other from the records regarding mortgages discharged during
the late 1940's and early 1950's.   The insurance records show that

the insured value of farms rose significantly in the later 1940's,
while the records of mortgages cleared shows an unusually high percentage
of discharged mortgages during the period.

A general outline of the Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm Aid Union
is contained in Appendix D. The Union insured only fire and storm damage
loss to buildings and stock. Each member declared the insured value of
his property, and paid according to this assessment. Collections for
losses to this property (excluding tractors and electric motors, which
were insured separately), were taken as needed. The rate charged each
member per thousand dollars taken insured is listed in Appendix D. The
rate at which members were assessed remained the same for all these
collections, except for the collection of 1952, which was assessed at
one half of the other collection rates. Thus differences in assessed
shares collected from each member reflect the rising or falling value of
property insured. It is easy to transform the assessed share into a
property valuation; the assessment books exist as a record of shares
paid. The results of this survey are shown in the tables in Appendix D.
The tables list increases in assessed value, taking the 1947 collection
as a base. Figures are also listed by congregation. We can thus see how
much the personal property in farms increased in value during this period,
at what rate it increased, and how much variation there was among the
congregations.

By 1954 the insured values for farms had more or less doubled;
during this time, the index of farm costs had risen by about 40%. Thus
the rise in value represents a real input of money by the owner, not
merely a rise in value of the items already on the farm. The rate of
rise in value is quite even from 1947-1955, amounting to about $1,890.
each year. All the curves follow one another closely, which suggests
that members from both the Western Ontario and Beachy Amish congregations
were investing equally in their operations at the time. This suggests
that both the Beachy Amish and their neighbours were subject to the
same technological pressures of modernization, and at about the same time.
If we seek to explain differences in the types of change between the two
groups, we will have to look beyond purely technological factors.

The other set of figures that points to the prosperity of the
Wellesley area during the period from 1942-54 concerns the number of
mortgages discharged after 1950. Farmers report that discharging the
mortgage by repaying the money owed with interest was one of the first
responsibilities of the farmer. When he had spare cash, it went into
the mortgage. Thus to a certain extent, the number of mortgages dis-
charged from the property without subsequent mortgage being applied
shows the amount of cash available to the farmer. What the figures
show is that during the period from 1945 to 1955, a far higher percentage
of mortgages granted was discharged than in periods before or since.
The actual figures, and the various corrections applied to them to ob-
tain the results mentioned, are listed in Appendix B.

Mechanization of the Farm

The income that farmers enjoyed during the period from 1942-1954
was applied by most to the purchase of farm implements to ease the de-
pendency on outside labour. The purchase of new sources of power for
the farm caused a number of crucial changes in the farming operation,
and in the general economic structure of the community as a whole.
Tractor power for the fields and electrical power for the barn have not
only speeded up the operations and made them more efficient, but have
also created an incentive for the purchase of yet further implements
designed to take advantage of the new power supplies. Machinery increas-
ed the working capacity of the farmer, thus allowing a greater size in
the operation, and a greater efficiency in operations of the same size.

The coming of tractor power was probably the most significant
single change in the mode of handling crops since the introduction of
the binder in the late 1800's. Tractors would keep working ideally as
long as there was gas in the tank. They did not require the farmer to
grow special kinds of feed for them. They required less time than horses
to care for, lasted longer, and worked harder. Once tractors became
widespread, various machines for handling crops were redesigned to take
advantage of the greater working capacity of the tractor. The tractor
is more than a replacement for a horse in pulling power; it is also a
mobile source of rotary power. Efficient engines could be hitched to

new implements that would perform tasks not possible with horsepower.

Tractors suitable for use on the farms in Ontario were listed in the 1938 price list for the Massey Harris Company. (see Appendix C). These tractors became available at the same time that farmers were becoming capable of paying for them. The issue of tractors, and the insurance on them, arose in the Fire and Storm Aid Union in 1942. At that time, it was decided to establish a separate collection for tractors and electrical motors, in deference to the Old Order members of the Union, who objected to these innovations on ideological grounds. The first actual collection was taken in 1946, at which point about 57% of the farmers in the Union actually had tractors. By the collection of 1958, almost all the farmers had at least one tractor. Such figures are also supported by the census figures on tractors, given in Appendix C. As was the case with the increased overall assessment value of property insured with the Union, tractors were owned by the Beachy Amish in approximately the same percentage as by Western Ontario Conference members.

Changes in other machinery followed the introduction of the tractor. The actual figures for the new machines are contained in Appendix C. Deep plowing used to be done by a man walking behind the team of two horses with his single-furrow plow. Tractor power made two and three furrow plows possible; by the late 1950's, four-furrow plows were available. Today, a large tractor may pull a seven or eight furrow plow. Tractors also pull larger seed drills, cultivators, and discs.

Harvesting machinery experienced a major change with the introduction of the tractor. During the 1940's, the grain combine was introduced, to replace the binder and the threshing rig. A pull combine for attachment to the tractor was available from 1941 on, though they were mostly replaced by the self-propelled combine after 1958. The combine brought in a different way of handling the grain crop. This material on handling field crops is documented in Appendix N.

Tractor-powered hay mowers and side rakes were available by 1953, and a large fork was available for carrying the hay into the barn. Around 1952, the bailer was introduced, and quickly won acceptance.

Although expensive when first introduced, the machine won such approval that volume sales permitted the price to drop soon after introduction. Recently, forage harvestors have replaced bailers for some farmers.

While the tractor revolutionized the handling of field crops, the introduction of electricity changed the labour of the farmer in the barn just as radically. With the introduction of electric motors, it became possible to develop milking machines that were easy to transport and use. The milking machine made it possible for a man to milk a herd of thirty cows each day by himself if he worked hard at it. Electrical refrigeration also permitted bulk holding of milk on the farm. Originally, milking machines simply milked the cow; the milk had to be poured by hand into the milk cans, or later the bulk tank. Eventually, pipeline milking setups were developed, in which the milk is pumped directly into the bulk tank. Such a milking system could be installed on the cattle stalls in the barn, or in a special milking parlour. In the latter arrangement, the cows are brought to the milking machines, with a saving in stabling and machine costs.

Electric motors were also installed on stable cleaners. Manure had to be pushed into the gutters, but the machine did the rest of the work, saving laborious hand loading. Electric feed systems have also been developed to deliver silage to cattle.

Gasoline engines had been used in barns previously to run some machines, but the modern system of milking machines and stable cleaners came after the introduction of electricity. The census material shows that the number of gasoline engines on the farm declined from 1931 to 1956, while the number of farms with electricty rose steeply (Appendix C).

Effects of Mechanization

The effects of mechanization on the farm were essentially two-fold. Mechanization decreased the need for human labour on the farm, and decreased the time spent in performing various farm chores. Before machinery, farmers depended on sharing the labour of farm work with neighbours, or on hiring farm help at certain seasons. This was especially true at harvest time, when large labour parties were the rule to take advantage

of the ripe crops during good weather. The more machinery the farmer
had, however, the less he depended on this labour exchange. It was still
possible to share labour, or to share implements with willing relatives
or neighbours. Generally, however, farmers own their own machines. The
problem with sharing most machines is that they are used intensively
during certain times of the year. This is most true of seeding and
harvesting machinery. The farmer that seeds and harvests during the
optimum times will get a much better yield than the man who has to wait
for machinery until he had helped someone else. The only exception to
this rule is with corn harvesting equipment. The machinery for harvest-
ing corn is expensive, especially for a self-propelled combine (about
$20,000. in 1973), so that it pays a farmer with only a small acreage in
corn to have his corn cut by a custom operator.

Thus with machinery, there was less opportunity for a young man to
find work on local farms. Sons and daughters were not needed for farm
labour as the farmer mechanized; they were free within the Western Ontario
congregations to work for wages where they could. Of course, as the
young people began to work for wages, there was even less labour avail-
able, which spurred more investment in machinery, and more free time for
the young people.

The changes in occupation that followed mechanization are documented
in Appendix O. What the tables here show is that the Beachy Amish congre-
gations have not permitted their children to work off the farms. The few
people that do work off the farm tend to remain in the local towns for
work, instead of going to the cities. On the other hand, a goodly percent-
age of the members of the Western Ontario Conference congregational mem-
bers are non-farm wage earners. There are no professional people except
nurses, very few teachers, and no civil servants. Since 1930, there have
been more and more young people choosing not to farm. Similar patterns
occur in the list of men joining the Fire and Storm Aid Union. The data
here show occupation by year of joining, and for farmers, the source of
the farm.

The number of non-farmers is increasing steadily in the Western
Ontario Conference, but not among the Beachy Amish.

We can also ascertain from the previous table the kind of land
arrangements made by young men taking up farming. The number of young
men taking over the family farm remains fairly constant in both the
Wellesley and Beachy Amish congregations. About 32% of the young people
in the congregations take over their father's farm. Among the Beachy
Amish, the number taking over farms from other Amish Mennonites also
remains more or less constant. But this number declines steadily in the
Wellesley congregation after 1925. The number of new farms being pur-
chases by Amish Mennonites from non-Mennonites is steady in the Beachy
congregations, but falls steadily in the Western Ontario groups. What
these data suggest is that if the son cannot inherit the farm in the
Western Ontario group, he is not likely to choose farming as a career.
The Beachy Amish, on the other hand, have a commitment to farming. We
shall examine the reason for this pattern in the discussion of the
changes in agriculture after 1960.

As Amish Mennonite young people began to work off the farm for
wages, they discovered that their preparation for wage labour was limited
by their lack of education. Interestingly, the changes in patterns of
education develop only in the later 1960's. Most of the people in both
the Beachy and Western Ontario groups did not attend high school before
this time, whereas most among the Western Ontario group did after 1965.
The Beachy Amish, like the Old Order Amish, consider that education
past grade 8 is unnecessary, and only one or two of the members of these
congregations has attended high school.

The move to high school education took place in the middle 1960's--
by 1970, all children were urged to finish grade 12, and many went on to
job-related training after high school. The justification for further
job training was mainly economic. Parents could see that farming was
not going to be an occupation for all young people, and that to fit into
the economic system of the wider economy, it was necessary to have educa-
tional credits. The financial hardships of assuming the farming operation
deterred many from a farming career. People still feel farming is the
right lifestyle for raising a family, but perhaps feel farming is a less
prestigious occupation, and one of hard physical labour with low financial

returns. Many people wished to attend high school themselves, but
were prevented from doing so by having to work on the farm. Several
people suggested that they had wished to have a different future, and
have tried to ensure that for their children.

Changes in the Farming Operation During the 1950's and 1960's

Mechanization of the operation decreased the dependency of the
farmer on outside labour, though at the same time it increased his de-
pendency on the outside in terms of supply. The impact of mechanization
continued to make itself felt during the 1950's and 1960's in the redis-
tribution of farming tasks. During this time, a number of changes were
made in the farm itself that tended to change it from what had formerly
been a kind of lifestyle into a business operation. Just as the mechan-
ization of the farm depended on the increase in money available to the
farmer during the later 1940's and early 1950's, so these later changes
essentially rested on the financial constraints that made themselves
felt during the period after 1955. Specialization in only one form of
farming enterprise became more widespread, especially as a way of utiliz-
ing machinery more efficiently. Stress was put on the intensification
of the operation, so that the maximum production was extracted from fields
and animals. Market decisions became more and more important in the
farmer's planning. In all this, the modern farm became increasingly a
rational economic organization itself. What is interesting is that even
this form of operation can be controlled by a system of discipline, as
long as individuals do not leave the community for work as wage labour-
ers. These themes of the rationalization of the modern farm, and the
possibility of its containment in a system of discipline, will be pursued
in this section.

The index value of farm costs rises more or less steadily from
1940 until 1972. The value of farm produce, however, begins to fall in
1952, and although the indices are well separated until 1955, they clear-
ly reflect that costs were catching up to the rise in prices of the later
1940's. Farm produce prices remained more or less steady until 1964.
From 1961 on, the two indices have followed one another closely. (see
Appendix L).

What the indices of prices and costs suggest is that after the profitable years of the 1940's and 1950's, farming became again an operation that could only be profitable by good management and careful planning. The problems of running a mechanized farm became increasingly the problems of money management. More and more money became tied up in the machinery itself as the farm was modernized. Furthermore, money became tied up in the land itself, as prices began to rise.

The actual figures for the value of land in the Wellesley area are given in Appendix A. What the tables in this appendix show is that the price of land, which had reached a peak in the period around 1920, fell to a low during the 1930's, but then remained more or less stable until 1955. After this time, the price of land steadily increased. The increase in land values was sufficient to make many young people ask themselves if they were willing to shoulder the burden of running a farm that cost so much in the first place. Mortgage money was lent at interest, and the interest alone on the capital needed to buy the farm land and the machinery would have been substantial during the period around 1955. The farmer would have needed several thousand dollars simply to pay interest and taxes on the land and machinery. The mixed farming operation was sufficient to provide a living for a farm family, but it did not return large amounts of cash, and certainly not on a steady basis. Thus it is not surprising that a number of young men, who had the choice to make, decided not to adopt farming as a lifestyle.

As farm land increased in value, it became more and more difficult to find lenders able to provide mortgage money. Traditionally the mortgage money came from the previous owner, or from another individual in the community interested in investing cash. The tables for the sources of mortgage funds listed in Appendix B show that the sources for mortgages changed considerably after 1955. The number of mortgages granted by the previous owners remained more or less constant. The number of third parties holding mortgages, however, declined. Their numbers were replaced by institutional lenders. These lenders were more demanding in

their conditions, wanting repayment at regular intervals. They might also be more strict in evaluating the land for mortgage purposes, protecting their loans by allowing a maximum mortgage of only a certain percentage of the property value. Eventually private individuals could not compete at all in the mortgage market, as the sums involved were far too large. Many private institutional lenders were superceded by government lending agencies, such as the Ontario Junior Farmers Board, or the Farm Credit Corporation.

The Farm Credit Corporation, while it provided funds at a preferential rate of interest to farmers, could be strict in the conditions it imposed on the farmer. At present, there are two basic conditions under which mortgage money is granted. If the farmer is well-established, and has an operation that is running smoothly and efficiently, the mortgage may be granted simply on the value of the land as collateral. The mortgage may be for up to 75% of the land value. In the case of a young farmer, the loan must be secured by all farm and family possessions. Under this scheme, the farmer pledges all he has as security for the loan. The Farm Credit Corporation supervises all financial planning. The Corporation provides an accounting system for the farm, which the farmer must use. The Corporation provides a monthly report to the farmer as a computer printout of the information in the accounting scheme. All expenses over one hundred dollars, personal or business, must be approved by the Corporation. Under this kind of scheme, the farmer is essentially working as a manager under the Corporation's system. He does not have enough collateral to secure a private loan from the bank at a preferential rate over the passbook rate, and must thus find any extra money he needs from passbook loans, or from loan companies. Such a system severely restricts the modernization or expansion a farmer may undertake. Farmers under this system have benefited, however, from the recent inflation in land values. As the farms themselves become worth more and more each year, they are able to renegotiate the terms of the mortgage, perhaps borrowing more money, but still having something left over as collateral for other loans.

The rise in land prices, and in mortgage interest rates and taxes,

meant that the farmer had to concern himself more and more with the economies of his operation. The farm had to be run so as to produce money. Much of that money was required to pay the interest and taxes on mortgages. Money was also needed for personal items and for the replacement and modernization of the farm equipment. This demand for more money resulted in a number of changes in the farming style of the area.

In order to increase the flow of money, the farmer could expand his operation, or make it more efficient, or both. It was difficult, however, to develop either strategy to the extent he might have liked. Expansion of the operation was limited by the high cost of acquiring new farmland. The cost of buying a second farm could be high enough that it would consume any profits made on the new farm, and thus add nothing to the overall income of the farmer. Land was available for sale in the Wellesley area, but not in large quantities, and not nec-essarily in a location convenient to the home farm. The problem of ex-pansion in terms of land was made more acute in that the number of farm animals was expanding. The farmer could milk thirty cows instead of the ten cows kept in the 1920's. Thirty cows, however, ate more than three times what the ten cows of the 1920's ate, as they were being fed more so that they would produce more milk. The farm of one hundred acres would only just feed the new herd. A farmer that wished to raise pigs as well as cattle would need more acreage. While few farmers actually purchased farmland, many could find land to rent. This was an excellent solution to the expansion problem, as the rent was itself very reasonable. In 1973, it was still possible to find land for rent at $15-$20. an acre in the Wellesley area, as opposed to $50. an acre further south. At the time, land was worth approximately $300. an acre, which translated into a payment of about $21. per acre for mortgage interest and $7. for taxes. Renting the land was thus a very reasonable way of providing extra crop space. Rented land was available from those who owned land, but did not wish to farm it, from widows who remained on the land and rented it out, and from land speculators who bought land in the area, and were glad to have the rent to pay the interest and taxes.[1]

Mechanization had made the farmer capable of expanding the scale

of the operation on the original farm too. Figures show that the number of cattle and hogs rose steadily on farms. A man could, with modern barn machinery, handle many more feedings, milkings, and stable cleanings than before. Scientific seed development meant increased crop yields, and the modern machinery helped seeding and harvest, to maximize the number of plants yielding produce.

Farmers also sold more by concentrating more closely on one aspect of agricultural production. The old mixed farm was superceded by specialized operations. A dairy herd of thirty animals was a full-time job for a man without help. Many farmers decided to sell off the hogs and chickens, and concentrate on the dairy herd. Others kept hogs alone; only a few kept chickens. The introduction of new crops, especially good silage corn, and a husking or grain corn that would mature in the area permitted the farmers to concentrate their operations on the production of fattened animals. Buying beef from the western provinces and fattening it on silage and grain corn for finishing became a viable operation during the later 1960's.[2]

Farmers also developed new kinds of schemes for making money. One such scheme was the custom cutting of corn, which is mentioned elsewhere. Another was the sale of pure-bred cattle as breeding stock. While none of the local farmers were wealthy enough to set themselves up as suppliers of bulls to the local breeding units, many could sell pure-bred milking cows. The farmer needed only a certain number of young cattle to replace milkers in his own herd, and the herd size could not very conveniently be expanded past about thirty cattle without hiring outside labour. It was possible, however, to sell the extra young heifers to other farmers, and even to buyers abroad, as long as the young cattle had good pedigrees. We will discuss the breeding of cattle shortly. The importance of the selling of cattle as breeding stock in financial terms was considerable. The farmer could easily earn half of his milk earnings again in the sale of breeding cattle.

The breeding of cattle became a form of increasing the productivity of the farm, instead of its volume of sales. Since the actual expansion of the farming operation was limited, farmers had to get the

most out of the production possibilities of their home farm. Effi-
ciency was practised in every area.

Farmers in the local area had always been dependent on the out-
side for technical expertise, but this dependence increased with the
increasing efficiency of the operation. The farmer depended on the
local seed and feed dealer to provide him with the cropseed that would
yield the best for him. Such seed was tailored sometimes not merely to
the local area, but even to local variations in soil types within the
area. Hybrid seed cannot be resown--the crop is always completely used
or sold, and new seed is purchased in the spring. Increased yields for
field crops meant less labour for the same output, and a more efficient
use of the farm machinery that was available. Animal breeding also in-
creased the yield of the animal.[3] Dairy cattle were bred that would give
more milk and stand up better under the strain of heavy milking. This
meant a physically larger animal that was an efficient converter of feed
into milk. The increase in size of dairy cattle was quite considerable.
Barn stabling installed during the 1940's was simply too short and narrow
for the cows of the 1970's. Large pure-bred cows put into such stalls
had their back feet in the waste gutter when their heads were in the
stanchions.

Along with the breeding of better animals went the tailoring of
feeding regimes to the animals. This was a parallel to the regimes
of proper fertilization of the fields, worked out by the local seed and
feed dealer, or at the Agricultural School at Guelph. The amount of
dairy ration given as a supplement to promote good milking was carefully
controlled. An animal was fed exactly according to its productivity.
Those animals that were not producing as well as others in the herd were
culled. In tailoring the feeding regime to the productivity of the
animal, the farmer was basically pushing the productive capacity of his
stock to its limits. Similarly the farmer that put artificial fertilizer
and weed spray on the fields was forced to put on exactly the right
amount to maximize efficiency. The productive system began to run within
a very narrow range between profitability and loss. A farmer working in
this kind of system had to monitor the operation closely, and maintain

6-19

Division I Income	Division II Expenses	
Cattle	Feed/Straw	Building Repair
Swine	Vet/Breeder Fees	Fence Repair
Milk	Fertilizer/Weed Spray	Machine Gas/Oil
Milk Subsidy	Cattle Purchase	Machine Repair
Other	Swine Purchase	Auto Gas/Oil
	Seed/Planting	Auto Repair
	Twine/Containers	Custom Work
	Telephone/Hydro	Other--land rent
		--mortgage
		--association dues

The farm as a productive enterprise has clearly affected the distribution of categories, but has not completely determined it. As a productive enterprise, for instance, the sale of milk is one part of the operation. Yet the distinction is made between the actual milk cheques and the money from milk subsidy payments. Considerations of taxation have separated machine from automobile payments. The scheme reflects also the contexts in which the farmer is likely to pay or receive money and thus have separate receipts.

An accounting system reflects the increasing use of a strategic logic in the farming operation. The system of money and accounting becomes a separate model of the operation, allowing the farmer to make financial decisions which then translate into actions within the productive sphere. The farmer actually works within two worlds--the world of finance, and the world of production. In general, the world of finance becomes a control system organizing decisions in the productive world.

The modern system of representing the farm operation in financial terms is only one example of the growing tendency in farming to quantify the production process. The farmer today is asked not merely to run his accounting according to monetary principles, but also his production process. With the need to increase efficiency on the farm came the need to measure the efficiency of various operations. Some way of representing productive processes in terms of numbers had to be developed on the farm. We will give one such example, relating to the enumeration of dairy cattle. With such enumeration schemes, the farmer can make productive decisions in terms of a strategic system. Thus in the modern farming situation, the operator deals with the market strategically, as he always did, and

he deals with the productive process strategically. This rationaliza-
tion of the productive process represents a major change in the opera-
tion of the farm itself, making it in structure more akin to the modern
factory.

One could write at considerable length about the numbers applied
to cattle. We will simply summarize the various systems by which
dairy cattle are enumerated. Actual documents showing the enumeration
of cattle are given in Appendix P.

Most farmers in the Wellesley area who raise dairy cattle have
Holstein-Friesiens. This breed of dairy cow gives a higher volume of
milk than do other breeds, with an acceptable level of butterfat. Smaller
breeds, such as the Guernsey or Jersey, give a higher percentage of butter-
fat in the milk, but do not give as much milk. Since the farmer is basic-
ally paid for the volume of milk, although he does get a premium for
extra butterfat, it pays to produce more milk. Fewer animals are needed
to produce a given quantity of milk with Holsteins, which means less
stabling, and less time choring. The Holstein also gives more value in
meat when slaughtered. Finally, there is a market for pure-bred Hol-
steins as breeding stock. Such a market is much smaller for the other
breeds.

Many dairy farmers in the area have begun to develop pure-bred
Holstein herds. The pedigree of each animal is registered at the Holstein
registry office in Brattleboro, Vermont. The genealogy of each cow is
carefully kept, and the name of the sire for each calf recorded. Thus
each cow carries the record of her pedigree when she is born. In addi-
tion, the Holstein-Friesian Association rates all dairy cattle for their
members. Accredited judges from the association rate each cow, and may
rerate the cow as she matures. The rating system for the average herd
runs from "good" through "good +" to "very good". Some cattle will be
only "fair", but such an animal will not survive long in a pure-bred
herd. Occasionally a cow earns the rating of "excellent". The rating
system is based on the appearance of the animal. The judge examines the
bone structure of the animal, the udder, the coat and markings, and the
feet of the cow. The rating system is said to reflect the ability of

the animal to continue to milk heavily over a long period of time. The
heavy production of milk puts a physical strain on the cow, and the
rating system takes into account those areas of an animal's anatomy
that must stand up to this strain. The ratings may or may not be a
good indication of milk production. They seriously affect the sale of
the animal, or her daughters, as breeding stock. When young cattle
are sold, it is the pedigree and rating of the mother and sire, and
often others in the same line, that set her value. There is consider-
able pressure to breed "for type", as it is called.

     ·   This rating system is not the only one applied to cattle. Dairy
farmers today breed cattle by artificial insemination. Bull semen is
stored at breeding units, of which farmers are members. Such semen is
purchased by the farmer, and the cow is serviced by the breeding unit.
As a bull builds a record with the unit, his statistics are sent out
to members. Thus a certain bull may have many progeny who milk heavily,
or who have good feet. A farmer compares the rating of the animal from
the breeding unit with the characteristics of his own cows, and then
selects semen on the basis of improving those characteristics of his
herd presently below average. Many farmers will buy a quantity of bull
semen when a particular animal seems like a worthy sire for the herd,
and have it stored at the breeding unit for them. As certain sires are
proved, the semen may become quite valuable; there is a trade in bull
semen, and certain farmers will speculate on it. In order to take ad-
vantage of the information about breeding, the farmer must thus rate his
own cows, and decide what characteristics he wishes to breed into his
herd.

     The original idea behind selective breeding of cattle was to pro-
duce cows that would milk long and hard, and would convert feed effi-
ciently into milk. Two government agencies monitor the productivity
of cattle, giving the farmer a good idea of just how well each cow in
the herd is milking. Once a farmer knows which animals are milking
best, he knows which ones to cull, and which to breed for even better
milk production. The Holstein Association gives records to high pro-
ducers, but the most important system of rating production is monitored

through either the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, or the Record
of Performance. The first of these groups is sponsored by the Ontario
government, and may be joined by all dairy farmers in the province,
whether their cattle are pure-bred or not. The ROP scheme is adminis-
tered by the Federal government, and is only for pure-bred cattle.

Both schemes are similar in the kind of information collected
from the farmer, and the kind of information given back to him. A gov-
ernment tester visits each farm every six weeks. The tester comes for
the evening milking, stays overnight, and leaves after the morning milk-
ing. At each milking, the milk from each cow is weighed, and a sample
is taken for butterfat content, which the tester computes. A computer
printout is returned to the farmer, showing the actual information taken
by the tester, and an extension of this information over the six-week
period. The records for each animal are cumulative, and a rating is
given for each animal. A Breed Class Average rating (BCA) is given
for each animal in the herd, comparing her with all other milking cows
in the province. An overall BCA is also assigned to the herd. A final
comparison is provided between each cow and the herd average. Thus the
farmer knows which cows are contributing most to the herd, which are
substandard, and how well his herd compares to others in the province.
The information on milk productivity can be used in culling cattle,
determining which animals to breed, and to which sires, and in setting
up a proper feeding regime.

All this information about the operation of the farm essentially
transforms the farm itself. The farmer deals with two worlds--the world
of animals and plants, and the world of control over them through numbers.
Thus the farmer himself deals today with a productive enterprise that
can no longer be spoken of purely as a discipline. The farm is also
a strategic operation controlled by a system of abstract numerical rep-
resentations. The farmers of today have rationalized their economic
activity.

The economic changes of the period following World War II have
profoundly affected the progressive segments of the Amish Mennonite
community. Economic changes have broken the traditional association be-

tween family, farm, and community. Specialization and intensification
have made each farm unique. Planning is carried out in the rationalized
language of numbers and accounts. Labour is provided by machines, not
through the reciprocal ties to neighbours. Thus within the community
one finds the association of individual and social experience that is
increasingly rationalized.

Along with the rationalization within came increased access to
the outside for individuals. Those working outside had a greater involve-
ment in the money system itself. They began to sell themselves as la-
bourers directly to the employer, thus experiencing the evaluation of
themselves in terms of money.[4] As they worked outside the community,
they were also in contact with the money system as it affected others.
The old unity of the community was broken down as the individual moved
between the several different contexts of his life. In each context,
there were different people. The only category that held his experience
together was that of himself as an individual. In this respect, the
wage labourer confronted the modern economic situation that called for
a modern ideology of strategic rationality. Even those remaining on
the farm eventually encountered a system of increasing rationalization.
People were giving themselves experience that made sense in this ideology.
It did not, however, make sense in the older ideology of church discipline.
Thus there was the confrontation between the two systems.

Experience with the labour market outside the farm, and with the
newer, more rational farm that ran more and more according to the market,
changed the relationship between the individual and his work. The farm-
er was an autonomous person, controlling his own choices within the gen-
eral farming strategy. Although he was dependent on the natural cycles
of growth and maturation, he could organize his own production operation
within these cycles. Thus the farmer had the experience of himself as
one who made autonomous choices. As long as those choices were controll-
ed within the discipline, the choices were acceptable. The key inner
experience here was that the individual having a realm of personal
choice, and carrying out his choices within the context of the disci-
pline. Fitting the situation into the discipline marked the man's

competence. This sense of competence depended on the traditional view
of the individual as ambiguous, having the capacity to choose both
good and evil.

This vision of the individual as the one making choices, and thus
defining his own competence, was lost in the wage labour situation.
The individual worked as merely a part in the overall production pro-
cess, not as an autonomous person. The choices were laid out before
he ever entered the process, affording him no context in which to prove
his own competence. The basic experience of the individual as ambig-
uous was threatened in the modern situation. As Marcuse outlines, the
dialectic logic of the person as both good and evil is flattened out
in the modern system. Individual desires for material purchases be-
come part of the one-dimensional ideology that justifies the system.
An individual in the system can justify it, however, only in the area
of individual consumption. It is the material plenty of the modern
capitalist system that makes it sensible and acceptable. To live in
the system, one must have this domain of personal consumption, as a
place to experience the self as autonomous.

This was precisely the area controlled strictly by the church
discipline. Traditional church organization did not allow the individual
a sphere of autonomy that could make sense of his new experience. Thus
out of the rise in prosperity of the 1940's arose the debates about
church discipline of the 1950's and 1960's. Those debates were phrased
as arguments over acceptable behaviour for the individual, and over who
was to define the boundary, the ordained men or the laymen as individuals.
Thus the debate about the new revival movements of the 1940's and 1950's
was carried out in the context of this kind of economic change. In the
next chapter, we will analyze how the revival faith provided a religious
legitimation of the social experience that arose from economic change.

Religious Change After 1950

Debates about Discipline

During the 1950's and 1960's, the church life of the Wellesley congregation was marked by debates about the place of church discipline in controlling the lifestyles of individual members. There were a number of issues about which such debate took place. In all of these debates, the underlying issue was the place of the elder and the place of the individual in defining right Christian living. The elder, as representative of the community, traditionally had the right and the responsibility for defining and maintaining right standards of Christian living in his congregation. The new revival programme, however, changed the ideology, so that the individual had to take personal responsibility for his own salvation. This meant a personal discipline that expressed the individual's relationship with Christ. No one else but the person himself could define right and wrong in specific cases. It was within this religious context that we must understand the various issues of church discipline.

Issues about acceptable behaviour had always been a part of the Amish Mennonite church experience, but such issues began to multiply during the period from the middle 1950's to 1970. One important area of debate was that of recreation, especially for young people. Traditionally, the only recreation was visiting with other church members, and the Sunday evening hymn sing for the young people. Outside forms of recreation, however, appealed to a number of young people, and became major issues.

Dances, for instance, were forbidden as a form of entertainment. Barn dances, however, were apparently fairly common and quite popular. A number of young Amish boys learned to play musical instruments to entertain at these dances, although musical instruments were also forbidden. Fiddles and guitars were the popular instruments. A number of these young men moved from the accompanying of barn dances to singing country and western spiritual songs accompanied by guitar. These songs were played over the radio, and became quite popular as a kind of folk religious culture within the dominant church ideology. The church

frowned on the dances and the playing of instruments, but apparently
did not always punish offenders. Some young people themselves found
dancing unacceptable--the formation of the Literary Societies during
the 1940's was partly to provide young people with an alternate con-
text in which to meet.

The debates about dancing also included ice skating and roller
skating. Some of the churches allowed ice skating, so long as it was
on the pond. The elders felt the atmosphere of the rink indoors was
not conducive to the Christian life. The skating rink was a place
where Amish Mennonites would mingle with non-Mennonites. In some cases,
young people from congregations that permitted skating on ponds would
marry into a congregation that did not. In such a case, one girl asked
another what to do about the discipline. She was told to agree with
the elder about the ruling, but to do as she pleased. Several people
commented that this was the way some people actually handled the problem
of the discipline, and they felt it wasn't right. It was, however,
fairly common.

Organized sports were not allowed in most congregations. A number
of young boys were good athletes, and had time during the winter to
play hockey. It was not considered right to join organizations outside
the church, and the competitiveness of sports was not in accord with
Amish practice. Sports were another context in which Amish and non-
Amish might associate.

A final issue of entertainment was that of film. Movies were not
acceptable as a form of entertainment, and are still a subject of some
debate. Several times young people caught going to movies were forced
to confess before the congregation. People today are still ambivalent
even about the place of religious films in church life. While they
will attend such films in the local fellowship hall, they will not per-
mit the screening of a film in the church itself during a service. We
will see more of the issue of films later.

Forms of recreation were not the only areas in which the disci-
pline was called into question. The dress codes, especially as they
applied to younger women, were issues of considerable debate. Women

traditionally wore cape dresses in a solid colour with long sleeves.
One woman who joined Maple View from another Western Ontario congrega-
tion was not used to this form of dress as a rule for women her age.
When she joined, the elder insisted she wear a cape dress. She told
him she would not, and she did not. He decided not to make an issue
of her innovation, but a number of other women followed the example.

Women were traditionally baptized and married in black dresses.
During the early 1950's, certain congregations in the south relaxed
this rule, allowing white dresses at baptism and weddings. Many of
the people in the northern part of the settlement area had relatives
in these southern congregations and the innovation was well-known
quite quickly. One woman decided she would be married in a white dress
in the Wellesley meeting house. The elder, however, stated casually
that he would not marry anyone in a white dress, so the plan was dropped.
Shortly thereafter, the ruling was changed, and white dresses were
permitted.

Many of the issues of church discipline concerned the young people.
These were the people most likely to have been affected by the revival
faith. Many of the young people of the time had experience with the
Literary Society, or with revival meetings during the 1940's and early
1950's. A number of people recounted their conversion experience, and
how important it had been to them. These young people took the new
faith at face value, and wanted to express its principles sincerely in
their own lives. This put them in direct confrontation with the elders
of the congregations, who wished to enforce their traditional control
of lifestyle.

Young people were also traditionally a group that had a somewhat
ambiguous status within the congregation. Although they were formal
members, they really had no say in the running of the church. The same
aspects of the traditional church that had made the young people res-
ponsive to the new revival faith during the early part of the century
made them find it persuasive again. Because of their ambiguous status,
the young people also had more regulations and taboos placed on them
than would a more mature person. Thus the weight of the discipline

fell most heavily on those most likely to interpret their experience in other ways.

Young people were also the ones most likely to be involved in wage labour. Mechanization of the farm had left many free to work outside the community. Thus the young people were the ones likely to have encountered the modern working world. They had to deal with this experience as individuals making strategic decisions. Thus they were the ones most likely to be persuaded by the revival faith, which could at least make sense of this new experience in religious terms, in a way the traditional system of discipline could not.

In order to follow the course of a debate more closely, we will concentrate attention here on the issue of television. The acceptability of television was important in the Conservative Amish split of 1956, which will be discussed later. In the course of this debate about television, we can see quite clearly the general argument about the place of discipline being expressed in the specifics of the debate.

During the 1950's, television programming became available in the Wellesley area. About that time, one of the local storekeepers, himself an Amish Mennonite, began to carry television sets. He claims he was the first person to have sold them in the area. Several Amish Mennonite people bought televisions for themselves, apparently thinking there was nothing wrong with them. The religious leaders of the community, however, were uncertain about what effect the television would have, and consequently opposed the innovation. One man remembers the elder looking at the television in the store and saying, "Oh, that's not for our people."

The local elders agreed that anyone who had a television would not be allowed to participate in the communion service. This really meant that the members were excluded from symbolic membership in the community, as participation in the semi-annual service was mandatory for all church members in good standing. Once this rule was announced, several members with televisions had to deal with the problem of what to do with them. Some came to the front and made a formal confession that they had done wrong by purchasing a television, and were then allowed to take communion.

In at least one case, the person who made the confession did not give up the television.

Not everyone, however, was willing to give in to the rule of the elders on this issue. One family head was approached by the elder, but refused to give up the television, saying he saw nothing wrong with it. This person claimed it was none of the church's business whether a member had a television, and that the rule against them was foolish. The elder met with the family several times about the television, but neither side would give in. The elder said the family could not attend communion if the set was kept. The family kept it anyway, and simply did not attend the next two communion services. They did, however, attend regularly on other Sundays. Before each of the communion services, the elder again asked if they were willing to make a confession and give up the television.

Even with the rules against television, more and more people began to buy them. They did not agree with the elders that anyone who had a television was in danger of worldliness. They also felt their individual responsibility in the matter of television outweighed the community responsibility represented by the elder. The elders saw that their stand against television was not going to gain much popular support. In the end, the elders simply stopped speaking out against the television. On visits to members with televisions, the leader was silent about the sets. The one family forbidden to come to communion for a year was simply left to decide that it would be welcome at the next communion. No explanation for the change in attitude was offered by the elder. When there was silence on the issue, people realized the elders no longer opposed the television.

The argument shows that in the debate about particulars, much more general social issues were being debated. A person who purchased a television was making at the same time a statement about his personal responsibility. In claiming that his responsibility for his own salvation outweighed that of the elder, the individuals who purchased televisions were making statements that were not possible in the traditional system. In Amish terms, the individual who did not obey the elder was being will-

ful and disobedient to the will of God. Those who bought televisions,
however, were saying that their obedience was strong--stronger than
it would have been simply to obey the elder. This was an argument about
the entire traditional system.

Thus the debate about the acceptability of television was also
a debate about the organization of the responsibility of the individual.
It was a debate in which the dominance of the old ideology was challeng-
ed from the position of the newer revival ideology. We can say that
most of the arguments about discipline were cast in these religious
terms, even though many who preferred not to follow the discipline
were not doing so merely out of a different religious conviction. This
kind of action challenged the traditional interpretation of the role of
the elder in the community, and the dominance of the Amish ideology.

During the early 1950's, the congregation was thus divided by
two tendencies. The ordained men represented a traditional Amish ap-
proach to the church and its place in social life. In this, they were
backed up by the more conservative members, many of whom had come from
Beachy Amish congregations. Aligned against these interests were those
of the more ardent revivalists, who wished to see more emphasis on
mission efforts outside the boundaries of the community, and more em-
phasis on spiritual awakening within. Many of the members undoubtedly
stood between these two positions. Arguments over the place of the
discipline came to a head over issues such as the acceptability of
the television, and resulted in another division in the church.

Formation of the Conservative Church

All of the northern Western Ontario congregations were involved
in the division during the 1950's. The split began with a difference
of opinion between the ordained men in the Millbank congregation,
but the new group that formed drew supporters from other Western
Ontario groups, as well as from the Beachy Amish. The split itself
illustrates the way in which conservative opinion can assert itself
within the Amish Mennonite faith during periods of ideological
uncertainty. The formation of the Conservative congregation

must be put in the context of the debate over the place of the revival
ideology in the traditional Amish system. Within the Western Ontario
congregations, the position of the ordained men, especially the elder,
contrasts with that of the laymen involved with the revival ideology.
The formation of the Conservative fellowship as a separate group sug-
gests that the ordained men had considerable support from members of
the congregation in maintaining a traditional stance.

The actual division that founded the Conservative congregation
began in the Millbank congregation during the early 1950's. This con-
gregation had been originally set up as a mission church by the Con-
ference mission board. An old Presbyterian church was purchased in
Millbank, and it was expected that the church would provide a place to
conduct evangelical outreach to the surrounding community. A man from
the southern part of the Conference was originally appointed as super-
intendent of the mission, and was later ordained as the first minister
in the congregation. Although the new church was founded as a mission-
ary effort, the membership was made up mostly of Amish Mennonite fam-
ilies from the Wellesley and Poole congregations, many of whom lived
near the church. Many of the families who joined at the time were thus
not attracted by the missionary aim of the congregation, but were simply
leaving a more crowded home congregation to join a new local one, in the
traditional Amish pattern. This meant the congregation had a difference
of opinion about its basic tasks. Certain people felt the project of
the congregation was to do mission work; others felt it was simply to
be a church home for the Amish families of the area.

A year after the minister was ordained, a deacon was chosen by lot
from the congregation. Two years later, in 1951, the congregation de-
cided to choose an elder for the new congregation. This decision was
in itself interesting, as none of the other congregations started in the
missionary outreach programme of the 1940's ever ordained an elder. The
unusual decision was also accompanied by an unusual result. In this case,
the deacon was ordained elder. Only once before in the entire Conference
had an elder been ordained from the deacons.

Of the two ordained men, the new elder was much the more strict

and traditional. He was a strong believer in the distinctive dress of
the Amish Mennonites. He in fact felt the straight-cut coat was the
only appropriate dress for the Christian. The tradition with which he
identified was essentially similar to the revival programme of the ear-
lier part of the century, as it had been introduced into the Mennonite
church. Thus he favoured a combination of the traditional Amish dis-
cipline, with distinctive dress and separation from the world in many
ways, and the new revival programme of Sunday school and evangelical
preaching. Eventually, the congregation itself came to divide in two
camps of support--one for the elder, and the other for the minister,
who favoured the evangelical programme without the traditional Amish
forms of congregational government and lifestyle distinctiveness. The
two leaders could not agree, and the Conference was called in to mediate
the dispute. The elder, however, would not accept the suggestions of
the Conference, and decided to found his own group.

The new group adopted the straight-cut coat as regulation dress
for men and insisted on certain forms of distinctive living for the
members. One of the important issues in the split was that of tele-
vision, detailed elsewhere. The Sunday school was accepted, as were
evangelical hymnals from the early part of this century. Devotional
literature came from a conservative publisher in the United States.
The group basically combined the two traditions of Amish and revival
ideologies. Thus the Conservative fellowship adopted an intermediate
form in the debate about the place of the revival faith in congregational
life. The stance of the Beachy Amish, which involved the rejection of
revivalism, had been abandoned by all the Western Ontario congregations.
The eventual response of the Western Ontario congregations was to aban-
don the old form of church discipline, replacing it instead with a re-
vivalist ideology that had developed out of the combination of the two
traditions. The Conservative fellowship attempted to simply hold the
compromise of the 1920's, identifying this as the suitable Christian
project.

The formation of the Conservative congregation had important
implications about the further development of church ideology in the area.

The new congregation attracted a number of members from the other
Western Ontario congregations in the area. Those with a strong convic-
tion that further erosion of the traditional Amish values was a threat
to the Christian life had a group they could join. In the Crosshill
congregation, for instance, seven families transferred their membership
to the new conservative fellowship. This meant that those ideologic-
ally committed to maintaining the compromise between discipline and
revivalism left the Crosshill congregation. When those families left
to form the Conservative fellowship, their own conservative influence
was removed from the congregation. This meant that some of the most
vocal and committed conservatives were no longer present to back the
elders in their stance of maintaining church discipline.

Further Debates at Crosshill

Even after the divisions that led to the Zion and Bethel congrega-
tions, the issue of the place of church discipline in the face of chang-
ing social conditions and the interest in revivalism was not settled.
In 1956, the elder of the Maple View congregation became ill, and feel-
ing he could not continue in his office effectively, resigned from it.
This was an unusual act, for ordination was for life in the congregation.
The particular man had been very strict about the discipline, and was
a strong leader. He spoke out forcefully against practices that seemed
wrong to him, and administered the discipline decisively. He had the
misfortune of serving during an era when more and more church members
doubted the value of the discipline. He had begun as elder in a church
with German preaching and a very separatist stance, and ended up preach-
ing in English to a group that had embraced many of the customs of the
non-Mennonite world.

By 1956 there were fewer elders in the Conference as a whole. Of
three new congregations, only Millbank had ever had an elder. The last
elder ordained in the East Zorra congregation was chosen in 1948. A
new elder had been chosen in 1954 at Steinman's church, but he was the
last ordained in the south. The role of the elder, representing as it
did the administration of the discipline, was being questioned through-
out the Conference. It was decided in Wellesley, however, that a new

elder was needed on the retirement of the older man. Many of the members of the congregation favoured a person in this role who would combine the revival programme with the traditional stance of the elder. The man actually chosen for the office did actually attempt this synthesis of the two positions. In the process, he managed to alienate both the conservative and revival factions. His personal style was very different from that of the older elder. Instead of being forceful and decisive in public, he was gentle and quiet. He was very sincere in his belief that individuals should take personal responsibility for their salvation. This meant he was not strict in interpreting the discipline within the congregation. He felt it was up to the elder to guide the congregation in its decision, but not to rule it.

There had been other men in the Wellesley congregation who had led the church in a similarly quiet and gentle fashion, although they had not permitted members to step outside the discipline. The new elder had two problems in his congregation that made it very difficult to make his compromise work. First, the period after 1955 was marked with an increasing influx of Beachy Amish. These people left the conservative group for the greater freedoms of the Maple View congregation, but were still in favour of a strong church leadership. As it turned out, the former elder recovered his health, and continued to represent a conservative faction in the congregation until his death in 1966. There was thus a goodly representation form the conservative side, with an articulate leader. The new elder himself did not have extensive family ties within the congregation on which he could count for support. Family loyalty was diffuse, with no formal system to it, but had the new elder had a large group of siblings and their spouses to which he could have appealed for support, he might have been in a stronger position to withstand the conservative group and its demands for more strict leadership. The new leader, having grown up in a smaller family, which itself was small in comparison with others in the Wellesley congregation, was personally somewhat removed from people. He apparently had a tendency to be autocratic when forced into a decision, and was not good at recruiting support from the congregation for his position.

Under the new elder, therefore, the debates about the role of church discipline in the life of the individual believer continued. In retrospect, people commented that the bickering seemed endless, and that considerable factionalism had arisen. When the former elder died, the conservative group was left without a strong leader. This group apparently put renewed pressure on the elder to maintain the discipline. In the face of this renewed pressure, the elder resigned. He had not been able to find any way of mediating the conflicting desires of conservatives and revivalists, as no group within the congregation at that time existed from which he might have drawn support. Those that were not clearly identified with either ideological pole in debates apparently felt that the church leadership should confine itself to directing the worship services, and set aside matters of discipline. The growing feeling that the individual could and should decide on matters of lifestyle, was not always associated with a strong interest in the inner spirituality of revivalist theology, but it clearly repudiated conservative Amish Mennonite theology. The elder realized that no one could make the old system work under such circumstances. In basing his resignation on the principle that younger people should lead the church, he was admitting the collapse of the traditional form of community organization. The traditional role of the elder was not, however, abandoned immediately. The tradition of strong leadership in the Amish congregations reasserted itself after the resignation of the elder in 1967. At that time many people would have been content to ordain a new minister, and have him licenced as the elder had been to legally perform weddings. The Conference as a whole was supportive of this idea; it had officially permitted such licencing, and had practised it in the southern congregations. When the choice between the two ministers was made by lot, however, the choice fell to the more conservative man. The congregation asked if he would serve as the chief minister, and he said he would only serve as leader of the congregation in the role of elder. By 1967 there

were no other elders practising as such in the entire Conference.
Two men who had been ordained as elders were still heads of their con-
gregations, but they were neither of them in the old Amish tradition
of strong discipline. Thus the choice to ordain a new elder was some-
what behind the times, and not in line with the wishes of a number of
the congregation members. The wishes of the chosen man, however, were
granted, and he was formally ordained elder. Around the same time, the
two deacons were ordained minister, and two new deacons were appointed.
One minister and one deacon were to serve in each congregation. The old-
er elder who had resigned was expected to go to Crosshill and the newly
ordained man remained at Maple View.

The new elder was himself quite strict, but not authoritarian.
He was a very sincere older man who simply held to the traditions of
his youth. He had no children of his own, and a number of people said
this made it hard for him to realize what the pressures were to give up
the discipline and adopt a more "modern" stance. He apparently felt
certain issues were very important--dress was something about which he
preached constantly. He even brought in speakers from the United States
who preached about the importance of distinctive dress in the church.
His concern with dress extended to a concern with fashions in general,
and it was over an issue of such fashion--cut hair for women--that the
issue of discipline itself was finally settled.

Traditionally, the Amish Mennonite women did not cut their hair,
but wore it in a bun. However, it had become the practice for a number
of married women to cut their hair and wear it rolled in the style of
the 1950's. This innovation had become another issue of contention in
the congregation. The issue came to a head in 1970.

A baptismal class had been arranged, and all the instruction had
been administered. Although two of the young women in the class wore
their hair short no objection had been made. Then one member of the
congregation brought to the elder's attention that this practice of
cutting the hair was not Biblical. The elder agreed that it bothered
his conscience to give communion to those with cut hair, even though
he had been reconciled to the matter before. Faced with the outright

challenge from a congregational member, however, the elder felt he
could not ignore the issue any more.

A meeting of the ordained men was held, at which the issue of
baptizing the young women was raised. The elder made it clear that
his personal conviction was that no woman with cut hair should be
allowed in the church. The final consensus of the meeting was that if
the young women would consent to let their hair grow after baptism,
they would be allowed to join the church. On the Sunday before the
baptismal service, the elder and some of the ordained men visited the
homes of the two women involved, and informed them of the decision.
In both cases, the parents left the final decisions up to their daughters;
in both cases, the young women refused to let their hair grow. One
family decided to leave the congregation altogether over the issue, and
have remained members of another congregation to this day. The other
woman went to the congregation where her uncles and aunts were members,
and joined there. Her parents attended services there for a time. Since
the formal separation of the Crosshill and Maple View congregation, this
family had rejoined Crosshill.

The issue of cut hair remained within the church. One man suggest-
ed that the real issue was not cut hair, but the shift in lifestyle by
the young people. Older people were afraid the younger ones would not
continue the traditional patterns of distinctive dress and separation
from the rest of society. The issue of cut hair was also part of a gen-
eral and growing concern about the status of the Crosshill congregation.
Still formally a part of Maple View, there was apparently some pressure
to have it declared a group in its own right, so that it could develop
its own programmes independently of Maple View.

After considerable debate, the ordained men decided to put the
question of cut hair to the entire congregation. It was understood that
those who favoured the traditional stance on cut hair would remain at
Maple View, while those who found cut hair acceptable would transfer their
membership to Crosshill. It was agreed that the membership books would be
open at both congregations for a month, during which time members from
either congregation could join at the other.

The way the question was actually put to the congregations led
some to wonder about their answer. The question actually raised was
not "Do you approve of cut hair", or some variation of that, but "Do
you believe that having cut hair is the proper interpretation of the
Bible?" Certain consciencious members were somewhat perplexed about
the implications of the question, and some found it difficult to re-
solve the issue for themselves. The general intent was, however,
settled, and most of those willing to accept cut hair went to Cross-
hill. Certain members at Maple View, apparently willing to accept cut
hair in others, still retained membership in the home congregation.
Only one family from Crosshill returned to Maple View. After the
transfer, Crosshill was formally organized as a separate congregation.
During the year or so after the formation of Crosshill, a number of
people from Maple View left to join there. One man, for instance,
had been a junior Sunday school superintendent at Maple View, and felt
he had to serve his term there before changing congregations.

Relations between the two congregations have remained close.
Once the issue that divided them was put to a public vote, and the
division made, the entire issue of church discipline seemed to be
solved. The elder died in 1971, at which time the minister at Maple
View insisted that he simply apply for a licence, and not be ordained
elder. All four ordained men had personally moved to other issues in
church life than the central place of traditional discipline. This did
not mean that the Christian life was indistinguishable from the life
of other non-Christians for them. All stressed, and continue to stress,
that the Christian life is distinctive and disciplined. For them, how-
ever, the discipline stems from a right relationship with Christ, not
from the community discipline. Discipline is no longer the issue for
the church. At a recent conference, one of the speakers suggested that
more discipline was needed in the modern church, and proposed a small
body of believers that would meet for mutual support in the disciple-
ship task. Although he was not promoting a traditional Amish approach
to discipline, he was understood by several people in that light. Their
comment was, "If he wants discipline, why doesn't he join the Old

Order?" Today discipline is associated with the traditional Amish
congregations, not with Western Ontario groups.

The Crosshill Congregation After 1950

Although discipline as such is no longer an issue at Crosshill,
not all the traditional practices have been abandoned. The discipline
as a system of community control could no longer function because it
had no formal leader. Traditional practices were not abandoned by the
group overnight, however, and there have been some mild disagreements
about church policy. Most of these have centred on, changes in
traditional practices, and the new forms of leadership in the congrega-
tions.

Before the vote on cut hair, the Crosshill congregation consisted
of several local families who had attended the church for many years.
This group managed the affairs of the group, and were all involved in
the offices of the Sunday school, and in various other administrative
offices that helped organize church life. After the vote was taken on
cut hair, the people who were switching to Crosshill because of their
stance on the issue apparently appeared in a group one Sunday. One of
the original members told how surprised he was when the large group from
Maple View suddenly appeared. The local members were used to arriving
shortly before the ten o'clock service, as there was never any problem
getting seats. But on the Sunday morning after the vote, the Maple View
members transferring to Crosshill came to church to discover many of the
regular seats taken. The new people were more or less committed to sep-
aration from Maple View because of their ideological commitment. The
regular members at Crosshill were perhaps less committed to such a formal
division, and wished to retain close ties with the home congregation.
They were also less willing to see major innovations at Crosshill that
were not yet part of the Maple View programme, lest Maple View think
Crosshill was chiding them for being backward.

When it came time to elect the new Sunday school superintendents
and teachers, and the new committee members to manage the various church
programmes, it turned out that only those from the transferring group
were elected to office. This was not a plan by the new group, but it did

mean that the older members no longer had a formal say in how the church was run. The older residents were somewhat uneasy about the direction the church would take, and had no way to express a formal voice.

A number of issues have arisen since the formation of the new congregation that point out the slight difference of opinion between these two groups. The issues have been satisfactorily resolved, and both groups, if they still feel the division, have come to live with it most amicably. Still, the case histories of some of these disagreements about policy demonstrate clearly that even though the formal system of discipline is no longer the dominant ideology, there is still concern about the separation of the true Christian from the world. The underlying concern that the Christian life should be clear and well-defined under the control of a public ideology is still part of the tradition. The ideology has changed as the experience of the people has changed, but the community still refuses to completely give up their society to the modern world.

One important issue in the new church was that of musical instruments. There has been no objection to musical instruments themselves, and many members of the congregation play the piano or the guitar. There have been times when outsiders, especially during the Sunday evening services, have brought instruments with them and used them during the service. Some people did not think this was quite right, but did not say anything. Several of the other congregations in the area have purchased pianos, and use them in their services on Sunday morning. At least one congregation has an organ. The issue came up before the church council at Crosshill, and the decision was to poll all congregation members. Letters were sent out, with a questionnaire attached, and each family was encouraged to fill out their opinions. Many did, but the music committee found there was a considerable difference of opinion. Some people simply did not want instruments at all. Some were willing to have a piano, but not an organ. Others were willing to have instruments used, but did not want to see them used too much. There was a concern expressed by many people that the instrument would

hurt the tradition of four-part singing. Others wanted instruments, and hoped that more evangelical music would find its way into the service through the use of the piano.

Faced with such a range of opinions, the committee felt it did not have a clear course of action to recommend. There was a long debate about the matter. Finally the suggestion was made to simply leave the issue for a while. The congregation continued in the traditional practice of a chorister with no instrument. It was clearly not worth compromising the unity of the church over an issue when such a wide range of opinions was present. In this case, the opinions did not line up exactly with the new and old groups, but there was a feeling that such a sensitive issue should not be voted on publicly. The unity of the fellowship was considered of more importance than the instruments.

In one area there has been a drift toward the use of instruments. Several weddings have been held in which instruments played a subdued part. Special singing is an accepted part of a wedding service. Such singing is the replacement for an organ prelude and postlude, and serves as the solo during the signing of the register by bride and groom. Such singing may be provided by a solo singer, or by a group. Some people have had the wedding singing at the church accompanied by guitar; others have insisted on the more traditional solo or unaccompanied quartet. The choice is clearly recognized as a statement of preference for or against musical instruments in the church. But the wedding service is a private service, not a service of public worship, and thus small innovations in this area have been permitted.

Another area in church life in which there is mild disagreement concerns the women's head covering. The Biblical passage that a woman should have her head covered when praying or prophesying is interpreted to mean that women should wear a prayer covering at all religious services. Some women also wear their coverings to such church-related activities as the sewing circle. Recently, however, the issue of head coverings had come up again because some of the newly baptized women have chosen to remove their coverings directly after the service. The coverings are small, white gauze caps worn over the top of the head in

back, held on with pins. There are those who simply remove them after
the service, in the informal visiting period after the service. Cer-
tain other churches in the Conference have made the head covering op-
tional, but it is still required formally at Crosshill. Certain women
do not agree with the ruling and its interpretation. One older woman
once commented to such a person who had just removed her head covering
that she looked a good deal more attractive with it on. In this case,
as in the case with musical instruments, no formal issue has been made
of the change in practice.

Two minor issues occurred during the period of fieldwork that
mark quite clearly the delicacy with which people treat potentially
contentious issues. In the one case, the issue also illustrates the
reluctance of the minister to move in directions his congregation is
not ready to follow. These issues concern Bible reading in the local
schools, and the showing of slides in the church.

In late 1973, there was a move brought before the government of
the Regional Municipality of Waterloo to abolish Bible reading in school
opening exercises. When this move was made known to local church lead-
ers, they expressed their opposition. The minister at Crosshill ex-
plained the situation one Sunday morning to the congregation, asking
any concerned people to get in touch with him about the issue. Time
passed, and no one had spoken up. The minister and the deacon then
drafted a letter to the government, expressing their opposition to the
proposed change, and affirming their support for Bible reading.

This letter was mimeographed, and passed out to the congregation
one Sunday. The minister then explained the background of it, and asked
if the children would stay upstairs that morning, instead of retiring to
the basement for Sunday school, so the letter could be discussed by all
members. He asked if the congregation was willing to use the Sunday
school period to discuss the letter. During his introduction, he
stressed that the letter was merely a draft copy, and that anyone was
free to make changes, or even to reject it altogether. The minister
stressed the letter was merely something to open the discussion, not
the final word. He then asked the church for its reaction to his plan

of having the people stay and discuss the letter.

At this time, one of the junior Sunday school superintendents suggested that the younger children, who wouldn't add much to the discussion since they didn't go to school, could retire to the basement and the rest of the congregation could then consider the letter. The minister said he wanted the entire church to stay so that the teachers of the young children could have a say in the issue too. He again stressed that he was not trying to force the church to do anything, even to change its regular Sunday pattern. He said he had only acted because no one had come forward. He stressed that what he had written was not a formal decision, and any and all of it was subject to change.

Then he asked if people would prefer to meet in their classes rather than discuss the letter. There was no response. He asked the two junior superintendents if they thought the younger children would be better downstairs. No response was forthcoming. The minister then said he did not know what to do, as he did not know what the congregation thought. After a silence, he suggested that people move into their regular classes, taking their children with them to discuss the letter, so long as there was no objection. No one spoke, or moved. The minister then said that since there was no objection, that would be the plan, unless there was some objection. He waited, and when he encountered only silence, he said that the classes should meet at that time. People then rose and met in their classes to discuss the letter. After the discussions the congregations met as a whole, and the classes each reported on the discussion they had had. Everyone agreed the letter was worth sending with only a few small additions.

What is notable in all this is the difficulty with which the group decided to break the normal Sunday pattern. From the discussion of the letter that actually ensued, it was clear there was no objection to the letter itself, or to discussing it. Had the minister simply announced the order of service was to be changed, the group would probably have gone along with the proposal. When the minister instead depended on confirmation from the group for his decision, it became difficult for

anyone to make a move. The junior superintendent's suggestion was not intended as a criticism, though perhaps it was taken that way. The silence was hard to interpret. Perhaps people were simply waiting for someone to make the first move. But no one was willing to do that, lest anything be said or implied against the general will.

The issue of the letter, although not one provoking real disagreements, shows how carefully the group moved on all issues that involved community decisions. In the case of a proposed change on which there really was a disagreement, this same care and concern with the opinions of others is also manifest. The issue is also a good example of the organization of decision making in the congregation.

In this case, the issue was the use of slides in a Sunday evening programme at the church. The Sunday evening service committee had invited a man to speak on family camping. He said he would like to bring along some slides as part of his programme, and asked if that would be acceptable. The committee would not rule on this matter, knowing that in general all slides and films were not permitted in the church. The minister therefore raised the issue one Sunday morning. When the issue was presented, the question was if the church would permit the showing of slides this one time. The issue was not one of general policy, but of the specific programme.

The minister explained the situation, and asked all those willing to approve the use of slides for that one evening to stand. Slightly more than half stood. The minister then asked for those opposed to stand. A few did so. Many people had not stood at all. The minister noted this, and asked those who had not expressed an opinion how they felt. No response was forthcoming. He then asked those who had expressed an opinion to speak to it. No one ventured a remark. The minister, then uncertain as to just what people thought, decided to take another vote. He asked how many people were in favour of the idea, seeing that there was not unanimity on the issue. This time fewer people stood, and it was difficult to tell if they were in the majority, or if those seated were. The minister decided therefore that since the group was not bound to have the slides, and since there were those who felt that the objections of

members were more important than having the slides,   no slides
would be shown.

What is interesting in this debate is that most of the people who
were not in favour of the slides would not even publicly announce their
stand. In the face of that silent opposition, the group that was willing
to have the slides would not say anything either. The use of silence
in these debates is interesting. Such silence could stem from the
strong prohibition on causing conflict in the brotherhood. Both sides
knew that by insisting on a stand and arguing it publicly, they were
likely to bring up the conflicts about the place of tradition in the con-
gregational life.

In this case, the minority who opposed the innovation actually
had a controlling voice. Rather than stir up troubles, the group that
was willing to innovate allowed the other group to stop the innovation,
in the name of maintaining peace. Along with the power to control such
issues comes the responsibility not to dictate to the group. The minor-
ity avoided this by keeping silent. This meant that the actual decision
was left to the majority. Nothing negative had actually been said, al-
though positions on the issue were inferred. By calling the second vote
the minister formally recognized the right of the majority to decide.
Thus the minority, by remaining silent, forced the majority to take
responsibility for the decision, and for any conflict that ensued. In
this case, harmony seemed more important than the change. By imposing
a silent opposition onto the majority, the minority forced a specific
decision about policy into a more general context of maintaining good
relations in church. By appealing to this important value in church
life, the minority not only created a resolution acceptable to them-
selves, but also made it possible for the sponsoring group to back down,
and in that very process affirm the central value of unity.

Charismatic Renewal

Recently another religious issue has been introduced into the
Western Ontario Conference congregations--that of charismatic renewal.
This movement has generally made a considerable impact on all religious
groups in North America, and has come to the Mennonite church through

contact church members have had with it in other settings. The issue
of charismatic renewal goes beyond the traditional division in religious
ideology between church discipline and revivalism. The renewal move-
ment itself has come to the Mennonite church in a manner reminiscent of
the coming of the revival faith. Small groups of people, often young,
have taken up the new form of religious ideology for themselves, and
have tried to urge the congregation as a whole to accept it more freely.

Charismatic renewal focuses on the manifestations of the Holy
Spirit, especially forms of religious ecstasy such as speaking in
tongues, prophecy, and healing. Mennonites have encountered these in
services at Pentecostal churches locally, and to some extent through
evangelists that have been invited into the community for evening
services. In keeping with the Mennonite tradition, the expressions of
religious ecstasy occur outside the Sunday morning service, although
occasionally mild forms of ecstasy have appeared in the evangelical
evening services in local churches. Along with the manifestation of
ecstasy usually goes the formation of small, intense religious groups
that meet for prayer and fellowship during the week. Originally the
movement was introduced by young people, but since then, a number of
older church members have become intensely interested and involved in
the movement. Others who are not themselves involved are at least
supportive.

During the 1960's, many of the members of the Maple View and
Crosshill congregations were concerned about the state of spiritual
life in the church. For example, one group of people met frequently
to share their concern about the church. They were all believers in
the importance of salvation, having had strong salvation experiences
themselves. Several of the men in this group had served as Sunday
school superintendents, and were thus directly involved with church
life and faith. The members of this group stressed the lack of spirit-
ual emphasis in the congregation, in the face of the strife and some-
times bitterness over issues of discipline. The group prayed together
about the need for a new spiritual awakening in the congregation to
replace the issues of discipline. When the renewal movement came, it

seemed an answer to prayer to these people. It was not, however, an
issue in which they could directly become involved. One man suggested
he was uncertain what to make of his own salvation experience in the
light of the new movement. His experience had been like "a burden lift-
ed from my back". He had been taught that the intense emotional re-
lease of the salvation experience was for each Christian only once--
after that, he knew he was saved forever. The charismatics, on the
other hand, seemed to have this kind of emotional experience regularly
in worship. This man was unsure whether those people who "had the Holy
Spirit" were simply experiencing what he had experienced at conversion,
or whether they had something more. In that the emotional power of the
salvation experience validated that entire ideology, the man was not
about to give it up lightly. This attitude toward the new movement was
widespread in the local congregations.

Young people were the first ones to take up the new movement.
In May of 1972, Goshen College in Indiana, a Mennonite college and
seminary, held a "Festival of the Holy Spirit." This event signalled
the acceptance of the movement for charismatic renewal by at least some
members of the Mennonite church. Before this event, the Holy Spirit
had been mostly for Pentecostals. Members of the local congregations
might have attended Pentecostal meetings, and some wished to bring that
kind of religious expression to their home congregations. But the
groups immeshed in a struggle about the place of church discipline were
not interested in adding the question of charismatic renewal to their
agenda, and those that wanted charismatic expression had to find it out-
side the church. Once the Festival was held in Goshen, however, the
idea that Mennonites might have something to do with the Holy Spirit
became established.

The Festival was well publicized in the area, and a bus was
chartered to go to Goshen. A number of the young people from the church,
at the time mostly unmarried, went to the conference. When they return-
ed, the minister asked them to give an account of the conference. The
impact of their report was considerable. The participants had been
deeply moved by the conference, and they presented their impressions so

that many members of the congregation were similarly touched by them.
Even those that would later have no interest at all in the movement,
or even be hostile, were affected by the sincerity of the young people.
The following year another such conference was held; this time, a num-
ber of older people went along. Following this introduction, individ-
uals from the congregations have searched out charismatic groups, and
have started such groups in the home congregation.

It is interesting that it was the young people who brought the
Holy Spirit movement to the church, just as they had the revival move-
ment. Young people were also the ones blamed for leading the church
astray over issues within the discipline. The young people in this
case, however, became the channel through which   renovation of the
faith became possible. For some, this was a signal event in itself, for
it demonstrated the reconciliation of the young people and their elders.
In their attempt to forge a new religious spirit in the congregation,
the young people provided a creative solution to the problem of debate
about discipline.

Although the charismatic movement is by no means the dominant
religious force of the Crosshill congregation, it has been accepted
for its good points. The congregation has essentially moved on from
the question of church discipline and its place in religious and social
life. Religious ties join many church members more closely with non-
Mennonites than with some of the members of their own congregation.
Still, the religious project of the community has survived. People in
the Western Ontario Conference today are integrated into the mainstream
of Canadian life just as any other group living in the area is. They
face the same problems and rewards from their involvement in this modern
system. The faith has indeed become more the concern of the individual,
but it has remained a faith, and the community still maintains a dis-
tinctive sense of itself. People proudly identify themselves as
Christians, and are constantly trying to develop a better understanding
of themselves as Christians in a modern secular world.

8-1

The Impact of Internal Ideological Divisions

  We have concentrated our attention so far on relations at the
boundary between the Western Ontario congregations and non-Mennonite
society. In this chapter, however, we wish to consider boundaries
within the Amish Mennonite community, and their effect on social change.
We will concentrate on the Beachy Amish. These people accepted modern
farming techniques at the same time as their Western Ontario neighbours,
but retained basically the same religious ideology and institutions
from 1911 until the middle 1970's. They also retained much of their
traditional isolation from the rest of Canadian society. Relations at
the boundary between the Beachy Amish and Western Ontario congregations
help us understand the reasons for this stability, and the timing of
changes among the Beachy Amish.

The Beachy Amish

  One explanation for the stability of Beachy Amish social organ-
ization is their commitment to farming. We have already argued that
wage labour among the Western Ontario congregations challenged tra-
ditional religious ideology. The Beachy Amish avoided wage labour al-
most totally. Data on occupation are contained in Appendix O. Table
O-1 lists the source of farms, the congregational affiliation, and
the period during which a new household was established. One sees
from this table that before 1970, only two Beachy Amish household heads
were wage labourers. As long as farming was the only accepted form of
work, traditional religious legitimations of farm work could be maintain-
ed, in the manner outlined in chapter two. Although the mechanization
of the farm may have reduced reciprocal sharing of labour between local
farmers, it did not change the repetitive and cyclic nature of work
itself.

  Further data on occupation among the Beachy Amish is given in
table O-3. The data in table O-1 are for heads of household; those
in O-3 are for all male Beachy members. The columns for "CG" and "MN"
refer to the two Beachy congregations. The first age category includes
only single men; all other age categories list married men. Occupa-
tion has been classified as farm, wage labour, or "other," which refers

to professional people or small business owners. Some of the entries
under the category "Labour" have two figures, separated by a slash.
In such a case, the first figure refers to those who have always been
wage labourers, while the second refers to retired farmers who have
taken up wage labour later in life.

We can see three patterns of occupation emerging from table 0-3.
The first pattern is characterized by a predominance of wage labourers,
with few farmers. This pattern is found only among young Western
Ontario men. The second pattern is one with more or less equal numbers
of. farmers and wage labourers; in the third pattern, farmers predom-
inate. Table 0-4 lists the age groups in each congregation which fit
into these patterns. It also lists the change in the G^2 statistic
when figures are grouped into the appropriate categories. In only one
case (Poole) is there any significant decrease in the G^2 statistic
after the grouping. Tables 0-5 and 0-6 present data on the proposed
theoretical groupings for units larger than single congregations.

In all age groups among the Beachy Amish, most men were farmers.
Only among young single men were there more wage labourers than farmers.
Many of these young men could expect to farm when they married. Nor
were those who worked for wages travelling to the cities. Several
worked for a local farm drainage contractor; others worked locally as
carpenters. Retired farmers, in fact, were the only men working in
cities, as janitors or labourers. Thus for those with any potential
uncertainty about their commitment to the values of the Beachy ideol-
ogy, work did not involve much experience with modern, rationalized
contexts.

Data on education among the Beachy Amish tend to support the
conclusion that boundaries were maintained by these people. Only two
Beachy Amish children had attended high school by 1972. Since farming
was the occupation of choice, people saw no need for education past
grade eight. This means that young people did not have any regular
involvement with the modern school, nor with outsiders, during their
maturing years.

Very few outsiders have crossed the boundary into the Beachy

Amish through marriage. Table K-5 in Appendix K gives data on marriages
for members of the Beachy congregations. Since 1910, no members of the
Western Ontario congregations, and only two local non-Mennonites, have
married into and joined the Beachy Amish. During this time, however,
twelve Old Order Amish married Beachy Amish spouses, and attended
Beachy congregations. Thus the only significant group of outsiders
marrying into the community came from a more conservative Amish Mennon-
ite background.

The Beachy Amish have not, however, managed to maintain community
boundaries without cost. If we consider descendants of Beachy Amish
families, instead of those who remained with the Beachy congregations,
we obtain a somewhat different picture of stability. These data show
that stability has been maintained at the cost of losing members.
Those who had disagreements with Beachy Amish life have left instead
of agitating for change. A detailed study of congregational choice
and migration among Beachy Amish descendants can be made from genealo-
gies. These data show that individuals resolved problems with Beachy
ideology not through religious debate, but by adopting the Western
Ontario, or non-Mennonite ideology.

Demographic profiles of the Beachy Amish are very different
from those of their Western Ontario neighbours. These data appear in
Appendix Q, table Q-1. Statistics for this table show a significant
relationship between age and congregation. Table Q-2 condenses the
material in Q-1, and allows us to see where the major differences lie.
These statistics suggest that the proportion of younger children in
both conference groups is about the same. There are, however, far more
elderly people in proportion to those younger than 60 among the Beachy
Amish than among the Western Ontario Conference congregations. This
decrease in the number of younger families among the Beachy Amish could
be the result of lower fertility at some time in the past, or a conse-
quence of migration of those families out of the Beachy Amish. Figures
on fertility among Beachy Amish women are given in table Q-3. There
is no significant change in fertility from 1910 to 1959; after this,

fertility begins to decline steadily. This drop in fertility is not,
however, relevant to the lack of middle aged and younger couples in
the Beachy congregations, as it affects only the number of younger
children in 1972. We must therefore examine patterns of migration
and change in congregations to explain the demographic profile of the
Beachy Amish.

This data appears in Appendix K. The first table deals with con-
gregational choice by members of each of the two generations since
the founding of the Beachy Amish. Those listed as "first" generation
include all the children of the founding Beachy members. Their child-
ren are "second" generation, although this table included only the
children of those members of the first generation who remained with
the Beachy Amish. Although the table lists sex as a variable, it turns
out to be irrelevant to congregational choice. Table K-2 condenses
the information in table K-1, and allows us to see more clearly the re-
lationship between generation and congregational choice. This table
shows that more people in the second generation have joined Western
Ontario congregations than in the first (44% as opposed to 40%), and
many more have left the Amish Mennonite faith altogether (25% as
opposed to 10%). The Beachy Amish retained 50% of all children in the
first generation, but only 31% in the second. These data suggest a
significant opening of the boundary to individuals in the second gen-
eration, which begins after 1940.

We know that many of those who left the Beachy Amish joined the
Mapleview congregation. While some of these were young people who
were baptized at Mapleview, others joined after they had been baptized.
These members were accepted on the strength of a church letter from
the elder in the Beachy Amish congregation. These letters certified
that the person was a member in good standing at the home church.
Those wishing to join another congregation presented such letters to
the elder of the new congregation and were accepted on the strength of
them. Most of those who joined Mapleview in this manner were married
couples; their age in 1972 gives us some indication of when they

joined Mapleview, as most couples joined a new congregation shortly
after marriage. The data suggest a significant relationship between
age in 1972 and mode of joining. Most of the variation that accounts
for the relationship arises from the large number of those in the age
group from 35-49 who joined by letter. These people would have married
and moved in the years from 1940-1960, when major economic changes in
farming were taking place.

Further data on congregational change is provided in tables K-5
and K-6, which illustrate patterns of marriage among the Beachy Amish.
People might leave the Beachy congregations as individuals, usually
shortly before or at marriage, or later as married couples. Table K-5
lists the period during which the person was married, the congregation
of the spouse, and the congregation chosen by the couple. All those
who married within the Beachy congregations, but later left in couples,
appear in this table in the rows marked "Beachy". All others married
outside the Beachy congregation in the first place. Trends in differ-
ent patterns of congregational choice can be extracted from table K-6.
A higher number of those who married during the period from 1935-1949
left the Beachy congregations than did those before. In addition,
after 1950 an increasing percentage of those who left married out
instead of leaving after marrying a Beachy Amish spouse. We have al-
ready argued that marriage involved a personal commitment to the values
of the community. Before 1950, many people made a commitment to the
community through marriage, but subsequently left; after 1950, the
commitment to the community was essentially made by the time of marriage.
This suggests that some of those who originally identified with the
community later lost that identification. These data would support a
conclusion that certain changes taking place before 1950 made original
commitment more difficult to maintain. Such data would, therefore,
support the hypothesis that the modernization of the farm did create
doubts about the validity of Amish Mennonite theology for the Beachy
Amish. Such doubts were resolved by some individuals in the move to
the Western Ontario Conference.

Congregational migration was also accompanied by physical migration. The choice of marriage partner became at the same time a choice of residence for many people. Table K-7 lists data on marriage choice and residence in 25-year periods from 1910. Those who married within the Beachy congregations tended to reside on farms. An increasing number of those who married Western Ontario spouses lived off the farm, in the small towns nearby. Of those who married non-Mennonites, many left the area altogether. Those who moved away were essentially lost to the community, as few of them maintained ties to the rural congregations. Some of these people did attend Mennonite churches in the cities, but not Beachy Amish congregations.

While it is true therefore that the Beachy Amish have maintained a strong traditional ideology and clear boundaries to the outside, the price has been the loss of members. Members of the Beachy Amish congregations may not have experienced modernized social life off the farm to the same extent as their Western Ontario neighbours, but the changes in farm organization which they did accept were clearly sufficient to raise doubts about traditional ideology. These doubts, however, were not translated into demands for change in the organization of the Beachy church, as they were among the Western Ontario congregations. Such a change was not necessary, because in the same area there were congregations who had taken a religious stance different enough from the Beachy traditions to offer an apparent solution to these problems, yet similar enough to be familiar. People resolved anomalies arising from changes in their experience by taking up membership in these groups. When changing experiences led to migration from the Beachy congregations, the ambiguities in community ideology were still unresolved, even though they were dealt with in the lives of individuals. The very presence of the Western Ontario congregations thus had the effect of allowing those who remained Beachy Amish to maintain traditional community life.

Why then did change take place in the 1970's? One possible answer to this question is that economic changes began to affect farmers

more insistently at this time. The fact that people left the Beachy
Amish during the 1940's and 1950's suggests that there were those who
found modern farming impossible to reconcile with Beachy theology even
when the external pressure for change was less intense than during the
1970's. The Beachy did their best to isolate themselves from these
pressures by maintaining farming as the preferred occupation, but the
transformation of farming from a lifestyle to a business meant that
even farmers began to encounter the modernized, rationalized forms of
work. Change in the community followed the same patterns as it had in
the Western Ontario congregations.

This argument supports our general thesis about the interaction
of group ideology and external factors for change. It does not com-
pletely explain, however, why changes were made during the 1970's.
The pressures on farming had been building steadily during the 1960's,
but did not affect the Beachy Amish religious ideology at that time.
A more complete explanation of the timing for this change can be con-
structed if we consider the boundary between the Beachy and the West-
ern Ontario congregations.

The ambiguity in traditional Amish Mennonite ideology had been
resolved by the Beachy by separating the two possible religious inter-
pretations of the individual and identifying each with a conference
group. Thus the Western Ontario congregations represented one of the
possible interpretations of Beachy theology, while the Beachy them-
selves represented another. As long as the Western Ontario congrega-
tions wrestled with the place of the individual in church discipline,
they remained in this relationship with the Beachy Amish. When in-
dividuals moved to Western Ontario congregations, they accepted a well-
defined alternative meaningful in their own ideological categories.
Figures in table K-5 show that when couples changed congregation
after marriage, most of them went to Western Ontario congregations; few
abandoned the Amish Mennonite faith altogether.

During the 1970's, however, the Western Ontario congregations
settled the place of the individual in church discipline. Once the

problem that had arisen in the original Beachy Amish schism was resolved, the Western Ontario congregations no longer represented an ideological alternative for the Beachy Amish. Although a number of people still left the Beachy congregations for the Western Ontario groups, marriage with non-Mennonites increased, because during the 1970's, the ideological distance between Beachy and Western Ontario groups had increased so greatly. When the Beachy no longer saw an institutionalized alternative to their theological position, they could not deny ambiguities that remained within their ideology. Under the pressures of modern farming, community members had to develop alternative ideologies to explain new experience within Beachy congregations.

Thus, the fact that changes took place in the Beachy Amish during the 1970's is not fortuitous. On the one hand, experience with modern farm work came more and more to challenge traditional legitimations. This experience pulled Beachy members in the same direction as it had Western Ontario members during the 1950's and 1960's--to stress the individualized aspects of religious ideology. At the same time, the resolution among the Western Ontario congregations of the issue of the place of church discipline and individualized religious legitimations made these groups no longer so suitable as institutional alternatives. Under the pressure of both of these circumstances, the Beachy Amish recapitulated the changes in religious ideology of the Western Ontario congregations.

The Impact of the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference/Beachy Amish Boundary on the Wellesley Congregation

This discussion about change among the Beachy Amish completes an argument begun in the discussion of the acceptance of revivalism. We suggested at the end of chapter three that once there had been a formal schism between Beachy Amish and Western Ontario congregations, the more progressive groups were forced to reconsider religious ideology. Throughout our discussion of farming in the Western Ontario community, we considered the impact of external sources of change. We should not forget, however, that these external influences affected the community

because of internal ideological realignments. This suggests that in
looking at the impact of events across a community boundary, we should
consider not merely boundaries between that community and the world
outside its traditions, but also boundaries that represent historical
factions and ideological divisions.

To round off this part of the discussion, we will consider the
impact of the influx of Beachy Amish on the Wellesley congregations.
The history of the Wellesley congregation outlined in chapter seven is
somewhat atypical. Although all congregations in the Western Ontario
Conference moved in the same direction, few others resolved the tensions
between church discipline and individual salvation through the forma-
tion of two congregations. The presence of the Beachy Amish at Welles-
ley introduced into that group a substantial faction brought up with
traditional Amish Mennonite ideology. Many of those people, having made
a major change in ideological position with the change in congregation,
wished to "hold the line" against further change. It is therefore
reasonable to conclude that Crosshill became a separate congregation
in the way illustrated because of the difference in ideological posi-
tions between those who had come from a more conservative background,
and those who had grown up in the Western Ontario congregation. We can
examine the validity of this conclusion by looking at data on the dif-
ferences between Mapleview and Crosshill, and between the Wellesley
groups and those in Mornington Township. Our study of the Beachy Amish
suggests that figures on education, occupation, and age should be rele-
vant in assessing both contact with non-Mennonite institutional patterns,
and commitment to traditional values.

Data on educational patterns show that young people in the West-
ern Ontario congregations have been attending high school in increasing
numbers. Within this general trend, however, there are some interesting
differences in the pattern of educational change for the four northern
Western Ontario congregations. These data are presented in Appendix E.
Tables E-2 and E-3 show that almost all young people in the Poole,
Riverdale, and Crosshill congregations aged 15-19 in 1972 were attending

or had attended high school. A somewhat lower percentage of the young men from Mapleview had post-elementary education. These people would have begun their high school education from 1966-1971. For those aged 20-24, who would have started high school from 1961-65, somewhat less than half had attended high school. The Crosshill congregation is the exception - since 1961, 79% of the men and 100% of the women have had high school training. Before 1961, the numbers attending high school were small in all congregations except Poole. The somewhat higher percentage of Poole members with high school education may be explained by the fact that several families at Poole lived in Milverton, which had a high school for many years. The young people living in town were not needed for farm chores, nor did they find it difficult to travel to school.

A statistical examination of education patterns is contained in tables E-5 and E-6. In the first of these tables, educational attainment by age group is broken down by membership in the four northern WOMC congregations. The overall statistics reveal that none of the two-way relations show independence--age is significantly related to both education and congregation, and education is significantly related to congregation. The relationship between age and education, however, is the largest by a considerable margin. If we consider the relation between age and educational level for each of the congregations, we obtain the values in E-6 under the heading "overall," which refers to the overall G^2 statistic for that congregation. If, instead of using the five age categories of E-5, we reduce the number to three--15-19, 20-29, and 30+-- we find there is little reduction in the overall G^2 values. This suggests that most of the variation in the table is accounted for by the difference in educational patterns between these three age groups.

A comparison of data for the Wellesley and Mornington congregations reveals that fewer of the Wellesley members have attended high school than have members from the two Mornington congregations. The distinction between the two Wellesley congregations, however, is even more marked. A higher percentage of Crosshill members have attended

high school; even more significant perhaps is the comparatively high
percentage of those with post secondary education at Crosshill. Clear-
ly many of those who attended high school in the early to middle 1960's
had by 1972 gone on to further educational training. We have already
pointed out that people in the community attended high school as a way
of preparing themselves for the job market. This suggests that more of
the Crosshill members saw themselves involved with work outside the
community, while more of the Mapleview members remained on the farm.

Data on occupational patterns in the Wellesley congregations
support this conclusion. Only among single men at Mapleview are there
more non-farmers than farmers. Tables 0-3 to 0-6 show that at Crosshill
there are more non-farmers than farmers for all men under fifty years
of age. Thus at Crosshill, young people have consistently moved off
the farm. The Wellesley congregations taken together exhibit a higher
percentage of farmers than do the Mornington congregations. Thus the
fact that the Crosshill congregation has a lower percentage of farmers
overall than either of the Mornington Western Ontario congregations
shows the extent of the difference in occupational patterns between the
two Wellesley congregations.

The demographic data in Appendix Q also suggest a further differ-
ence between Wellesley and Mornington congregations, and between Cross-
hill and Mapleview. Table Q-1 gives the overall age/sex distributions
for all northern Amish Mennonite congregations for which accurate data
exists. While there is no significant relation in this table between
either sex and age, or sex and congregation, there is a strong relation-
ship between age and congregational affiliation. Table Q-2 presents the
data from Q-1 in fewer age categories, and with the Western Ontario
congregations grouped into Wellesley and Mornington. The data ex-
hibit significant relationships between age group and congregation for
these two groups. There are fewer people in the 20-39 year age group in
Wellesley than in Mornington, and more in the 40-59 year group. This
suggests that the Wellesley Western Ontario congregations have a slight-
ly higher average age than do the Mornington congregations.

The figures from Q-1 show no significant differences in the age
patterns for the Mornington congregations. Table Q-4, however, shows
a highly significant relation between age category and congregation in
Wellesley. A much higher percentage of the Crosshill members are
between 20-39 than is the case at Mapleview, and a lower percentage
are over the age of 60. Table Q-6 shows another test sensitive to
differences in overall age patterns; it too indicates a significant
difference between the two groups. This material clearly shows that
younger adults chose to attend Crosshill in higher percentages, while
older people tended to remain at Mapleview.

The distinctions between Wellesley and Mornington congregations
can be explained by the influx of Beachy Amish. Many of these people
had only grade eight education, and were farmers. Since they joined
the more progressive church as young adults, they were not affected by
the move to increased schooling before the later 1960's. Many of
these people chose farming as a suitable way of life.

The pronounced differences in education and occupation between
Crosshill and Mapleview seem to be associated with the ideological
debate that led to the separation of Crosshill from the parent congrega-
tion. Those who chose the more progressive side in that debate were
also the ones with experience from outside the community--the younger
people, the better educated, and wage labourers. Many who had roots
in the more conservative Beachy Amish congregations remained at Maple-
view. These data tend to support our argument that experience with
modern rationalized contexts outside the community deeply affected
the resolution of internal ambiguities in the local ideology. It also
tends to stress the importance of the internal boundaries that arose in
the community's attempts to resolve these ambiguities. The influx of
members from the Beachy Amish kept alive the conservative position at
Wellesley longer than in other Western Ontario congregations. It main-
tained a group of people committed in some way to the more traditional
religious ideology, and thus kept the conflict between the two points
of view before all church members.

9-1

Summary

Throughout this analysis of Amish Mennonite history, we have
concentrated on the interaction of community ideals and changing ex-
ternal contexts. What we wish to do at this point is indicate how
these interactions exemplify the two basic processes of change traced
out in our theoretical model. In the course of this discussion, we
will offer some comments on particular problems encountered in other
theories we considered.

We began with a look at the organization of the community before
the coming of revivalism. In this discussion, we stressed how certain
ambiguities in the community ideal set the stage for later changes.
We also showed how the traditional community resolved the ambiguity in
its ideals by accepting one interpretation of the meaning of social
categories, and denying another. The ambiguity to which we referred
was identified with the distinction between the goals of community
life, and the methods adopted to achieve them. The community was
ideally to represent Christ's kingdom on earth. Supportive relation-
ships of sharing and mutual aid were to characterize community life.
These relationships, however, were to be maintained by the well-organized,
rational rules of the church discipline. This ambiguity between goal
and method devolved on the categories "individual" and "community",
and the relationship between them. One interpretation of this relation-
ship identified the community as a whole with supportive, sharing re-
lations, and the individual with the sinful, selfish world outside. The
other interpretation considered the community merely as a set of rules
of discipline, founded on the piety of the individual, and the sharing
between individuals through Christian brotherhood. The ambiguity be-
tween these two potential interpretations opened questions for community
members about their ideals. Since these questions could not be resolved
at the ideal level, people had to look to their social experience for a
resolution.

In the traditional Amish Mennonite community, consistency in the
community ideal was achieved through the control of social experience.

Community members seem to have committed themselves to the viewpoint
that the individual had to be subordinate to the community discipline.
The community was viewed as the locus of the Christian experience;
the individual with his selfish longings **was** an invasion of "world-
liness" into the perfect social order. Much of our discussion in chap-
ter two was devoted to the discussion of the way in which this position
was maintained. In that chapter, we showed how the church served as the
institution that organized social life, and served as a model for it.
Individual experience was controlled by the system of discipline, so
that individuals did not confront the "world" by themselves. Instead,
the church stood always at the boundary. Within the community, indi-
viduals were involved in sharing and reciprocal exchange, while rela-
tions at the boundary reinforced the isolation of the Amish Mennonites
from other Canadians. Since the church maintained a tight boundary,
and limited experience within the community to that which it could
legitimate, real questions about the adequacy of the ideal could only
arise from outside this controlled experience. As long as the indi-
vidual did not encounter the outside by himself, stability seemed
possible.

The careful control of the boundary by the church meant that
internal traditions did not change dramatically before the coming of
revivalism. The history of the community since the 1880's, however,
reveals the process of interaction between boundary institutions and the
external context outside the control of the community ideal. These
interactions clearly changed internal traditions; new forms of exper-
ience accepted in these changes were relevant to the questions raised
by ambiguous ideals. In the process of trying to relate new traditions
to these ideals, community members represented the various possible
ideological positions in political factions. Those who stressed the
importance of individual conversion to the exclusion of more traditional
forms of religious community left the Mennonite faith altogether; those
who reinforced traditional community values isolated themselves still
more behind tight religious boundaries. Most of the Amish Mennonites

tried to incorporate revivalism into the traditional community.

The interaction of revivalism and community ideals thus brought
about changes in community boundaries. Church schisms, such as that
between the Beachy Amish and Western Ontario congregations, created
highly visible, and very important boundary realignments. For the
Beachy Amish, the new boundary allowed stability, although a constant
transfer of membership to the Western Ontario congregations nearby was
the price of this lack of change. For members of the Western Ontario
congregations, the presence of the Beachy Amish meant that commitment
to integrating revivalism with traditional religious institutions had
to be maintained. In chapters four and five, we considered this aspect
of the process of interaction between community ideals and traditions.
We showed first how revivalism remained a subsidiary ideal during this
time. The institutions associated with revivalism were still pattern-
ed on traditional models, and the leaders of the local congregations
remained the spokesmen of community discipline. This integration of
revivalism, however, meant a change in the boundary of the community.
There was apparently no religious opposition to changes in farming
and occupation during the 1940's and 1950's. The prosperity of the
1940's, and the subsequent mechanization of the farm, made wage labour
an occupational alternative for young people. As people began to work
outside the community, they began to experience themselves as indi-
viduals outside the categories of the traditional religious ideals.
Faced with this more individualized experience, community members began
to stress the individual conversion experience in revivalism. Thus
we see again how changes in the boundary, and in the wider social con-
text of the community, changed internal traditions of social life, and
raised further questions about the adequacy of community ideals. The
debates about religious discipline in the 1950's and 1960's were the
expression of these questions.

The relationship between the Beachy Amish and the Wellesley
congregations was also important. The large number of Beachy Amish
who transferred membership to this congregation maintained a sizeable

faction of those brought up in a more traditional community. Most of
these people remained on the farm, and thus did not share the individ-
ualized work experience of those who had grown up at Wellesley. De-
bates about the place of the individual in the community thus polarized
around these two factions, as we demonstrated in chapter eight. The
result of these debates was the formation of the Crosshill congregation,
and the final resolution among the Western Ontario congregations of the
place of revivalism. Once this debate was settled, however, the West-
ern Ontario congregations no longer represented that alternate ideo-
logical position rejected by the Beachy Amish. Thus the Beachy Amish
began to recapitulate the same process of debate about their ambiguous
community ideal that had led originally to their formation.

Throughout our discussion, we have concentrated on community
ideals, and the way changes in the external context speak to ambiguities
in them. It should be clear that we consider interactions between
boundaries and events in the external context as important as those
between community ideals and traditions. While ambiguities in ideals
define the relevance of these external events for community members,
the uniqueness of these external events must be considered to explain
the specific direction and timing of change. Although a number of
these external changes involved economic change in Canada as a whole,
a number did not. The history of the Amish Mennonites suggests that
events that lead to change need not be simply material change. In our
discussion of the works of Marx, we suggested that it would be possible
to develop a theory that was not strictly materialist, but which would
still rest on the idea that experience independent of community legit-
imations comments on the adequacy of community ideals. Our theory,
which proceeds on these lines, thus implies several specific criticisms
of the work of Godelier. Godelier's model outlines how religion
functions within the context of modes of production in the community.
This does not mean that we set up the materialist argument as an op-
position between religious institutions and farming, which represent
ideology and mode of production respectively. Instead, farming and

religion would both be integrated in a mode of production that re-
produces itself. In such a system, religion would function as a sys-
tem of control and legitimation, and farming as the material base for
production and exchange. The history of the community according to
Godelier would be explained by the changes in this mode of production
given change in the material base.

Our data suggests that the external, independent context needs
to be understood more widely instead of being restricted to the mater-
ial base. One of the important aspects of revivalism is that it does
come from outside the community. Even though it commented on the
community ideal, and seemed closely related to it, in fact when people
accepted it, they got more than they thought. It is as important to
account for the impact of the unique aspects of revivalism as it is to
account for economic change and its impact on the community. Sim-
ilarly, the boundary between the Beachy Amish and the Western Ontario
congregations is crucial in the development of both groups. Even
though both groups farmed in the same way, there were significant ideo-
logical differences between them. These differences seem best explain-
ed not only by distinctions in occupation patterns, but also in terms
of social interaction at the boundary. While we wish to adopt the theme
from Godelier that external evidence shapes internal institutional
and ideological order, we do not wish to restrict this evidence to
changes in the material base.

Godelier's theory of ideology and domination also seems to re-
quire revision in the light of our material. What Godelier suggests
is that a certain class becomes invested with the right to maintain
the order of things, and extracts material advantage therefrom. In
the Amish Mennonite community, all members have this responsibility.
Men in certain positions in the church are directly concerned with en-
forcing community standards, but they extract no material advantage.
The domination in the Amish Mennonite community is abstract. The real
independent evidence under such a condition is not evidence that
changes material conditions, but evidence that challenges the validity
of that abstract domination.

Godelier also insists that these challenges to the validity of
community ideals cannot be argued directly in the system, as there is
no alternate position from which to frame the debate. Our data, how-
ever, suggest that during the 1950's, people in the community were
quite consciously arguing abstract notions about community ideals in
the process of debating the particulars of matters of discipline.
Godelier is certainly right when he points out that any such debates
will take place in the general context of the dominant institution.
He does not, however, consider that internal ambiguities might allow
the development of alternate systems of religious symbols in which to
argue the validity of community ideals. This suggests that within any
institution, there may be ambiguities that have nothing to do with the
way in which that institution masks reality. Those ambiguities not
only become the source of questions about the validity of the system,
but also provide alternate formulations of community ideals.

Our model shows clearly how we can take these matters into ac-
count. We insist on seeing changes from the external context in the
light of internal organization. We do not, however, wish to consider
community history simply as a development of internal ideals. We wish
to stress that even when external changes are incorporated into the
community because they address certain questions, they still remain
unique in some way. Here we address some of the problems raised by
Turner's theory of change. Turner's theory suffers from two basic
flaws--its generality, and its inability to deal with the uniqueness
of events. While Turner's theory does allow us to show how the change
from Amish traditional ideals to revivalism was sensible in terms of
community organization, it will not detail how this change took place.
It will not, for instance, tell us why revivalism was implicated as
opposed to some other ideology. We can connect revivalism sensibly to
the structure of internal ideals, but not uniquely. The fluctuation
we alluded to earlier in the summary becomes nothing more than a
structural necessity, with no specific timing or context.

The transformation of Amish Mennonite society follows a very
general pattern--from a closed, kin-based society to one more modern

in economic and institutional structure, with new legitimations more
attuned to the individualistic style of work. This change has been
considered in the literature as distinctive of modernization, and is
often understood as a change in basic "worldview". We have argued,
however, that the Amish Mennonites have not really "modernized" their
worldview. The ambiguity between ideals of the so-called traditional
community, and those legitimating more modern social arrangements,
existed all along. In certain social environments, the boundary raised
around the traditional community was sufficient to limit outside in-
fluence, and thus to stabilize the experience of community members.
When those environments themselves changed, community members were
presented with new forms of social experience, which called into ques-
tion the validity of their ideals. This particular arrangement of
community ideals and boundaries may not be unique to the Amish Mennon-
ites, but could be found among any people who have a well-defined ideal
and tight boundaries to the outside. Our analysis should help in under-
standing the process of modernization in such communities. Thus while
our main objective has been to develop a theoretical model adequate to
explain the history of the Amish Mennonites, we clearly contemplate an
extension of our model to make it useful in other contexts.

Notes

Introduction
1. On Zwingli and the Anabaptists, see Williams, 1962, and the article in the Mennonite Encyclopaedia, v. 4.
2. Contemporary accounts of persecution and martyrdom may be found in van Braght, 1938. An analysis of persecution is given in Clasen, 1972.
3. A good general history of the Anabaptists and Mennonites is Dyck, 1967. For the Dutch Mennonites, see Krahn, 1968.
   For the Hutterites, see Bennett, 1967, and Hostetler, 1974.
4. Social origins are discussed in Clasen, 1972.
5. Epp, 1974, p. 38
6. ibid, p. 40

Chapter 2
1. Figures on the percentage of Amish Mennonites in various Waterloo county townships are given in Murdie, 1971

Chapter 3
1. On revival movements, see Weisberger, 1958, S.D. Clarke, 1948; Utopian movements are summarized in Nordhoff, 1875.

Chapter 6
1. Figures on renting land are given in Appendix N.
2. The rise of corn acreage and the increase in the number of beef cattle in Waterloo County are both documented in Appendix N.
3. See Appendix N.
4. On money as a means of personal evaluation, see Burridge, 1969.

Note on Statisical Techniques

Throughout the appendices, the G^2 statistic is used in favour of the more normal X^2 to summarize patterns in tables. A good description of this statistic and its use can be found in Fienberg, 1977, p. 36 ff.; a more technical description occurs in Bishop, 1975, p. 125 ff. The statistic is computed according to the following formula:

$$G^2 = 2 \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i \ln \frac{x_i}{m_i}$$

where x_i = cell value

m_i = expected cell value

$\ln$ = natural logarithms

The value of the G^2 statistic is distributed asymptotically as X^2 with similar degrees of freedom.

There are several advantages in using the G^2 statistic in preference to the X^2 statistic. The calculating algorithms are simpler (see Kullback, 1962 for an outline of the method actually used). We can consider three-way tables using Kullback's technique, and thus assess the interaction of three variables, instead of simply the contribution of the three two-way interactions. We can partition the table, investigating subtables for significant relations. If we partition into mutually exclusive sets, the G^2 values for the subtables sum to the overall value. We can thus assess which of the subtables, and which of the internal relationships, contribute most heavily to the overall pattern.

APPENDIX A: Changes in the Cost of Farms in the Wellesley Area

　　　The following four tables outline the basic figures relating to
the change in the value of farmland in the region under consideration.
Table A-1 lists the actual dollar value of farms sold;   table A-2 ex-
presses these dollar values as indices, taking the average of the period
from 1920-25 as 100;   table A-3 shows the changes in land values during
five-year periods from 1930 to 1975;   table A-4 expresses the land value
of each period as a percentage of that in the previous period.   From
these tables we can show land prices have risen since 1920, and at what
rates.

　　　The data in these four tables are derived from records in local
land registry offices.   Farm sales were noted, and then grouped in five
year periods;   an average value was taken for the period.   In Wellesley
Township, this value represents the sale of all farms in the first seven
concessions of the West Section, and part of the East Section around the
village of Wellesley.   The values for other townships are computed on
the basis of only those sales of farms to or by Mennonites.   Most land
in the region is sold in parcels around 100 acres in size;   the value
of the sale reflects the value of the farmland, house, and barn.   This
is what a person purchases when he buys a "farm" in the area.   Unusual
cases, in which farmland was sold by itself, have been omitted from the
reckoning.   When parcels of land larger or smaller than 100 acres were
sold as farms, the value of the transaction was transformed into the
corresponding value for 100 acres.

　　　Table 1 shows that values for farms decreased during the 1920's,
with a sharper drop in the 1930's.   Farm prices remained low until the
middle 1940's, at which time they began to rise.   Since 1965, land
prices have continued to rise strongly;   a 100-acre farm today with
house and barn would be worth over $100,000.   What is significant on
this chart is the behaviour of farm prices during certain periods.   The
fact that land prices did not reach the values for the period around
1920 until 1955 meant that the farmer in the later 1940's was not being
asked to invest more and more money in his land.   Young men starting to
farm in this period could count on a stable land price, and one that to
some extent reflected the economic situation of the 1930's.   The rise

in farm prices lagged behind the general improvement in farming that took place in the 1940's and early 1950's.

Table 2 reveals this picture even more clearly. This table, which lists indices for farm value rather than dollar values, shows the fall of prices in the early 1930's, and their subsequent stability until the middle 1950's. It also shows the dramatic rise of land values, since the beginning of the 1960's.

The material in table three lists the dollar value of changes in farm prices from one period to the next. It indicates whether prices were rising or falling. Farmers in the region notice not only what they are being asked to pay for farms, but also whether that value is changing. When the value rises steeply, as it did for the period beginning in 1965, it raises doubts in the minds of local farmers about the ability to expand their operations, or to finance their sons in farming.

The material in table four illustrates the rate of change of farm prices. In this table, in which the numerical value of land for any one period is expressed as a percentage of that for the previous period, if the rate of change is constant, the graph will resemble a straight, horizontal line, cutting the vertical axis at the percentage rise to be expected each year. The graph, however, shows that land prices were not merely changing during the years under consideration, but were changing at different rates. It is the slope of the graph in table four that indicates the rate of change in the rise (or fall) of land values. If we examine this graph, we find that land values were falling from 1930, until by 1935 farms cost only about 70% of what they had previously. Land prices remained almost constant from 1935-45; then from 1945-55, they rose in value, and at a rising rate. That is, each year the farm not only cost more than it had the previous year, but that the rate of rising values was also rising. Since 1960, this rising rate of change in land values has amounted to approximately 5% per year. Thus by delaying the purchase of the farm for five years, at this rate a farmer would pay not merely for the rise in value of the farm, but in addition, for the rising rate of change in value, and end up paying almost twice what the farm would have cost him before.

Farmers notice this rising rate of change in the cost of farms; young men take it into account in deciding when to begin farming. One

young man said that when he first approached the Farm Credit Commission
for a mortgage, they advised him to work for three years or so to help
pay for the increase in farm prices that took place. Other young men,
seeing that the initial costs of starting a farm operation are rising,
and at a rising rate, estimate they can never make a success of farming,
and choose other occupations.

Table A-1
Average Sale Price for 100 Acre Farms in dollars 1920-1975

Period	Wellesley Township	Other (a) Townships
1920-25	7,600	6,300
1925-30	7,400	5,800
1930-35	5,200	4,900
1935-40	5,500	4,700
1940-45	5,400	4,300
1945-50	6,500	5,200
1950-55	8,900	8,200
1955-60	11,100	13,000
1960-65	16,100	16,100
1965-70	28,400	24,000
1970-75	60,800	58,000

Table A-2
Index Value of Farm Sale Prices 1920-25 = 100

Period	Wellesley Township	Other (a) Townships
1920-25	100	100
1925-30	97	92
1930-35	68	78
1935-40	72	75
1940-45	71	68
1945-50	86	83
1950-55	117	130
1955-60	146	206
1960-65	212	256
1965-70	374	381
1970-75	800	921

Table A-3
Change in Average Farm Sale Price from Previous Period, in dollars

Period	Wellesley Township	Other (a) Townships
1925-30	-200	-500
1930-35	-1,800	-900
1935-40	300	-200
1940-45	-100	-400
1945-50	1,100	900
1950-55	2,400	3,000
1955-60	2,200	4,800
1960-65	5,000	3,100
1965-70	12,300	7,900
1970-75	32,400	34,000

Table A-4
Average Farm Sale Price as a Percentage of value for Previous Period

Period	Wellesley Township	Other (a) Townships
1925-30	97	92
1930-35	70	84
1935-40	106	96
1940-45	98	91
1945-50	120	121
1950-55	137	158
1955-60	125	159
1960-65	145	124
1965-70	176	149
1970-75	214	242

(a) Includes only farms sold by or to Amish
   Mennonites in North Easthope, Ellice, Elma
   and Mornington Townships
Source: Land registry office records

APPENDIX B: Farm Mortgages

A. Mortgaging the Farm

The purchase of a farm in the Wellesley area is generally financed by a mortgage. Since the purchase price of the farm is generally figured in thousands of dollars, few farmers have sufficient cash to purchase farms outright. Table B-1 shows that for most periods, the percentages of cash sales has been small compared to those for transfers of farms with mortgages. In most periods, fewer than one sale in ten is completed without a mortgage.

The mortgage itself is a legal contract acting as a form of security for the lender. The purchaser of the farm gives a mortgage to the person loaning him the money for the transaction. Should payments on the loan fall into arrears, the mortgage holder has the right to eventually re-possess the land or to have it sold, in order to recover his investment. In general, however, farmers do not default on payments.

When a man completely pays back the principal of the loan, along with interest accruing during the time the loan is outstanding, he dis-charges the mortgage, and is said to own the farm "free and clear." An old mortgage may also be discharged by refinancing the farm, or by selling it. In either case, the loan owing to the original mortgage holder is repaid out of the money realized in the sale, or from the new loan. Occasionally farms are sold subject to a previous mortgage, in which case the new owner simply assumes the repayment of the outstanding loan as part of the condition for sale.

B. Sources of Mortgage Money

There have been three types of sources for mortgage money in the area: previous owners of the land, private individuals otherwise un-connected with the transfer, and institutional lenders. The most important source of mortgage money in the period under consideration was the previous owner. From the graph B-4, we see that about 60% of mort-gages were granted to previous owners. Under this kind of mortgage, no transfer of the principal of the loan need occur. The previous owner simply leaves his money in the farm, accepting periodic payments as the interest on his investment as well as the repayments of the principal. Generally the previous owner demands some cash as a down payment on the

farm; table B-5 lists the number of mortgages granted by previous owners and the value of those mortgages as percentages of the value of the farm. In most periods, previous to 1955, fewer mortgages are grant- ed at 100% of the farm value than at less; after 1955, more previous owners have been willing to accept mortgages for the full value of the farm. Consequently the percentage of the overall farm value granted in the mortgage has risen.

Two other sources of mortgage money were open to Mennonites in the community. Individuals with money to lend were a significant source of funds before 1950. Sometimes these people were simply private in- dividuals, usually non-Mennonites, who held mortgages as a form of investment. This source of mortgage money was important even before the period under consideration. During the latter part of the 1800's, certain local men, apparently retired, wealthy farmers, often held several mortgages on farms for Mennonites. When one of these men died, there was a flurry of activity in refinancing mortgages, as the executors of the estate called in all the loans so that the estate could be settled. At these times, farmers went looking for other sources of mortgages, and sometimes several mortgages were simply transferred to another lender. Later, the third party mortgages were more distributed in the community, and another important pattern emerged. Since the youngest son usually inherited the home farm, the older sons would have to buy other farms. Occasionally their father would hold the mortgage on the land for them, and thus aid them in starting the operation.

After 1950, however, fewer individuals granted the money to farmers looking for a first mortgage. Institutional lenders filled the gap, and today institutional lenders are an important source of mortgage money. There have been two major types of institutional lenders in the area-- public and private. Both Federal and Provincial governments have been involved in the mortgage lending schemes for farmers. The Federal scheme started out as the Agricultural Development Board. This body began during the early 1900's; loans from this source first appear in the community in the period from 1925-30. From 1935-1960, loans were available from the Canadian Farm Loan Board; after this, the Federal agency responsible was the Farm Credit Corporation, which still exists.

Provincial loan schemes were confined in this area to the Ontario
Junior Farmer mortgages, which first appear in the records in about
1955, and continue until 1970. This scheme has been discontinued.

Private institutional lenders include banks, trust companies,
loan companies, and local businesses such as feed mills. Mennonites
have been relectant to find mortgage money from such sources, espec-
ially for first mortgages in the purchase of the farm. Table B-6
lists the percentages of institutional loans from various sources from
1955-1975. During this period, only 6% of first mortgages were granted
to private sources.

C. Refinancing and Second Mortgages

When a farmer grants a first mortgage to a lender, he is giving
that person first claim to recover his investment should the farmer de-
fault on repayment of the loan. In some cases, the farmer does not have
sufficient funds to make a downpayment on the farm, and thus grants
another lender a second mortgage to obtain this money. Since this lender
is second in line for recouping losses, he generally is granted a higher
rate of interest. A second mortgage may be taken either at the time of
the original transaction, or later, while the first mortgage is still in
effect.

Graph B-7 lists the sources for such second mortgages, combined
with the sources for refinanced mortgages. In rare cases, the previous
owner who held the first mortgage would agree to refinancing the farm,
generally to grant the purchaser a higher loan. But generally refinancing
was carried out by a transfer of the loan from one party to another. Re-
financing was often required at the death of the holder of the first mort-
gage, in order to settle the estate. Refinancing was also required when
the farmer needed more capital to operate the farm.

Until about 1950, third parties granted about 35% of all first
mortgages, and almost all refinanced and second mortgages. Since that
time, however, institutional lenders have more or less taken over the
percentage of the mortgage market in the area not controlled by previous
owners. The importance of institutional lenders seems to grow especially
in two kinds of periods. First, we notice that such lenders were more
prominent during the period from 1925-35. During this period, the

Agricultural Development Board made three loans for first mortgages, and four for second, while the Waterloo Trust Company made two loans for first mortgages, and one for a second mortgage. But the institutional lender is not more important merely during a depression. As land values rose steeply during the 1960's, private individuals simply did not have sufficient funds to cover the cost of financing a farm; consequently institutional lenders stepped in. The period from 1955-75 saw the distribution of funds from institutional lenders for first mortgages as in table B-6; the distribution for refinanced and second mortgages in B-8. Government lenders formed the bulk of sources for first mortgages at the time of purchase, while private lenders were more important in the field of refinancing and second mortgages. Most of the 60% of the refinancing and second mortgages granted by the government bodies were actually consolidations of old mortgages, or completely new financings of the operation. In either case, the institutional lender had the first mortgage of the land.

D. Clearing of Mortgages During Different Periods

Mennonite farmers claim that paying off the mortgage on the farm to obtain clear title to the land is of high priority. In outlining the history of the farmsteads, several men claimed that they had worked very hard at the first to pay off the mortgage, and then thought about improvements and modernizations around the farm. Despite this high value placed on owning the land free and clear, on the average only 51% of the mortgages granted are paid off. From table B-3 we see that around one quarter of the farms are sold before the mortgage is cleared, and the other one quarter of the mortgages are refinanced, either because of the death of the holder, or because the farmer needs further working capital.

An interesting pattern emerges, however, if we examine those mortgages that were cleared. If we list how long it took to clear mortgages granted in any period then average such listings we discover the ideal pattern of mortgages cleared in each period subsequent to granting. This information has been presented in table B-9. Along the top of the table are listed the five-year periods in which mortgages were granted, from 1920-1970. Along the left side of the table are listed the following five-year periods, during which time mortgages could be paid off.

AB-5

Thus the columns on Table B-9 show during which periods mortgages were cleared that were contracted during the period shown at the head of the column. The row numbers show, for any given period listed on the left, how many mortgages were cleared. The table lists first mortgages only. Since, however, different numbers of mortgages were granted during different periods, we reduce the numbers cleared to percentages. This information appears on table B-10.

Tables B-9 and B-10 show that each column consists on the average of six figures, which suggests that after six five-year periods, or thirty years, all mortgages that are going to be cleared have been. But this observation immediately raises a problem with the interpretation of the tables. If each column consists of six periods in all, then all those columns that represent values for mortgages cleared since 1950 are incomplete, as certain periods are not represented. Similarly, the row figures for those periods previous to 1950 do not contain sufficient entries, for there were mortgages cleared during these periods that do not show up on the table, since they were granted previous to 1920. In order to compare column averages and row averages throughout the period from 1920-1970, we must make some correction to the graph to account for these missing figures.

One way to do this is simply to take a general average for all the columns and rows, and then add the corresponding fraction of it to the figures. Thus the row average for 1950 is incomplete by one year. To correct it, you would take the overall average of the row totals, take one sixth of it (for the one year of six that is missing) and add that to the actual total. Similarly, for the column figure for 1955-60, with three entries missing, you would add three sixths or one half of the column average.

Such a procedure, however, assumes that the overall row or column average can be neatly divided into six equal parts—that is, that mortgages are cleared at the rate of one sixth of the overall cleared average each five-year period. The tables suggest that this is not at all the case. Few mortgages are cleared during the last two five-year periods of the six. So in order to add a more realistic correction to the tables, we construct an ideal graph of mortgage clearing. To do this, we average all the mortgages cleared during the first

five-year period (an average of 8.5% per period, since an average of
51% of all first mortgages are cleared), the pattern more closely
approximates that given in table B-11. Here the column figures rep-
resent the ideal pattern of mortgages cleared in various periods
following their original granting, and the row averages represent
the overall average number of mortgages cleared as a percentage of
the number granted. At the right of this table is listed the correc-
tion in percentage to be applied to each row value. A similar per-
centage correction could be applied to each column.

By adding the correction values to the actual values, we get the
material in table B-12. This table lists only the row values, which
tell us how each five-year period compares to the average regarding
the number of mortgages cleared. We would expect the final values
for each row to approximate 51%. What the table reveals, however, is
that during the periods from 1935-45, fewer than the average number
of mortgages were cleared; during the period following, from 1945-50,
a far larger number were cleared than the average, and during the sub-
sequent period from 1950-55, considerably more than the average number
were cleared.

TABLE B-1

Cash Sales of Farms in Wellesley Area

Period	Number of Cash Sales	Cash Sales as Percentage of All Farm Sales
1920-25	1	2.2
1925-30	1	2.3
1930-35	0	0.0
1935-40	0	0.0
1940-45	4	21.1
1945-50	2	4.8
1950-55	1	2.7
1955-60	2	8.7
1960-65	4	19.0
1965-70	2	6.3
1970-75	2	5.4

TABLE B-2

Absolute Numbers of Mortgages Granted, Method of Discharging

Period	Mortgages	Cleared	Refinanced	Sold	Forfeit	Outstanding
1920-25	43	18	7	17	1	
1925-30	37	15	7	11	4	
1930-35	15	7	3	4	1	
1935-40	28	16	8	4		
1940-45	15	8	5	2		
1945-50	38	21	7	10		
1950-55	36	15	10	8		3
1955-60	25	11	7	3		4
1960-65	17	1	3	2		11
1965-70	35	3	6	6		20
1970-75	37	1	3	3		30

TABLE B-3

Percentages of Mortgages Granted Discharged by Type

Period	Mortgages	Cleared	Refinanced	Sold	Forfeit	Outstanding
1920-25		42	16	40	2	
1925-30		41	19	30	11	
1930-35		47	20	27	7	
1935-40		57	29	14		
1940-45		53	33	13		
1945-50		55	18	26		
1950-55		42	28	22		8
1955-60		44	28	12		16
1960-65		6	18	12		65
1965-70		9	17	17		57
1970-75		3	8	8		81

AB-8

TABLE B-5

Mortgages Granted by Previous Owners

Period	Number at 100% of Farm Value	Number at Less Than 100% Value	Overall % Land Value
1920–25	3	19	69
1925–30.	2	11	64
1930–35	3	4	67
1935–40	0	8	71
1940–45	2	3	80
1945–50	5	11	82
1950–55	6	14	80
1955–60	6	5	78
1960–65	2	5	78
1965–70	5	2	88
1970–75	13	11	82

TABLE B-6

Sources of Loans for Institutional First Mortgages 1955-75

	Federal Government	Provincial Government	Private
Number	18	12	2
Percentage	56%	38%	6%

TABLE B-8

Sources of Loans for Institutional Second Mortgages and Refinancing 1955-75

	Federal Government	Private
Number	37	25
Percentage	60%	40%

Table B-9
Number of Mortgages Discharged by
5-year Period 1925-75

Period Discharged year ending 19..	Period Granted, year ending 19..										Total
	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	
30	1										1
35	2	2									4
40	2	0	2								4
45	2	2	0	1							5
50	4	6	3	9	3						25
55	6	2	1	3	2	10					24
60		1	1	2	0	2	2				8
65		1		1	1	2	6	2			13
70					1	1	4	4			10
75						4	2	3	1	2	12
Total	17	14	7	16	7	19	14	9	1	2	

225
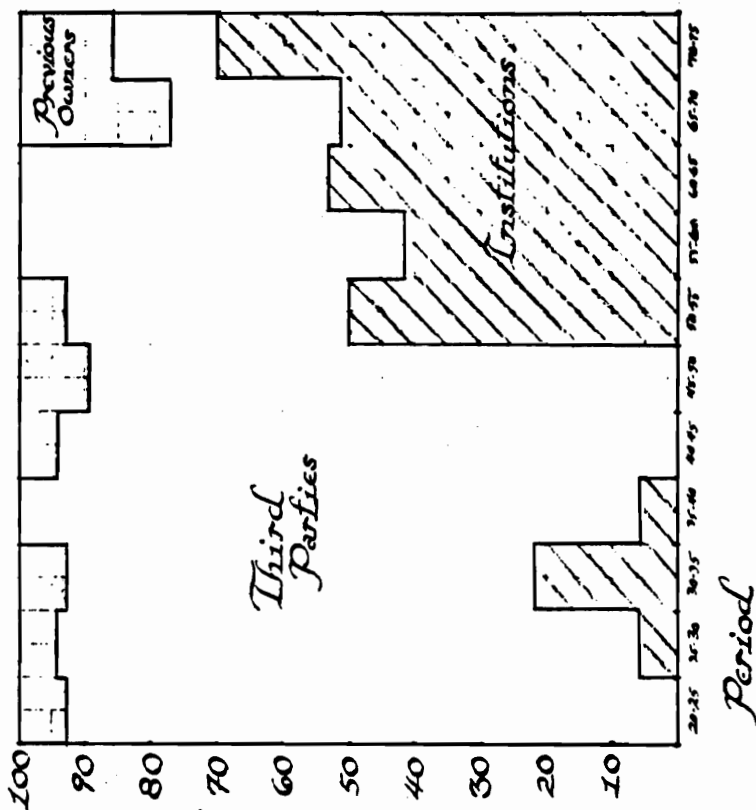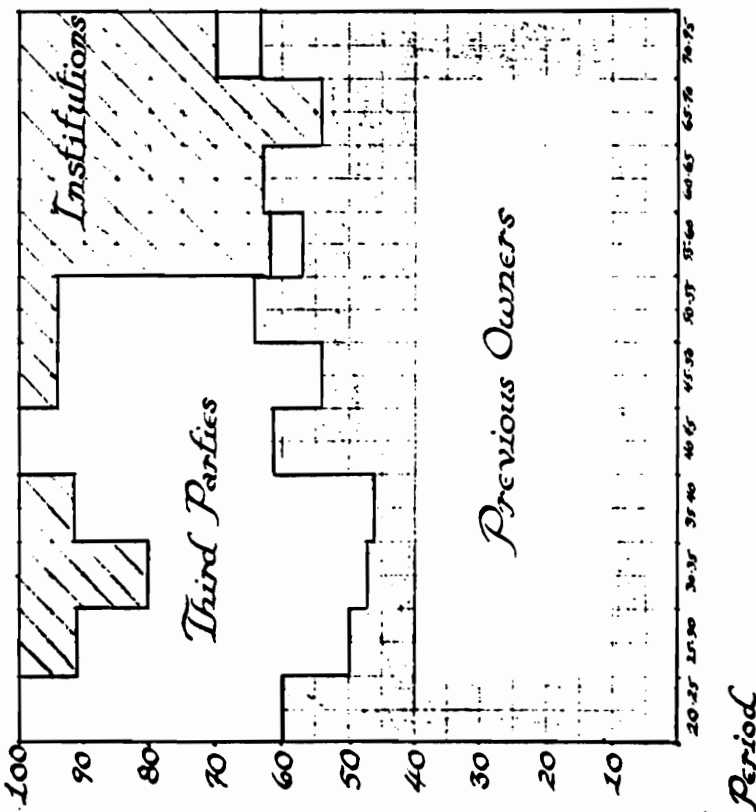
Table B-10
Number of Mortgages Discharged as a Percentage of Number Granted
Period Granted, year ending 19..

Period Discharged year ending 19..	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	Total
30	2										2
35	5	6									11
40	5	0	13								18
45	5	6	0	4							15
50	10	18	20	35	23						106
55	15	6	7	12	15	28					83
60		3	7	8	0	6	6				30
65		3	0	4	8	6	18	10			49
70					8	3	12	19			42
75						11	6	14	7	7	45
Total	42	42	47	63	54	54	42	43	7	7	

Table B-11
Ideal Table of Percentages of Mortgages Discharged
Period Granted

Period Discharged	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	Add
II.	10										41
III.	12	10									29
IV.	9	12	10								20
V.	8	9	12	10							12
VI.	8	8	9	12	10						4
VII.	4	8	8	9	12	10					
VIII.		4	8	8	9	12	10				
IX.			4	8	8	9	12	10			
X.				4	8	8	9	12	10		
XI.					4	8	8	9	12	10	

Table B-12
Corrected Row Values of Mortgages
Discharged by 5-year periods 1925-75

Period	Table Average	Correction	Corrected Values
1925-30	2	41	43
1930-35	11	29	40
1935-40	18	20	38
1940-45	15	12	27
1945-50	106	4	110
1950-55	83		83
1955-60	30		30
1960-65	49		49
1965-70	42		42
1970-75	45		45

Source for all tables in appendix B: Land registry figures

APPENDIX C: The Mechanization of the Farm

This section outlines the changes in machinery used on the farm, in both the fields and barn work. Table C-1 lists the census material on farm mechanization; other material is given in the following sections on specific types of machines.

A.   Tractors

The census material on tractors is given in absolute numbers in table C-1. Table C-2 expresses these absolute figures for Waterloo and Perth counties as percentages, listing first the percentages of farms reporting tractors, and then the average number of tractors per farm. This material shows a jump in both the number of farms reporting tractors, and in the number of tractors per farm, during the years from 1931 to 1951.

This material is backed up by other statistical material on the numbers of tractors sold, and the cumulative totals of tractors in Ontario, given in table C-3. This table shows a jump in number of tractors sold during the later 1940's and early 1950's, with the sharpest rise in the cumulative totals during this same period.

Data on the availability of tractors in the local community comes from two sources--local implement dealers, and the Fire and Storm Aid Insurance records. Price books, listing not only prices but also machinery available, were consulted from a local implement dealer. Such books were available from 1931, 1938, 1941, 1944, 1947, 1952; after this time, sheets with prices were issued. Tractors suitable for small Ontario farms were first listed in the 1938 price list. At that time, they were offered in two horsepowers--24 and 32--with steel wheels. By 1944, a larger 42 horsepower unit was available, and the later 1940's rubber tires became a standard. During the 1950's the horsepower ranges offered continued to increase; it is possible today to obtain tractors with a horsepower rating of 120. Prices for various tractors are listed in table C-4.

More specific information about the increase in the number of tractors among local Mennonites can be obtained from the records of the Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm Aid Union. In 1942, it was the decision of the membership to set up a separate accounting book for

power units. At this time, both Western Ontario Conference and Beachy
Amish members of the Union were allowed by the churches to have tractors;
the Old Order Amish were not. This last group objected to paying insur-
ance on something forbidden to them, so with the introduction of the
separate accounting for power units, only those members with tractors
were forced to pay premiums for their insurance. The first collection
was taken in 1946, with collections following in 1952 and 1958. Table
C-5 lists the number of members of the two different conferences that
were allowed to have tractors.

The fact that the power unit book was set up in 1942 suggests
that members of the Union already had tractors at that time, and wished
to insure them. By the time the first collection was taken, over half
of those in the Union who were allowed to have tractors already owned
them. By 1956, almost every farmer had at least one tractor. Thus
tractors were introducted into the area during the 1940's and early
1950's. It is interesting to note that the Beachy Amish congregation
members did not lag far behind their more liberal neighbours in buying
tractors for the farm.

B. Other Field Machines

Changes in other farm machinery followed the introduction of the
tractor. Machines for use with the tractor could be made larger, as
the tractor could pull harder than a team. The tractor was also fitted
with a power take-off shaft, connected to the motor, so that it could
be used not only for pulling, but also for powering machines. This
led to the development of new kinds of machines for use in the field.

The tractor, for instance, could pull two-and three-furrow plows
for deep plowing--a team could only pull a single furrow walking plow.
By the late 1950's, four-furrow plows were available, and today a large
tractor can pull a seven-furrow plow. Tractors also pulled larger seed
drills for planting, larger cultivators, and larger discs.

Harvesting machinery changed considerably with the introduction
first of the tractor, and later of the mobile harvesting unit. During
the 1940's, pull combines, which separated the grain from the chaff in
the field, were introduced; later, mobile combines became available,
and are widely used today. Corn harvestors followed a similar develop-
ment. A corn head for attachment to the tractor became available in

the later 1940's, and are still used. A mobile combine for corn is
available today, but is expensive. Those that have such a machine tend
to use it not only for their own corn, but also on a custom basis, cut-
ting the corn for other local farmers who find it cheaper to rent the
use of such a machine than to purchase one themselves.

Tractor power also changed the haying techniques, with the intro-
duction first of the bailer in the early 1950's, and then later with
the introduction of the forage harvestor. The changes in farming
techniques made possible by the introduction of these machines is de-
tailed elsewhere. In general, mechanization has made it possible for
one man to handle more and more field work by himself, or, given the
same amount of help as before, to farm more land.

Changes in the numbers of farm machines in the larger local area
are detailed in table C-1. This table lists the availability of various
types of farm machinery, and the approximate costs of the units. What
is clear from this graph is that the prices for farm machinery have
risen more steeply since 1960 than before. Table C-7 plots the index
value of machinery costs against the index of farm produce prices.
This graph shows that machinery increased in price first from about
1947-1952, and then more steeply still from 1956 until today. During
the first of these periods, the prices paid to farmers were also in-
creasing, and covered the cost of machinery; in the later period,
however, machinery crept up on farm produce prices.

C. Machinery in the Barn

Just as tractor power made innovations in field machinery possible,
so electric power changed the work in the barn. Small electric motors
were used to drive vacuum pumps, which were then attached to a vacuum
line. A milking machine was attached to this line, and the milk was
deposited automatically in pails. All the farmer had to do was to
connect the milker unit to the animal and the vacuum line, and dump
the milk into his holding system. Originally milk was held in large
cans, which were cooled in the water supply. With the introduction
of refrigeration units, however, bulk holding tanks became available
to hold and cool milk for later shipping.

Electric motors have also been used on stable cleaners, which
remove animal waste and used bedding, piling it in the stable yard.

AC-4

Motors have also been rigged to silage feeding systems for cattle. Such systems are used especially for beef cattle, and for young dairy animals not yet milking.

The growth in the number of electric motors, along with the decline in the number of gasoline motors once used to perform the same sorts of functions, can be seen in table C-1. The percentage of farms with electric power is also listed in table C-8. This percentage took its greatest rise during the period from 1931-1951.

Table C-1 Agricultural Machinery on Census Farms, 1931-76

County/ Machine	Year							
Waterloo	1931	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976
Automobiles	2,305	2,633	2,219	2.378	2,867	1,970	1,846	1,656
Trucks	227	245	642	943	1,075	1,051	1,049	1,231
Tractors	498	908	2,428	3,001	3,316	3,410	3,345	3,345
Binders	2,474		1,920		1,287			
Combines		21	171	234	318	379	389	373
Threshers	422	454	713		799			
Gas Engines	1,336	890	631	784				
Electric Motors	535	2,107	2,657		3,982		2,434	
Milkers	141		1,170		1,252	1,031	751	581
Bulk Tanks					195		345	367
Electricity	948		2,153	2.323	2,212	1,979		
Bailers					582	750	777	736
Forage Harvesters					414	448	460	480
Perth	1931	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976
Automobiles	3,794	4,086	3,955	3,981	3,944	3,685	3,549	3,494
Trucks	257	226	915	1,518	1,863	2,136	2,123	2,577
Tractors	793	1,372	3,787	5,159	6,017	6,650	6,906	7,314
Binders	4,260		3,395		2,225			
Combines		37	277	472	874	1,225	1,328	1,307
Threshers	378	547	1,278		1,474			
Gas Engines	1,960	1,322	658	963				
Electric Motors	521	2,373	4,043		6,496		5,029	
Milkers	67		2,046		2,607	2,307	1,695	1,253
Bulk Tanks					332		645	859
Electricity	951		3,586	3,946	3,938	3,624		
Bailers					1,113	1,646	1,697	1,676
Forage Harvesters					626	723	782	957

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada

Table C-2 Tractors on Census Farms, 1931-76

a) Average Number of Tractors Reported Per Farm			b) Percentage of Farms Reporting at Least One Tractor		
	Waterloo	Perth		Waterloo	Perth
1931	1.03	1.02	1931	16%	15%
1941	1.03	1.01	1941	28%	26%
1951	1.20	1.15	1951	77%	76%
1961	1.63	1.65	1956	82%	86%
1966	1.88	1.95	1961	83%	89%
1971	2.09	2.23	1966	81%	90%
1976	2.32	2.58	1971	81%	90%
			1976	86%	91%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada

Table C-3 Number of Tractors Sold and Total on Farms,
        Ontario, 1936-60, By Year

Total on Farms   Number Sold,
In Thousands   In Thousands

Year
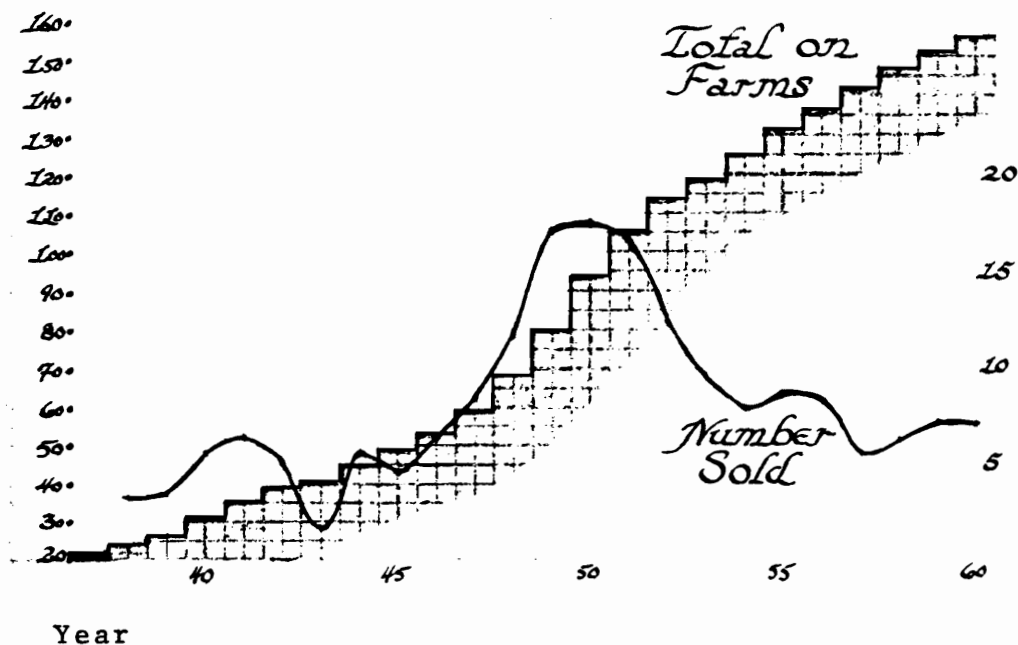
Source: Taylor and Mitchell, p. 381

Table C-4 Cost and Availability of Tractors, Ontario, 1938-74

Cost in
Thousands of Dollars
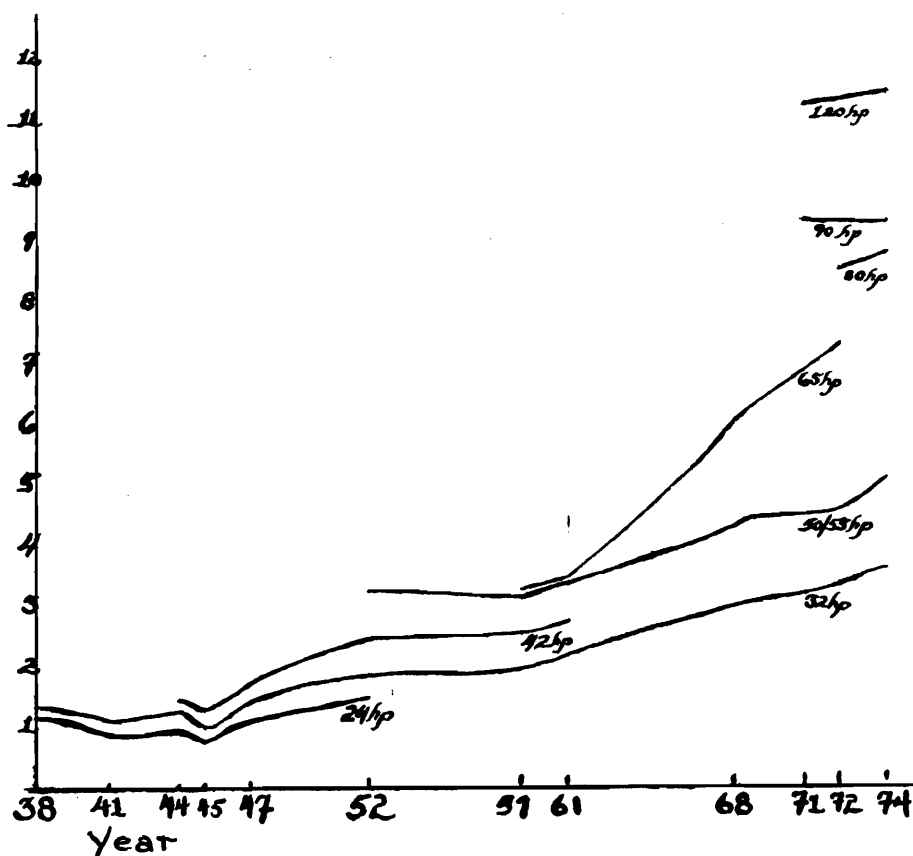
Source: Local implement dealer

Table C-5a) Number of Farms Reporting Tractors, Cedar Grove and
Mapleview Congregations, 1946-58

	Beachy Amish		*Mapleview*	
	With Tractors	*Without*	*With Tractors*	*Without*
1946	*32*	*24*	*34*	*26*
1952	*45*	*15*	*61*	*9*
1958	*58*	*6*	*71*	*0*

b) Numbers in C-5a) Expressed as Percentages

	Beachy Amish	*Mapleview*
1946	*57%*	*57%*
1952	*75%*	*87%*
1958	*91%*	*100%*

Source: Records of the Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm Aid Union

Table C-6 Cost in Dollars for Agricultural Implements, 1931-74

Implement — Year

Implement	1931	1938	1941	1944	1947	1952(a)	1958/9	1960/1	1967/8	1970/71	1974
Mower	95	116	118	112	126	299	298		411		
Side Rake	128	146	149	131	176	285	418		567		
Hay Loader	125	138	140	123	165	235	n/a				
Bailer					n/a	2,200	1,362	1,546	1,492	1,696	2,135
Seed Drill	183	206	209	219	246	416	618	699	865	1,056	1,268
Cultivator	95	122	125	131	147	213	228				
Walking Plow	21	22	23	23	26	n/a					
2-Furrow Plow	n/a	127	138	140	157	228	n/a				
3-Furrow Plow	n/a	157	167	172	193	284	347	339	470		
4-Furrow Plow						n/a	435	481	646		
Binder	236	272	280	294	330	510	n/a				
Thresher	630	1,080	1,111	n/a							
Individual Thresher			n/a	966	1,086	1,460	n/a				
Pull Combine		n/a	847	937	1,028	1,369	2162	2717			
Self-propelled combine					n/a	4,200	2770	2841	5,835	7,315	

a) All implements in this and succeeding years tractor drawn. Previously, all implements horse drawn.

Source: Local implement dealer

AC-8

Table C-7 Comparison of Farm Produce Price Index with
      Machinery Cost Index, Ontario, 1935-73

1961= 100
Index Value
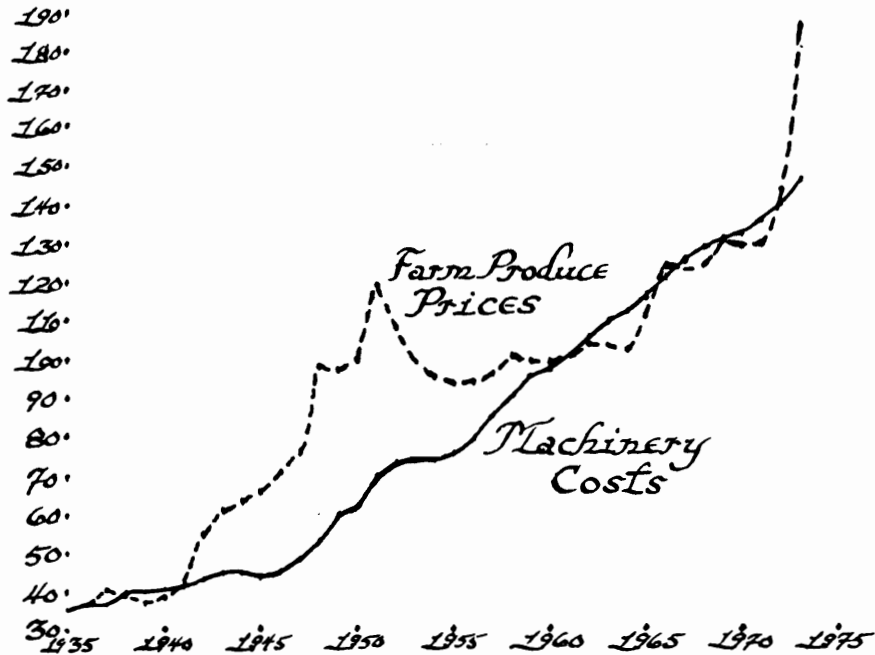
Year
Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ontario, annual
        agricultural statistics

Table C-8 Percentage of Census Farms Reporting Electric Power

Year	County	
	Waterloo	Perth
1931	31	18
1951	82	82
1956	88	92
1961	91	96
1966	88	95

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada

APPENDIX D: The Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm Aid Union

In 1872, members of the Amish community decided to form their
own insurance society to make up for fire and storm damage to members.
At this time, all the members of the Amish community, though in dif-
ferent congregations, still felt themselves to be one body. It was
not permitted in this body of believers to take out insurance from
regular insurance companies. Such an act violated two important tenets
of the faith. First, it linked members of the church with non-believers.
Furthermore, taking out insurance against the possibility of disaster
was thought to be hedging against God's plan. It was, however, con-
sidered quite correct to help one another when in need, and the new
aid union was set up along these lines. In the front of the original
collection book was written the following:

There is a difference of opinion among Christians with regard to
insurance which often gives rise to disagreement. The Word of God
teaches us that when one member suffers, all the members suffer with
him. All we possess is a gift from God, and moreover we know that we
should assist one another in all cases of necessity. For these reasons
our congregations have agreed as follows:

The buildings of all who desire it shall be insured, likewise the
inflammable contents. In case one of the members suffers loss through
fire, there is to be an investigation and three impartial men, who are
members of this Union, shall determine the loss, and every member shall
help to replace the loss.

Thus the important limitation on this society was that it was not
an insurance company, trading in the fortunes of men, but an aid union,
collecting only sufficient funds to repay for actual damage. It was
thus a way of spreading the financial burdens of unexpected trouble
throughout the community. It was decided that all members of the
various congregations should join the society.

The original association was called the Amish Mennonite Fire
Insurance Society. By 1916, when the first printed rules still existing
were distributed, the name had been changed to the Amish Memmonite
Fire and Storm Society. Sometime before 1936, the name was changed
again to the Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm Aid Union. This name is
significant first in that it lists and perils insured against, and
second in that it outlines the character of the society as an aid union,
not a company. To this day, only losses from fire and storm damage

are insured. Comprehensive insurance policies from commercial insur-
ance companies would also include provision for insurance against theft
and vandalism, against damage to household contents from such perils
as water leaks or furnace explosions, and against lawsuits for home-
owner liability in case of accident. Although the coverage offered
by the policy is not as comprehensive as that offered by commercial
companies, it is less expensive. Administrators of the insurance
society are paid small sums, but most of the administration is done
essentially for nothing. The society is also not chartered to make
money. Until 1966, collections were taken only when necessary to
pay for losses, and the society carried only a small balance sufficient
to pay for anticipated losses in the following year. In general, the
rates have been around one to two dollars of premium for every one
thousand dollars insured.

The basic statement of the purpose of the union remains its charter.
Specific rules have been added in the various meetings of the members,
held once a year. Such rules are generally added in response to specific
cases considered by the directors and then put before the general meeting
for a vote. One man, for instance, wished to insure his business in
town as well as his residence. Since some of the congregations frowned
on business as not a truly Christian form of work, there was some debate
as to whether businesses were to be insured. In the 1942 meeting, it
was decided that businesses could be insured, at 80% value, and that
the premium would be at double rate. This rate was reconfirmed in 1947.
Various other issues have arisen, so that today the list of rules and
regulations begins with the original charter, and then is followed by
twenty-three articles outlining specific regulations. There is no
particular rationalization of these rules--each is unrelated to the
others. Some of the rules list proper precautions to be taken by members,
such as #6: "Avoid ashes close to any building." Others list the
conditions of insurance, such as #8: "A new building may be insured
before completion and when completed can be insured only from foundation
up." Other rules list administrative regulations, such as #22, "The
secretary is authorized by the directors to attend to any appraising
for fire or storm damage." (A complete list of the rules, as given to
members of the association, is given in table D-1.)

The Fire and Storm Aid Union was originally founded while the

members felt themselves all members of the same brotherhood. But since the founding of the society, divisions have taken place in the faith. Even though these divisions involved differences in the life-style and religious expression of congregations, they did not break up the Fire and Storm Aid Union. After churches divided, or when new congregations were founded because of population pressure or mission effort, each congregation was entitled to send directors to the society, and members of that congregation were all entitled to membership. In 1939, there was a discussion about taking in members from the United States; the meeting decided to insure only those church members living locally. In 1957, there was a general debate about the membership of the society. At this time, those who had founded the Conservative Mennonite congregation in Millbank requested their own director. There was some debate among the members, but finally the decision was made to allow them to have their own director, and retain members in the society. At this meeting, there was also a resolution passed so that those who married in, or otherwise joined what was called "the Mennonite Conference" could be members. This resolution affirmed that formal membership in one of the congregations that sprang from the original settlement of the Amish in Canada was the condition of membership in the Union. Thus to this day the Union consists of members from the Old Order groups, the Beachy Amish, and the Western Ontario Conference, as well as these other congregations that have split away from these groups, such as the Conservative Mennonite congregations in Millbank and Milverton. Membership in the Fire and Storm Aid Union thus affirms in the most general sense membership in the Amish community. Such membership can be seen to derive from actively maintaining ties with a congregation stemming from the original Amish settlement. The Aid Union is the one institution within the Amish Mennonite community founded on the widest sense of community membership.

Table D-1   Rules of the Amish Mennonite Fire and Storm
Aid Union, 1972

RULES and REGULATIONS of the A. M. FIRE & STORM AID UNION

There is a difference of opinion among Christians with regard to insurance which often gives rise to disagreement. The Word of God teaches us that when one member suffers, all the members suffer with him. All we possess is a gift from God, and moreover we know that we should assist one another in all cases of necessity. For these reasons our congregations have agreed as follows:

The buildings of all who desire it shall be insured, likewise the inflammable contents. In case one of the members suffers loss through fire, there is to be an investigation and three impartial men, who are members of this Union, shall determine the loss, and every member shall help to replace the loss.

There will be $10.00 deducted from all claims sent in to the Secretary-Treasurer. Eighty percent will only be paid for buildings destroyed by fire or storm and not replaced.

Livestock shall be appraised according to its value, but not higher. In making entries animals are assessed at full value, and in making payments 100 per cent of the actual value will be paid up to the assessed amount and no more, but in the case of a member not having his stock assessed near full value he will only be paid according to his entry. For this reason every member is urged to see that he is assessed high enough to cover his loss in case of fire or storm and avoid disappointment when settlement is made for loss as (all) settlements are based on the assessed valuation. Losses for animals killed by lightning must be approved by a veterinary. Up to $1000.00 will be paid for Registered cattle, giving the Directors the right to inspect Pedigrees, R.O.P. and other records as to the value of the animal.

1. (a) Business stock should be entered according to wholesale (inventory) not retail, and in making payment 11 per cent of the wholesale value will be paid up to the assessed amount and no more. In case a member not having his stock insured near full value, he will only be paid according to his entry in case of partial loss. (Salvage, if any, will be deducted.)
   (b) Any business over $20,000 be charged double rate of assessment.
2. Steam or heating plants must be protected with fire wall and fire-proof door to adjoining buildings.
3. Have no inflammable material too close to tractors or motors which might start a fire in building.
4. (a) Power units or tractors operating in barn or in stables should be kept clean and equipped with muffler; also, fire extinguisher either on tractor or in the most convenient place. (b) Heat bulbs used in barns must be properly wired by electrician and approved by Hydro inspector. (c) Gas lanterns used for heating are classed as very dangerous. (d) Smoking in barns is prohibited. (e) Any member having a loss where these rules are neglected will be left to members' conscience for payment.
5. (a) Gasoline supply, if not underground, must be kept at least thirty feet from all other buildings. (b) All electric appliances such as stoves, motors, refrigerators, deep freezes, wiring leading to such be covered from breaker switch in. (c) Radios, television and television aerials, clocks, damaged by lightning are exempted from insurance (Retailer's stock included). The A.M. Fire & Storm Aid Union is exempt from losses due to short circuits in wiring, both Hydro electric and tractors. Only losses payable are for damages of fire. (d) All insurable electric appliances and motors struck by lightning must be approved by an Electrician. (e) Any member having (barns) rented for the purpose of feeding livestock not insured with the A.M. Fire & Storm Aid Union must have hydro inspection.
6. Avoid ashes close to any building.
7. The necessary amount of fuel will be considered as house contents. (Larger amounts must be insured separately.)
8. A new building may be insured before completion and when completed can be insured only from foundation up.

Table D-1, continued

9. Plank Silos may be insured for fire only (roof and chute for fire and storm), (cement or slab silo can be insured for storm and fire.)
10. Fire loss on standing grain, grain on shock, hay in field may be paid by voluntary contribution only.
11. Colony house must be at least fifty feet from other buildings and must be insured separately. Electric brooder must be inspected by government inspector.
12. Parents should insure children's effects high enough against loss.
13. No member is permitted to insure any article in any other Union without permission by directors.
14. This Union is not responsible for damage through fire or storm if these rules are not observed.
15. All members are urged to have doors securely fastened for we believe that with proper care much storm damage may be averted.
16. Buildings damaged by fire or storm shall be appraised according to damage done and loss paid on that basis, up to the assessed amount.
17. That directors value all buildings entered or changed and in case owner and director cannot agree, director is authorized to call other member or secretary of Aid to help value.
18. (a) All claims for fire or storm must be handed in within 15 days of loss, need not be accepted for payment. If a member is in arrears of 30 days a voluntary contribution may be accepted. (b) All buildings not attached to house or barn must be listed separately. Steel grain storage bins must be bolted to foundations.
19. No article can be cancelled until one payment is made.
20. Power united can be insured separately and can be entered at full value, but should be re-assessed yearly, to take care of depreciation. Also, make of unit should be clearly identified. When units are sold or traded, a new entry must be made with your director.
21. Implements do not need to be listed separately and should be insured at inventory value. In making settlement 11 per cent of value will be paid up to assessed amount.
22. The secretary is authorized by the directors to attend to any appraising for fire or storm damage.
23. There shall be a meeting of the A.M. Fire & Storm Aid Union once a year on the second Monday in June. As certain resolutions are passed by the annual meetings from year to year not included on these rules for which is not possible to voice, but can be found in minute book.

DUTIES OF THE DIRECTORS

24. (a) To value the property to be insured in their respective districts.
    (b) To keep a record of all valuations and transmit a copy thereof to the Secretary all new valuations and corrections immediately.
    (c) To collect and pay to the Treasurer all rates levied for payment of losses.
    (d) To revalue property whenever required.
    (e) To sign all statements of losses occurring in his district.
    (f) In case of a mortgage against said property, mortgagee is to be notified by the Director when the 30 days have expired and he can pay insurance to secure his mortgage if he so desires. In such a case the Directors are allowed three days grace to notify mortgagee and the mortgagee also be allowed three days grace.

, Chairman, Tavistock, Ont.

Secretary, R.R.#1, Millbank, Ont.

Secretary-Treasurer,
Wellesley, Ontario.

Dated at Wellesley, this 7th day of October, 1972

are

Table D-2 Rates Paid by Fire and Storm Aid Union Members, in Dollars per $1,000 value insured

Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1914	$1.70	1929	$1.00	1943	$1.50	1958	$2.00
1915	1.50	1930	1.50		2.00	1959	2.00
1916		1931	1.50	1944	1.50	1960	
1917	1.50		3.00		2.25	1961	2.00
1918	2.00	1932	1.50	1945	1.50	1962	
1919		1933	1.00	1946	1.50	1963	2.00
1920	1.50	1934		1947	2.00	1964	
1921	2.50	1935	1.00	1948	2.00	1965	2.00
1922	2.00	1936		1949	2.00	1966	2.00
1923	1.00	1937	1.00	1950		1967	2.00
	3.00	1938	1.50	1951		1968	1.00
1924	1.00	1939		1952	1.00	1969	2.00
1925		1940	1.00	1953		1970	2.00
1926	1.00	1941	1.50	1954	2.00	1971	2.00
1927	2.50	1942	1.50	1955	2.00	1972	1.50
	1.00		1.50	1956		1973	1.00
1928				1957	2.00		

Table D-3 Insured Values, Average for Farmers 1947-1959, by Congregation

Value in Thousands
of Dollars

- - - Cedar Grove
——— Maple View
—·— Poole
- - - - Mornington Beachy

Year
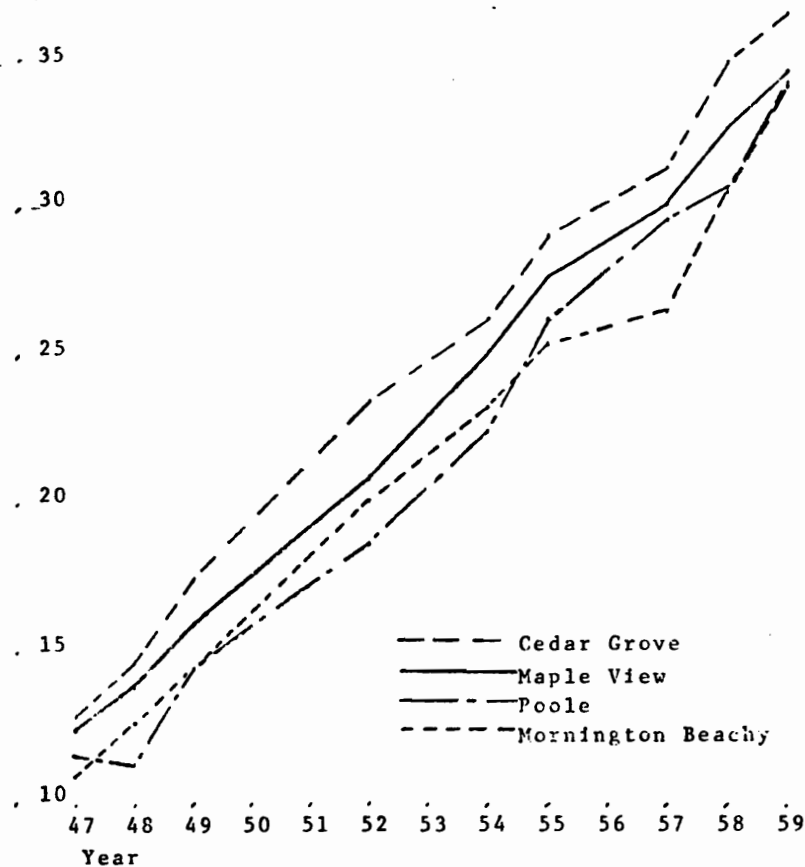
APPENDIX E: Education

A.   Changes in Schools

     Townships in the Wellesley area were originally divided into
school sections. These boundaries generally followed the survey lines
in the township, grouping about eighteen lots of two hundred acres, or
about 36 farms, into a section.

     The school sections for the West Section, and a small part of the
East Section, of Wellesley Township are listed on Table E-1. Each
section had a small school, usually one room, located near its centre.
In Wellesley Township, these section boundaries are of long standing;
they serve as the basis for the enumeration districts in the 1851 and
1861 censuses.

     Each of the sections was administered by three trustees, elected
from among the local residents. These men hired the teacher and super-
vised that person's activities, hired the janitor (usually someone
living near the school), and looked after the school building. Such
schools offered only classes to grade eight. High school was available
only in larger towns, and only those living in such towns normally
attended. Local Mennonites sent their children to the section schools
until grade eight graduation, and served as trustees. The position
of school trustee, although normally it was of concern only within the
field of education, could also be used for certain other purposes.
One man relates how he wished to get electric lines down his road, in
the late 1940's, but could not get sufficient neighbours to sign up.
He was a school trustee, and approached the authorities about getting
electric power for the school. Ontario Hydro Corporation said it would
put in power lines for the school, even if there were not sufficient
private users along the route. This matter was taken to the general
meeting of the school section, between Christmas and New Year's Day,
and was approved.

     In the later 1940's (around 1949 according to one local resident)
the organization of the school system changed. The Wellesley School
Area was proclaimed, with five trustees instead of the three for each
section. At first, the head trustee of each section went to the region-
al meetings; soon after, trustees were elected specially for the post
throughout the region. At this time, Mennonites became reluctant to
serve as trustees, as they were being elected to represent local inter-

ests in an arena larger than the local area. While it was alright
to serve on a section board of trustees, it was too much like being
part of the government to serve as an area trustee.

In the middle 1960's, the consolidation of rural schools began.
The new school presently serving the Wellesley area was built at this
time, and was ready for occupancy in early 1967. Pupils from sections
7P, 8P, 6P, 16P and 1P were bused to the new school in town. The
old sections were abolished, and the buildings sold to private owners
for dwellings. Most of the children in the northern half of the West
Section of Wellesley Township were bused to the school in Linwood, in
section 4P.

The consolidation of the school sections, although it removed
control of education from the local people, does not seem to have had
an adverse effect at the primary level. Most of the teachers in the
Wellesley school are local, and the school itself, consisting of child-
ren who know one another also from church and family gatherings, as
well as from neighbourhood associations, is not a strange place for
children. Children who go on to high school, however, are introduced
to quite a different group of people than those they grew up with.
Most children in the Wellesley area attend high school in Elmira,
about thirty miles to the northeast. Some go about ten miles south
to a school just outside New Hamburg. Farm and town children are
mixed in these larger schools, and teachers come from all over Ontario.

With the consolidation of schools, however, certain programmes
were introduced that were unacceptable to the Old Order Amish (and
Old Order Mennonite people to the east). Intransigence on the part
of the government has meant that these people have established their
own primary school system. Teachers are chosen from their own people.
Though the teachers generally do not have more than a grade eight ed-
ucation themselves, they upgrade their skills with reading and train-
ing provided by the private school association. Although each school
is run autonomously, there is a loose association of those Mennonite
peoples with private schools. This group meets to discuss problems
of private school education, and to maintain standards. Some Beachy
Amish children attend the public school system; others attend a private
school south of Wellesley. A small, private Mennonite high school has

AE-3

also been established in Kitchener, but very few people from the local area have attended.

B. Changing Patterns of Education

Among members of the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference, a greater percentage each year attend high school. Educational profiles for the members of the four northern congregations are given below. Table E-2 lists absolute numbers of people by sex and age group with high school and post-secondary training. This information is present-ed in table E-3 as percentages of all people in that age bracket having the different levels of education. Table E-4 lists the overall per-centages by congregation having high school or further education.

Map E-1 School Districts
Wellesley West, 1945

Scale of Miles
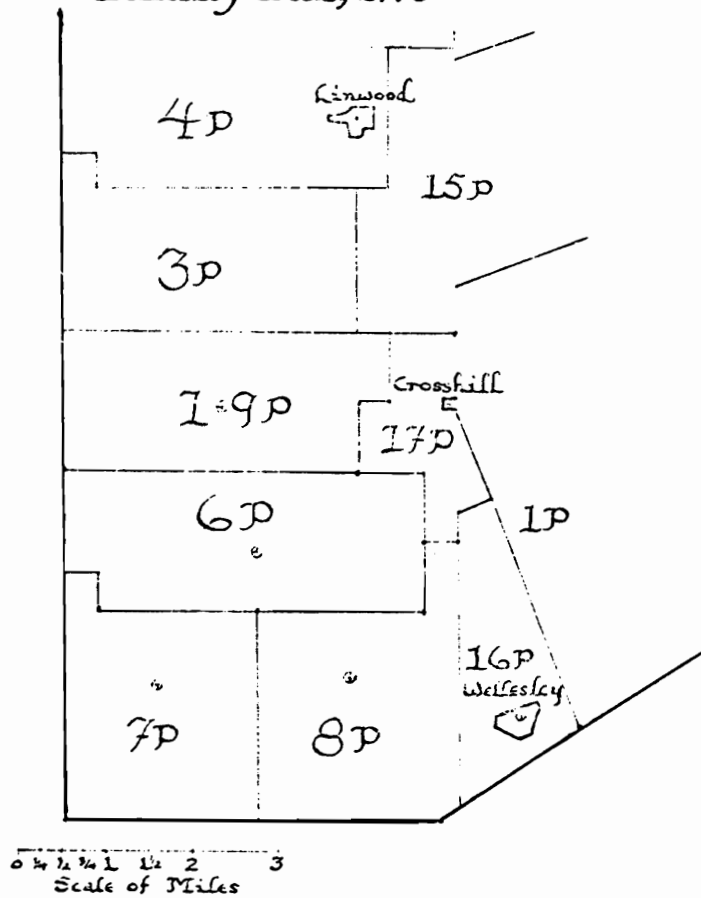
Source: Wellesley Town Clerk

AE-4

Table E-2 Post-Elementary Education of Members of
Northern Western Ontario Mennonite Conference
Congregations, By Age and Sex, 1972

Congregation

Age	Mapleview HS/HSG Men	Mapleview HS/HSG Women	Mapleview PHS M	Mapleview PHS F	Crosshill HS/HSG M	Crosshill HS/HSG F	Crosshill PHS M	Crosshill PHS F	Poole HS/HSG M	Poole HS/HSG F	Poole PHS M	Poole PHS F	Riverdale HS/HSG M	Riverdale HS/HSG F	Riverdale PHS M	Riverdale PHS F
15-19	15	19	0	2	11	19	0	1	14	21	0	0	14	18	0	0
20-24	3	1	2	1	7	3	8	8	3	11	2	6	2	3	0	3
25-29	2	4			1	1	3	1	7	7	1	2	1	4	1	2
30-34	0	1			1	1	0		4	5	0	2	1	1	0	1
35-39	0	0			1	0	1		0	3	0	1				
40-44	1	1			0	1			1	1	1	1				

HS -- some high school
HSG-high school graduate
PHS-some post high school education

Source: field notes, J.W. Fretz survey

Table E-3 Figures in Table E-2 Expressed as a Percentage
of Total Number of People in Each Age and
Sex Category

Congregation

Age	Mapleview HS/HSG M	Mapleview HS/HSG F	Mapleview PHS M	Mapleview PHS F	Crosshill HS/HSG M	Crosshill HS/HSG F	Crosshill PHS M	Crosshill PHS F	Poole HS/HSG M	Poole HS/HSG F	Poole PHS M	Poole PHS F	Riverdale HS/HSG M	Riverdale HS/HSG F	Riverdale PHS M	Riverdale PHS F
15-19	75	86	0	9	92	86	0	5	100	100	0	0	100	100	0	0
20-24	25	11	17	11	37	27	42	73	23	52	15	29	40	25	0	25
25-29	25	50			13	20	38	20	39	50	6	14	10	25	10	13
30-34	0	20			17	13	0		24	28	0	11	14	20	0	20
35-39	0	0			14	0	14		0	25	0	8				
40-44	9	6			0	11			11	13	11	13				

Table E-4 Percentages of All Members with Post-Elementary
Education, 1972

	Mapleview M	Mapleview F	Crosshill M	Crosshill F	Poole M	Poole F	Riverdale M	Riverdale F
HS/HSG	15	18	27	30	22	33	24	23
PHS	1	2	15	12	3	8	1	5
Post-elementary	16	20	42	42	25	41	25	28

AE-5

Table E-5 Extent of Education by Age Group for Northern
Western Ontario Mennonite Conference Congregations

Age	Education	Congregation			
		MV	XHL	PL	RD
15-19	Primary	6	4	0	0
	High	36	30	35	32
20-24	Primary	14	4	12	9
	High	7	26	22	8
25-29	Primary	10	7	15	18
	High	6	6	17	8
30-34	Primary	11	12	24	9
	High	1	2	11	3
35 on	Primary	196	70	90	103
	High	2	3	7	0

Independence of Variables		G^2	DF
Age	Education	551.01	4
Age	Congregation	68.20	12
Education	Congregation	40.97	3
Interaction of All Three		11.32	12
Total		671.49	31

Table E-6 Summary of Relation Between Age and Education
Levels for Each Congregation, 1972;
Overall G^2 uses categories above
Reduced G^2 uses 15-19, 20-29, 30 and above

Congregation	Overall	Reduced
Mapleview	160.81	158.53
Crosshill	119.19	110.03
Poole	130.38	118.17
Riverdale	151.95	136.48

APPENDIX F: Separation of North and South Amish Settlement Areas

This appendix presents two indices of the separation between those
settlements in the north, with church members attending the Wellesley
and Mornington congregations, and those in the south, with members at
the East Zorra and Wilmot churches. The first index is based on physical
separation between the various communities, the second on the occurrence
of family names in the two geographical areas.

Table 1 presents figures representing distances between the sites
of the original church buildings in each of the settlement areas. The
distance is measured along the roads, taking the most direct road route,
and disregarding the road surface. The distance between the Wilmot and
Wellesley congregations is taken as the base for measurement. The table
shows that the distance between Wellesley and Mornington is about half
that between Wellesley and Wilmot. The distance between Wilmot and East
Zorra is slightly less than that between the closest north and south
congregations. East Zorra is closer to Wilmot than to either of the
other congregations, and Mornington is closer to Wellesley than either
East Zorra or Wilmot. Thus to the extent that there is a physical group-
ing of churches, it follows the cultural split between north and south.

TABLE 1

	Wilmot	East Zorra	Wellesley	Mornington
Wilmot	--	0.93	1.00	1.21
East Zorra	0.93	--	1.31	1.81
Wellesley	1.00	1.31	--	0.50
Mornington	1.21	1.81	0.50	--

Other data tends to back up the division. If we make a list of the
families living in each area by family name, we get the information in
Table 2. Each family has been assigned a number, and the total number
of household heads with that name is listed. The table covers the period
from 1875--1900, during which time all the areas were settled.

This table shows that certain names are clearly associated with
either north or south, and that others are spread between the two areas.
Table 3 lists the percentages of each family area. Only those families
with more than five representatives are included. Table 4 lists the resi-
dence of those with fewer than five representatives, but more than two.
Table 5 lists the total numbers of families living in each area by the
name type. For this table, all names having 66% of members living in the

AF-2

north were designated "North" names, and all those with fewer than 33%
in the north as "South" names. The rest were "Even" names.

This means that all "North" names have twice as many representatives
living in the north as in the south. The table is very balanced; 88%
of all those with "North" names live in the north, and 87% with "South"
names in the south. Slightly more with "Even" names live in the north
than the south. Overall, the areas are very close in total population
of families. These results refer only to the number of household heads,
not to the actual population.

Thus each of the settlement divisions, north and south, have a size-
able population of families with names common only in that area, as well
as a good representation of names common in both. In both the north
and south, inhabitants with names associated with the other area make up
less than 10% of the total population. Thus there seems to be a notice-
able spatial clustering of family names.

This spatial clustering is also a temporal clustering. If we compare
the results of table 5 with those obtained for earlier settlement, we get
the results in table 6. These results are from a surveyor's map drawn
in 1830, and are valid only for Wilmot Township. Table 6 lists the number
of the family, and beside it the number of times that family name appears
on the map. A percentage summary at the end of the table shows that in
1830, only 20% of the names on the list were associated with the northern
settlement in 1875-1900. This suggests that those families that settled
the north went there directly, after the settlement period in the south.
Although family members from the south expanded into the north, most of
the north families came after 1830 and the first wave of migration. Of
the twelve "Northern" names, eight are not found at all in 1830 in Wilmot
having the highest percentages of northern members.

AF-3

Table F-2 Heads of Families in Northern and Southern
          Settlements, 1875-1900

Family	Heads in North	Heads in South	Total	Family	Heads in North	Heads in South	Total	Family	Heads in North	Heads in South	Total
1.	13	0	13	20.	3	0	3	39.	0	4	4
2.	8	3	11	21.	10	7	17	40.	0	1	1
3.	5	1	6	22.	6	8	14	41.	8	0	8
4.	0	28	28	23.	21	10	31	42.	7	0	7
5.	11	4	15	24.	5	4	9	43.	1	0	1
6.	5	23	28	25.	14	0	14	44.	0	2	2
7.	3	0	3	26.	16	9	25	45.	6	15	21
8.	0	11	11	27.	0	11	11	46.	4	0	4
9.	0	2	2	28.	0	3	3	47.	1	1	2
10.	18	11	29	29.	2	9	11	48.	11	0	11
11.	0	1	1	30.	1	4	5	49.	2	8	10
12.	6	11	17	31.	7	0	7	50.	11	0	11
13.	14	0	14	32.	3	11	14	51.	13	12	25
14.	1	19	20	33.	1	0	1	52.	19	11	30
15.	0	4	4	34.	1	0	1	53.	1	0	1
16.	3	0	3	35.	3	0	3	54.	0	7	7
17.	0	4	4	36.	13	4	17	55.	0	1	1
18.	30	20	50	37.	11	29	40	56.	0	1	1
19.	8	8	16	38.	0	12	12	57.	0	1	1

Source: field notes, records of Amish Mennonite
        Fire and Storm Aid Union

Table F-3 Percentages of Family Heads Living In North,
          from Table F-2, for Families with 5 Members, or More

Percentage	Family Number	
100%	1,13,25,31,41,42,48,50	Northern Names
90-99%		
80-89%	3	
70-79%	2,5,36	
65-69%	23	
60-64%	10,18,26,52	Names found in Both
50-59%	19,21,24,51	Settlements
40-49%	22	
35-39%	12	
30-34%		
20-29%	32,37,45,49	Southern Names
10-19%	6,29	
1- 9%	14	
0%	4,8,27,38,54	

AF-4

Table F-4   Residence of Small Families, with Fewer than
            5 Family Heads

    All in North--7,16,20,35,46
    Mixed   --30,47
    All in South--9,15,17,28,30,39,44

Table F-5   Family Residence by Name Type, 1875-1900

Type of Name	Residence	
	In North	In South
Northern Names	159	22
Names in Both Areas	131	101
Southern Names	30	204
Totals	320	327

Table F-6   Summary of Name Types in Wilmot, 1830

Type of Name	Number	Percentage
Northern Names	11	21
Names in Both Areas	19	35
Southern Names	24	44

APPENDIX G: Early Anabaptist Theology

      Early Anabaptism as a religious movement basically set itself the
task of realizing a totally Christ-like life in all ·' human endeavours.
If one wishes roughly to characterize the Anabaptists alongside of their
Catholic and Protestant Reformed contemporaries, one may   say that while
the Catholic tradition stressed salvation through the power of the sacra-
ments, and the Reformed tradition through the power of faith, the Anabaptists
accepted salvation by living out all of life in a Christ-like manner. This
project involved accepting personal salvation through faith, but then
carrying that faith into one's lifestyle, reforming not merely religious
practices but all of one's life on a model based on that of Christ's own
life. It was a radical step, this attempt to turn all of life into a
religious project. One Mennonite historian has argued that the Anabaptists
were in some senses trying to propound the monastic life as a suitable
lifestyle for all Christians, not just for religious virtuosi. (Klaasen,
1973, chapter 7).

      The essential Anabaptist doctrines were contained in the original
objections made by Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz to the compromises of
Zwingli. They believed first that obedience to Christ was not in any
way qualified by either prudence or fear. They had seen Zwingli the
reformer ally himself with the civil authorities in Geneva, and compromise
his religious principles for political expediency. For Grebel and Manz,
Christianity required uncompromising adherence to God's ways. But they
could see that not all those who said they were Christians actually lived
out their faith. They consequently believed that the only real Christians
were those that followed Christ's teachings, not simply those who had been
baptized. From this belief followed both the idea of a believer's church,
and the idea of rebaptism, from which the group got its nickname. Finally,
these men believed that there is no essential difference between a Christian
and a non-Christian government, for all those that rule do so with the
power of the sword. The power of violence is tainted forever, and the true
Christian rejects all force, following instead the humble, meek way of
Christ into suffering. (see Klaasen, 1973, 4).

      In these specific objections to the practices of Zwingli, Grebel and
Manz exemplified the more general theology of the Anabaptists. There were

four key ideas. First, the church was to be a voluntary association of true believers. Those believers were to commit themselves to one another and to the service of God through discipleship. This discipleship meant following Christ's example in all things, attempting to bring only love, peace and truth into all actions. This project, however, was to be carried out in a world that was split between the kingdom of God and that of Satan. Those within God's kingdom followed His laws, and lived as Anabaptists. Those in the kingdom of Satan were lost to the worldly devices of selfishness, anger, deception, and strife.

Modern Mennonites have at various times asked themselves about the theology of the early Anabaptists, and various publications have been issued trying to define just what these historical figures believed. One such collection is that of Guy Hershberger, called The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision. In it, various theologians comment on a key article, Harold Bender's "The Anabaptist Vision." In it, Bender outlines what to him were the three key ideas of the faith-discipleship, the voluntary church of believers, and the ethic of love and brotherhood. From these basic principles he goes on to build up a picture of the entire early church theology. (Bender, 1957).

The idea that Christian experience is essentially that of discipleship stems from the Anabaptist belief that mere salvation isn't enough. The Anabaptists believed that while a man is saved by God's grace, and cannot earn his salvation through any deed, a true Christian goes on after salvation to follow God. All of life must be Christian. Discipleship meant living truth, which was not to be done abstractly, but in the details of everyday life. It meant refusing to participate in war, refusing to swear oaths, (thereby placing secular allegiance above sacred); refusing to allow any government edict to stand before a man's religious duty, and insisting on exemplary lives from all church members. It meant refusing to worship with non-Anabaptists, who were not living out their faith. It meant the formation of a community of believers, for the life of the Christian was not solitary, but lived out with others.

Within the Christian community, truth, love, and peace were to prevail. No man was to come to the community through force, and no one was kept in the community by force. If a person chose to depart from the

way of God, he was simply asked to leave the community. Thus the strong-est sanction that could be applied to a sinner was excommunication, for it threw the sinner back to the damned of the world. The community was to be pure and holy, with a communal discipline not to punish, but guide members. The fact of the community itself showed that no compromise was possible with the world. Separation of the true believer from the things of the world was necessary, but that separation, and the demands of the Christian life, inevitably brought suffering on the true Christian. The early Anabaptists stressed that their way was hard and full of suffering, and history bore them out. (see Bender, 1959).

The community of true believers was totally committed to the Christian endeavour. Because they believed that salvation came through God's grace, they rejected any sacramental approach to holiness. Holiness through any token action, such as penance or indulgences, was also rejected. This the Anabaptists felt was true legalism, the attempt to win salvation through acts. The Anabaptists rejected any special approach to holiness. They rejected the sacredness of special words, special religious objects, religious places or persons. (Klaasen, 1973, chapter 2, also 30-31). But because nothing special was holy, all of a man's life even the most simple and common events, were to be part of his approach to God. Having accepted the salvation from God, the true Christian realized his new commitment in totally living as a Christian, with no separation in his life between religion and the rest of his activity.

No separation, that is, save one. Perhaps the most important doctrine, or at least one which could be seen to stand at the centre of the faith, is that of the division between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan. A man who accepted God separated himself completely from the things of the world and Satan. He did not compartmentalize his life, saving part of it for himself and the rest for God, as the Anabaptists thought the Reformers did. He completely accepted God and completely rejected the world.

Robert Friedmann, another Mennonite theologian commenting on Bender's article on the Anabaptist vision, worked out some of the implications of the idea of the two kingdoms. He felt that central to the Anabaptist interpretation of the scriptures

"is the teaching of the two kingdoms, together with the message
of what the kingdom of God actually means and implies."
(Friedmann, 1957, 108)

Friedmann suggests this kingdom theology has three central ideas.

First is the emphasis on a new set of values, based on the Sermon
on the Mount (ibid, 111). In taking these values seriously, the Ana-
baptists were not merely placing a new morality within the secular world.
They were, on the contrary, trying to work out a life with its entire
meaning in a totally different sphere of ideas. Their actions suggested

"a different dimension, the world of the pure Spirit, in
contrast with all secular this-worldly valuations."
(Friedmann, 1957, 111)

Taking this programme seriously meant separation between the true church
of believers ready to live out their faith, and the rest of the world.

The Anabaptists also held a new view of history. God and Satan
contended for control of the world. Even though God would win the struggle
in the end, man's duty is to follow God's way, and to witness to the light
in all of life. (Friedmann, 1957, 111-112). The world of everyday life
is torn in half. Those willing to follow Christ establish His kingdom on
earth right now; those others are followers of Satan.

The Christian consequently separated himself from the world, setting
up a new society in which discipline and brotherhood could guide the
Christian. We have already outlined this aspect of the kingdom theology.
The rejection of the world was total. Man's life in the world of Satan
was based on egoism, selfishness and vanity. Because of this, there is
no possible solution of worldly problems in worldly terms. The very fact
that the problems and their solutions are worldly condemns any possible
solution. The only possible programme is to attempt to transcend the
world. This programme did not lead the community of Anabaptists into
mysticism, though many of the leaders were familiar with Christian mystic
writers. (Klaasen, 1973, 67-68). Anabaptism was realized in a community.
Stress was placed on a small community of believers, not on the individual.

The implications of this quick summary of Anabaptist theology are
developed more fully in the text of the thesis. Here it merely remains
to give a condensed summary. Because the Anabaptists believed the world
was itself split into the two kingdoms of God and Satan, the one utterly

AG-5

holy and pure, the other completely debased, they felt each man must make a choice. A person who chose voluntarily to follow the way of Christ committed himself to the separate Christian brotherhood. This community of believers lived under the total control of their central objective, trying to realize in every part of their lives together the Christian principles of truth, peace, and love to one another. This true discipleship had no better model than that of Christ Himself. This is the essential set of ideas on which early Anabaptism, and later Mennonitism, was founded.

APPENDIX H: Ordinations in the Amish Community

      The material presented in this appendix deals with the numbers of
ordinations at various times in the different Amish congregations, and
with the type of ordinations. The average number of deacons and min-
isters in the various congregations is presented, and the material re-
lating to the ordinations of bishops in the Western Ontario Conference,
and the ordinations around the Cedar Grove/Maple View split is outlined.
Tables show the number of ordained men entering the offices of minister
and bishop in the congregations.

      Table 1 lists the numbers of ministers in the different Amish
congregations from 1870 to 1970. The average number of ministers in
the Western Ontario Conference congregations is 1.9/congregation; among
the Beachy Amish and Old Order Amish, 2.15/congregation, giving an ov-
erall average of 1.99 ministers in each congregation. Though overall
this average holds fairly consistently throughout the period in ques-
tion, there are some periods in which there were significant differences.
In the period before 1890, the congregations tended to have more than
two ministers per congregation—the average is almost three. Following
the Old Order split, from 1890 until 1940, most congregations had two
ministers. From 1940 until 1950, there was a considerable expansion in
the number of ministers in the Western Ontario Conference, for this was
the period in which expansion in the conference was taking place. After
the new congregations were added to the conference, however, in the
period from 1950-1970, the average number of ministers, especially in
the Western Ontario Conference congregations, falls. The overall av-
erage for this last period is 1.75 ministers/congregation. But if we
break this up into the two major groups, we find that the average for
the Beachy Amish and Old Order congregations is 2.21 ministers in each
congregation, while the average for the Western Ontario Conference is
1.5 ministers in each congregation. The difference can be accounted
for by the practice in the Western Ontario Conference to elect only one
minister for each congregation today. If the congregation has an elect-
ed deacon he may relieve the minister on occasion; if there is no
deacon, the congregation may appoint elders from the laymen to assist
the minister. But the trend among the Western Ontario Conference is

toward the Protestant model of one minister for each congregation.
Among the 9 new congregations in the Western Ontario Conference today,
there are 11 ministers; in each of the congregations with two ministers,
one of the ordained men is over 70 years old.

The trend away from the traditional Amish pattern in the number
of ministers is reflected also in the number of deacons ordained in the
congregations. This material is presented in Table 2. The average
number of deacons serving in the Beachy and Old Order congregations is
1.12 per congregation. In the Western Ontario Conference, if we aver-
age the number of deacons over those congregations that ever had a man
serving in this office, we find the average is 1.3 deacons in each con-
gregation. If, however, we average the number of deacons over all the
congregations, the average is 1.12 deacons per congregation. Of those
congregations, added to the Western Ontario Conference since 1950, six
of nine has never had a man ordained to the office of deacon. While
the Old Order and Beachy Amish continue with one deacon per congregation,
the Western Ontario Conference congregations have moved away from the
office. Between 1930 and 1950, we have an average of 1.5 deacons in
each Western Ontario Congregation. As new congregations are added,
however, this average falls, until in 1975 we have an average of only
0.38 deacons. There are only five men still in the Western Ontario
Conference as deacons; of these, the three men serving in the southern
congregations are all over 70.

Changes in the average numbers of ordained men serving the various
congregations are also apparent in the patterns of ordination. Amish
congregations have ordained laymen to the office of deacon and minister;
the bishop was chosen only from the ministers. There is, however, a
significant difference in the pattern of ordinations of deacons and
ministers. This material is presented in Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c. Table
3a lists the ordinations before 1890, by congregation. At this time,
the Amish community was still one, with the four major settlement areas
each represented as one congregation. The figures in table 3a suggest
there is a significant difference in the pattern of ordinations between
those congregations in the south, and those in the north. From 1860 to
1890, the southern congregations ordained men only to the office of

deacon, while the northern congregations tended to ordain men specific-
ally for the office needed. In the south, 6 of the 9 deacons ordained
were later ordained minister. Thus the southern pattern seemed to be
to ordain men only as deacon, and then draw ministers and bishops from
the deacons. In the north, on the other hand, there was a tendency to
ordain a man into a particular office and to promote only those minis-
ters who became bishop. Of the four deacons ordained in the north, only
one was later ordained minister.

     If we examine ordinations from 1890 to 1950 (during which the
Old Order and Beachy Amish congregations were formed, but no new con-
gregations were added to the Western Ontario Conference), we find that
the Old Order Amish, the Beachy Amish and the Poole congregation con-
tinue in the pattern of ordaining men for the station they are to fill,
and the southern congregations and Wellesley ordain men first to the
office of deacon, and then promote the deacons to ministers and bishops.
There is a significant difference between these two groups regarding the
advancement of deacons. The Old Order, Beachy Amish, and Mornington
congregations do not promote their deacons, while the southern congrega-
tions and Wellesley do. There is no significant difference regarding
the promotion of ministers.

     This pattern changes, however, after 1950. The Old Order and
Beachy Amish continue with the pattern of ordaining deacons for that
office alone, and ordaining ministers for that office and for later
promotion to the office of bishop when the need arises. But among the
Western Ontario Conference congregations, there is a move away from the
ordination of deacons at all, and towards that of simply ordaining min-
isters to serve as the spiritual heads of the congregations. In this
newer pattern, the Wellesley congregation stands out as different, in
that almost all ordinations since 1950 have been to the office of deacon,
with later promotion in four of five men.

     We thus find there are three basic patterns or ordination among the
Amish. The conservative groups, such as the Old Order and Beachy Amish,
ordain men mostly to the station in which they will serve the rest of
their lives. Deacons are ordained especially for that office. Table 4a
shows that once a man is ordained deacon among the conservative groups,

he remains in that office. Table 4b shows that among these conservative
congregations, it is unlikely that a man will move from deacon to min-
ister to bishop, although there is no significant difference between
those deacons who are ordained to the ministry in the conservative or
other groups as to whether they will move on to the role of bishop.
The second pattern shows up in the southern congregations of the Western
Ontario Conference before the expansion of the 1950's and the final
adoption of changes in the social structure and religious organization
of the community. In this pattern, men are ordained to the office of
deacon, which serves as a training for later offices in the church.
Finally, with changes in the Western Ontario Conference, the pattern of
ordinations changes. The office of deacon is dropped, and all men or-
dained are chosen as ministers.

The third pattern has accompanying it two other features. First,
there is the beginning of ordinations of ministers by seminaries instead
of from the local congregation. A professional ministry is starting
among the Western Ontario congregations. In 1970, only three of the
thirteen congregations were headed by ministers ordained in other than
the home congregation, but as the older men in the conference retire,
more and more younger men will be seminary trained.

While the increase of professional ministers in the Western Ontario
Conference is a recent change, the second feature in the pattern of or-
daining only ministers began earlier. There have been fewer and fewer
men ordained to the office of bishop in the Western Ontario Conference;
today, there are no bishops serving. The two men still living who were
ordained to the office have both dropped the title, though they remain
as licenced ministers. Table 5 lists the years in which bishops were
ordained, and the number of bishops per congregation in the Western
Ontario Conference. The Amish norm is one bishop for each congregation,
a pattern satisfied in the Western Ontario Conference before 1945. Only
one new congregation, however, ordained a bishop. This man served from
1951 until 1956, at which time he led a conservative split and left the
Western Ontario congregation to found his own church. With the expansion
of the Western Ontario Conference, then, the office of bishop was dropped
along with that of the deacon, and the Conference as a whole moved to the

position of one minister for each congregation as the only ordained man.

It is significant that the Wellesley congregation was the last to move in the direction taken by the other Western Ontario congregations. The last deacons to move to the office of minister in the southern congregations were ordained in 1941; in Wellesley, the last to move were ordained in 1960. The last deacons ordained to serve in the office were ordained in the south in 1947, with one man added in a new congregation in 1960. The last deacons ordained in the Wellesley congregation were added in 1967. The last bishop ordained in the south was added in 1954, while Wellesley added a bishop in 1956, with the retirement of the man in office at the time, and another bishop in 1967. It was only with his death in 1971 that the Western Ontario Conference gave up the role of bishop. Thus the Wellesley congregation remained with the older conference pattern of ordaining men to the station of deacon first, and then minister and bishop, after all the other congregations had abandoned this pattern of ordinations.

Ordinations around the Cedar Grove Split

Table 6 gives the data on ordinations in the Maple View and Cedar Grove congregations from 1880 to 1925. In 1880, the Wellesley congregation had a bishop, two ministers and a deacon. The deacon went with the Old Order, and in 1891 another deacon was elected to replace him. The senior minister died in 1890, but was not replaced until 1898 by the deacon; another deacon was then elected. But when the bishop died in 1901, the junior minister was ordained bishop, and no new man was ordained. The Wellesley congregation split in 1911; the bishop and the deacon left to form the Cedar Grove congregation, leaving only the minister at Maple View.

At Maple View, two deacons were ordained in 1914, and the minister was ordained bishop, leaving the congregation with no minister. This however, was consistent with the congregation's pattern of ordaining men first to the office of deacon. In 1920, one of the deacons was ordained minister. In 1924, another two men were ordained deacon, though neither were later ordained minister. It was not until 1938 that the Maple View congregation again had two ministers. But in the years following the Beachy Amish split, two men were ordained as deacons in 1914, and another two in 1924.

AH-6

A gain of seven ordained men in ten years was well above the average of about two ordinations per congregation each ten years.

Table H-1   Ministers in Amish Mennonite Congregations, 1870-1970, in Five-Year Periods

Period	Wilmot		East Zorra				Wellesley	Mornington		New Work		Mornington von Wellesley		Wellesley		Beachy Amish	
1870-74	3		4				2	1									
1875-79	2		4				2	1									
1880-84	4		4				2	3									
1885-89	4		6				2	3									
1890-94	3		5				1	1				2		1			
1895-99	4		3				1	4				1		1			
1900-04	2		2				2	3				2		2			
1905-09	2		3				1	2				2		1		2	
1910-14	2		3				1	2				2		1		1	
1915-19	2		3				0	2				2		1		2	1
1920-24	2		2				1	2				3		2		2	2
1925-29	1		1				1	2				3		2		3	2
1930-34	1		1				0	0				3		2		3	2
1935-39	3		2				0	0				2		2		3	2
1940-44	4		2				2	2				2		4		3	3
1945-49	3		4				2	2				3		2		2	3
1950-54	3		2	1	1		1	2	1	1		4		3		2	3
1955-59	3	1	2	1	1		3	2	1	1	1	5		3	1	2	2
1960-64	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	2	1	1	2		2	2	2	2
1965-69	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	3		2	1	2	3
Later Congregations	{1}	{2}	{3}	{4}	{5}	{6}	{7}	{8}	{9}	{10} {11}	{12}	{13}		{14}	{15}	{16}	{17}
Average	2.4		2.3				1.4	1.9		1.2		2.4		1.9	1.3	2.2	2.3

Table H-2   Deacons in Amish Mennonite Congregations, 1870-1970, in Five-Year Periods

Period	Wilmot		East Zorra				Wellesley	Mornington	Old Order			Beachy Amish	
1870-74	1		1				2						
1875-79	2		2				2	1					
1880-84	2		3				2	2					
1885-89	2		2				2	2					
1890-94	2		3				1	1	1	1			
1895-99	2		3				2	2	1	1			
1900-04	2		2				1	2	1	1			
1905-09	1		1				1	1	1	1		1	
1910-14	0		1				1	1	1	1		1	
1915-19	0		1				2	1	1	2		1	1
1920-24	0		3				1	1	1	1		1	2
1925-29	0		2				2	1	1	1		1	2
1930-34	1		2				2	1	1	1		1	2
1935-39	2		2				2	1	1	1		1	2
1940-44	0		2				1	1	1	1		1	2
1945-49	2		2				2	1	1	1		1	2
1950-54	2		1	1	0		2	1	1	1	1	1	2
1955-59	1		1	1	0		2	1	1	1	1	1	2
1960-64	1		1	1	0		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1965-69	2	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	2
Later Congregations	{1}	{2}	{3}	{4}	{5}	{6}	{7}	{8}	{13}	{14}	{15}	{16}	{17}
Average	1.2		1.4				1.7	1.2	1.0			0.9	1.8

Source: Gingerich, 1972

AH-7

Table H-3   Amish Mennonite Ordinations from Laymen

Congregation	Before 1890 D	Before 1890 M	1890-1950 D	1890-1950 M	1951-1972 D	1951-1972 M
Wilmot	4	0	9	0	1	2
East Zorra	5	0	10	1	0	2
Wellesley	2	2	7	3	4	1
Mornington	2	4	2	7	0	2
New WOMC					2	12
Old Order Amish			5	12	4	11
Beachy Amish			4	7	2	4

Table H-4   Patterns of Ordination, 1890-1972

a) Ordination of Ministers

	OOA Beachy	Poole	Welles-ley	South	New WOMC
Deac/Min	6	0	6	20	0
Layman/Min	29	8	6	6	10

b) Ordination of Elders

	OOA Beachy	Poole	Welles-ley	South
D/Min/Elder	2	0	4	6
Min/Elder	14	2	3	1

Table H-5   Elders in the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference, 1925-1970

Period	Ordina-tions	Congre-gation	Total Serving	Total Groups	Elders/ Groups
1925-29	2	7,8	4	4	1
1930-34	0		4	4	1
1935-39	1	1	4	4	1
1940-44	1	7	4	4	1
1945-49	1	3	4	8	0.5
1950-54	2	1,9	5	10	0.5
1955-59	1	7	4	11	0.4
1960-64	0		3	12	0.3
1965-69	1	7	1	13	0.1

Table H-6 Ordained Men, Wellesley and Cedar Grove, 1880-1920

APPENDIX J: Amish Disciplines

While it was not generally the practice for Amish congregations
to write down the articles of the discipline, certain collections of
such articles of discipline were occasionally published. A number of
these date from the early Anabaptist congregations, and represent at-
tempts to unify church practice in the early stages of the movement.
Others represent additions to some of the major published disciplines;
in these, there is often a comment that an earlier discipline is con-
firmed, and the following articles are to be added. Finally, when
there were divisions in the church, and migrations into new countries
with different customs outside the faith, new articles were drawn up.

A handy compendium of some of the early Amish discipline is avail-
able in a short pamphlet edited by William McGrath, and published by
the Amish press in Ontario, Pathways Publishing Corporation of Aylmer.
(McGrath, 1966). In this work, McGrath collects and translates several
of the Amish disciplines published at various times. These begin with
the Schleitheim Confession of 1827, and carry on to the 1865 meeting of
the Amish elders in North America. These disciplines outline something
of Amish belief, and the concerns the congregations felt were worth re-
cording as central to their understanding of Christian discipleship.
In this section, we will examine the articles in McGrath's book in
summary form, and then look more specifically at the discipline from
the Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference in 1925.

The first discipline listed by McGrath is the Strasburg Discipline
of 1568. This was a major statement of the principles of discipleship,
and ran to twenty-two articles covering all aspects of the faith. Add-
itions to this statement occurred in 1607, 1630, 1668, and 1688 at which
time the earlier discipline was confirmed, and the following number of
specific articles were added: 3,4,4,5. None of these later additions
was a major discipline in itself, and consequently all five of these
sources may be considered one group of articles that reflect the defi-
nition of discipline over the particular 120-year period.

After the Amish split away from the Mennonites around 1700, they
retained the earlier discipline, reconfirming it in at least two major

meetings (McGrath, 1966, 24). But in 1779, another major statement
on the nature of discipline was drawn up, this time at Essingen, in
the German Palatinate. The sixteen articles of this discipline again
touched on all matters of discipleship, and can be considered another
major statement of the faith. Soon after, major migrations of the
Amish to the United States and Canada began. Two major collections of
articles were added to the Essingen statement by Amish elders in
Pennsylvania--one in 1809, and another in 1837. Though these state-
ments consisted of nine and twelve articles respectively, they were
not complete statements of the discipline, dealing more specifically
with issues troubling the church at the time in its new setting. Thus
the collections of articles from Essingen and Pennyslvania may also be
grouped together as a statement of church disciplines more particularly
Amish than Anabaptist, reflecting the period of migration from Europe
to North America.

As settlement in North America became more established, certain
issues regarding the relationship of the church to its new social set-
ting arose, and the elders of the Amish congregations met several times
during the period from 1862 to 1878 to reconcile differences in church
practices. In 1865 a discipline of eleven articles was drawn up; this
constituted another major statement, reflecting the growing divisions
in the church regarding the discipline. This set of articles was drawn
up in Holmes County, Ohio, and was specifically affirmed by elders from
Ontario congregations. This was the final discipline drawn up for all
the Amish congregations in North America; after this time, either the
Holmes discipline formed the basis for congregational practice, or the
specific congregation went its own way. For the Ontario Amish, the
only further published discipline was the one accompanying the formation
of the Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference in 1925 (later the Western
Ontario Conference). While this discipline does not represent the
practices of the Old Order, who had split away from this body in the
1880's, nor of the Beachy Amish who split in the early part of the 1900's,
it does probably represent traditional practices in the church, many of
which are still important in even the most conservative Amish congrega-

tions. Since, however, the discipline is a good indication of the traditional practice for the Western Ontario congregations, the history of which is being studied, it is important to discuss the discipline in the light of the earlier ones.

It is not possible here to list all the articles of discipline in the various collections. What has been done instead is to list a number of key areas often touched in the disciplines, and then to indicate how many articles in each of the disciplines were concerned with these areas. Further, it is possible to group the disciplines as indicated above into three groups--the early Anabaptist disciplines, the early Amish disciplines, and the later Amish disciplines. The general categories used in this summary are as follows:

> Nonconformity--such articles refer to practices distinctive within the Amish congregations, such as matters of dress, hair style, and beards, the avoidance of certain amusements and proper home furnishings.

> Nonresistance--any articles in which violence was rejected as a means of solving disputes, or in which involvement in the law or politics as means of redress or control was rejected, would be grouped here.

> Worship--articles that refer to the proper conduct of worship services would be grouped in this section.

> Church Government--in this section would be all articles concerned with the ordination, duties and conduct of the ordained men, the articles regarding strife in the church, the use of the ban and shunning, and other matters of social control in the religious setting.

> Marriage--any prohibitions or pronouncements about marriage would be found here.

> Economics--any church regulations about the conduct of economic activity would be placed here.

A table, listing the number of articles in each category follows. Certain articles actually referred to more than one category, and are listed under all those to which they refer. Certain other articles refer

to other matters, such as which confession of faith is to be adopted,
and are not listed here.

If we list the number of articles in each category by percentages,
we get the material for Table 2. What we see is that there is a change
in the emphasis of the disciplines. Articles relating to nonconformity
represented only about ten percent of the early Anabaptist disciplines,
while they represent half of the articles in the later Amish confessions.
While matters of church government represented about half the articles
in the early discipline, they represent only about twenty percent in the
more recent ones. The proportion of other categories is about the same.
As the form of church government becomes institutionalized into a tradi-
tion, there becomes less and less need to point specifically at the
duties of the ordained men, and their mode of conduct. On the other
hand, as the church is involved more and more in the worldly setting,
matters of relations to the outside become more important.

The discipline of the Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference in 1925
is somewhat different from the earlier discipline, omitting certain
distinctive Amish practices such as the ban and shunning, and having a
number of articles on the conduct of the service itself, as well as an
exhortation to mission work, and a final article entitled the "Plan of
Salvation" which clearly reflects the influence of the new revival and
evangelical faith. Since the material on the evangelical faith is dealt
with elsewhere, we will consider here only the articles of the disci-
pline itself.

The first eight articles of the discipline refer to the conduct of
church life itself, and are similar to many earlier articles in other
disciplines. Ordination and duties of the ordained men are outlined,
and baptism, communion, the washing of feet at communion, the devotional
covering, are all explained. The discipline enjoins members to salute
one another with the holy kiss (still practised today at communion, and
occasionally between ordained men at formal gatherings.) An article
was included on the anointing with oil. All these matters of congrega-
tional practice have been dealt with already.

The articles that follow, however, refer to the relationship of

the congregation to the rest of the social world, and are thus import-
ant here for a discussion of boundaries between the community and the
outside. The first of these, article IX, deals with marriage. It
outlines that marriage is for the "propagation, purity and happiness
of the human race." Divorce is forbidden, as is marriage with either
"an unbeliever", or one from a different denomination. (Gingerich,1972,
221). Such articles on marriage date back to the original Strassburg
discipline, and codify the actual Amish practice of the past.

The next article confirms that obligations to government were to
be binding, as long as they did not conflict with Christian practice.
This meant that the paying of taxes was consistent with the faith, and
it was the responsibility of the believers to obey the law and decisions
of government.

The next article, called "Nonconformity to the World" dealt with
many of the major practices of the discipline as it controlled private
life. This article has been discussed in the section of the social
control in the congregation.

The next four articles forbade involvement in warfare of any kind,
the swearing of oaths, membership in secret societies, and life insur-
ance. These articles completed the section on non-conformity to the
world and non-resistance, and made of the discipline a complete guide
to right Christian living for the congregations.

TABLE J-1

Number of Articles in Amish Disciplines

	1568 Strassburg	1607	1630	1668	1688	1779 Essingen	1809	1837	1865 Holmes
Nonconformity	1	1	0	1	1	3	2	5	5
Nonresistance	1	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	1
Worship	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
Church Government	11	1	1	2	5	7	5	1	2
Marriage	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
Economics	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	1
Other	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1

TABLE J-1a

Summary of Table J-1a

	Anabaptist Disciplines	Early Amish Disciplines	19th Century Amish Disciplines
Nonconformity	4	10	5
Nonresistance	4	3	1
Worship	6	1	1
Government	20	13	2
Marriage	2	3	0
Economics	5	3	1

TABLE J-1b

Percentages of Articles of Discipline Categorized

	Anabaptist Disciplines	Early Amish Disciplines	19th Century Amish Disciplines
Nonconformity	10	30	50
Nonresistance	10	9	10
Worship	15	3	10
Government	49	39	20
Marriage	5	9	0
Economics	12	9	10

AK-1

Appendix K: Migration in the Beachy Amish

Table K-1 Congregational Affiliation of Those with Beachy
           Amish Parents, By Generation and Sex

Generation from founding	Sex	Beachy	WOMC	Non-Menno	Transfer
First	Male	29	28	6	0
	Female	35	24	7	2
Second	Male	24	26	20	6
	Female	19	48	23	4

For independence of variables	G^2	DF
Generation and Sex	0.34	1
Generation and Own Congregation	25.708	3
Sex and Own Congregation	1.117	3
Interaction of all three	8.334	3
Total	35.508	10

Table K-2 Congregational Affiliation by Generation for
           Those with Beachy Amish Parents

Generation from founding	Beachy	WOMC	Non-Menno
First	66	52	13
Second	53	74	43

For Beachy v. WOMC, G_2^2 = 4.95, sig. 0.0261
For Menno v. Non-Men, G^2 = 12.21, sig. 0.0022

Table K-3 Mode of Joining Mapleview Congregation, by
           Age in 1972 and Sex

Age in 1972	Sex	Baptism	Letter
20-34	Male	10	10
	Female	11	5
35-49	Male	15	19
	Female	11	34
50-64	Male	16	12
	Female	12	14
65-79	Male	13	8
	Female	11	11

For independence of variables	G^2	DF
Age and Sex	1.909	3
Age and Mode of Joining	10.153	3
Sex and Mode of Joining	2.647	1
For interaction all three	3.312	3
Total	18.021	10

AK-2

Table K-4   Age in 1972 and Mode of Joining Mapleview

Age in 1972	Mode of Joining	
	Baptism	Letter
20-34	21	15
35-49	26	53
50-64	28	26
65-79	24	19

For 20-34 v. 35-49, $G^2=$ 6.565
    20-49 v. 50-64,   1.790
    20-64 v. 65-79,   1.798

Table K-5   Church Congregation of Couple Compared with Congregation of Spouse, By Period, One Spouse from Beachy Amish

Period	Spouse's Church	Own Congregation			
		OOA	Beachy	WOMC	Non-Menno
1910-34	OOA	3	3	2	0
	Beachy	0	41	6	3
	WOMC	0	0	21	4
	Non-Menno	0	0	1	4
1935-49	OOA	0	2	0	0
	Beachy	1	37	32	2
	WOMC	0	0	52	7
	Non-Menno	0	2	1	17
1950-74	OOA	1	7	0	0
	Beachy	0	27	7	0
	WOMC	0	0	24	0
	Non-Menno	0	0	2	22

For independence variables	G^2	DF
Period and Spouse's Church	30.624	6
Period and Congregation	22.040	6
Spouse's Church and Congregation	341.905	9
Interaction of all three	18.180	18
Total	412.749	39

Table K-6a   Outmarriage of Amish Mennonites, 1860-1974

Period	Married Within	Married Without	Percent Leaving	G^2	Level of Significance
1860-1884	49	2	4		
1885-1909	84	3	4	0.02	
1910-1934	103	7	7	0.99	
1935-1959	209	28	13	7.98	0.005
1960-1974	126	51	40	41.24	0.000001
			Total	50.23	0.000001

AK-3

Table K-6   Migration from Beachy Congregations, By Period

Period	Congregational Choice		
	Remain	Move Out	Marry Out
1910-34	44	11	33
1935-49	41	34	78
1950-74	34	7	69

For 1910-34 v. 1935-49 and Move v. Marry Out,	$G^2 =$	0.45
For 1910-34 v. 1935-49 and Leave v. Stay,		13.02
For 1910-49 v. 1950-74 and Move v. Marry Out		12.73
For 1910-49 v. 1950-74 and Leave v. Stay,		0.65
Total G^2		26.85

Table K-7   Residence of Couples, One Spouse at least
             with Beachy Amish Parents, by Congregation
             of Parents and Period

Period	Church of Parents	Residence of Couple		
		Farm	Town	City
1910-34	Beachy	41	4	4
	B/WOMC	20	4	2
	B/NonM	2	1	3
1935-59	Beachy	61	11	0
	B/WOMC	34	18	10
	B/NonM	4	7	9
1960-75	Beachy	33	3	0
	B/WOMC	9	10	2
	B/NonM	4	6	15

For independence of variables	G^2	DF
Period and Parents' Churches	20.319	4
Period and Residence	11.130	4
Parents' Churches and REsidence	99.593	4
For interaction all three	9.858	8
Total	140.906	20

Table L-1 Indices of Farm Produce Prices and Farm Costs, 1914-1977[1]

1961=100
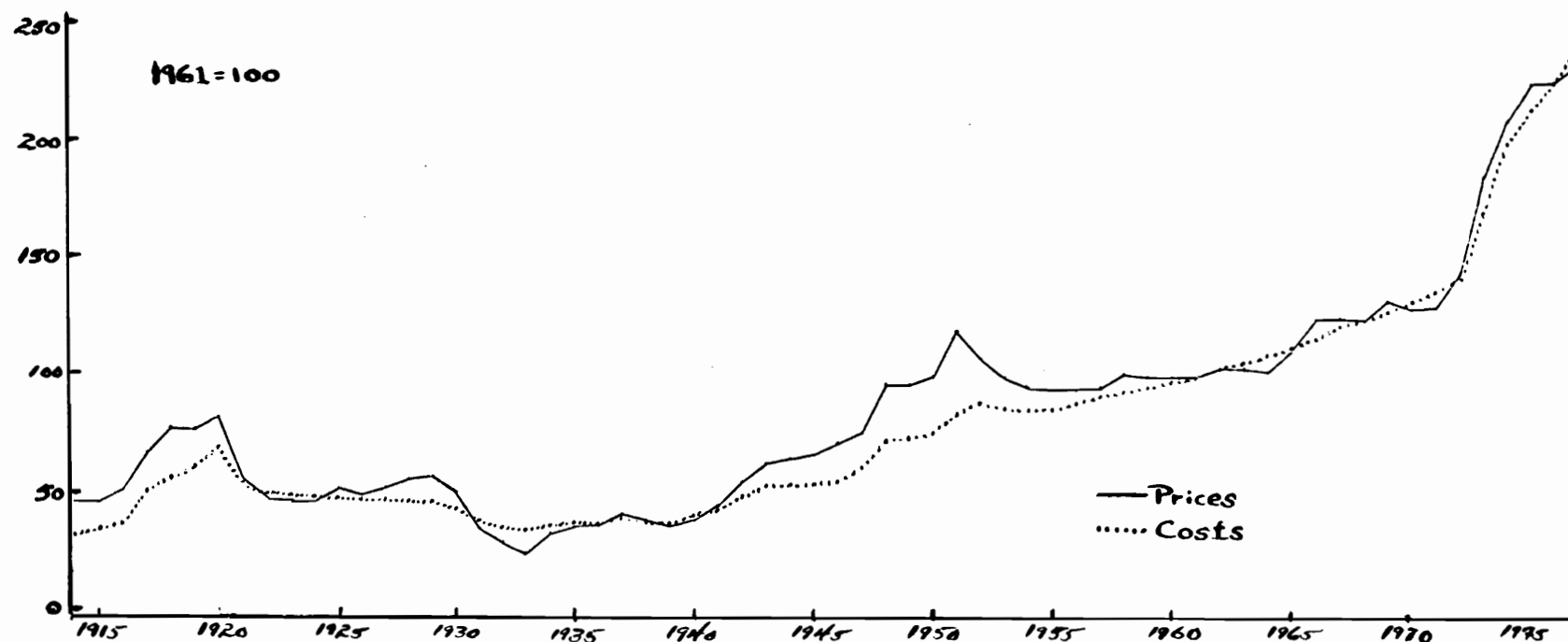
— Prices
····· Costs

Table L-2 Ratio of Farm Produce Prices to Costs, 1914-1977

Table L-3
Real Income of Ontario Farmers
1926 ~ 1974

Table L-4 Animal Products and
Fully Manufactured
Wholesale Price
Indices

1935-39 = 100

ANIMAL

MANUFACTURED
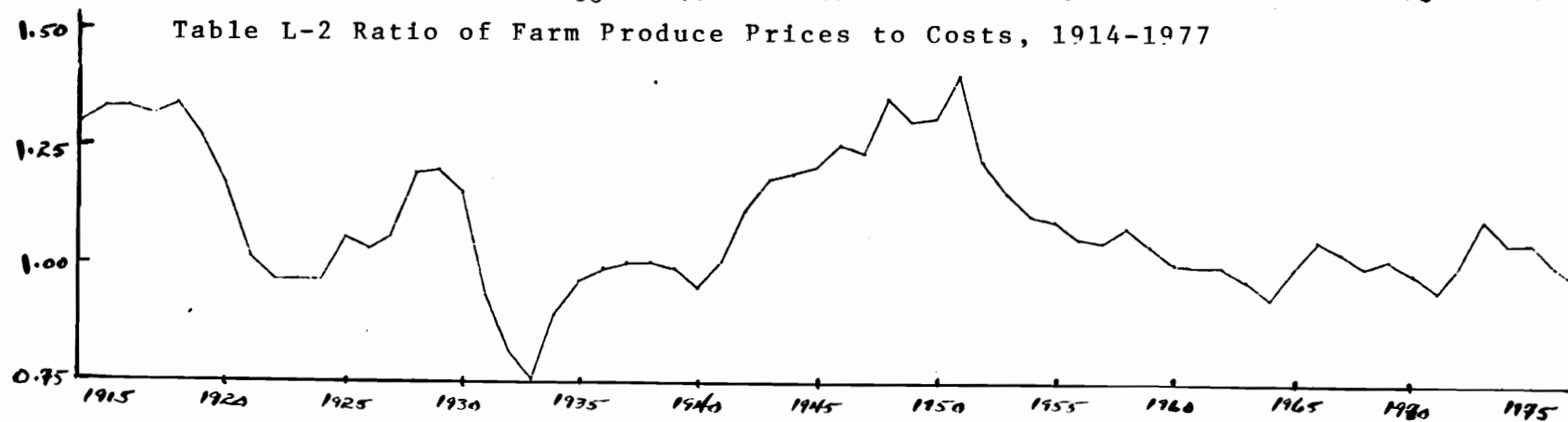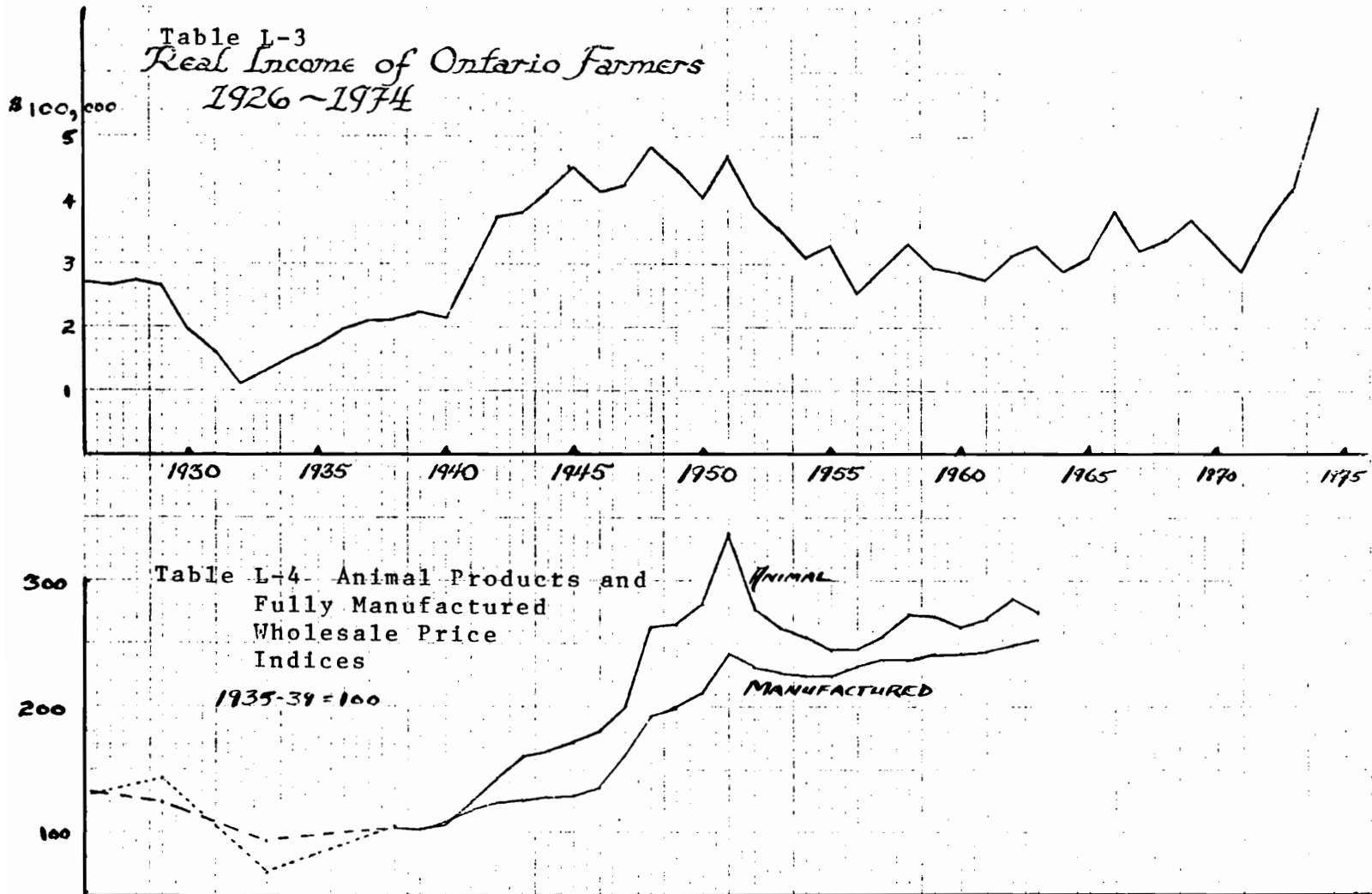
Sources: L-3--Statistics Canada, Cat. 21-511, Cat. 21-202 Farm Net Income, 1974
           L-4--Department of Agriculture, Ontario, Statistical Report 1963

AL-3

1. The figures for the index of farm input costs in this graph
come from the Eastern Canada Index of Farm Costs, Statistics
Canada, Catalogue 62-004. The index of Farm Prices of Agri-
cultural products for Ontario comes from Statistics Canada,
catalogue 62-003. In both cases, the data were actually drawn
from the yearly statistical summaries published by the Ontario
Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

These data on farm prices, however, only extend back to 1930.
It was therefore necessary to extend this index back to 1914
by calculating it from other commodity prices. These prices were
obtained from Taylor and Mitchell, and from the Handbook of
Agricultural Statistics, Statistics Canada, 21-513, 21-514, 21-516.
Weighting factors were taken from those used to calculate the index
in 1961. This was the earliest set of weighting factors available,
and was provided by the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Economics
Branch. In general, the following factors were used:

Grain prices	5%
Livestock prices	38%
Dairy prices	22%
Egg prices	7%

The total value calculated was then multiplied by 1.38 to bring
the index to 100%. These were the weighting factors given in
the 1961 index calculation, and reflect the products most likely
to have made a contribution to the income of Ontario farmers.

While this calculated index does follow the values given for
1930-40 fairly well, it should be taken as only the roughest of
approximations. It should, however, indicate in some way the
comparison between farm prices and costs.

AM-1

Appendix M: Farm Produce Prices

Table M-1 Graph of Wheat Prices, Dollars Per Bushel, 1922-73

Dollars per
Bushel
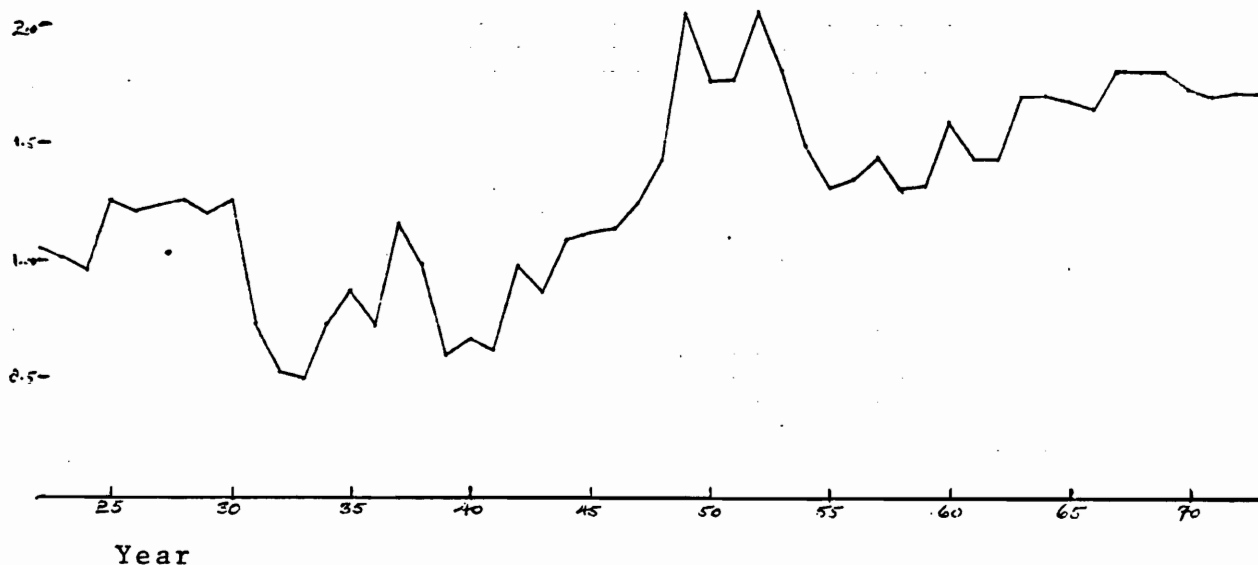
Year

Source: Statistics Canada, 21-516 Handbook of Agri. Stats. I

Table M-2 Graph of Egg Prices, Dollars per Dozen, 1931-73

Dollars per
Dozen
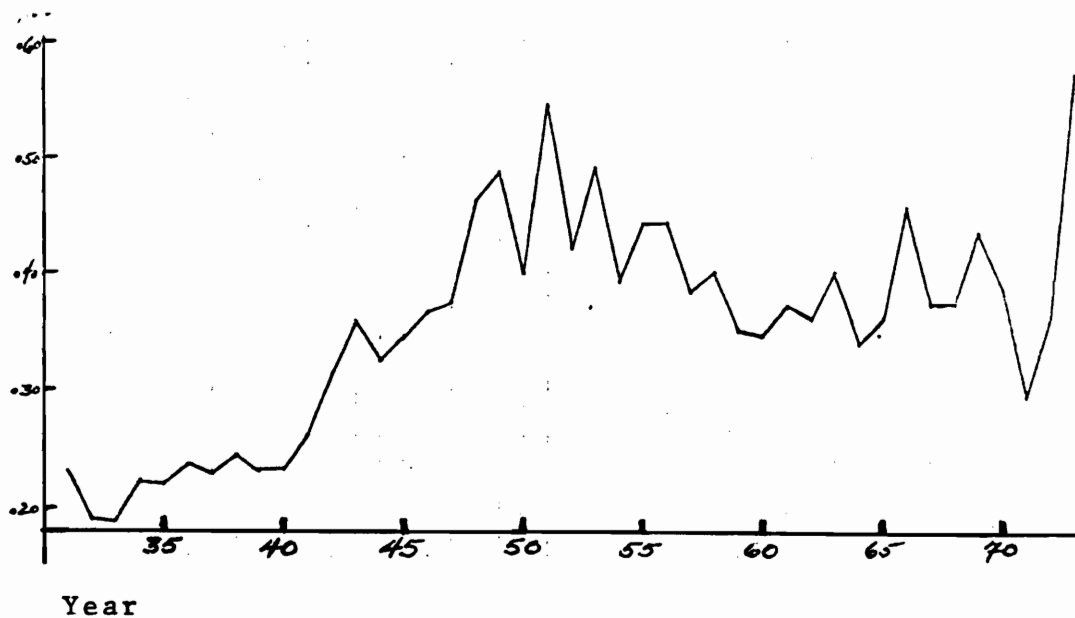
Year

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ontario,
        Agricultural Statistics 1946, 1962, 1967, yearly
        thereafter.

AM-2

Table M-3 Graph of Hog Prices, Ontario, 1910-77

Dollars per
cwt.

Year
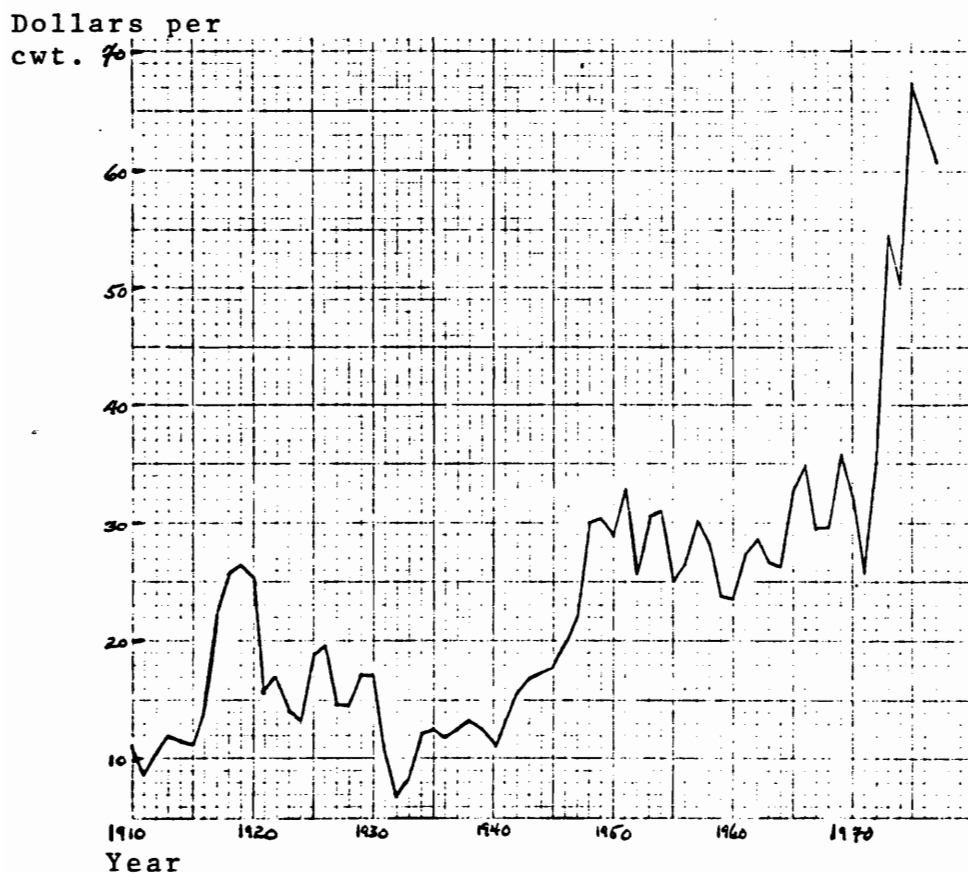
Table M-4 Graph of Beef Prices, Toronto, 1931-77

Dollars per
cwt

Year
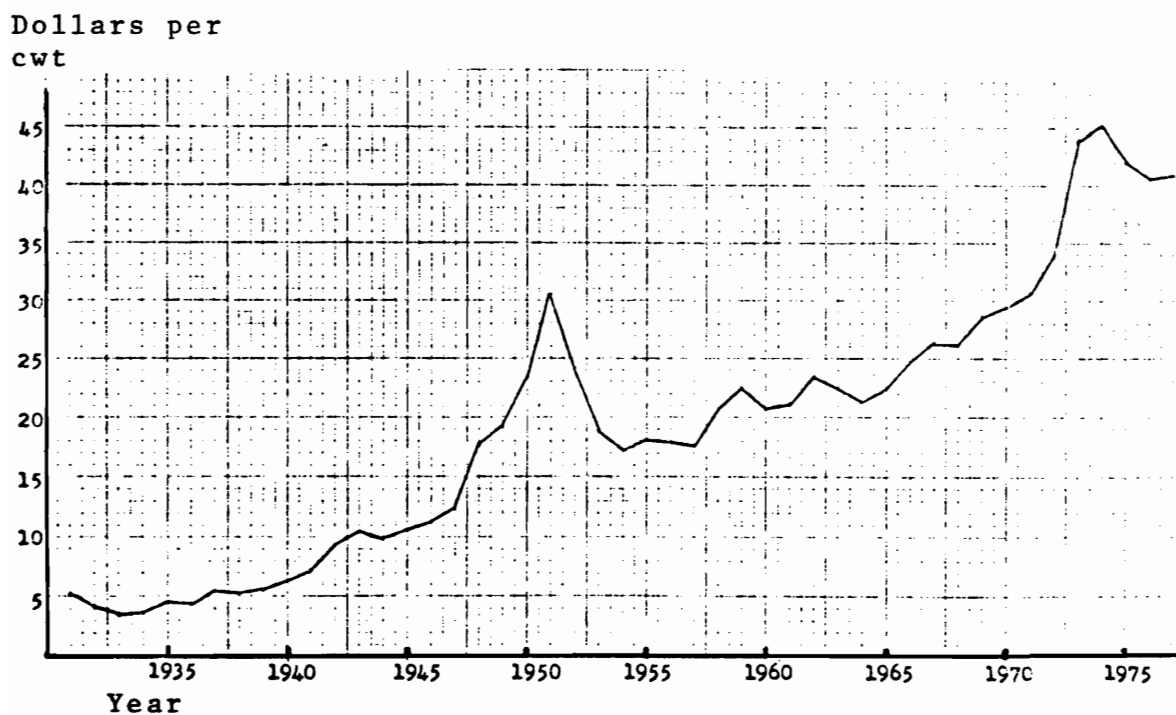
Source: Hogs--Statistics Canada, 21-514, Handbook Pt. VI
        Beef--as in M-2

27-77

AM-3

Table M-5   Graph of Prices Paid for Butterfat, Ontario, 1931-73

Cents per
pound
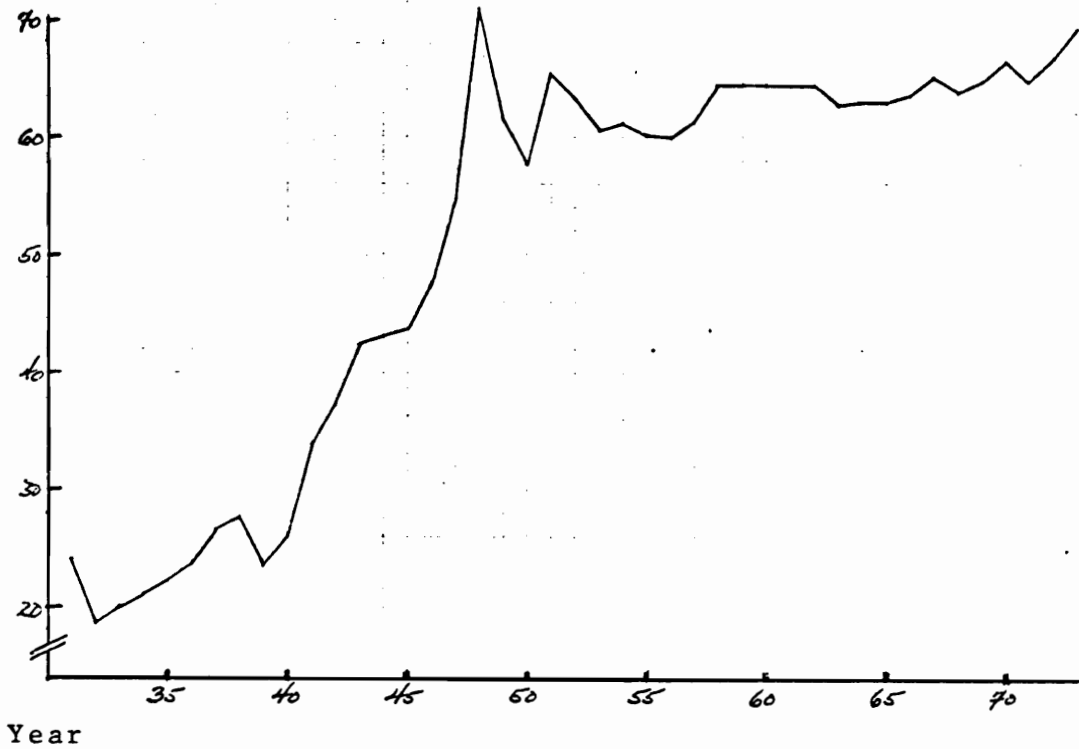
Year

Source: as M-2

Table M-6   Graph of Prices Paid for Milk, Ontario, 1940-75

Dollars per
cwt.

273
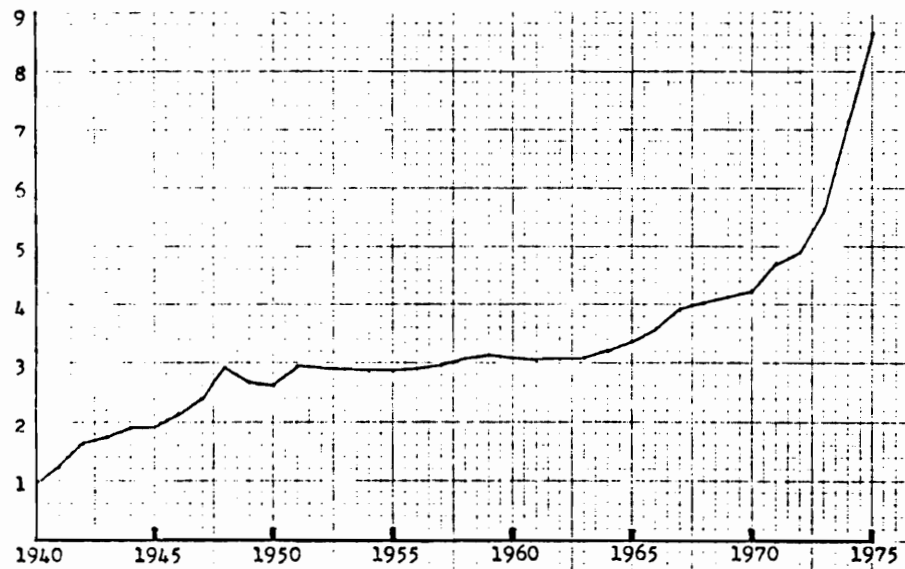
AN-1

Appendix N: Changes in Farming

Table N-1   Average Numbers of Animals, Waterloo County
            1935-74, in 5-Year Averages

Year	Hogs	Beef Cattle	Dairy Cattle
1935-39	50.5	5.1	24.2
1940-44	67.0	4.1	22.7
1945-49	82.9	2.3	32.1
1950-54	85.1	5.5	31.7
1955-59	86.4	5.0	32.6
1960-64	106.0	6.1	33.5
1965-69	144.2	7.5	31.8
1970-74	150.0	17.0	25.9

All numbers in thousands of animals
Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ontario,
          annual agricultural statistics

Table N-2   Number of Cows per Herd, DHIA Ontario,
            Supervised Plan, 1951-75

Number of cows
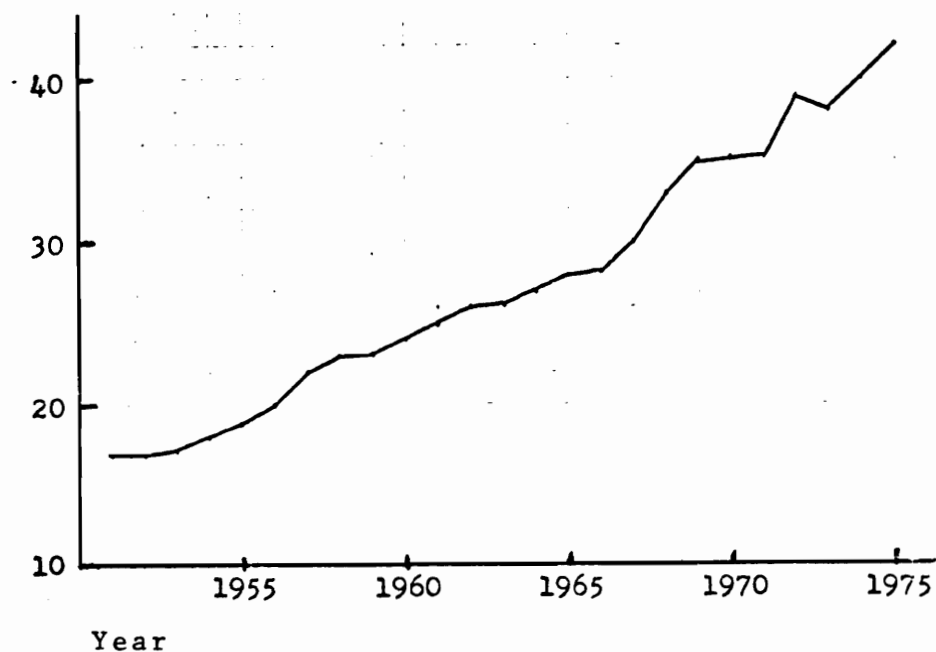
Year

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ontario
          Dairy Herd Improvement Programme, Annual Reports

Table N-3   Annual Production of Milk per Cow,
            Ontario DHIA Supervised Plan, 1951-75

Production in
Thousands of pounds
of milk per year
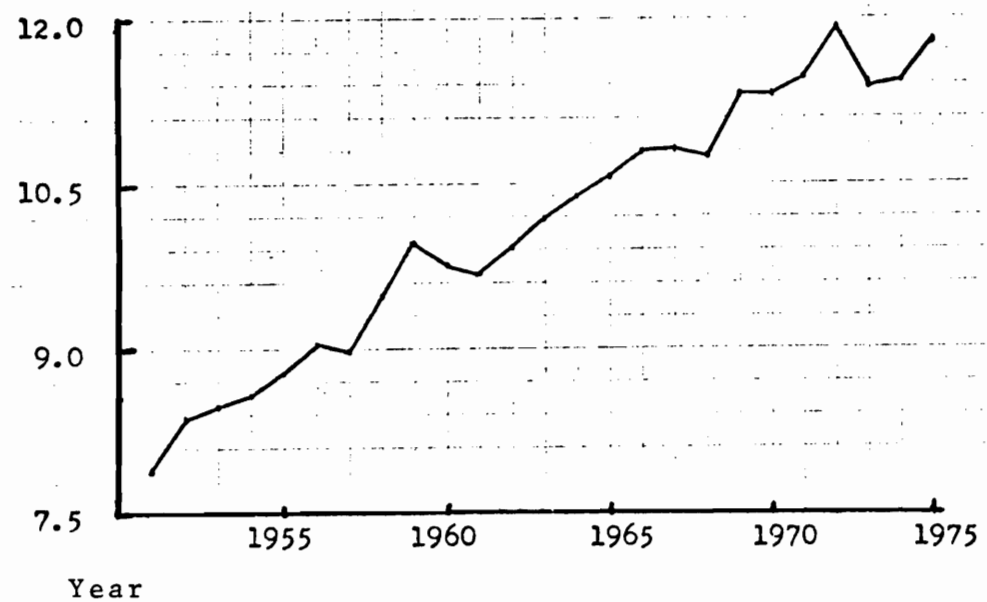
        Year
Source: As in N-2

Table N-4   Average Number of Animals on Amish Mennonite
            Farms, Circa 1920.

Animal	Total	Average
Horses	134	4.0
Colts	79	2.4
Old horses	17	0.5
Cows	355	10.8
Young cattle	161	4.9
Spring calves	180	5.5
Sows	77	2.3
Hogs	416	12.6
Sucking pigs	219	6.6

Average value of all livestock is $1,565.24.
Twenty four farms fall in the range $1,100--$1,800,
with an average in this range of $1,426.25.
   Farms below the range--#16, #18, #28
   Farms above this range--#9, #14, #15, #26, #29, #32
See complete listing, Table N-5

Table N-5 Actual Numbers of Animals on Farms, Wellesley, Circa 1920

Animal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Horses	3	2	4	5	5	4	4	4	7	4	4	4	4	6	5	2	2
Colts	1	3	1	2	0	1	2	2	5	1	0	0	3	6	3	1	3
Old Horses	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	2
Cows	7	10	9	6	8	5	10	10	22	10	9	6	6	20	14	4	8
Young Cattle	5	6	6	5	6	3	2	0	0	6	4	8	5	6	7	1	5
Spring Calves	4	8	7	4	5	6	8	5	3	3	3	6	2	6	5	6	7
Bulls			1						2		1						
Sows	2	2	1	2	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	3	3	5	2	2	2
Hogs	19	9	22	10	15	15	0	8	22	5	5	23	6	22	5	1	5
Sucking Pigs	13	16	0	8	0	0	0	6	18	0	0	15	0	13	15	13	24
Sheep			5						6					15	13		

Animal	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
Horses	2	3	2	4	3	4	4	4	7	4	3	6	4	3	6	4
Colts	1	4	1	2	2	4	2	2	5	5	0	7	1	2	6	1
Old Horses	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cows	4	11	9	8	8	10	10	8	8	5	7	10	4	8	7	12
Young Cattle	3	6	2	2	5	2	7	4	5	11	4	6	5	5	15	4
Spring Calves	4	6	6	1	7	8	7	13	6	3	3	6	4	3	8	7
Bulls							1									
Sows	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	3	3	2	2	2	3
Hogs	0	11	19	14	18	28	26	13	14	7	8	14	13	10	17	12
Sucking Pigs	6	4	0	0	9	0	5	20	7	4	0	12	0	4	0	0
Sheep								2				3		13		

Table N-6   Changes in Methods of Handling Field Crops

Method Circa 1920	Later Changes	Modern Methods
Grain		
Field prepared by cultivation and harrowing	Fertilizer first sowed with seed around 1935	Tractor sowing, with a larger seed drill one man, rate of 4 acres/hour
Grain sowed by seed drill, 10-13 run drill behind team of two horses, one man one bag seed, rate 1 acre/hour		
At harvest, one man on binder team of three horses Two or three men followed, setting up sheaves (stooking) About 1 acre/hour	Combines in 1940's Grain ripens on heads threshed by machine in field. Straw treated like hay	Swather developed in 1950's Used to cut grain, put in rows in field. Then combine pulled or driven over grain Swathing, one man, 4/5 acres per hour. Combining--one man, 1 acre/hour
When sheaves were dry and ready for harvest, one man pitched them into wagon, one on wagon built the load and drove team Sheaves stored in barn		
Custom steam threshing, one man working for large number of neighbours. Five hours of threshing done at harvest, rest later.	Portable threshing units owned by 3/4 men. Sheaves fed directly at barn--straw in shed, grain into granery	
Hay		
Seed broadcast after grain sowed It came up the next year Hay cut with mower, five feet wide About 1 acre/hour. Collected first with dump rake in field, later with side rake.	Tractor mower, 2 Ac/hr Side rake Driven hay loader, one man on tractor one loading Another man brings in wagons, another two stack in mow	Mow, rake bail, rate 12-15 ac/day Later a hay-bind, cutter swather, and conditioner, then bailer	Hay picked up in forage harvestor, put wet into sealed silo, or dry

Table N-6, continued

Corn Silage

Sowed with corn planter,
  one or two rows at a time
At harvest, five teams in field, one
  man on each team, 3/4 men pitching
  sheaves dropped by corn binder
  onto wagon.
Man at barn operated blower,
  2/3 men in silo packed load
With 14-15 men, a 12 x 35'
  silo could be filled in 10 hours

Corn combine, cutting up corn
  immediately for silage.
One man on either self-propelled
  or pull-type combine, cutting
  four rows at a time. Silage
  dumped in wagon, put in silo
  by single operator

Plowing

Team of two horses, one man
Plow at rate of 1 acre/day

Small tractor pulling three-
  furrow plow does 1 acre/hour
Large tractors will pull seven
  or eight shares, 4 acres/hour

Mangels

Planted and thinned by hand
Plants later hoed
Ripe mangels pulled up by hand
Tops pulled off by hand
Mangels put through root pulper,
  first turned by hand, later
  by machine

Mangels not grown after 1950

Table N-7   Acreages of Field Crops, Waterloo County, 1935-74, in 5-year Averages

Year	Wheat	Oats	Barley	Mixed Grains	Silage Corn	Grain Corn	Hay	Pasture
1935-39	20,630	44,075	8,689	39,691	8,396	166	49,230	24,433
1940-44	21,329	37,591	6,574	43,336	9,136	124	51,556	25,419
1945-49	22,260	32,397	4,527	43,911	10,330	1,594	56,681	35,444
1950-54	24,372	39,467	3,136	43,478	10,278	4,021	60,359	34,492
1955-59	19,865	41,432	2,147	35,476	11,144	4,312	59,701	43,750
1960-64	13,346	45,331	2,254	30,326	12,419	6,933	60,558	42,901
1965-69	7,554	24,925	7,166	37,785	20,426	18,990	61,994	32,806
1970-74	5,340	11,160	6,463	40,860	29,140	34,680	48,040	23,088

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ontario, annual statistical report

Table N-8   Percentages of Total Acres under Various Field Crops, Waterloo County, 1935-74

Year	Wheat	Oats	Barley	Mixed Grains	Silage Corn	Grain Corn	Hay	Pasture
1935-39	10.56	22.57	4.45	20.32	4.30	0.08	25.21	12.51
1940-44	10.93	19.27	3.37	22.21	4.68	0.06	26.64	13.03
1945-49	10.75	15.64	2.19	21.20	4.99	0.77	27.36	17.11
1950-54	11.10	17.97	1.43	19.80	4.68	1.83	27.49	15.71
1955-59	9.12	19.02	0.98	16.29	5.12	1.98	27.41	20.08
1960-64	6.23	21.18	1.05	14.17	5.80	3.24	28.29	20.04
1965-69	3.57	11.78	3.39	17.85	9.65	8.97	29.29	15.50
1970-74	2.60	6.06	3.24	20.49	14.13	17.19	24.69	11.59

Table N-9 Yields of Field Crops, Waterloo County
1935-74, in Five-Year Averages

Year	Wheat	Oats	Mixed Grain	Silage Corn	Grain Corn	Hay
1935-39	28.6	38.8	39.0	10.5	34.6	2.00
1940-44	30.2	38.8	37.7	11.4	39.5	1.90
1945-49	29.1	39.9	38.9	9.8	47.8	1.86
1950-54	35.1	47.3	48.7	11.4	56.9	2.16
1955-59	36.1	51.7	50.0	11.3	63.7	2.10
1960-64	40.0	56.6	.56.6	12.9	72.8	2.49
1965-69	36.7	58.2	60.2	13.3	79.2	2.80
1970-74	43.9	60.7	60.8	13.1	78.5	2.93

all amounts in bushels per acre, except for
silage and hay, which are in tons per acre.
Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ontario
annual statistical summaries

Table N-10 Farm Tenure, Perth and Waterloo Counties

Perth County

Year	Tenure		
	Owner	Tenant	Renter
1951	3,842	233	282
1961	3,635	121	366
1966	3,235	101	461
1971	2,743	99	607
1976	2,324	109	679

Waterloo County

Year	Owner	Tenant	Renter
1951	2,286	189	163
1961	2,008	164	263
1966	1,730	172	328
1971	1,408	187	381
1976	1,070	148	460

Table N-11 Types of Farming Operation, Perth and
Waterloo Counties, 1961,1971,1976

Perth County

Year	Dairy	Mixed	Crop	Misc.
1961	905	2,528	46	200
1971	959	1,725	130	141
1976	960	1,409	449	157

Waterloo County

Year	Dairy	Mixed	Crop	Misc.
1961	470	1,340	27	203
1971	343	1,073	66	118
1976	310	938	167	143

AN-8

Table N-12   Size of Farms, Perth and Waterloo Counties

Perth County

Year	0-69 ac.	70-179 ac.	180-379 ac.	400 up ac.
1951	668	3108	552	29
1961	585	2857	647	33
1971	525	1972	874	78
1976	419	1703	885	105

Waterloo County

Year	0-69 ac.	70-197 ac.	180-379 ac.	400 up ac.
1951	643	1632	350	13
1961	616	1443	353	23
1971	538	1045	341	52
1976	366	898	340	75

Table N-13   Percentage of Total Land Rented, by Township, Perth and Waterloo Counties.

County	Township	1961	1966	1976
Perth	N. Easthope	5	7	13
	S. Easthope	6	7	17
	Ellice	5	6	13
	Elma	4	6	14
	Mornington	6	6	16
Waterloo	Wellesley	5	7	19
	Wilmot	8	12	42

Source for tables N-10--N-13:   Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada

Appendix O: Occupation for Northern Amish Mennonites

Table O-1   Source of Farm, 1910-70, Mapleview and Cedar
            Grove Congregations.

Source	Congregation	Period 1910-24	1925-39	1940-54	1955-69
Father	Mapleview	9	14	22	11
	Cedar Grove	7	11	10	8
Other	Mapleview	10	14	12	2
Mennonite	Cedar Grove	10	13	11	5
Non	Mapleview	17	11	21	3
Mennonite	Cedar Grove	15	10	8	6
Non	Mapleview	4	6	16	17
Farm	Cedar Grove	0	0	0	2

For independence variables	G^2	DF
Source and Congregation	34.636	3
Source and Period	37.178	9
Congregation and Period	5.673	3
For interaction all three	5.986	9
Total	83.472	24

Table O-2   Material from O-1 for Mapleview Congregation

Source	Congregation	Period Pre-1940	1940-54	1955-69
Father	Mapleview	23	22	11
Others		52	33	5
Non-Farm		10	16	17

	G^2
For Father v. Other and Pre-1940 v. 1940-54,	1.22
For Father v. Other and Pre-1955 v. 1955-69,	6.82
For Farm v. Non-Farm and Pre-1940 v. 1940-54,	3.23
For Farm v. Non-Farm and Pre-1955 v. 1955-69,	16.41
Total	27.68

Similar table for Cedar Grove yields G^2 of 8.62, 4 DF

AO-2

Table O-3 Occupation in Northern Amish Mennonite
Congregations, by Age in 1972

Age in 1972	Occupation	MV	XL	PL	RD	CG	MN	CN
20-29S	Farm	3	2	1	0	4	1	1
	Labour	13	6	13	7	6	1	3
	Other	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
20-29M	Farm	3	3	7	5	5	5	2
	Labour	2	6	6	3	3	3	3
	Other	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
30-39M	Farm	11	5	14	11	10	6	4
	Labour	12	4	13	5	0	0	8
	Other	1	4	2	1	0	0	0
40-49M	Farm	19	2	12	4	5	4	5
	Labour	3/2	6	4	6	0	0	1/1
	Other	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
50-59M	Farm	15	5	7	4	15	8	2
	Labour	5/2	0/4	3/3	3/1	0/1	0/1	0
	Other	1	3	2	4	0	0	0
60 over	Farm	23	1	17	6	23	21	4
	Labour	0/3	1/4	0/5	1/2	0/6	0/1	0/3
	Other	1	1	1	1	0	0	0

Table O-4 Statistical Examination of Data in O-3

Congregation	Total G^2	Age and Occupation Pattern Grouped			Grouped G^2
		Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	
Crosshill	12.14	1-4	---	5-6	11.01
Mapleview	40.76	1	2-3	4-6	34.85
Poole	39.08	1	2-3	4-6	30.32
Riverdale	15.66	1	2-5	6	13.97
Cedar Grove	31.74	---	1-2	3-6	30.84
MN Beachy	14.68	---	1-2	3-6	14.58

Table O-5 Occupation and Age Group for Combined Congre-
gations in Northern Amish Mennonite Settlement

Congregation	Occupation	Age Group					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Mapleview/	Farm	5	6	16	23	26	31
Crosshill	Non-farm	21	10	21	9	9	3
Poole/	Farm	1	12	25	16	16	29
Riverdale	Non-farm	22	10	21	14	8	3
Cedar Grove/	Farm	5	10	16	9	25	51
Mornington	Non-farm	7	6	0	0	0	0

AO-3

Table O-6 Statistical Examination of Data from O-5

Congregation Group	Total G^2	Grouped G^2	Age and Occupation Pattern		
			Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Mapleview/ Crosshill	47.61	42.42	1	2-3	4-6
Poole/ Riverdale	48.99	43.96	1	2-4	5-6
Cedar Grove/ Mornington	46.84	45.64	–	1-2	3-6

Table P-1 Breeder's Information on Sires

Daus.	Milk Rating	Avg. Test	NAME OF SIRE	No. Daus.	Herds	Over All	Gen. App.	Dairy Char.	Body Cap.	Mamm. System	Fore Udder	Rear Udder	Legs & Feet	Rump	Large	Size Med.	Small
	MILK — DAUGHTERS VS. HERDMATES						TYPE — COMPARISON WITH BREED AVERAGE FOR 5 YEARS										
38	4	3.71	Acme Senator Ed	53	36	+13	+13	0	-4	+10	+7	+9	+1	+28	-1	+5	-1
42	2	3.76	Burishili Ladysman	64	16	+26	+27	+5	+3	+18	+8	+16	+4	+26	+33	23	11
325	+5	3.69	Edgeware Pietje Boy	415	222	-3	-4	+4	-2	+1	+3	+3	-3	-11	-3	+1	+1
217	+5	3.69	Edgeware Wayne Achilles	343	229	+7	+8	+2	+1	+12	+13	+6	-13	-1	+3	+2	-5
287	0	3.60	Elmcroft Pontiac Chieftain	461	283	+17	+18	+1	+3	+11	+13	+9	-3	+12	+11	-4	-8
95	+3	3.88	Enphill Perseus Admiral	145	107	+6	+7	-1	-4	+7	+10	-2	-12	+3	+3	-8	+5
538	+2	3.87	Flemingdale P. Mark	778	384	+9	+10	+6	+5	+3	+5	-3	-2	+4	+24	-13	-12
78	+6	3.64	KAS Triune Dude	121	83	-9	-9	+4	-5	-9	-4	-10	-6	-6	-1	+3	-3
58	-4	3.39	Romandale Reflection Security	143	114	+5	+5	-2	-4	+3	0	+8	+3	0	+5	+1	-7
19	-1	3.62	Shore Anthony Lad	53	27	+8	+8	+1	+5	+8	+9	+10	+3	-4	-2	-7	-0
49	+2	3.54	Strathburn Master Leader	54	49	+3	+4	+4	-1	+6	+6	+4	-8	-16	-12	+9	+3
113	0	3.68	Madawaska Cit. Radar	145	102	+3	+3	+1	+7	+3	+2	+5	0	-17	+12	-3	-10
53	-1	3.79	Vermount Texal Hope	68	57	0	0	-6	+1	+4	+7	+1	-1	+4	+4	-5	-1

IN SERVICE - PREMIUM PROVEN

Edgeware Wayne Achilles
$6.00 breeding fee plus $2.00 per insemination
Flemingdale Perseus Mark
$6.00 breeding fee plus $2.00 per insemination

Elmcroft Pontiac Chieftain	-$8.00 fee
Enphill Perseus Admiral	-$5.00 fee
Edgeware Pietje Boy	-$7.00 fee
Madawaska Citation Radar	-$7.00 fee
Acme Senator Ed	-$7.00 fee
Romandale Reflection Security	-$7.00 fee

SPECIAL SIRES

Burishili Ladysman	-$30.00 per ampule
Romandale Ur. Atom	-$10.00 breeding fee
Pickland Citation R.	-$10.00 breeding fee
Bond Haven Maple Joe	-$5.00 per ampule
Roybrook Starlite	-$6.00 breeding fee plus $4.00 per insemination

PROVEN - $6.00 Fee

KAS Triune Dude
Strathburn Master Leader
Vermount Texal Hope
Shore Anthony Lad

RED - YOUNG SIRE - $6.00 fee

Stewarthaven Cit. Skip
Stonetown Citation

YOUNG SIRES - $6.00 Fee

Glenaaple Standoat Mark
Marnel Startrek
Moeracres Star Lee
Quality Ultimate (to be announced)
Rowntree Telstar Model

SIRE LIST EFFECTIVE July 1, 1973

AWAITING PROOF $10.00 (out of service)

A. Birch Hollow Royalty
A. Moncony Fury
Apache Citation Magic
A. Skagvale Classic Cit.
A. Skagvale Fanfare
Bailey's Centennial Mark
Bond Haven Royalstar
Browndale Ideal Comet
Cedelmar Regal Coronet
Dairy Lane Starfire
Doverholm Canonero
F.H.J. Peggy Romner Ref.
Ebyholme Stalwart
Finney Creek Ref. Ace
Flemingdale Sovereign Master
Glenafton Argile
Greenwood R.A. Hector
Heritage Reflection

High Point Citation Apollo
Karavilla Peration
Kungla Kelev
Kungla Soter
Clover Bar Laddie
Langview Ambassador
Langview Dividend
Mississippi Reflection Prospect
Oak Ridges A.C. Revere
Old Alma Berard
Romandale Rockman Inspiration
Rose Vena Rockman Justice
Roybrook Chief
Rewsdale Deputy
Spring Farm Perfection
Scrodaal Rapture
Truetype Ref. Tramp
Waybrook Perseus Ceasar

Table P-2 Dairy Herd Improvement Program, Herd Report

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FOOD
LIVE STOCK BRANCH
DAIRY HERD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

ONTARIO

HERD REPORT

SUPERVISED   TESTING PLAN

DATE MAILED
DAY MO YR
19/12/72

R - REGISTERED G - GRADE

			TEST DAY INFORMATION					MEMBER NOTE				COW INVENTORY NUMBER	BARN NAME OR NUMBER	BODY WEIGHT LBS	CURRENT LACTATION										REMARKS
REGISTRATION OR EARTAG NUMBER			STATUS	DAY	LBS. MILK	% FAT			ACTION NEEDED						DAYS			PRODUCTION			PREV. LACT. AVERAGE			
															IN MILK	DRY	IN CALF	LBS MILK	LBS FAT	% FAT	MILK	FAT		
			MILK	0512	230	34	16					001	LORNA	110										
			MILK	0512	135	39	9					003	BETTY	130	272						133	120		
			LEFT	1611								006	SADIE	140	292	15		10400	426	4.1				
			MILK	0512	330	37	15	4	BRD	*****		007	CLARA	130	210			12320	470	3.8	E139	136	-15 +3	
			DRY	0512			2	0	350	*****		008	ESTHER	132	331	4		16421	697	4.2	139	158	- 6 +25	
			MILK	0512	245	37	8	0	BRD	*****		010	WANDA	135	247			13531	479	3.5	E127	123	-18 -10	
			MILK	0512	165	45	8	0	920	*****		011	WANETA	130	277			13650	551	4.0	E120	132	-25 - 1	
			LEFT	0311								013	WIMPY	132	370	142		17144	550	3.2				
			LEFT	3011								014	DARLENE	120	286			16396	553	3.4				
			MILK	0512	170	33	8	0	BRD	*****		017	JANE	125	217			10885	362	3.3	E113	102	-32 -31	
			LEFT	0311								018	SANDY	118	290	57		12291	354	2.9				
			MILK	0512	570	31	15	6	BRD	*****		025	HAZEL	120	272			17498	509	2.9	E163	129	+18 - 4	
													IRENE	149	338	67		20184	660	3.3	173	153	+28 +20	
			MILK	0512	645	50	22	25				026	IRENE	149	10			645	32	5.0				
			MILK	0512	450	31	13	9	BRD	*****		027	WINIFRE	120	143			8090	261	3.2	E115	102	-30 -31	
			MILK	0512	160	37	11	0	BRD	*****		028	RITA	140	295			16426	625	3.8	E144	147	- 1 +14	
			MILK	0512	355	43	16	5	BRD	*****		029	DEBBIE	135	269			16636	638	3.9	E150	156	+ 5 +23	
3			MILK	0512	395	40	20	7	350	*****		032	MODEL	140	82			3915	161	4.1				
3			MILK	0512	425	35	17	9	BRD	*****		033	CARLA	126	181			10176	364	3.6	E125	127	-20 -11	
			MILK	0311								034	MAGGIE	128	48			2243	137	4.2				
			MILK	0512	350	33	15	5	BRD	*****		035	LOIS	125	215			12617	407	3.2	E141	124	- 4 - 9	
			MILK	0512	410	43	13	11	360	*****		036	LIZZIE	125	224			15463	473	3.1	E165	137	+20 + 4	
			MILK	0512	400	36	15	7	BRD	*****		038	BLACKIE	135	166			10094	342	3.4	E132	123	-13 -10	
			MILK	0512	635	37	26	24				041	TOOTS	125				2246	84	3.8				
			MILK	0512	210	34						042	LOU	123										
			MILK	0512	410		22	10				045	LILA	125							E164	134	+1 -18	

IRREGULAR PROD
65.5   4.7

AP-2

AQ-1

Appendix Q: Church Demography

Table Q-2   Comparison of Age Groups by Congregation, from
           Table Q-1

Age	Congregation Wellesley WOMC	Mornington WOMC	Beachy Amish
0-19	290	282	156
20-39	147	200	84
40-59	146	110	80
60 up	74	73	109

Overall $G^2 \equiv$ 63.34, 6 degrees of freedom

Breakdown of G^2 Statistic	G^2
Children v. Young Adults, Wellesley v. Mornington	6.03
Children v. Young Adults, WOMC v. Beachy Amish	0.62
0-39 v. 40-59 Wellesley v. Mornington	7.21
0-39 v. 40-59 WOMC v. Beachy Amish	1.46
0-59 v. 60 up Wellesley v. Mornington	0.03
0-59 v. 60 up WOMC v. Beachy Amish	47.99

Table Q-3   Beachy Amish Fertility, Women over 45 Years, 1974

Period	Number of Women	Average Children	Variance
1910-34	59	4.4	5.52
1935-59	45	4.6	4.78
1960-74	31	3.7	6.48

Difference between periods two and three,
   $t = 2.85$ with more than 30 degrees of freedom,
   significance of better than 0.002

Table Q-1 Demographic Profile of Northern Amish Mennonite Congregations, 1972

CHURCH CONGREGATION

SEX	AGE	WHITE	XWILL	POOLE	RIVERD	CGROVE	MNAR	CONC
MALE	0-4	18		22	11	15	17	10
	5-9	28	13	22	19	11	6	8
	10-14	30	17	19	17	10	4	5
	15-19	21	19	13	18	7	7	14
	20-24	13	19	17	5	17	6	5
	25-29	8	3	18	10	4	4	2
	30-34	14	6	17	7	6	3	0
	35-39	11	7	13	8	4	3	0
	40-44	11	5	9	6	5	4	6
	45-49	13	7	11	4	1	0	7
	50-54	13	8	6	2	11	3	1
	55-59	9	4	9	6	5	6	1
	60-64	5	6	7	1	8	4	0
	65-69	8	0	9	3	7	9	3
	70-74	5	1	3	2	8	5	2
	75-79	4	0	2	2	6	3	0
	80-84	4	0	2	1	1	1	1
FEMALE	0-4	19	19	25	17	3	11	13
	5-9	21	13	14	15	9	3	13
	10-14	21	17	20	14	14	8	12
	15-19	24	22	20	18	17	8	11
	20-24	9	11	21	13	10	5	8
	25-29	8	5	14	16	5	7	4
	30-34	5	8	18	5	6	2	5
	35-39	12	4	12	11	5	1	0
	40-44	18	5	8	12	7	4	6
	45-49	14	10	8	4	9	2	3
	50-54	11	4	8	5	6	7	0
	55-59	8	6	8	6	7	4	3
	60-64	9	2	12	6	8	7	1
	65-69	9	0	6	2	13	10	3
	70-74	6	2	7	4	9	4	1
	75-79	4	2	4	1	3	1	1
	80-84	6	0	3	0	1	1	2

COMPUTATION OF G-STATISTIC FOR VARIABLES
SEX = MALE OR FEMALE
AGE = 5 YEAR PERIODS
CHURCH = NAME OF CONGREGATION

INTERACTION		SEX	AND AGE	, G=	13.719	DF=	16
INTERACTION		SEX	AND CHURCH	, G=	2.752	DF=	6
INTERACTION		AGE	AND CHURCH	, G=	257.523	DF=	90
INTERACTION ONLY	, AGE		AND CHURCH	, G=	69.813	DF=	96
				TOTAL G=	335.675	DF=	214

Table Q-4 Demographic Comparison of Mapleview and Crosshill
          Congregations, 1972

Age	Members in Mapleview	Members in Crosshill	Percent total at Mapleview	Percent total at Crosshill
0-19	182	108	43	46
20-39	79	68	19	29
40-59	97	49	23	21
60 up	63	11	15	5

For 0-19 v. 20-39, G^2= 3.28,   n/s
    0-39 v. 40-59,   2.12,   n/s
    0-59 v. 60 up, ___18.18,___ 0.00002
        Total   23.58   0.00003

Table Q-5 Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Demographic Comparison
           between Mapleview and Crosshill

Age	Cumulative Percent at Mapleview	Cumulative Percent at Crosshill	Magnitude of Difference
0- 4	8.79	8.05	0.74
5- 9	20.43	17.80	2.63
10-14	32.54	32.20	0.34
15-19	43.23	45.76	2.53
20-24	48.22	58.47	10.25
25-29	52.02	63.98	11.96
30-34	56.53	69.92	13.39*
35-39	62.00	74.56	12.58
40-44	68.88	80.51	11.63
45-49	75.30	86.02	10.72
50-54	81.00	91.10	10.10
55-59	85.04	95.34	10.30
60-64	88.36	98.73	10.37
65-69	92.40	98.73	6.33

For Mapleview, n= 421
    Crosshill, n= 236
Any difference in percentage exceeding the K/S test
    statistic at the given level of significance
    denotes a statistically significant difference in the
    pattern or location of the distributions at that level.
For these values of n, statistic is 13.25 at the 0.01 level

AR-1

The New Social Structure of the Congregation

The first changes in the social structure of the local Western
Ontario congregations had come with the introduction of the Sunday school.
At first, two adult superintendents were elected from the members of the
congregation. They spoke during the Sunday school hour. The Sunday
school continues today, with an organization similar to that at its in-
ception. There are two senior superintendents, having charge of the adult
Sunday school, and two junior superintendents who oversee the children's
classes. One of the senior superintendents reads the Bible lesson before
the classes meet, and the other comments on the lesson at the end of the
Sunday school period. The superintendents choose the teachers for each
of the classes, and make sure the printed materials are available for the
various classes.

In the congregations today, there are some changes in the organ-
ization of the Sunday school. The junior Sunday school is organized into
a primary class, and then into classes corresponding to school grades.
The curriculum is obtained from a North American Mennonite publishing
centre, and consists of Bible stories and moral lessons. German is no
longer taught in the junior Sunday school. The adult Sunday school is
generally organized into classes according to age. At the Crosshill
congregation, for instance, there were classes for young baptized but un-
married people (boys in one, girls in the other), an older class of young
people, two classes for married couples, and two each of senior men's and
women's classes. At the Maple View congregation, all the senior classes
were organized by age and sex. In most of the other Sunday schools, the
classes are arranged by age, but couples attend. Some congregations have
also experimented with random assignment of adults.

As the new revival programme introduced in the Sunday school began
to take hold, there were certain changes in the organization of the local
congregation. As we have outlined, the role of the elder became more and
more bound up with maintaining the old discipline. Congregations that no
longer wished to organize religious life under this traditional Amish
ideology eventually eliminated the role of the elder in congregational
structure. The first congregation to do this was the East Zorra congrega-

tion. In 1950, all the ministers in this congregation, and the others that had grown out of it, were stationed. Eventually, the Conference allowed all ministers to be licenced. This meant the minister could take over the spiritual and administrative duties of the elder, without the duties of maintaining the discipline.

The changes in the patterns of ordination are documented in Appendix H. The material here suggests there were several types of ordination patterns in the various congregations. The Old Order type pattern is found in those congregations in which laymen are ordained as both deacons and ministers, and in which deacons are not generally chosen as ministers. The southern congregations in the Western Ontario Conference used a different pattern, ordaining men first as deacons, then as ministers. Few laymen were ordained directly as ministers. The modern pattern, however, has begun to take over in Western Ontario congregations. In this pattern, no deacons or elders are ordained, and the minister is chosen directly from the laymen. A number of congregations have also moved to the pattern of choosing men as ministers from among those with seminary training. Such men usually do not come from the congregation appointing them. This change in the pattern of ordinations reflects a general turning away from traditional Amish practices in favour of those current in other evangelical Protestant denominations.

When the elder of the congregation was involved with the administration of the discipline, he met each week with the other ordained men for council. In those congregations that chose not to have the elder, and in which the minister was licenced to perform religious ceremonies, there was a need for a group of people to advise the minister. This function is performed by the church council. The men of the council discuss church policy and present major decisions to the congregation. The ordained men are always members. Other members are chosen from the congregation. At the Crosshill church, for instance, two members were chosen, one each year to sit for a two-year term. Other laymen sit on the council because of their offices in the church. Thus the two Sunday school superintendents serving the second year of their term (one senior

and one junior) sit on the council. One of the trustees sits, one of
the men from the Sunday evening service committee, and the president
of the MYF (Mennonite Youth Fellowship).

The council acts as a superintendent for any building programme
decided on by the membership. It plans the church calendar, sets the
agenda for the annual meeting, arranges for visiting speakers, and
maintains the financial affairs of the congregation. They set the bud-
get and determine the allotment of monies from the collections. The
council, for instance, might act as the negotiating body in the purchase
of new hymnals. In one case, there was a need for a new church hymnal
(the hymnals are provided on the benches). One man knew another Mennon-
ite congregation was also purchasing new hymnals, and approached the
council with this information. The council negotiated the price of their
older hymnals with the other congregation and concluded the purchase.

The major policies of the congregation are discussed in council,
but no major policy decisions will be taken there. Instead of formulat-
ing policy, the council will bring the issues to the congregation, in the
traditional congregational form of government. The council, however,
helps schedule church life, and serves as a general administrative body.
It also serves as a forum for the ordained men to assess congregational
opinion.

Assisting the council is the board of trustees. This consists of
three men, serving three year terms, one elected from the congregation
each year at the annual meeting. This group is the legal body represent-
ing the church in business dealings. The group looks after the mainten-
ance of the building, spending the church fees for heating, cleaning,
light bulbs, and caretaker service. When the congregation purchases
land, or embarks on a building programme, the trustees act as the official
representative of the congregation in business affairs.

These major policy-making groups for the congregation are assisted
in the weekly administration of the church by various lay committees
charged with specific duties. There is a committee of ushers, who make
sure there are people to take up collection and seat people. There is a

music committee, which chooses the choristers for each month, and in-
vites outside musical groups to services. There is a Sunday evening
service committee, which plans these services. Some congregations have
a Summer Bible School committee which finds teachers and arranges the
programme for children.

In addition to the committees for administering the church, there
are two special groups within the congregation. One of these is the
WMSC--the Women's Mission and Service Committee. This group which elects
its own executive and manages its own affairs, meets for a general busi-
ness meeting every month, and for special projects. These projects con-
sist of quilting, preparing layettes for missionary distribution, rolling
bandages for leprosy missions overseas, and so on. The MYF--Mennonite
Youth Fellowship--meets informally several times a month. This group of
young people generally consists of those of high school age and older
who are unmarried. Activities are varied, running from devotional ser-
vices to various sport and activity gatherings. The group has its own
executive. Recently, a similar group has been formed at the Conference
level, with local MYF executives sending a representative to help plan
youth activities to involve all Conference young people.

The church congregation also has a missions committee of three
men, one member of whom is a delegate to the Conference. This group
raises money for missions projects through various activities. They hold
a missions dinner, at which a collection is taken each winter. In one
congregation, the committee took the money from the collection and bought
steers to fatten for market. This money was then passed on to the Con-
ference.

A number of other individuals are chosen as congregational dele-
gates to the Conference. The congregation sends one member at large for
each two hundred members; additional members of the congregation sit on
special committees of the Conference.

The more modern organization of the church still reflects the
older values of congregational government, especially since the group as
a whole helps considerably with administration. The entire congregation
is consulted on matters of importance; committees will only administer

the day-to-day running of affairs, and will not set policy. Traditional
values are also expressed in the personnel chosen for the committees.
Although there are no formal rules that control the election of members
to various committees, in practice men occupy all roles of policy making.
Women serve as church librarians, on the historical committee, on the
WMSC, and as junior Sunday school teachers. Young people and young
adults are called on as ushers and as junior Sunday school teachers.
Most of the rest of the committees are staffed by men. The council and
the trustees are always older men, except for the MYF president on
council.

The election of laymen to the various committees is generally
handled in the annual meeting. At this meeting, each of the committees
is asked for a report. At the end of the report, which is usually very
short unless there is a major item of policy from the committee, the out-
going delegate nominates a successor. Nominations from the floor are then
accepted, and in the case where more than one person is nominated (which
is usually), a vote of hands is taken. A simple plurality wins. Sunday
school superintendents are not chosen at the annual meeting--instead, a
general vote is taken in the congregation by paper ballot.

The annual meeting is attended by men. Women and young people
generally do not attend. At one congregational meeting, for instance,
only two women were present. These were the two church librarians, who
were present to make a report. No other women were present, although
the representation from the adult men was almost complete.

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