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TITLE OF THESIS.. Boundary Maintenance in a
.... Religious Minority Group ,
.... in Western Canada ....

UNIVERSITY... of .... Alberta ....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED..... Ph. D. ....

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED..... Fall 1974 ....

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE IN A RELIGIOUS MINORITY GROUP

IN WESTERN CANADA

by

MARY M. YOUNG

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1974

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and

recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns the use of the concept of boundaries and boundary maintenance as applied to an Old Mennonite community near Tofield, Alberta, a sectarian group which is separated from the dominant society on ideological grounds, yet retains certain close and symbiotic ties with it.

It is argued that cultural content is not reliable in defining the group, particularly as it exists through time and space. The identity of a group may be better approached in terms of the boundaries it adopts to separate itself from others. It is assumed that these boundaries are recognized by insiders and outsiders alike, although the specific means for boundary maintenance employed by either may not be. Further, it is argued that the devices which maintain these boundaries change over space and time.

A typology of boundary-maintaining devices has been introduced which categorizes such devices in terms of their function in relation to the degree of self-isolation desired--spatial, symbolic-technological and internal-interactional types implemented by the sectarian group; external-interactional and spatial types imposed by the larger society. The ultimate purpose of the typology

is to analyze the relations between types to present a dynamic picture of persistence and change in the group under study in its socio-cultural environment.

It was found that events in the larger society such as two World Wars, the increased intrusion of governments in social and economic affairs and the availability of modern technology have brought changes to the different types of boundary-maintaining devices of Tofield Old Mennonites. This has reduced the distinctive life style of the group, expressed by symbolic-technological devices, and thereby decreased the effectiveness of internal-interactional ones to allow growing contact with and participation in worldly activites. Further, as Old Mennonites become more similar to members of the dominant society in appearance and behaviour, externally-imposed devices have also been reduced.

The typology and its application provides a dynamic model for the analysis of sectarian groups by indicating how exclusiveness is maintained, the factors responsible for change and the direction of change. This approach may contribute to the clarification of the study of any of those sub-cultural groups which stress separation from the culture as a whole.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to extend my most sincere thanks to my entire thesis Committee--Dr. H. B. Barclay (Supervisor), Dr. H. T. Lewis, Dr. C. R. Wilson, Dr. C. Cardarola and Dr. J. A. Hostetler for their advice and cooperation in this thesis project. In particular, I would like to acknowledge most gratefully the scholarship, interest and patience shown by Dr. Barclay in its preparation.

I was assisted by a University of Alberta Graduate Fellowship and by the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta.

I am grateful to Lynne Rogoczenski who typed the manuscript and to Dr. D. Lubell and W. M. Young who assisted with maps and charts.

To the members of the Old Mennonite community near Tofield I am in debt for the time they volunteered, the cooperation they extended and the interest they showed in this project. The warmth of their kindness, friendship and hospitality, freely given to myself and members of my family, have meant much to us all.

A lengthy project such as this could not have been undertaken or completed without the loving support of my family, to whom I am inexpressibly grateful.

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CHAPTER I

OUTLINING THE PROBLEM

A. Introduction--The Concept of Boundaries in Socio-cultural Analysis

In recent years there has been a growing interest among some anthropologists in the possibilities of using the concept of social and cultural boundaries to explain several aspects of the relations between social groups of varying sizes and composition. Attempts have been made, not only to indicate the importance of boundaries in the study of social and cultural processes, but also to incorporate the concept in a variety of theoretical fc ays. While this thesis will adopt the concept and manipulate it in relation to the problem of persistence d change in a certain kind of social group, we will first review some of the relevant literature and indicate the varying ways in which the concept has been developed by several authors.

One of the earlier discussions of boundaries and boundary maintenance in an analytical framework is to be found in "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formula" (1953) in which Barnett et al. attempted to "characterize the

properties of autonomous systems in a way that would be meaningful

in respect to their behaviour under contact conditions" (1953:3).
The authors suggest that one of the properties which
affects acculturation is composed of *"boundary-maintaining*

mechanisms which are found in 'closed' as opposed to 'open' systems"
(*ibid.:3*). The greater or lesser concentration of boundary-
maintaining mechanisms is used to signal the existence of
resistant as opposed to susceptible systems and linked
to the rate and degree of acculturation, assimilation and
the sequential development in acculturation over time. No
attempt was made in this study, however, to classify such
boundary-maintaining devices in terms of their differen-
tial importance to the degree of 'openness' of the systems
under study.

The concept of 'closed' as opposed to 'open'
societies was introduced by Wolf (1957) to characterize
certain kinds of peasant communities in Mesoamerica and
Central Java. Noting the social and cultural isolation
of 'closed corporate peasant communities' from the larger
society, he points out that this isolation is reinforced
by *"strong tendencies to restrict membership in the community to*
people born and raised within the boundaries of the community"
(*ibid.:3*). In both geographic areas, such peasant communi-
ties are

> *corporate organizations, maintaining a per-*
> *petuity of rights and memberships; and*
> *they are closed corporations, because they*
> *limit these privileges to insiders, and dis-*
> *courage close participation of members in*

> *the social relations of the larger society.*

To maintain the 'closed' nature of such groups, strong defences are required to meet the threat of change deriving from the capitalist larger society. However, says Wolf, these defensive measures are not adequate to meet the challenge and inevitably these closed corporate peasant communities are *"incapable of preventing change"* (ibid.: 13). In this paper and in subsequent writings on peasants, Wolf's aim is to analyze the causes of persistence and change in these groups by characterizing the nature of such communities and their boundaries, and the nature of the larger, encompassing societies and the pressures they exert on such groups.

A more wide-ranging and explicit treatment of boundaries is to be found in Cohen's (1968) "Macroethnology" in which he argues for the use of the 'community' as a basis for cross-cultural comparisons. Cohen points out that no society or groups allow

> *the random and promiscuous expression of emotions or behaviour to just anyone. Rather, one may communicate these feelings, either verbally, physically or materially, only to certain people.*

Thus the social communication which ensues, flows from *"the lines of the community as a boundary system or of boundary systems within the community"* (ibid.). In other words, communities (families, nations or other groups) are boundary

systems and, he reasons, provided one deals with boundary systems at the same level of abstraction, one can engage in cross-cultural research.

This idea is expanded by Cohen (1969) in a later article, "Social Boundary Systems" in which his intent is to discover, among other things, the degree of competition among boundary systems in a society, with a view to furthering our understanding of the evolution of the political systems of nations. Defining social boundary systems as networks of social relations, he proposes to explore *"the kinds of boundaries (or the quality of boundedness[1])* *that characterizes them under different sociocultural conditions "* (*ibid.:*104). While his formulations received the critical assessment normally given by *Current Anthropology* (1969: 117-21), Cohen maintains and reiterates his view that the concept of boundaries is an important one. He writes:

> *. . . in what kinds of nations, conceived*
> *in terms of, let us say, boundary systems,*
> *do different groups or networks assume dif-*
> *ferent degrees of exclusivity or openness?*
> *Furthermore, what are the bases of bounded-*
> *ness--territoriality, economic considerations,*
> *ethnicity, other symbolic identifications and*
> *the like?*
>
> (*Ibid.:*125)

Another formulation of the concept, and one which is of considerable relevance, to this thesis and

---

[1]Cohen's use of the term 'boundary' here fails to clearly distinguish between the concept as 'limit' and as the bond between members of a group.

which will be explored in greater detail later, is that
of Barth in his discussion of the persistence of ethnic
groups over time and space. In his book, *Ethnic Groups and
Boundaries* (1969), Barth hypothesizes that boundary-
maintaining devices governing inter-ethnic social rela-
tions permit such groups, in poly-ethnic social systems,
to be in a stable state of interdependence or symbiosis.
At the same time, he says, these devices insulate *"parts
of the cultures from confrontation and modification"* (*ibid.*:16).
Both these processes, he believes, enable ethnic groups
to persist through time as identifiable units.

        While other examples may be found in the litera-
ture of the discipline of anthropology, the above brief
discussions indicate the contexts in which the concept
of boundaries (and boundary maintenance) has been sug-
gested as a useful analytical tool for the diachronic
study of the relations between groups and the processes
of change within certain kinds of groups. The impetus for
the development of this analytical device will be examined
in the following section.

B.   Relevant Issues in Anthropology

        Why has there been this somewhat slight ten-
dency towards a focus on boundaries and boundary main-
tenance? Does it arise from a disquietude about certain
traditionally held assumptions about the nature of the

groups studied by anthropologists? Or, has this interest

been stirred by new areas of research which have necessi-

tated a scrutiny of past approaches and the realization of

certain deficiencies? It is suggested that both questions

have a bearing on the new development.

    With reference to the first question, it has

been traditionally accepted that anthropologists have stu-

died groups of people on the basis of absolute categories

of cultural variation. Hence the term, 'primitive isolate'

came to be applied to the subject of cultural and social

anthropology. A glance at any of the titles of well

established ethnographies confirms this fact. Nevertheless,

the extent to which this assumption could be applied to

all ethnographic reports is problematic. As Leach (1965:

290-291) has pointed out in his discussion of the 'con-

fused and confusing' cultural categories of Kachin and Shan

which he encountered, in this regard his difficulties were

not exceptional.

> On the contrary I would claim that it is
> largely an academic fiction to suppose that
> in a 'normal' ethnographic situation one
> ordinarily finds distinct 'tribes'[2] dis-
> tributed about the map in orderly fashion
> with clear-cut boundaries between them. I
> agree of course that ethnographic mono-
> graphs frequently suggest that this is the
> case, but are the facts proven? My own

---

[2] It is not suggested that Leach, in his use of the
term tribe in the above discussion, relates it to the continuing
controversy on the validity of the term (see Service et al., AES
Proceedings, 1967).

> *view is that the ethnographer has often*
> *only managed to discern the existence of*
> *"a tribe" because he took it as axiomatic*
> *that this kind of cultural entity must*
> *exist. Many such tribes are, in a sense,*
> *ethnographic fictions.*

Leach of course is not the only one to make this observation. Murphy (1964: 846-847) takes just as strong a position:

> *It is the isolated society that is the*
> *ethnographic freak worthy of a special*
> *approach . . .*

But how did this fiction come to be so generally accepted, apart from the few true cases of isolation? Leach suggests that in the case of social anthropology it arose from the adoption of equilibrium theory which, of necessity, deals with fixed and stable systems. Thus the societies studied, on however small a scale, are *"largely model systems, the stability of which is an hypothesis not an established fact"* (Leach 1965:284). But, in reality, few societies, particularly in the contemporary world, tend towards an appreciable stability and most interact on a large scale with a variety of other groups which increases the tendency —ds change This, of course, is not a recent phenomer. s all societies are dynamic systems, although the proc ses of change accelerated after World War I when small ar ela ively remote groups began to be affected by technolo 1 innovations occurring in Europe, Asia and the America . or should it be forgotten that many groups had been under colorial rule for quite some time prior to 1914. But, says Leach, while social anthro-

pologists have been cognizant of these factors, they have
also been guilty at times (of giving them cursory treat-
ment. He suggests that it is:

> because anthropologists, right from the
> beginning have always treated the figment
> 'society' as an isolate, (and) they still
> have no language in which they can describe
> social systems which are both contemporary
> and adjacent--that is in actual interrela-
> tion.
>
> (Ibid.)

Thus, it is less the issue of analyzing change but more
the problem of finding the appropriate theoretical and
methodological procedures for analyzing change which lies
at the heart of Leach's criticisms.

The theme, or problem, of ethnic or cultural
identification has been taken up by Naroll (1964, 1968)
and Moerman (1965, 1968) among others. The former under-
takes the issue of defining the 'tribe' or 'society'
"conceived of as the basic culture-bearing unit" (Naroll 1964:
283). He submits to scrutiny several traditional criteria
used to this end and selects six which are to designate a
new unit of classification; he calls this the 'cultunit'.
This new unit is defined as "a group of territorially contigu-
ous people who not only are domestic speakers of mutually intelligi-
ble dialects but also belong to the same state or contact group"
(ibid.:291). Whatever the ultimate usefulness of a new
term or a new concept (see Comments, Current Anthropology
4:291-306; AES Proceedings 1967) and the problems raised
by the linguistic and political aspects of the definition,

it has been agreed that Naroll has once again raised
questions which are central to the discipline of anthro-
pology.

It is suggested that they can be rendered in the
following form: "How are we to define the unit of research?
And, in the light of the difficulties presented, what
procedures might be instituted to overcome them?"

These are the basic questions which underlie
Moerman's highly detailed articles on the Lue (1965, 1968).
In attempting to answer them he indicates the major impli-
cations for ethnographic field work which arise from a
lack of agreement on how to define the unit of research.
He also subjects Naroll's criteria for the cultunit to
considerable criticism, in the course of which the follow-
ing points are clearly made. First, he states:

> It is often difficult to distinguish dis-
> continuities of language, culture, polity,
> society or economy with sufficient clarity
> to draw boundaries. It is this which makes
> me suggest that the delimitation of ethnic
> entities is especially problematic in all
> parts of the world which are continuously
> inhabited but not divided into either sharp
> ecological zones or strong durable states.
>
> (1965:1215)

Several examples for the Middle East are given
in this regard by Vreeland (1958:81-88), using language,
cultural items and physical type as devices for classi-
fication of groups. He cites the cases of Lebanon and Sy-
ria where Armenians, Kurds, Turkomen and Circasians could
be distinguished on the basis of language. It was found,

however, that three other peoples could not be readily
fitted into these categories; Arabs, Assyrians and Jews.

> The Assyrians in both countries are dis-
> tinct mainly by virtue of their adherence
> to the Christian Nestorian church. In
> some communities Syriac is still used in
> daily conversation but most Assyrians speak
> Arabic and use Syriac only in the church
> liturgy. The question was: 'Should Assy-
> rians be handled as a distinct ethnic group,
> or as a religious subdivision of the Arabs,
> along with other kinds of Arabic speaking
> Christians?'

> (Vreeland 1958:83)

Classification of the Jews also presented problems and
Vreeland concludes:

> Despite the reasoning behind these approaches
> I felt that there is a distortion when essen-
> tially the same people are classed as a dis-
> tinct ethnic community in Syria and as a re-
> ligious subdivision of the Arabs in Lebanon.

> (Ibid.:84)

Thus, the use of objective characteristics, such as lan-
guage and cultural practices, to delimit neighbouring
entities is often extremely difficult.

Second, the interdependence of neighbouring en-
tities is an important aspect of the process of demar-
cating units. From his own experience among the Lue,
Moerman discovered that they could not be seen in isola-
tion if one was concerned about discovering their iden-
tity and how they managed to survive in modern Thailand.
He suggests that this factor is applicable on a much more
general scale.

> For some purposes it is necessary to view
> every social entity as but part of a larger

>   *system which includes its neighbours.*
>
>   (Moerman 1965:1216)

But Murphy (1964:848) suggests

> *that membership in a group, incorporation
> within it, is dependent upon a category
> of the excluded, a sense of otherness . . .
> (which) is also of importance for the de-
> finition of the social unit and for the
> delineation and maintenance of its boun-
> daries.*

He suggests that for purposes of definition, solidarity,
cooperation and 'tonal' relations among members of a group
are of less significance than *"the observation of different
forms and expressions of relationship with them than is observed to-
wards those outside. The Outside, then, is necessary to the Inside"
(ibid.)* It is hoped to indicate that this point has spe-
cial significance for groups which set themselves against
the prevailing and dominant cultural values and behaviour-
al codes in complex societies.

It would be erroneous, however, to suggest that
the phenomena of interdependence, interrelation and inter-
action between groups, with their subsequent results, have
gone unnoticed. In both Britain and North America there
is a vast quantity of literature devoted to such problems,
usually found under the heading of culture contact or ac-
culturational studies. Redfield wrote in *Peasant Society and
Culture* (1965:13):

> *Indeed, the African societies lead the
> anthropologist away from the self-contained
> primitive community in a variety of respects
> too numerous to mention here . . . I am
> thinking of the presence, within the pri-
> mitive African state, of ethnica_   distinct*

> sub-societies. Among the Lozi, for instance,
> and among the Lovedu of Rhodesia, the anthro-
> pologist is faced with a plurality of distin-
> guishable cultural groups united in one po-
> litical organization.

Thus he and others such as Wolf (1955), Foster (1953),

Wagley and Harris (1955) to mention but a few, found them-

selves involved in the study of what Redfield called

part-societies, those of peasant communities. In regard

to this development he says:

> In each case the investigator sees a small
> society that is not an isolate, that is not
> complete in itself, that bears not only a
> side-to-side relation but also an up-and-
> down relation to more primitive tribal peop-
> les, on the one hand, and to towns and cities,
> on the other.
>
> (Ibid.:17)

In Redfield's case, he was moved to analysis of part-

societies by the model of the Great and Little Tradition,

by which changes in the urban and peasant sectors of the

community are the result of communication between the

two traditions and the social networks which link them.

Nevertheless, a good deal of the studies done in

the field of acculturation and associated with peasant

and part-societies, assumes that the processes involved can

be understood with reference to those varied characteris-

tics which can be plotted by objective criteria of clas-

sification, primarily cultural forms.

But, as Barth (1969:12) has asked:

> What is the unit whose continuity in time
> is depicted in such studies? Paradoxically
> it must include cultures in the past which
> would clearly be excluded in the present

> because of differences in form--differences
> of precisely the kind that are diagnostic
> in synchronic differentiation of ethnic
> units. The interconnection between 'ethnic
> group' and culture is certainly not clari-
> fied through this confusion.

A case in poin is furnished by the Rift Valley Arsi and their neighbours in Southern Ethiopia (Knutsson: 1969). Originally transhumant pastoralists until the last generation, their only contacts were the Laki islanders in Lake Zwai. But with the Amharic conquest during the first decade of the present century, they were displaced by returning veteran Amhara and Shoa-Galla soldiers in the area, were prohibited from engaging in transhumant pastoralism and finally turned to raising maize and sorghum. Because of their inexperience in farming they rapidly became poor. Concomitant major changes occurred in their tribal organization *"whereby the importance of the cohesion-creating gada system declined and the ritual changed from a traditional to an Islamized pattern . . ." (ibid.: 89).* Knutsson states that these developments are the background to the inter-ethnic relations between the present day Arsi and their neighbours. He concludes:

> As is clearly demonstrated . . . the charac-
> ter of the Arsi ecological adaptation, their
> economy and their political and cultural life
> have undergone changes during a relatively
> short time. In other words, the Arsi of yes-
> terday would not have had much in common with
> the Arsi of today. Consequently a study of
> their cultural inventory would not help us
> understand the maintenance of an Arsi ethnic
> identity over generations.

> (Ibid.)

Several examples of this nature are on record from the
situation described by Leach in Highland Burma (1965),
to those cited by Blom for South Norwegian peasantry (1969),
by Barth for the Pathans (1969), Izikowitz for Laos (1969)
and Eidheim for the Lapps and Norwegians in Finnmark
(1969). It is clear that in cases of continuous vari-
ation through time, ethnic diversity does not always
yield to understanding in terms of political, territorial,
cultural and linguistic variation.

Barth also notes the effects of the ecology on
cultural forms. Different environments surely produce di-
versity of cultural forms among any ethnic group which is
spread over an ecologically varied environment. This di-
versity, says Barth, does not reflect differences in cul-
tural orientation, but if overt forms are to be used diag-
nostically, how should such groups be classified? It is
essential, he believes to conduct analysis in such a man-
ner that

> does not confuse the effects of ecologic
> circumstances on behaviour with those of
> cultural tradition; but which makes it pos-
> sible to separate these factors and inves-
> tigate the non-ecological cultural and social
> components creating diversity.
>
> (Barth 1969:13)

A further dimension to the problem refers speci-
fically to situations of cultural 'pluralism' which may
vary in kind and degree throughout the contemporary world.
That is, societies may be integrated along one or more

axes, economic, political, ritualistic and so on, and at

the same time leave areas in which cultural diversity

may flourish. Thus, the differing arrangements which

ensue make it difficult to use a set of cultural cri-

teria to define component groups for purposes of compari-

son; nor, incidentally, can we classify all 'pluralistic'

societies together.

A major trend towards 'pluralistic' societies of

several kinds has been characteristic of the last one hun-

dred years or so in all parts of the world as nation states

and newly emerging nations have expanded and consolidated

their territorial sovereignty. Even in the United States

the flood of immigrant groups which had been expected to

assimilate in terms of the Melting Pot theory (Glazer and

Moyniham: 1963) have not done so in all instances. In

the more recent edition of their book (1970:xxxiii) the

above authors stated:

> The long expected and predicted decline of
> ethnicity, the fuller acculturation and
> the assimilation of the white ethnic groups,
> seems once again delayed--as it was by World
> War I, World War II, and the cold war--and
> by now one suspects, if something expected
> keeps on failing to happen, that there may
> be more reasons than accident that explain
> why ethnicity and ethnic identity continue
> to persist.

It should be noted that in situations of cul-

tural pluralism the interaction of ethnic groups may not

be the basis of the total structure of the society. It

may be that immigrant groups have come into contact with

a pre-established social system and have articulated with

it at several points. And, as Barth (1969:32) has pointed

out, "*the contrastive cultural characteristics of the component*

groups are located in the non-articulating sectors of life". In

some cases, it may be that the characteristics rejected

by the dominant majority may be highly regarded in these

sectors and be the basis for high status positions in the

minority group.

Another phenomenon associated with complex so-

cieties, while less extensive in its range, is that of the

emergence and persistence of groups which, having been

part of the cultural tradition of a society, endeavour to

separate themselves to some degree on ideological grounds.

Utopian experiments of this nature have a long recorded

history, reaching back to the Essenes before the time of

Christ and to medieval movements in Europe, to the Tupi-

Guarani of Brazil and to a variety of experiments in the

United States beginning in the seventeenth century.[3] Re-

cent attempts to establish centres of 'counter-culture'

such as communes, are revivals of this tradition. Never-

theless, in sociological and theological writings this pro-

cess has come to be associated primarily with the Protes-

tant Reformation and the development of Protestantism, and

has been given the term 'sectarian' which comes from the

---

[3]See Cohen's *The Pursuit of the Millenium* (1961), Hollo-
way's *Heavens on Earth* (1966), Thrupp's *Millenial Dreams in Action*
(1962), Nordhoff's *The Communistic Societies of the United States*
(1965), Hine's *California's Utopian Colonies* (1966).

Latin verb, *sequi*, to follow.

For the most part, sect groups are not found in isolation but exist within the social systems of encompassing societies, being integrated at political and economic points. The range of articulation with the dominant society depends to a large extent on the underlying ideology of separation adopted by a sect. Thus, sects vary in their ideology and in their degree of separation from the dominant society. In some cases, sect members are scarcely distinguishable from the rest of the population; in other cases, their way of life is markedly different.

How are we then to define such groups in terms of a unit of research and analyze their survival and continuous variation? If economic, political and linguistic forms are not diagnostic, can contrastive cultural features provide the basis for diachronic studies and cross-cultural research? Barth would not agree because

> . . . we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural differences and similarities. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant . . . one cannot predict from first principles which features will be emphasized and made organizationally relevant by the actors. . . . They may be of great relevance to behaviour, but they need not be; they may pervade all social life or they may be relevant only in limited sectors of activity.
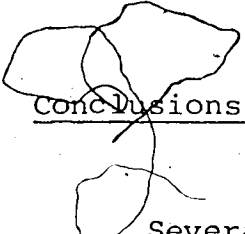
> (Barth 1969:14)

It might be important, at this point, to note

that Barth's social anthropological background has led
him to emphasize, in this instance, the organizational
aspects of life over that of cultural continuity particu-
larly with respect to the ideological sphere of culture.
The latter is very significant in the case of sectarian
groups which are identified with a tradition of religious
beliefs and ideological principles that provide a contin-
uity of cultural expression over time. And, although the
content of this cultural tradition may vary over time,
continuity is achieved as long as the sectarian position
is maintained.

      Nevertheless, we contend that Barth's argument
for ethnic groups is also applicable to sectarian groups.
Withdrawing from the cultural and social mainstream of
the larger society in varying degrees, sectarian groups
draw upon their cultural tradition and experience for those
social and cultural items which are deemed significant
for their purposes. These will vary across the spectrum
of different groups and among groups of similar ideolo-
gical commitment, but which are dispersed in a variety of
ecological and socio-cultural environments. Therefore,
in this case also, it is not the sum of 'objective' dif-
ferences which is critical for purposes of demarcating
the units or studying them through space and time, but
only those items which are chosen as being necessary to
the desired degree of separation from the surrounding so-
ciety.

It is evident, therefore, that in the study of
complex societies, to which anthropologists are turning
more frequently, considerable difficulties present them-
selves and include definitional problems associated with
the analysis of ethnic and sectarian survival.

C. Conclusions and Statement of Problem

Several points emerge from this discussion.
First, there has been a growing dissatisfaction within
the discipline of anthropology regarding the classifica-
tion of ethnic and cultural units which, according to
Leach and others, does not take into account ethnographic
realities. Second, this problem becomes more acute as
research moves in the direction of studying contemporary
and adjacent units, particularly those in the context of
cultural pluralism. Third, objective criteria for clas-
sification, based on overt cultural forms, seem to break
down under close scrutiny and have proved unreliable,
at least in some cases, in terms of continuous variation.
They are also charged with failing to take into account
the effects of ecological diversity.

Fourth, it has become both ethnographically and
theoretically unacceptable to study any cultural or social
entity in isolation and it has been proposed that proce-
dures must be devised to study each unit in context. Fur-
ther, it has been suggested that it is not enough to re-

cognize the cultural environment, but that this recogni-
tion becomes an integral component of the conceptual frame-
work and operating procedures.

Fifth, cultural units are in a constant pro-
cess of flux in which groups and individuals change their
identification. It is necessary to be able to research
how this occurs.

Finally, the matter of survival of sects, sepa-
rated on ideological grounds from a dominant society,
brings into sharp and explicit focus the problems sum-
marized above. It is proposed to tackle these problems
in the analysis of the survival of a contemporary Protes-
tant sectarian group in North America.

What analytical procedures can be adopted to
deal with this kind of situation and the issues discussed
above? Barth suggests for ethnic groups that the critical
focus of investigation must be the *"boundary that defines the
group, not the cultural stuff it encloses"* (1969:15). It is
not that ethnic distinctions result from geographical
and/or social isolation, but that they involve *"social pro-
cesses of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories
are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the
course of individual life histories"* (*ibid.*:9-10). This is accom-
plished by the existence of criteria which define member-
ship, and signal membership and exclusion in situations
of interaction with non-members—in other words, by the
existence of boundaries. Groups may interact with each

other and, in the process, may even change their cultural forms, but if they remain discrete entities over time we will assume that the boundaries which differentiate them have persisted. Therefore, it is to be argued that, explanations of cultural diversity and continuous variation must take into account those factors which are socially and culturally effective for survival, the boundaries.

The same argument is held to be true for groups of a sectarian nature which desire to perpetuate their separation and insulate themselves against cultural and social penetrations from the 'outside'. Set in the midst of an encompassing society, such groups erect social and cultural boundaries to preserve their way of life. That several such groups have successfully done so over a time span of more than one generation, may suggest the importance of boundaries, and efforts to maintain these boundaries, for survival.

Further, when the significance of boundaries for survival is recognized, we can also see how they direct certain aspects of behaviour into particular forms of organization. Thus, interaction among members of a group tends to expand to cover almost all areas of activity; on the other hand, interaction with non-members is restricted and structured to meet these situations of interaction. So, when we talk about boundaries and boundary maintenance the focus is not on the *sum* of objective differences between groups, but only on those social

and cultural factors which relate to situations of interaction.

What is the relation of boundaries and boundary maintenance to a continuing sense of identity? When we use the phrase we draw on the concept of social identity. As defined by Lurie (1968:297) a social identity is "*the total distinctive clustering of roles, cultural inventory, and social system experienced by a group and derived from the group's own viable historical tradition of changes through time.*" While it would seem that it is implicit in Lurie's phraseology, I would like to add "and from the group's interaction with others through time". Then it becomes clear that a sense of identity flows from the social institutions and moral codes which reflect the maintenance of a boundary around the group. As Cohen (1964:529-552) has pointed out in a study of extrusion and brother-sister avoidance, the acquisition of a sense of identity flows from the interaction of two processes, that of individual and biological crises and the "*goals and values of a society as impressed on the individual by its institutions*" (*ibid.*: 547). As long as such institutions are based on exclusivity they will continue to provide a unique sense of identify for the members of the group; and boundary maintenance is a critical factor in this process.

An approach through boundaries and boundary maintenance to the problems of the survival and continuity of groups, particularly those existing in situations of

cultural pluralism, thus avoids perpetuation of the diffi-
culties and dissatisfactions outlined previously. First,
although we must recognize that some continuity of cul-
tural tradition exists, no assumption need be made about
the relation between 'group' and 'culture'. This would
prevent what Barth calls pre-judgement on the nature of
persistence through time of such groups and the "l   of
the factors which determine the form of the units" (Barth   2).
Second, the group under study can be seen in its socic-
cultural setting, in interaction with other groups. In
this way an understanding of the relations between groups
through time becomes possible. Third, it enables the
explanation of cultural diversity beyond that which flows
from a history of adaptation to the local ecology, selec-
tive borrowing and invention.

The extent to which these advantages warrant
a focus on boundaries and boundary maintenance will no
doubt become apparent as research along these lines ac-
cumulates.

It should be noted, however, that the interest
in this thesis is less in the discovery of boundaries
than in the ways that boundaries are expressed, validated
and maintained on a continuous basis. The focus, then,
will be on the devices which maintain the boundaries and
changes in these devices. To this end, we propose to de-
velop a typology of boundary-maintaining devices in the
hope that we can elicit hypotheses about the relations

between types which will permit a dynamic analysis of continuity and change. The typology will be applied to a specific Protestant sectarian group, the Old Mennonite Church-community near Tofield, Alberta.

CHAPTER II

SPECIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

A. <u>Sectarianism and its Analytical Approaches</u>

As was indicated in the previous chapter, the
unit of research for this thesis is a particular Protes-
tant sectarian group, the Old Mennonites of Tofield. It
is proposed at this point to discuss more fully the phe-
nomenon of sectarianism and appraise the analytical ap-
proaches which have been current in recent times. It is
not our intention, therefore to debate the theological
or sociological *origins* of sectarianism in Protestantism.[1]

It has been suggested that the nature of Chris-
tianity itself has been responsible for the tensions which
have resulted in sectarianism (Martin 1962) and that the
church and the sect reveal the conservative and radical
viewpoints in Christianity, although care must be taken
not to push the political analogy too far.[2] The Reforma-

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[1]See Littell's *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism*
(1964).

[2]For an extended discus on see Berger's *The Sacred
Canopy* (1967).

tion brought the tensions and radicalism in Christianity
to a head, breaking the monopolist structure of the pre-
Reformation church and resulting in the establishment of
the Protestant churches. Subsequently, national, economic
and social forces acted upon the pluralistic potential in
Protestantism to further the sectarian process. As it
spread from Europe to North America, this process was ac-
celerated in the latter case by the nature of the environ-
ment there and by a society into which flowed a hetero-
geneous immigration. Moreover, the separation of Church
and State in the New World tended to give to "each immi-
grant group the privilege of maintaining and developing its own
religious faith" (Niebuhr 1957:200).

Ideological and social upheavals associated
with Protestantism have also characterized life in North
America. Holloway (1966:80) has pointed out that the
American Revolution " . . . hastened the disestablishment of
the churches, thereby increasing the number of dissenting sects".
This process was abetted by Jonathan Edwards whose 'scorch-
ing sermons' instigated "in the late thirties of the eighteenth
century, that phenomenal religious revival that came to be known as
the Great Awakening" (ibid.: 82), again contributing to sec-
tarianism in North America. Thus, the sectarian way of
life has been an integral part of North American life for
several centuries.

The recognition of the distinctive types of
organization characterizing the Protestant churches and

their radical offshoots, the Protestant sects, was first
noted systematically by Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch.
Both were concerned to demonstrate the inherent precari-
ousness in each form of organization.   For Weber, the
distinction between the two forms lay in the inclusive or
exclusive aspects of each type; the church was inclusive
by virtue of the ascription of its membership; the sect
was marked by exclusivity through achievement of member-
ship. Troeltsch added a further criterion in the form
of the differing relationship each had with the world.
Troeltsch believed that the church type *"came to terms with
the order of the State by interpreting it as an institution ordained
or permitted by God; it accepted the existing order with its profes-
sions and its habits and customs"* (Troeltsch 1960:334). On
the other hand, the sect type *"does not educate nations in
the mass, but it gathers a select group of the elect, and places
it in sharp opposition to the world"* (ibid.:339).

While not wishing to become embroiled in the
continuing controversy about the church-sect typology and
its validity,[3] it might be worth noting that in the case
of Weber, Troeltsch and all succeeding scholars who have
built on their concept, the diacritical feature of the
dichotomy is that of the voluntary aspect of sect affili-
ation. But one might ask, ": w voluntary is voluntary,

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[3]For example see Dynes (1955), Scanzoni (1965), Goode
(1967), Demerath (1967).

particularly in the case of young people growing up in the context of sectarian life and who form the primary source of recruitment?" Apart from the importance of the obvious factors of socialization and enculturation, the *experience* of sectarianism comes to children long before they voluntarily become 'official' sect members. As Schwartz (1970:73) has noted:

> *All sect members, regardless of their generation, occupy a position in the larger society which is different from that of the members of the various denominations. All sect members must bear the same social disabilities in the outside world.*

Thus children grow up *feeling* different and their experience often tends to confirm this. In some cases, and depending on the particular sect affiliation of their families, children can experience hostility, derision and exclusion from normal social activities associated with their non-sect peer groups.[4] Thus, the expectations of parents and the sect community generally and the experiences young people may have encountered, robs the acceptance of full adult sect membership of its voluntary aspects. On the basis of the above discussion, it is suggested that too much emphasis may have been placed on this diagnostic feature; nevertheless, the work of Weber

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[4]Informants report that this has been a continuous occurrence in the case of the children of the Old Mennonite community at Tofield and that one of the local schools contributes to this in the planning of its graduation programmes which includes activities forbidden Mennonite children of the community.

and Troeltsch is important in that it has pointed up some of the basic differences between the church and sect type of organization and opened the way for subsequent research.

Recognizing the static quality of the Weber-Troeltsch typology, Niebuhr (1957) attempted to inject a dynamism by hypothesizing that sects, within a couple of generations, became churches in terms of organization and outlook. He attributed this process to the organizational changes necessitated by the incorporation of the second generation, which also brought changes in doctrine and ethics. Without such changes sects, as sects, would die out. He also proposed that new religious movements originate from the lower socioeconomic stratum of society because the needs of the members of this lower stratum produced distinct ethical and psychological characteristics.

These three scholars, Weber, Troeltsch and Niebuhr, were primarily interested in the nature of the organization of churches and sects which they believed to be "inherently unstable (and) fraught with ambiguous consequences" (Coleman 1968:58). Subsequent scholars, working with this typology, have subjected it to several modifications in the light of historical, cultural and institutional facts, primarily by the introduction of sub-types.[5]

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[5]For example, Howard Becker in *Systematic Sociology* (1932); D. A. Martin in "The Denomination" in *British Journal of Sociology* 13 (1962); J. Milton Yinger in *Religion, Society and the Individual* (1957); W. Seward Salisbury in *Religion in American Culture* (1964).

Still other writers[6] have re-defined the church-sect
types, "in term f individual traits or attitudes, regardless of
the organizational characteristics of the religious group as a
whole" (ibid.:59).   The result of both kinds of procedures
has often been to render each type in the form of enu-
merated traits which have successfully eluded definition-
al agreement. As Coleman (ibid.) has declared:

> Both the attempts to elaborate sub-types
> in the typology and applications of the dis-
> tinction to individuals rather than organiza-
> tions have hopelessly confused whatever mean-
> ing and heuristic intent the original typology
> served. At least Weber, Troeltsch and Niebuhr's
> usage had the virtue of clearly referring to
> relational, bipolar organizational types, de-
> signed to explicate organizational precari-
> ousness. Wide acquaintance with the litera-
> ture on church-sect leaves the reader lost in
> a morass of conflicting and arbitrary defini-
> tions. Probably nowhere in sociological dis-
> course is essential consensus on meaning of
> concepts so lacking.

Nor have Niebuhr's hypotheses fared much better.
Wilson (1959, 1961) and Yinger (1957, 1970) have shown
that only certain kinds of sects are transformed into
churches by generational accommodation, while it has been
demonstrated by Glock and Stark (1965:242-259) that not
all sects originate in lower socio-economic strata.

Some recent writers have attempted to relate
any changes in sectarian organization, doctrine and ethics
to the surrounding society in which the sect exists. For

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[6]See Footnote 3, page 27.

example, Wilson (1959:6) suggests that change and persistence must be studied in relation to the *"complexity of social circumstances"*; Martin (1960:127) writes that *"certain external conditions, matters of context"* must take precedence over internal conditions, particularly in the case of any study of North American religious groups. This emphasis has led Wilson, in particular, in a new direction which avoids much of the controversy indicated above. By focusing on the sects themselves, he is primarily concerned to draw distinctions between different types.

> *Since sects are not all of a piece, we need to distinguish and delineate certain subtypes which should prove of greater predictive utility than does the grosser concept of the sect, and with which we may pass from crude hypothesis to more fully developed theory.*
>
> (Wilson 1967:23)

He first outlines a rather general set of characteristics to distinguish the sect from the denomination[7] and then passes to the construction of a typology of sects based on their response *"to the values and relationships prevailing in society"* (*ibid.*:26).

Wilson (*ibid.*: 23-24) offers the following characteristics by which the sect may be identified:

> *. . . it is a voluntary association; membership is by proof to sect authorities of some claim to personal merit--such as knowledge, affirmation of a conversion experi-*

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[7]For contrastive characteristics of the denomination see Wilson (1967:25).

> ence, or recommendation of members in good
> standing; exclusiveness is emphasized, and
> expulsion exercised against those who con-
> travene doctrinal, moral or organizational
> precepts; its self-conception is of an elect,
> a gathered remnant, possessing special en-
> lightenment; personal perfection is the ex-
> pected standard of aspiration, in whatever
> terms this is judged; it accepts, at least
> as an ideal, the priesthood of all believers;
> there is a high level of lay participation;
> there is an opportunity for the member spon-
> taneously to express his commitment; the sect
> is hostile or indifferent to the secular so-
> ciety and to the state.

Wilson (*ibid:* 24) also notes that the sect en-
genders a high degree of commitment in its members and a
clear crystallization of ideology which tends to charac-
terize its members in unambiguous terms.

> Sects have a totalitarian rather than a
> segmental hold over their members: they
> dictate the member's ideological orienta-
> tion to secular society; or they rigorous-
> ly specify the necessary standards of moral
> rectitude; or they compel the member's in-
> volvement in group activity.

Nevertheless all sects are not the same and one of the
fundamental ways in which they differ is in a greater or
lesser rejection of the secular world. This is based on
each particular ideology, in this case, the particular in-
terpretation of Biblical and Christian principles.

Wilson (*ibid.:* 26) distinguishes four major sub-
types among Protestant sects, the Conversionist, the Ad-
ventist (or Revolutionist), the Introversionist and the
Gnostic.

> The Conversionist sect seeks to alter men,
> and thereby to alter the world . . . . The
> Adventist sects predict drastic alteration

> of the world and seek to prepare for the
> new dispensation . . . . The Introversion-
> ists reject the world's values and replace
> them with higher inner values, for the
> realization of which inner resources are
> cultivated. The Gnostic sects accept in
> large measure the world's goals but seek
> a new and esoteric means to achieve these
> ends.

This typology, however useful, is not without its drawbacks. First, Wilson lumps together all sect groups which share a common attitude towards the rest of society. But Schwartz (1970:70) notes:

> From a cultural point of view, one of the
> defects built into this type of typology
> is that it tends to reduce the meaning of
> complex religious theologies to relatively
> simple social-psychological attitudes to-
> wards contemporary mores and conventional
> goals.

He gives as an example the characterization of Adventist sects as derived from their antipathy towards

> . . . current standards of success and to
> present systems of social rank and political
> power. The world view of an Adventist sect
> is collapsed into a 'reaction-formation' to
> the life styles and the morals of the domi-
> nant social strata.

> (Ibid.)

But, he believes, this ignores other less obvious aspects of their belief which, he hypothesizes, provide "an abso-lute moral sanction for a difficult course of action which is condu-cive to upward mobility" (ibid.:71). Further, the penalties cited for those disregarding Adventist behavioural codes are "in essence, an ideological support for persons who are trying to improve their socioeconomic status against formidable odds" (ibid.). These factors, he says, are obscured by Wilson's

typology.

Similarly, the Introversionist type fails to account for normative, organizational and historical differences between and within sects classified in this category. Wilson has placed the following sects as Introversionist types: some Holiness groups, English Quakers prior to the 1880's and some Mennonite groups as well as the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren, all of which reject 'worldly' values. However, there are deep and significant differences between the Quakers and Hutterites, for example, particularly in their contemporary forms. The ideology of the former rests on *"the inspiration of the Spirit in the heart of the individual as an authority, above that of Scripture"* (Isichei 1967:183). This has led inevitably to tensions within the movement arising from the emphasis on the 'Light Within' and the need for structure and organization. On the other hand, the Hutterites stress *"self-surrender, not self development . . . . The communal will, not the individual will, becomes important"* (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:10). Further, *"The individual may not conform to his own interpretation of the 'word' or his own notion of obedience. Since 'God worketh in surrendered men', the individual must submit to the will of the community because the community is the will of God"* (ibid.)

The differences between the Quakers and the Hutterites are also pointed up in their relations with the 'outside' world. The latter are largely indifferent

to worldly events and concerns which do not affect them directly and have withdrawn into what they see as a separate realm, that of the spirit. The Quakers, on the other hand, have a history of active concern in worldly matters expressed through philanthropic activities, participation in politics and government and the espousal of various causes deemed to be worthy.

Drawing attention to these dissatisfactions with Wilson's typology does not invalidate the usefulness of his approach in that broad distinctions can now be made among sects in sociological terms; that is, in terms of their relations with the secular world. Further, by placing the study of sects in their context, that of their surrounding societies, and by focusing on the basis of the relationship between sects and the dominant majority, it becomes possible to analyze the devices by which such groups continue to differentiate themselves; in other words, to analyze how they maintain their boundaries. Therefore we accept the typology of sects proposed by Wilson, based on the degree and quality of rejection of the secular world, to sketch the broad characteristics of the Introversionist type in which Old Mennonites have been placed; and to indicate the importance of boundary maintenance to sects of this type.

The basic ideological posture of this type is contained in its almost total rejection of 'the world' and in its withdrawal from worldly concerns, which includes

an indifference to other religious movements. It is cha-
racterized by a *"reliance on inner illumination, whether this*
be regarded as the voice of conscience or the action of the Holy
Ghost". (Wilson 1967:28). The Bible is the source of
authority and an increase in the awareness of the power
of the Holy Spirit is more important than doctrine. Sect
members rarely engage in evangelical outreach but centre
their attentions and energies within the community to
develop a strong in-group morality. Members also regard
themselves as part of an enlightened group of the elect
which gives rise to a particular *Weltanschauung.*

In a sociologically 'ideal' sense then, Intro-
versionist sects are self-isolating groups which volun-
tarily withdraw from the rest of society, reject its
values and concerns and strive to maintain and perpetuate
their self-isolation. The term 'voluntary segregation'
has also been given to the process. In a study of China-
town in New York, Yuan (1970) presents a voluntary/in-
voluntary scale of segregation, running in intensity from
strictly voluntary to strictly involuntary. Mennonites
are placed at the lower end of the voluntary scale (higher
in intensity) while a similar position at the involuntary
end is occupied by Negroes in the United States (see Yuan
1970:134-135 for detailed discussion).

We should note, however, that where the concern
for voluntary segregation may be intense, the degree of
self-isolation sought can vary considerably. Both ideo-

logical requirements and practical considerations affect the degree of self-isolation required. Thus, although differing in terms of the sexual basis of organization from Introversionist sects, certain monastic orders represent a concern for a high degree of self-isolation. Among Introversionist sects of Anabaptist origin the degree varies from high in Hutterite colonies where the colony is regarded as *"the center of the universe"* (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:18), to a lesser degree among the Old Order Amish and some conservative Mennonite groups, to a still lesser degree among less conservative Mennonites. The Old Mennonites fall within the latter category. Nonetheless, despite the degree of self-isolation required, devices to maintain this degree, or the prescribed boundaries, are paramount in importance. We intend to indicate this importance after we have outlined procedures for initiating research along these lines.

B. Defining the Unit of Research--and Other Terms

Initially we propose to define the term boundary which we have used without definition up to this point. We intend to use Cohen's (1969:106) simple and clear definition which states:

> . . . a social boundary is a limit or demarcation; events take place within it; it sets off a unit from all other units; and individuals and influences can pass across it or be excluded by it.

Boundaries also require both devices and sanctions to maintain them, but it should be noted that a social boundary may be maintained by cultural items of both a symbolic and physical nature as well as by social processes.

As we noted in the previous chapter, the problem of ethnic classification also applies to defining the unit of research in self-isolating groups or groups of voluntary segregation such as Introversionist sects which exist within the context of dominant societies. If the sum of overt cultural differences is not to be taken as a reliable indicator of continuous variation, how are such groups to be defined?

Writing from his own ethnographic experiences, Moerman says that it is not the total sum of contrastive differences that enable the neighbours of the Lue to distinguish them as a separate entity, but a nucleus of cultural traits which serve as 'badges' of ethnic identification.

> However trivial and arbitrary, these traits
> nonetheless enable the Chiengkham Lue and
> their neighbours to prove that the Lue are
> .a distinct people.

> (Moerman 1965:1219)

Barth has made a similar point for ethnic groups generally, in that it is not the sum of objective differences which is important, but only those which the people themselves see as significant. Further, he says, it is not possible to predict what will be chosen and used in an organizational sense by the people.

> In other words, ethnic categories provide
> an organizational vessel that may be given
> varying amounts and forms of content in
> different socio-cultural systems.

(Barth 1969:14)

From this perspective then the critical feature of ethnic groups and self-isolating groups rests on two factors: explicit signals and signs of membership, and the underlying value orientations by which behavior is judged.

> Since belonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself, by those standards that are relevant to that identity.[8]

(Ibid.:14)

Therefore, we propose to take it as axiomatic that, in defining the group under study, the most basic and critical feature is that of self-labelling or self-ascription, expressed by signals and signs of membership and the sharing of fundamental value orientations for judging behaviour. Further, that relations with other groups are organized on this basis.

The recognition of the importance of the labels people give to themselves has been fairly widespread (Evans-Pritchard 1945:5; Comments of Berndt, Bessac, Jaspan, Mehring in Current Anthropology 1964:291-306). But, we must ask,

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[8]One difficulty here is when persons are repudiated by their group and yet are judged as members of the group by the 'outside'.

what conceptual and methodological advantages spring
from an emphasis on self-ascription as the critical fea-
ture of classification?

First, when a group is defined in self-ascriptive
and exclusive terms, the nature of its continuity clearly
depends on the maintenance of a boundary. That is, con-
tinuing variation between a group and its neighbours de-
pends on the effectiveness of the boundary-maintaining
devices which permit a group to call itself by a speci-
fic label and organize its relations with others in terms
of that label. Thus, although the cultural features se-
lected to signal the boundary may change and the cultural
and organizational features of the group may change, "yet
the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders
allows us to specify the nature of continuity and investigate the
changing cultural form and content" (Barth 1969:14).

Second, we need not be concerned with cultural
features other than those which are diagnostic for mem-
bership (*ibid.:*15). In this way, the cultural features
generated by other factors, such as the environment, be-
come analytically distinct and open the way for research
into how these relate to cultural continuity and change.

Third, as Moerman (1965:1219) has pointed out,

> *Self-identification and ethnic labels are*
> *frequently the least ambiguous, and some-*
> *times the only ways of determining where*
> *one entity ends and another begins.*

Garvin (1958:125) also makes the point that one can fall

back on attitudes of *"identification and classification"* when difficulties are encountered in defining or demarcating entities.

Fourth, there is a co-incidence between ethnic labels and "such blueprints for living" as are recognized by the people who use them. This co-incidence need not be total, although it may be, and the ethnographer must then determine which features of the blueprint are significant for labelling.

Of course, the advantages of using labels to delimit entities do not invalidate other approaches inasmuch as the criticisms previously outlined are overcome. But, as Moerman (1965:1221) has said:

> . . . *none of them helps me to discover who the Lue are; none 'tends toward a sharper crystallization' in situations of continuous variation; none relates as directly to 'social and cultural patterns as they exist in the minds of culture bearers'; and none are as easy to discover as is ethnic identification expressed by the existence of an ethnic label used by means of describable procedures for applying that label and its contrast labels. Moreover, I do not think that any of them are as suggestive of further research.*

However, in his later article (1968), Moerman warns of the abuses which can arise in the use of ethnic identifications. He points out that there is a need for analysis as well as for description of ethnic identifications, particularly in the ways in which such identifications are used. *"Social scientists should . . . not merely-- as natives do--use them as explanations (ibid.:167).* By care-

ful analysis then it may be possible to arrive at a set of social rules governing the use of ethnic labels, and only then can more extensive comparative research be undertaken.

This was the strategy employed by Goodenough in the case of Trukese residence rules where he constructed a typology of residence classification *"taking as its criteria the several possible alignments of primary and secondary relatives in spatial proximity . . . "* (1968:187). For comparative research in which ethnic identifications are used, Moerman suggests that attempts should be made to construct a typology which takes into account the range and combination of cultural principles possible for purposes of self-labelling. In this way, we would avoid the assumption that language, intermarriage, residence rules and so on are *"ubiquitous, isomorphic and therefore equivalent"* (Moerman 1965:1221) and at the same time, enable more abstract research to be undertaken.

However, certain cautions should be expressed with regard to the use of self-ascription for purposes of definition. We can make no assumption that the criteria claimed by members of a group for labelling and organization are those by which outsiders define membership in the group. Second, different situations may elicit different meanings attached to the criteria which may effect changes in the organization of interaction. Third, there should be no assumption that all those who use the

labels for purposes of identifying themselves as members
or non-members of groups do so identically. Nevertheless,
it has been suggested that these difficulties are "sur-
mountable and, in the process, fresh areas of research
are opened up.

Finally, Moerman has noted that every label
" . . . is part of a terminological system even if only because by
calling itself something a people indicates that there is some other
people which it is not" (1965:1227, ft. 13). This statement
is particularly applicable in the case of sectarian groups
whose raison d'etre is a purposive separation from the so-
ciety around them. The label by which they identify them-
selves is a crystallization of their ideology of separation
and rejection of the larger society.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. Towards a Typology of Boundary-Maintaining Devices

We have indicated our intent to develop a typo-
logy of boundary-maintaining devices. However, certain
related issues and procedures require some discussion.

The first is the use of typologies in social
and cultural analysis--a procedure which has been used
frequently with some success, but not without criticism.[1]
In the sociological and anthropological study of religion
typologies have been one of the major foundations on which
the relation between society and religion has been formu-
lated. For example, the Weber-Troeltsch typology of church
and sect (and its derivatives) has formed the basis for
many studies of sectarian movements, while Linton's "Nati-
vistic Movements" (*American Anthropology* 45:230-240) has given
rise to typologies of religious movements such as t'   of
Wallace (1956) and Aberle (1966) among others. Despite their

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[1]   a comprehensive discussion of types and typologies
ce Martin e's ociological Theory and the Ideal Type" in *Sympo-
sium on . i   1.Theory,* ed. Llewellyn Gross (1959). Row, Peter-
son and Compa   w York. pp. 57-91.

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disadvantages, to be discussed below, typologies have proved useful tools for explaining the processes involved in the emergence, development and change in such movements.

The main advantage of a typology is that it permits the complexity of data to be broken down into general and somewhat abstract categories. This is accomplished through a process of selection and simplification (Wilson 1967:1). However, it enables more than the classification of data on the basis of structure, function, process or content. A typology permits comparative research to be undertaken among a variety of cases, provided there is an empirical base for holding some basic feature or features among the cases constant. Eggan (1954: 743-760) has shown that the comparative method is still a viable one when the scale is relatively small and with "as much control over the frame of comparison as it is possible to secure" (ibid.: 757). The attempt to discover regularities in structure or in process and in the relations among the factors responsible for such regularities, has ¡long been the goal of social science, and anthropology in particular--despite assertions by some scholars that such endeavours are neither valid or possible.

Although the proposed typology is to be applied to a specific group, it is recognized that its validity as an analytical tool will be enhanced as it demonstrates its usefulness in comparative research.

As we noted previously the use of a typology is
not without its hazards.[2] In a discussion of the sociolo-
gical enterprise Wilson (1967:2) has stated:

> The types that sociologists construct are
> reifications. Their inherent danger is that
> instead of being useful short-hand summaries
> of crucial elements in the empirical cases
> they are meant to epitomise, they become
> caricatures remote from empirical phenome-
> na.

Thus, care must always be taken to scrutinize them *"in the
light of increasing knowledge of the empirical" (ibid.).* This pro-
cess, however, also has its inherent pitfalls. In an at-
tempt to accommodate new data within a typological frame-
work, a proliferation of sub-types is often generated,
blurring the conceptual foundation of the original typo-
logy; or new criteria are added to the original types in
an effort to elaborate them and make them amenable to fresh
data.

A further danger is to extend the application
of typologies beyond the contexts in which they were de-
veloped. Wilson (*ibid.:3*) cites the case of Troeltsch
whose typology of church and sect was developed from a
study of *"medieval, seventeenth and eighteenth cent' y sectarian
movements"* but which has been applied to a much more ex-
tensive range of data. The result has been that much sub-
sequent writing on sects has disregarded the differences

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[2]See Martindale, *op. cit.* Also discussion in Chapter 2:1
of this thesis.

of historical periods as well as the differences in sectarian movements themselves.

In the case of the proposed typology, it should be noted that it is to be applied only to groups which *voluntarily* set themselves apart from the rest of society (cf Yuan 1970:134-135). Considerable modification of the typology would be necessary to adapt it for use in cases of involuntary segregation. We will not ignore, however, the possibility that self-isolating groups may also be subject to segregating techniques generated externally. This process will be accounted for in the proposed typology.

As we have noted, groups which segregate themselves from the rest of society do so with reason and this is developed into a system of ideas which we will call an ideology. Such an ideology initially determines the quality and the degree of self-isolation, the scope of boundary-maintaining devices designed to ensure the desired degree of self-isolation and the intensity by which they are to be upheld and enforced. For example, ideologies of separation which also decree that the group be the agent of conversion in individuals and other groups, will result in devices which permit it to be in effective, albeit selective contact with others. On the other hand, if the underlying ideology emphasizes the uniqueness and exclusiveness of the group, boundary maintenance will be directed at keeping it apart and free from external con-

tact and influence. In the case of sectarian groups which
desire a degree of self-isolation, boundary maintenance
is directed at the latter process.

Nevertheless, differing situations may favour
different kinds of performance in this regard. In groups
which share a common ideology of voluntary segregation but
which may exist in a variety of situational contexts,
boundary maintenance will vary considerably in content,
style and emphasis. As we noted previously (Chapter I,
B:18), a focus on boundary maintenance should enable us
to account for the factors which produce variation.

We have stated the role of ideology in setting
the parameters of boundary maintenance, but we are cog-
nizant of the discrepancies to be found between a people's
ideals and their pragmatic behaviour. It is not our in-
tention to debate the role of an ideology in socio-cultural
processes, but to indicate that in the case of self-
isolating groups, boundary maintenance will be formulated
on the initial doctrine of separation; thereafter it is
to be expected that both the 'ideal' and the 'pragmatic'
will act upon each other as the group adapts to changing
situations. In other words, as performance in terms of the
'ideal' becomes deletrious to the group--materially, soci-
ally, culturally or in terms of self-fulfillment--the
'ideal' will be modified to give validity to 'pragmatic'
behaviour.

It is now to be argued that certain fundamental

processes are necessary for self-isolating groups (sectarian or non-sectarian) to maintain a separate identity and the social and cultural means which foster it. We have chosen the term 'process' so as to stress that the conditions, which ensure the required degree of self-isolation, change over time, necessitating modifications in behaviour, institutions and values. This argument, however, will only have scientific validity if we specify the range within which these fundamental processes relate to continuity and the maintenance of a sense of social identity. This requirement is set out in abstract terms by Hempel (1959:296):

> *A need, or functional requirement of system*
> *S relative to R (range) is then a necessary*
> *condition for the system's remaining in,*
> *or returning to, a state in R, and the func-*
> *tion, relative to R, of an item I in S con-*
> *sists in I's effecting the satisfaction of*
> *some such functional requirement.*

Thus, as we propose the following fundamental processes, we shall also specify the range within which they relate to providing for the continued degree of self-isolation.

First is a continuing supply of new members by reproduction and recruitment. Replacement and augmentation by reproduction requires that biological and demographic factors stand in a favourable relation to this process. Recruitment implies that socialization and enculturation are efficient to this end. Therefore, the range within which the supply of new members relates to the degree of isolation required is dominated by a successful

programme of recruitment and a birthrate which compensates

for the rate of attrition.

Second is an economic system which is viable
in terms of the preferred degree of segregation. This does
not mean that such a system be totally separate from that
of the surrounding society or entirely self-sufficient,
but that some degree of control over the processes of
production, distribution, consumption or a combination of
these, lie with the group itself. Thus the range of con-
trol will permit the success of economic activities and
yet direct the focus of them towards the goal of segre-
gation.

Third is a social life which is predictable and
meaningful in terms of the group *qua* group and in the lives
of its individual members. In other words, while status and
role allocation, internal stratification and the authority
system relate to the desired degree of self-isolation,
they must also contribute to predictable, meaningful and
affective relations among me bers. This will be possible
when the internal status system provides acceptable sta-
tuses for all members and ensures effective performance
in these statuses relative to statuses available outside
the group. Further, the autonomy of the internal auth-
ority system in matters of regulating behaviour must be
preserved, including a system of sanctions directed at
eliminating or curbing behaviour held to be undesirable.
Lastly, there must be provision for the expulsion of un-

cooperative or unsatisfactory members of the group.

Fourth is a continued coherence in the belief system which underlies the goal of isolation. It should be noted that it is not suggested that all members sub- scribe equally to the validity of the system or hold identical interpretations. But, in Aberle's words (1950: 107), *"they must agree (however) that a foot is 'so long'"*. What is required is that the belief system itself have con- tinued coherence in the eyes of the members so that the processes of socialization and enculturation may have common threads which link generations. Further, as the belief system provides the basis from which the potenti- alities for shared cognitive orientations and a shared set of goals may spring,[3] a degree of continued coherence is necessary for self-isolation to be realized and persist beyond the span of an individual's lifetime.

At least three major points should be stressed in reference to the fundamental processes proposed above. First, it is not claimed that this set of processes is definitive or exhaustive. It is regarded as a preliminary point of reference for the exploration of the contribution of certain social and cultural forms and their inter- relations to the continuity of self-isolating groups.

Second, these fundamental processes are not

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[3]See Aberle *et al.*, "The Functional Prerequisites of a Society (1950), for a discussion of the significance of these items.

conceptualized in the same manner as that of 'functional prerequisites' and their traditional usage. This could only be possible if such groups were defined as societies and were totally self-sufficient in terms of a field of action. The concept of a self-isolating group implies that there is an adjacent or encompassing context from which a degree of isolation is desired. Thus, however remote geographically the larger context may be, groups of voluntary segregation are usually bound to it by political, economic or legal ties. So, as we have noted in Chapters I and II, we are concerned only with those fundamental processes which refer to the maintenance of the degree of self-isolation desired rather than to the continued existence of the group itself. In other words, groups may cease to create efforts at a degree of self-isolation and yet remain as distinctive entities.

Third, we do not assume that such groups are in a state of equilibrium, however the term is defined[4]; indeed, the efforts directed at self-isolation might in themselves be expected to generate considerable tensions and conflicts. Further, in sectarian self-isolating groups, conflicts are exacerbated by the fact that few, if any alternatives in belief and action are considered valid.

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[4]See Emmet's discussion of this problem in *Function, Purpose and Powers* (1958), Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. Chapter 3, pp. 45-105.

Wilson (1967:249) has noted the totalitarian aspects of
sectarian life in which ideological orientation, moral
rectitude and involvement in group activities are unam-
biguously and rigorously specified. Therefore, while
conflict would seem endemic in groups of this nature,
the lack of alt██████s has a tendency to produce schisms
rather than lo██ ████osition. The history of many
sectarian gr███████████acterized by this schismatic pro-
cess which is th██████rce fo█ the proliferation of a vari-
ety of off-shoots which may differ from the parent bodies
in quantitatively minor ways, but whose members believe
these differences to have cosmological importance.

B. A Typology of Boundary-Maintaining Devices

Initially, attention should be drawn to the
fact that while devices may be typed in terms of their
function, they are also of two different orders depending
on whether they are based on ideology or custom. In an
ideal sense, the ideologically based devices of sectarian
groups would be associated with the religious doctrine
espoused by the sect, the customary devices with its way
of life. In the former case we should expect to find
sanctions in association with these devices and no sanc-
tions in the latter case.[5] Thus for example, devices

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[5]However, where custom becomes sacred as among certain
communities of Old Order Amish (Wilson 1970:129), any change may be
regarded as a threat to religion and sanctions may be attached to
customary boundary-maintaining devices.

applicable to personal appearance or marriage patterns may reflect doctrinal concerns and sanctions may be imposed against deviation; on the other hand, devices governing friendly relations or the use of surnames which are ascribed to an individual at birth and may function as a boundary-maintaining device, may not have related sanctions.

A further point must be made regarding the functions of boundary-maintaining devices. It is clear that while different types have specific 'manifest' functions regarding one aspect of segregation, they may also serve 'latent' functions with regard to other types of boundary-maintaining devices (see Merton 1949:51). While this point will be discussed more fully later, it serves to emphasize the systemic nature of boundary-maintaining devices which are linked in response to changing external and internal circumstances. Keeping the role of latent functions in mind as well as the two different orders of functions, we will now proceed to outline the types of boundary-maintaining devices.

A *spatial* type is physical in nature and is composed of any geographical and topographical features in a group's environment which contribute to isolation from the surrounding society. Such features may be deliberately sought out and utilized for this purpose but may also be the result of circumstances. In the contemporary world the opportunities for such escapism are rare; nevertheless,

topographical features may encourage the clustering or
scattering of dwellings and the establishment of networks
of communication both of which may be related to the
quality of contacts maintained with the 'outside'. It
is self-evident also that spatial devices may result in
problems of recruitment and imperil the success of econo-
mic pursuits. On the other hand, they may serve to pro-
mote cooperation in those economic activities which con-
tribute to the continuation of self-isolation.

The name *symbolic-technological* is to be given to
the second type of devices. The intent of combining two
terms is to draw attention to the fact that technology,
including language, art forms and so on, can symbolize the
separation of the community from the profane world. Thus,
while technology is used in a practical and mundane man-
ner, certain specifics of technology may be used symboli-
cally to signal membership in the separated community.

Symbolic-technological devices tend to be most
obvious to the observer, providing a rapid means of iden-
tification for members of the group themselves as well as
for outsiders, expressing as they do the self-awareness
of the group as an entity oriented towards non-conformity.
Such devices may also link the present group with the
past as they may have originated in efforts to initiate
separation or be the primary causes of separation from
the surrounding society. And, as we noted above, symbolic-
technological devices may be of two orders, depending on

their basis on doctrine or custom.

A third type we have called *internal-interactional* as these are devices, contrived by the group itself, to restrict interaction with non-group persons and limit participation in non-group institutions and activities. Internal-interactional devices may be sub-divided to distinguish those which refer to the economic aspects of life and to the social; they may also be of the two different orders discussed above.

The first sub-type includes devices which restrict economic pursuits in relation to other groups and which provide substitute economic institutions within the group where it is considered necessary. Examples of these devices are restrictions on the marketing of goods and services; restrictions on consumer practices; collective or cooperative labour and prohibitions against participation in voluntary associations organized or dominated by outsiders. Devices in this sub-type are highly critical where a group shares basic economic institutions and values with the surrounding society. At the same time, the degree to which such devices prevent the penetration of non-group interests and provide viable economic arrangements within the group, is important for its objective of self-isolation.

Devices in the social sub-type are intended to limit or channel interaction with outsiders and at the same time focus attention on group goals and foster a meaning-

ful social life for group members in the context of self-isolation. Included in this sub-type are devices which direct and restrict admission to the group, providing probationary periods for new members where desired; emphasize public affirmation of commitment and frequent ritual validation of membership; regulate marriage; define relations to authority, both internal and external; concern education; direct recreation; and limit friendly contacts with outsiders. By virtue of such devices persons held to be inappropriate should be excluded from the group. These devices should also provide some measure of protection for the underlying belief system, which may be totally or partially distinct from that of outsiders, and the system which encapsulates true 'knowledge' for the group.

On the other hand, these devices have the ability to encourage cooperation among members of the group; create mutual dependency; enclose a system which furnishes statuses for all members; and, in general, provide a meaningful and predictable social life.[6] Those who find such a life style meaningless or unsatisfactory, who refuse to cooperate and enact group norms, may revoke their membership or have it withdrawn. (This does not mean that they will remove themselves or be removed from the group

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[6]See Homan's *The Human Group* (1950); *Social Behaviour* (1961) for an extended discussion of these and related matters.

in a spatial sense, but that they will no longer be considered members or consider themselves members).

A fourth type of boundary-maintaining device may be called the *external-interactional*. This type is a result of the fact that overt attempts to maintain a boundary by one group may evoke counter-devices by others. It is also possible that these counter-devices may become incorporated, over time, into a group's own boundary-maintaining system. External-interactional devices may result from prejudice, racial bigotry and ignorance; cultural history; linguistic differences; the rate of growth and the composition of groups; competition for resources and markets; the balance of power among groups; and the fact that a group may form part of the class structure of a dominant society.

As with devices of the endogenous category, these counter-devices are of two orders depending on their sanctioned and unsanctioned nature. One order is formalized and based on legal sanctions and includes the withholding of goods and services, denying land, property and access to resources. In its response to such counter-devices and the fervour with which they are pressed, a group may experience a change in character--in other words, lose its objective of self-isolation--begin to disintegrate or to draw fresh strength from its collective vicissitudes.

The second order is not based on legal sanctions but is anchored in personal or local informal sanctions

and may affect trading relations between groups, friendly
interaction, marriage patterns and selective affiliation
to promote shared concerns. Informal and personal counter-
devices can evoke varied reactions in self-isolating
groups, from intensi. on of the principles of volun-
tary segregation to crises of identity.

Devices associated with boundary-maintenance
among self-isolating groups can now be classified into
two major categories; the *endogenous* and the *exogenous*. In
the former, the principle types are the *symbolic-technological*
which manifest separation, express a non-conformist iden-
tity and contribute to group solidarity; and the *internal-
interactional* which reflect the adjustment of a group to
its socio-cultural environment as it struggles to main-
tain its self-isolation over time. In certain cases
spatial devices fall into the endogenous category as with
e rural religious sectarian groups and rural communes.
In the exogenous category is to be found the *external-
interactional* type which indicates the action of the socio-
cultural environment on the group. But *spatial* devices
may also be employed against a group, so this type can
belong to the exogenous category also. All types, of what-
ever category, relate to the conditions or processes which
ensure continuity of group identity and a self-isolated
life style. (See Figure I.)

It is intended not merely to propose a typology
of boundary-maintaining devices but to explore the dynamics

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Figure I

A TYPOLOGY OF BOUNDARY-MAINTAINING DEVICES

Endogenous Category			Exogenous Category		
TYPE	ORDER	SUB-TYPE	TYPE	ORDER	SUB-TYPE
SPATIAL	--	--	SPATIAL	--	--
SYMBOLIC-TECHNOLOGICAL	a) doctrinal b) customary	--			
INTERNAL-INTERACTIONAL	a) doctrinal b) customary	a) economic b) social	EXTERNAL-INTERACTIONAL	a) formal-legal b) informal-personal	--

of continuity and change with reference to the relation-
ship between types. We have assumed that all such
boundary-maintaining devices are inter-related and form
a system which oscillates in response to external and
internal pressures. But, to extend the explanatory pow-
ers of this procedure, it is necessary to add a further
dimension to the analysis in terms of specifying the
range of circumstances within which a system is self-
regulating in a range of states. Then it may be possible
to formulate hypotheses regarding the dynamic inter-
relationship of types of boundary-maintaining devices with
respect to self-regulation of the system, or, in other
words, its continuity and continued sense of identity. As
Hempel (1959:298,299) stated with reference to such analy-
sis, it is one of its most important tasks *"to ascertain to
what extent such phenomena of self-regulation can be found, and clear-
ly represented by laws of self-regulation . . . ."*

The circumstances within which self-isolation
can be maintained within a certain range of states are not
easily specified in concrete terms. This is a result of
the nature of the tension which exists between the group
seeking self-isolation and the surrounding society. On
the one hand, self-isolation expresses a rejection of some
of the values, beliefs, norms and institutions in the
larger society. This requires that *"the dominant group . . .
feels sufficiently secure in its position to allow dissenters a cer-
tain leeway"* (Wirth 1970:36). Wirth also points out that

this 'leeway' may vary from the toleration of several
subsocieties in a larger one to the *"minimum conditions of
toleration"* (*ibid.*) afforded the Jews in medieval Europe.

On the other hand, as Wirth notes, a minority
may desire toleration of its cultural idiosyncracies and
at the same time demand economic and political equality
and other equal opportunities in whatever arenas in the
larger society it so wishes. The tension generated by
these factors is likely to change in intensity as the
relationship exists through space and time. Thus, as
Blalock (1967) has argued in his discussion of race rela-
tions in the United States, any of the following factors--
economic and status considerations, displaced aggression,
intergroup competition and conflict and changes in demo-
graphy--may emerge as significant in specific cases, re-
ducing toleration in the majority attitude and, at times,
eliciting formal (i.e., legal) action against the group.
It is argued that similar factors influence changes in
the relationship between a self-isolating group and its
dominant majority. Thus, empirical investigation is
necessary in each case to determine at what point changes
in the relationship occur and what factors, or combination
of factors, are responsible for altering the circumstan-
ces.

In response to decreasing toleration, a self-
isolating group may be driven underground, become overtly

militant,[7] migrate to more sympathetic surroundings or struggle legally and politically[8] for what it considers are its rights. All of these courses are likely to effect major changes in a group's internal structure and ideological orientation.

Therefore, stated in general terms, the circumstances which are critical to maintaining self-isolation are those in which the majority moves away from toleration of cultural diversity or, conversely, refuses to acknowledge that tension exists through indifference or acceptance of a sect's beliefs and acquisition of its behavioural practices.

Much has been written about the teleological nature of functional analysis,[9] although Hempel (1959: 298) denies that this characteristic is *sui generis* on systematic grounds. Nevertheless, in dealing with self-isolating groups and the processes involved in maintaining isolation, we *are* primarily concerned with goal-oriented and purposive behaviour. As Wilson (1970:27)

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[7]An example of overt militancy is that of the Sons of Freedom among the Doukhobors.

[8]The imposition of the Communal Property Act in Alberta has elicited such a response from the Hutterites in this province and has involved them in legal and political activities traditionally forbidden to the Brethren. The recent repeal of this Act promises to intensify such activities.

[9]See Hempel (1959); Dahrendorf (1958); Davis (1959); van den Berghe (1963) and Martindale (1959).

writes of the sect: *"The sect is not--as a caste or a clan
might be in some social circumstances--an unconscious entity."* Such
behaviour may be greater or lesser in extent depending on
the degree of separation called for in the ideology of a
group, and it is this aspect of group life with which we
are to be concerned. And, as Hempel (1959:299) has said:

> . . . *explanation by reference to motives,
> objectives, or the like may be perfectly
> legitimate in the case of purposive behavi-
> our and its effects. An explanation of
> this kind would be causal in character,
> listing among the causal antecedents of
> the given action, or of its outcome, cer-
> tain purposes or motives on the part of
> the agent, as well as his beliefs as to
> the best means available for attaining his
> objectives.*

C. Sanctions[10] and Boundary Maintenance

We have noted that certain boundary-maintaining
devices based on custom tend to be unsanctioned whereas
those based on doctrine usually have sanctions attached
to them to ensure their effectiveness. The imposition
of sanctions of whatever order, however, presents some
difficulties for groups of voluntary segregation which
exist under the legal and political arrangements of a
dominant society. In the first place such arrangements
may place limitations on the type and severity of the
penalties which may be invoked, although these may be

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[10]The term 'sanction' follows Radcliffe-Brown's usage
(1965:205-211).

covertly enacted vis-a-vis the larger society. An example of the latter is the case of the Jewish *shtetl* in Russia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries given by Levitats (1943:207-217). He reports the existence of mechanisms for controlling behaviour such as shaming and religious sanctions, but also economic sanctions, ostracism and even capital punishment. Today, in North America, however, any hint to the 'outside' authorities of the imposition of severe sanctions is sure to bring legal action against the group.

The degree to which sanctions are effective depends on several factors; the locus of internal authority in terms of physical and social distance; the quality and range of disputes within a group which may lead factions to question the validity and severity of sanctions and the extent to which group members conceive of their loyalties and obedience to internal rules. Further, as Wilson (1967:8) has noted:

> Direct coercion can occur only within the
> tolerance of the individual's own belief,
> and whilst, for believers, sanctions can
> be severe, beyond this a voluntary move-
> ment never has at its disposal physical
> means of exacting compliance . . . the
> sect has no imperative control, except as
> far as ideology binds its members, and even
> here, since ideological differences can
> arise, sects always face the prospect of
> schism.

A further problem may present itself in sects which emphasize the priesthood of all believers in that there can arise "a poignant and perpetual dialectic between the

liberty of the individual and the mandates of the group" (Isichei

1964:217). This is of particular significance where regu-

lations dominate many areas of life and daily activities.

Under these conditions there is always a tendency towards

schism. Isichei (*ibid.*: 218) writes:

> . . . *extreme individualism (implying that*
> *the individual must approve all the deci-*
> *sions of the group) or totalitarianism (im-*
> *plying that those who disagree with deci-*
> *sions must be expelled) produces an endless*
> *chain of schisms--as is often the experience*
> *of sectarian movements.*

She cites the example of the Exclusive Brethren since

1959 as an illustration of the latter process.

When tensions regarding the imposition of sanc-

tions become acute, a sect may change the locus of authori-

ty (in an extreme example, to place it within the cons-

cience of the individual member rather than in an office

or institution); reduce the number and severity of sanc-

tions in an effort to maintain numerical strength and

avoid schism; or to intensify sanctions in order to pre-

serve the integrity of the sect by forcing dissidents to

leave.

However, although the imposition of sanctions

may be an ever-recurring problem for sectarian groups, we

should remember that the sect

> *is not . . . a social body which sees itself*
> *as a 'natural' unit . . . the sect is self-*
> *conscious, and its formation and recruitment*
> *are deliberate and conscious processes.*
>
> (Wilson 1970:27)

Therefore, sectarian beliefs and goals and the proper

behaviour associated with them, being clear and unambiguous, usually require only informal sanctions, such as gossip, to keep sect members 'in line'. Nevertheless, because the sect is imbued with "*a sense of its own integrity, and a recognition that that integrity might be impugned by the careless or insufficiently committed member*" *(ibid.)*, it must be able to invoke formal and powerful sanctions such as shaming, ostracism and loss of membership. In doing so, the sect must clearly articulate its alternate source of authority for these actions and, in so doing, reject the authority of the orthodox tradition from which it is separated.

At which points might we expect the most powerful sanctions to be found? This is difficult to state categorically as much depends on the specific contexts in which each group finds itself, on changes in these contexts through time and on the changing internal conditions of each group. However, it might be stated generally, that the most potent sanctions will be associated with those boundary-maintaining devices which, *at any one time,* are intended by group members to provide protection for what are conceived to be the important aspects of the process of separation.

Sanctions are also related to a group's internal status system. If it is clearly defined and overtly articulated with the goal of self-isolation, it can provide added stimulus and social pressure to uphold boundary-maintaining devices. Those who openly demonstrate their

willingness to uphold such devices are then rewarded by high prestige and/or high status positions in the group, giving valuable examples for others, particularly the young, to do likewise. In this regard, it is important that internal status positions be sufficiently differentiated among themselves, be clearly distinguishable from those of the 'outside' society and offer reasonable standards of performance. In addition, for rewards to be meaningful in terms of boundary maintenance, intern . status positions should have minimal relevance outside the group.

D. The Typology and Introversionist Sects

It now remains to indicate the importance of boundary maintenance to sects of the Introversionist type and to discuss how the typology relates to such groups.

The continued existence of a sect which rejects the values of the world and aims at nurturing the inner resources of its members would be more positively guaranteed if the group were *spatially* isolated. The chances are that contact with outsiders would be minimal and networks of communications restricted, provided that the area occupied by the group did not become the focus of attention by outsiders in terms of the exploitation of resources or other activities. With spatial boundary-maintaining devices, not only can non-conformity be more easily pre-

served, but internal goals may be more clearly articulated and transmitted and a sense of community identity fostered without 'outside' distraction. For Introversionist sects which are not given to evangelizing and which r ly primarily on internal recruitment, such devices pose f w problems regarding a supply of new members, always p ovided that biological and demographic factors remain favourable in relation.

Even if the full play of spatial devices is not possible, devices of this type may still be used in the form of topographical features and the placement of dwellings. For example, the attempt to locate Amish households within 'horse and buggy' distance from each other has had the effect of clustering them together and providing a sense of a 'separated community'. With regard to a Hutterite colony, Hostetler and Huntington (1967:16) noted that the

> public school house, which in _Dariushof_ is
> stucco instead of wood, is painted yellow,
> is oriented to face the state road rather
> than the colony, and from which the sign
> giving its former name and school district
> has never been removed. Although physical-
> ly within the colony, the members have emo-
> tionally placed it outside.

While spatial devices for boundary maintenance may be minimal, the spatial design within which sect members live their lives may have ultimate significance for boundary maintenance. Referring to the lay-out of Hutterite colonies Hostetler and Huntington (_ibid._: 21) remark on their notable uniformity:

> *The spatial orientation of the buildings*
> *and the unified color scheme reflect Hut-*
> *terite thinking; everything is classified;.*
> *each part of the universe has its correct*
> *place, which in turn determines its correct*
> *function and proper use. . . . What*
> *gives a Hutterite identity is not the place*
> *he has lived, nor having lived n one or*
> *many places, but rather than in spite of geo-*
> *graphic moves the pattern of his life has*
> *always been the same, even to the floor plan*
> *of his house and the position of his home*
> *relative to that of his neighbours.*

It has been common practice for most Introver-
sionist sects to locate at a distance from major urban
centres because of their traditional subsistence base
of agriculture. Even in this case a balance has had to
be struck in terms of the advantages of distance from
metropolitan centres as a form of boundary maintenance
and the need to participate in local networks of communi-
cation and their facilities for economic reasons.. How-
ever, most Introversionist sects today find spatial iso-
lation impossible as urban sprawl and roads and railways
have penetrated agricultural lands, causing many such
groups to become enclaves in the midst of industrial and
suburban development.

Where spatial isolation is neither possible
nor desired, Introversionist sects must find other means
to demonstrate their separation from the world and ex-
press their sectarian goals. Symbolic-technological de-
vices accomplish this end. Because these devices are
highly visible, they induce conformity to group goals
and the particular life style adopted, at the same time

expressing in concrete form the values of the sect.

But, as we noted at the beginning of this section, boundary-maintaining devices of one type may have latent functions in respect of other types. Thus, while symbolic-technological devices fulfill the functions specified above they may also contribute to the effectiveness of internal-interactional devices. For example, a simple and characteristic style of clothing will function to mark sect membership and symbolize the rejection of worldly, luxury consumption but at the same time limit the range and depth of contact with non-sectarians. Preferred occupation may also function in t' manner.

Symbolic-technological device. serve to identify sect members to outsiders who then may respond in terms of external-interactional boundary-maintaining devices. For example, language or distinctive linguistic patterns have proved to be significant in this respect among Introversionist sects, such as the retention of the German language and the use of Pennsylvania Dutch among some Anabaptist groups, and the linguistic habits associated with Quakerism.

Thus, all symbolic-technological devices can provide constant and highly visible reminders of the exclusive nature of the sect and its goal of nonconformity, while they may also have latent functions with regard to the effectiveness of other endogenous boundary-maintaining devices.

The implementation of internal-interactional devices is particularly important for sects of the Introversionist type in that they are intended to minimize the members' involvement in the 'world' and in worldliness, while ensuring that the significant events of life take place within the context of the sectarian community. In this way, such devices contribute to a sense of identity; but they should also ensure that the economic and social aspects of sectarian community life are enhanced.

Nevertheless, such devices may also be the result of persecution and serve as a kind of defense mechanism against hostility encountered in the 'outside'. In his study of New York Chinatown, Yuan (1970) notes that great hostility developed against the Chinese after their initial welcome into the United States because of competition in the labour market. Consequently,

> There was a tendency to integrate the 'we-group' and gradually establish segregated communities among large urban centres in which they could hold interaction with the majority to a minimum, and thus avoid conflicts, hostilities and insults.
>
> (Ibid.:138)

Similarly, it has been suggested that the persistence of the Jewish ghetto is due, in part, to the "anti-Semitism, the rejection and hostility encountered in a cold and unresponsive outside world" (Wirth 1970:273). Thus a reaction sets in in which an individual tends to

> return to the flock and become an ardent 'Jew' and sometimes even a rabid advocate of orthodoxy and Zionism as the only fit-

...ting answer to a world that excludes and insults him.

<div align="right">(Ibid.:267-268)</div>

The extent to which the internal-interactional devices of Introversionist sects are formulated on this basis may be considerable. Many such sects associated with Anabaptism have endured centuries of oppression and persecution, the memory of which is kept alive through such books as the *Martyrs' Mirror*. Thus the implementation of internal-interactional devices may result from a desire to remain aloof from the world on ideological grounds and also from a fear that hostility may result in renewed persecution.

Inasmuch as Introversionist sects in contemporary North America share many economic institutions and values with secular society, restrictions on participation in economic associations organized by outsiders are necessary to prevent development of undue interest in secular economic pursuits. Thus, participation in Trades' Unions, Wheat Pools, Cooperatives, etc. has been traditionally restricted among many Introversionist sects. On the other hand, cooperative labour and even collective labour[11] have been encouraged and have become typical of such groups, thus lessening their dependence on the 'out-

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[11]The famous barn raisings of some Amish and Mennonite groups are typical and, in some cases, have extended beyond the sect to help unfortunate non-sect neighbours.

side'. They have also urged a simplicity of life style
on their members by placing restrictions on the 'need-
less' acquisition of worldly goods, again guarding against
interest in secular economic activities.

In the same way, internal-interactional devices
of the social sub-type are necessary to minimize social
contacts with non-sect persons. Introversionist sects
have traditionally focused such devices against certain
institutions in the surrounding society, such as prohi-
bitions against participation in politics (including the
franchise), in the secular legal system and in the mili-
tary. But in order to direct the interest and concern
of members inward on the community, restrictions must
also be placed on marriage with non-sect persons, local
social activities and the establishment of neighbourhood
contacts with outsiders. Further, since Introversionist
sects are primarily concerned with preserving their doc-
trine rather than engaging in, or equipping the young to
engage in theological debates, protection of the under-
lying belief system is important inasmuch as it differs
from that of the more 'orthodox' Protestant churches.
Thus they will be much concerned with restricting the
influence of the educational system administered by se-
cular society and any medium of communication which threa-
tens to undermine sectarian principles and practices.

What is the relationship of the exogenous cate-
gory of boundary-maintaining devices to Introversionist

sects? First of all, it might be generally stated that in North America the majority of religious sectarian groups have been permitted to pursue their way of life without much interference and persecution from the dominant society. Avowedly democratic and pluralist societies pride themselves on possessing a high degree of tolerance for religious dissidents, even when they are believed to strike at what are held to be democratic principles.[12] Nevertheless, certain sectarian arrangements have been known to call forth external responses. However, these have tended to take the form of disrupting such arrangements rather than adding to the sect's isolation. For example, restrictive immigration policies and legislation regarding education are directed towards assimilation rather than isolation.

In the informal and personal sense, however, restrictions against members of Introversionist sects may arise in local contexts. Ignorance and suspicion of the unfamiliar, linguistic difficulties and the very fact of rejection of the society by the sect may evoke negative responses on the individual level. For example, while governments in North America have been reasonably tolerant of demands for exemption from military duty, individuals

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[12] That this has not always been the case is demonstrated by the tribulations undergone by Mother Ann, founder of the Shakers, in Britain and North America in the eighteenth century. (Holloway 1966:55-59).

at the local level have expressed their hostility to this stance in a variety of unpleasant ways. Given the nature and history of dominant/minority group relations in North America, it would be surprising if this were not so.

Therefore, in the case of Introversionist sects, exogenous boundary-maintaining devices are to be expected, although they will tend to be of the informal and personal type and will vary in specifics and intensity in the local contexts. Given the nature of Introversionist groups, the existence of such devices will be taken to indicate that they are still in a state of tension with the world, thus confirming the significance of their ideology of exclusivity.

The role of sanctions with reference to boundary maintenance is of critical importance to sects of the Introversionist type. Nor have Introversionist sects themselves been unaware of this necessarily close relationship. Their ideology of separation demands externalization in a variety of endogenous boundary-maintaining devices to induce solidarity (brotherhood in Christ) and conformity within the community, and to express to the secular society their rejection and withdrawal. As a result, such sects often develop a somewhat 'legalistic' life style in which the demonstration of separation predominates. Therefore sanctions may be enacted against minute deviations from the norm as well as major contraventions

of community discipline; both are usually regarded as indications that central principles are threatened. Similarly, propriety or zeal in upholding both major and minor boundary-maintaining devices results in 'positive' sanctions in the form of prestige or high status positions in the community.

E.   The Tofield Old Mennonite Case

As was previously noted, Mennonite groups, in their traditional aspects, belong within the Introvertonist type. During the centuries since it has emerged, however, the Mennonite Church has splintered into several groups whose ideology of separation from the world has been tempered by the words of Jesus; *"go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature"* (Mark: 16:15). The result of the adoption of this commandment, often called the Great Commission, has been to thrust some segments of the Mennonite Church into close contact with the world in evangelical outreach. This has meant that adaptations have occurred as a result of missionary work in a variety of cultural contexts and that associations have been formed with other Protestant churches through common evangelical objectives and activities.

Secondly, as the opportunities for separation based on a rural economy began to dwindle about the turn of the twentieth century, the non-conformist posture of some Mennonite groups has been eroded as they have found

themselves in increasing social and economic contact with

the rest of the population.

The Tofield Old Mennonite Church (Salem Church)

however, displays several of the characteristics attri-

buted by Wilson to his Introversionist type of sect, al-

though it differs in some respects. In general terms,

Salem's Introversionism is marked by its indifference to

the other seven local churches, including those of the

General Conference Mennonite and the Mennonite Brethren.

Salem members have also kept aloof from local social,

political and economic activities although there has

been a move away from agriculture into other occupations

which has resulted in some compromises with regard to

'outside' economic associations, such as Trades' Unions.

On the other hand, they have vigorously defended their

Conscientious Objector status in war times and have been

largely indifferent to all levels of government, Federal,

Provincial and municipal. In their spiritual life, the

Bible remains the central authority and interpretion un-

der the guidance of the Holy Spirit is a common concern.

Nevertheless, Salem has been a supporter of

evangelism (see Chapter IV, Section B) although this was

not manifested in concrete terms until approximately thir-

ty years ago and occurred on a rather limited scale and in

the local context. However, several Salem members have

undertaken missionary work overseas or in North America.

Although many changes have taken place in Salem over the

years and it has lost many of its Introversionist and
sectarian characteristics, it is evident that in its
initial formation, it is closer to the Introversionist
type of Protestant sectarianism than any other.

F.   Conclusions

It has been argued that for purposes of the
identification of a specific group cultural content is
not a reliable guide, particularly as it varies over space
and time. Therefore, the identity of a socio-cultural
group may be approached better in terms of the boundaries
it creates to separate itself from other groups. These
boundaries are recognized as such by insiders and outsiders
alike although the boundary-maintaining devices utilized
by either may not be.

It has been argued further that boundaries have
particular significance to a self-isolating group which
arises out of a larger cultural context and which seeks
to set itself apart somehow from the parent body an   et,
at the same time, to retain certain intimate and symbi-
otic ties with that body. This is the case with Salem
Old Mennonite Church. In such a case it may be that the
distinguishing and critical features of the self-isolating
group are its boundaries. In any event, to remove these
boundaries is to dissolve the distinctiveness of the
group.

It is further argued that the devices which

maintain the boundaries change over time and space with reference to a given group. Thus, with regard to Salem Old Mennonite Church it is proposed to delineate the boundary-maintaining devices employed by the group and analyze how these changes occur.

Given the Introversionist nature of Salem Church-community, we would expect that it utilizes all types of boundary-maintaining devices of the endogenous category to afford maximal separation. But, since spatial isolation is now more difficult, it is expected that the importance of other endogenous devices has increased. Further, given the nature of a pluralist society, we would expect it to erect boundaries of its own in reaction to those imposed against it by a community such as Salem. Thus, for example, refusal to participate in military activities in times of war and to swear oaths and so on, will appear to strike at the core values of the larger society resulting in the imposition of informal external-interactional boundary-maintaining devices. However, if and when the endogenous devices are reduced, doubtless those imposed by the 'outside' will also be curtailed.

In the process of relaxing both internal and external boundaries we might expect the following pattern to be followed. Because Salem is a community which shares the economic and educational systems of the 'outside' society, it is to be expected that boundary-maintaining

devices relating to the economy and those of the symbolic-
technological type would be the first to be reduced, fol-
lowed by the reduction of those of the social internal-
interactional type; further, those symbolic-technological
devices which are seen by the 'outside' as being the most
extreme will be lost first.

Lastly, it is our expectation that the data
will reveal that symbolic-technological boundary-
maintaining devices employed by Salem are prior to
internal-interactional ones in that a decline in the
former results in erosion of the latter.

It remains to discuss briefly how the patterns
and processes indicated above relate to the fundamental
processes outlined in the first section of the Chapter.
First, the success of internal recruitment relies to a
great extent on the creation of a sense of identity and
an in-group feeling among young members of the community.
This is strengthened if the experiences of the young in
the 'outside' context confirm these feelings. Symbolic-
technological devices accomplish both these goals and are
thus closely related to providing a continuing supply of
new members. Second, when internal-interactional devices
of the economic sub-type cannot ensure that some degree
of control of the processes of production, distribution
or consumption remain with the group, then much of the
activity of daily life has a secular connotation and
brings sect members into unrestrained contact with non-

sect persons.   In this way, the drive towards a self-
isolated community becomes blunted.

Third, symbolic-technological devices in parti-
cular ensure that social disabilities vis-a-vis the 'out-
side' are of the same order for all members of the com-
munity.   This also induces a feeling of internal mutual
dependency and solidarity.   When differences between the
'outside' and the Old Mennonite community are not overtly
signalled, primarily by the use of symbolic-technological
devices, these qualities are lost and behaviour held to
be undesirable becomes more difficult to regulate. .

Finally, a decrease in symbolic-technological
devices opens the way for the acceptance of 'outside'
technology such as radio and television, which may prove
destructive to a group's belief system.   Taken in conjunc-
tion with compulsory education, and the secular quality
of that education, these factors are highly inimical to
the continued coherence of the belief system.   The result
may be outright rejection of the belief system, defection
from the community or the growing development of different
interpretations of important religious principles.   This
would lead to major and schism-making conflicts.

Therefore, the disappearance of a significant
number of symbolic-technological devices would push a com-
munity, such as the Old Mennonites at Tofield, beyond the
stage where it could return to its former degree of self-
isolation in its present location.   It seems likely that;

under these circumstances, such a community would broaden the base of its interaction with the 'outside'. In the course of this process and as part of the Old Mennonite Church which is both conservative and fundamentalist, it seems likely that Salem might become less fundamentalist.

One final point should be made with reference to the analysis of data. The patterns of religious attitudes and their differentiation, the emotional aspects of conversion, fluctuations in religious commitment and the whole realm of religious experience will not be explored in this context. This is not to deny their significance in the study of religious groups, particularly in relation to continuity and change, or to belittle their importance in the lives of the members of such groups. At this stage in the development of a study of boundary maintenance in sectarian research, it is considered valid to delay the introduction of psychological variables until the value of the approach can be assessed. Undoubtedly such variables will illuminate the processes of boundary maintenance but they are beyond the scope of this study in its present form.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

A. The Historical Background of Anabaptist Sects

Before proceeding with analysis of the Tofield
Old Mennonites in accordance with the procedures outlined
in Chapters II and III, we propose to set the group in its
historical perspective. Being part of a sect that not
only had its origins in the Protestant Reformation but
also the formulation of its principles, it is necessary to
review briefly how sects of this type came into being.
Further, it is hoped that the review will clarify the ide-
ological basis of their voluntary segregation.

The Protestant Reformation enabled the emergence
of two major religious confessions, Lutheranism and Cal-
vinism, within which the ideas of a new Christian Church
were to be worked out. Developing simultaneously,
sometimes in close doctrinal and social contact but even-
tually divergent in terms of means and goals, was a con-
glomerate of radical and unorganized groups which have
been classified as a separate and distinct type of move-
ment within Protestantism. Bainton (1941:24-34) and Lit-
tell (1964:45) have given the term "The Left Wing of the
Reformation" to such groups whose radical dissent brought

them into sharp conflict not only with the Roman Catholic Church but also with the Protestant territorial churches.[1]

In its early stages the Left Wing consisted of a variety of religious protests and social measures for change. Over all hung the spirit of chiliastic fervour which eventually found its most dramatic expression in the Peasants' Revolt at Munster in 1524. This event has been taken as central and pivotal to the radical movement although, in fact, many groups in the Left Wing repudiated violent action and took no part in the Revolt. It was, however, to cast its shadow over all the Left Wing in both a contemporary and historical sense; it provided compelling reasons for the authorities to continue suppression of religious dissenters and predisposed historians and religious scholars to take judgemental positions in the light of the excesses of the event.[2]

Throughout the years of persecution and continuing schisms which plagued the Left Wing, a tendency towards crystallization of doctrine and discipline began to unite and distingui certain groups. These, for the

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[1]Littell's work in particular, based for the most part on primary sources, has done much to clarify the issues, tendencies, groups and terminologies associated with the radical aspects of the Reformation.

[2]See Owen Chadwick's The Reformation, 1972, The Pelican History of the Church, Vol. 3 Penguin Books, England, pp. 190-192; Cornelius Dyck's An Introduction to Mennonite History, 1967, Herald Press, Scottdale Pa., pp. 77-79; Norman Cohn's The Pursuit of the Millenium, 1961, Harper Torchbooks, The Academy Library, Harper and Brothers, New York, Chap. XII.

most part, had rejected revolution and had winnowed out the 'enthusiastic' and 'spiritualizing' element so common in the Left Wing. They came to be known as Anabaptists and it is within this group that the Mennonite Church originated.

The term Anabaptist (re-baptizer) was given by Reform dissenters to the movement and by the authorities who were hostile to all Left Wing groups. In the former case, the term was used to distinguish between two types of Protestant church organizations, the Lutheran and Zwinglian on the one hand and the more radical groups on the other. The radicals for their part repudiated this designation on the basis of its inaccuracy, stating:

> . . . that infant baptism did not constitute
> true baptism and that they were not in reali-
> ty re-baptizers. Their argument was of no
> avail. The name was so conveniently elastic
> that it came to be applied to all those who
> stood out against authoritative state reli-
> gion.
>
> (Littell 1964:xv)

In fact, as Littell (*passim*) has shown, it was less the issue of baptism which separated the radicals from Luther and Zwingli than their view of a new church, and it was this concept around which several radical groups coalesced.

The *rechte Kirche* of the Anabaptists, however, was not a new church in the strict sense of the phrase, but the restoration of the Early Church glimpsed through

the pages of the New Testament. The Anabaptists were firmly convinced that both the content of the Christian faith and the procedures for its embodiment on earth were to be found in New Testament writings. These convictions were expressed in two basic principles:-

> 1. The church must be a voluntary association, taking its spirit and discipline from those who intentionally belong to its fellowship.

> 2. The church must follow the guide lines of the New Testament as to confession of faith and organizational pattern.

<div align="right">(Ibid.:46)</div>

Whatever diverging paths the main-line Anabaptists were to take in subsequent years, these two principles provide the threads which link them to a common origin and a common philosophy of history.[3]

The implementation of these principles was severely hindered by the widely dispersed and necessarily 'underground' nature of many groups and by continued suppression and persecution. But by 1525 congregations were established by the Swiss Brethren in Zurich, St. Gall, Canton Bern and Basel, though many fled in the succeeding years to Germany, Holland and Moravia. It was in Moravia in 1533 that Jacob Huter led the church there into a self-supporting, communal and truly separate community of believers, known as the Hutterian Brethren. In Holland,

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[3]See Littell, *op. cit.*, on "Christian Primitivism," pp. 48-53.

under Menno Simons, the scattered congregations were
brought into a stable association. However, the diffi-
culties and uncertainties of life in Europe continued to
persist and eventually persuaded many to emigrate to the
Americas in the hope of finding freedom of worship and
increased opportunities for a peaceful and prosperous
life.

Although all groups within Anabaptism were in
opposition to much of medieval patterns of thought and
practice, they were not united in terms of doctrine and
institution. Such unity has never been realized although
attempts in this direction have marked the history of
Anabaptism. These attempts took the form of a series of
Confessions of Faith, the earliest being that of Schleith-
eim (1527) with others following during subsequent de-
cades.[4] Nevertheless, certain principles and social
practices have come to be regarded as characteristic of
Anabaptist groups, despite considerable diversity in the
interpretation of the principles.

First, the repudiation of infant baptism and
the institution of believers' baptism has produced volun-
tary associations of intentional fellowship which have

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[4]For a translation of the Schleitheim Confession see
The Protestant Reformation, ed. Lewis W. Spitz, Prentice-Hall Inc.,
New Jersey; A Spectrum Book (1966); pp. 89-96.

Later Confessions were Waterlandia (1577), the Concept
of Cologne (1591), Olive Branch (1627) and Dordrecht (1632).

separated them from the established Protestant churches and, in some cases, from civil authority. Second, is the belief that such communities are to be in a continued state of separation or tension with 'the world' and whose members are to shun worldly activities. Third, going to law, being a magistrate and taking oaths has been forbidden. Fourth, is the condemnation of the use of force based on the words of Jesus: *"Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you"* (Matthew:5:44) and *"Resist not (him that is) evil"* (Matthew:5:39). In this regard the Anabaptist position has been one of passive obedience or non-resistance rather than pacifism as the term is used today (Littell 1964:107). Fifth, is the re-placement of the Lord's Supper as a rite of remembrance rather than a sacrament, where it has become a symbol of the reaffirmation of the sanctity of the new church and a denial of the *ecclesia*. Sixth, is the centrality of the community in preaching, teaching and administration: *"No special class of professionals was to be allowed to diminish the sovereignty of the community of believers in matters of faith and order"* (*ibid.*: 93). Nevertheless, the office of pastor was provided for (Sattler 1966:93) and subsequent events have seen the development of several additional offices and bureaucracies.

Several other social practices have come to be associated with surviving Anabaptist churches including foot washing, the kiss of peace, segregation of the sexes

in the place of worship, the Ban[5], extreme simplicity of
dress, furnishings and food and, among the Hutterian
Brethren, the practice of community of goods.

Since 1683 several waves of Anabaptist immi-
grants have settled in the Americas, beginning with a
small group from the Netherlands who called themselves
Mennonists or followers of Menno Simons.[6] From 1815 to
1860 about 3,000 Amish Mennonites[7] left Alsace, Bavaria
and Hesse and amalgamated with the Mennonites of preced-
ing migrations to form the Old Mennonite Church. All
told about 64,000 Mennonites have come to the Americas
since 1683 and today there are about 250,000 communicant
members in the United States and Canada. The total mem-
bership of the Old Mennonite Church in 1970 was 94,755
baptized persons (Chandler 1970:44 ff).

Though sharing a common origin and certain com-
mon principles of faith and practice, Mennonites are not
a united body of believers. In North America there are

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[5]The Ban is a form of social ostracism enacted against
those who engage in non-acceptable behaviour.

[6]The term Mennonite came to be applied to Swiss as well
as Dutch groups.

[7]The Amish are a break-away group which splintered from
the main body in the seventeenth century because they believed the
Ban was too loosely enforced. The Amish Mennonites are the result
of a split among the Amish in North America in 1854, who dropped the
strict discipline on clothes, began to use English in worship and to
build meeting houses. Therefore, they form one of the most conserva-
tive groups in Mennonitism.

three large Mennonite Churches--the Old Mennonite, the General Conference Mennonite and the Mennonite Brethren, as well as numerous smaller related groups. Such a proliferation stems from differing priorities given to certain aspects of obedience to the Scriptures and also from the vicissitudes of history. In the context of this study it might be stated that proliferation of sectarian off-shoots is a result of disagreements over the content and scope of boundary-maintaining devices and the intensity of sanctions associated with them.

The most significant event for the Old Mennonite Church took place in the 1720's in Pennsylvania, when the pure congregationalism of teaching and administration was tempered by the creation of District Conferences. In this manner, previously autonomous congregations were linked at the district level and these Conferences "*increasingly set the disciplinary standards for the congregations of the regions involved*" (Dyck 1968:168). Further, several Boards were established to coordinate activities related to Publications, Education and Missions. Though purely advisory in nature, the Boards and the Main General Conference (established in 1897) and its various committees exercise directive forces on local congregational activities. Figure II outlines the hierarchy of groups in the Old Mennonite Church.

The Old Mennonite Church is organized on a distinctive combination of several forms of church govern-

Figure II

ORGANIZATION OF THE
OLD MENNONITE CHURCH


```
+------------------------------------------+
|                                          |
|     Mennonite General Conference         |
|                                          |
+------------------------------------------+
                     |
      +------------------------------------+
      |                                    |
      |    Boards and General Council      |
      |                                    |
      +------------------------------------+
                     |
        +--------------------------------+
        |                                |
        |     District Conferences       |
        |                                |
        +--------------------------------+
                     |
         +-----------------------------+
         |                             |
         |    Local Congregations      |
         |                             |
         +-----------------------------+
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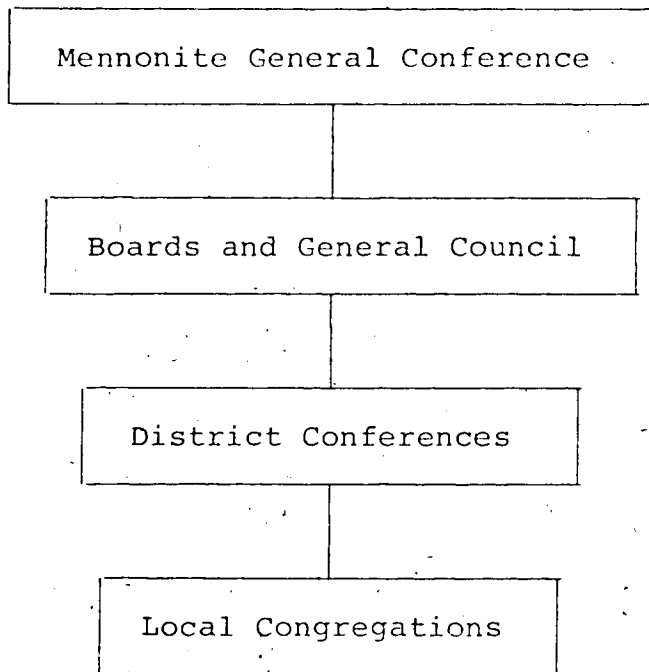
ment; the episcopal, by its office of bishop; the synodal,
by its central organization; and the congregational, by
its emphasis on decision making at the level of each
local church. This distinctive set of checks and ba-
lances has permitted some degree of variation in the lo-
cus of authority among the districts; more importantly,
it has confined the growth of bureaucracy and bureaucra-
tic rigidity.

B. The Old Mennonites of Tofield--Salem Mennonite Church

        As Old Mennonites spread farther from their
original point of arrival over the centuries, new oppor-
tunities for economic development were continuously being
sought. Traditionally Mennonites have been farmers and as
available land in the older settlements began to diminish,
they looked to new areas for pioneering opportunities.
In 1907 agents of the Real Estate firm of Crafts, Lee and
Gallinger of Tofield, Alberta interested some Amish Men-
nonite farmers of Seward County, Nebraska in the Tofield
area which had been opened for settlement some fifteen
years before.

        These Nebraska farmers came from the East Fair-
view Amish Mennonite Church near Milford in Seward County
and were members of one or more rural communities of ap-
proximately two hundred persons or less. In the home
church there had been a series of small disputes over

the years and one of the more prominent members began to find that the church had become very in-grown and lacking in evangelical outreach. It might be noted that the policy of the Old Mennonite Church in relation to evangelism began to change around 1875 and these changes were being severely questioned and challenged by many within the Church as a whole. Being a strong supporter of evangelism, this influential member decided to leave his home church and found another more in line with his spiritual convictions (Stauffer 1960:19). He was also a man of considerable property and wealth, with a large family, and was eager to settle on new land which offered high productivity and the opportunities for successful land dealing.

Therefore, in company with three other families from Seward County he responded to the opportunities offered near Tofield and settled there in 1910. Several other families from Seward County and Fillmore County, Nebraska and from Wellman, Iowa joined the original group. By 1912 four additional families had moved in from Wellman and another from Nebraska. Later arrivals, young Mennonite men escaping the United States military draft of 1917-18, settled in the area and married locally. However, many of these returned to the United States during the thirties.

A further addition was made in 1918 by the arrival of the congregation from Mayton, a small settlement in Southern Alberta, which was composed mainly of

Mennonites from Ontario who had moved to Osceola Country, Iowa in 1881 and who had their origins in a small sect of the Mennonite Church. Just prior to 1918 this congregation, which was very conservative and legalistic in outlook and practice, found itself embroiled in a series of crises due to the more liberal views of its pastor. Eventually, the pastor and a small supporting group within the congregation "defected", in the words of an informant. Without a strong person capable of assuming pastoral duties under the circumstances, the congregation decided to move to the Tofield area and join with Salem Church. Incidentally, this move was made on purely religious grounds as the land around Mayton was an extremely rich farming district and there was no economic advantage to the move.

In summary, then, the 'main root' of the Salem congregation is from the East Fairview Amish Mennonite Church near Milford, Howard County, Nebraska with additions from other congregations in Nebraska, Iowa and Mayton, Alberta. Since 1918 the congregation has grown, primarily by natural increase, to its present total of three hundred and seventeen baptized members, which is the highest in its history.

The first Mennonite immigrants began arriving in the Tofield area (see Map I, p. 110) not long after it had been opened for pioneer settlement. Completion of the Calgary-Edmonton railway line took place in 1892 and in

1893 government surveyors plotted the land around Beaver
Hill Lake. Much fertile land was acquired for homestead-
ing at this time. In 1897 two school districts were formed
and schools built at Bardo and Tofield[8]; a Post Office
was granted and Tofield was declared a village in 1907.
After the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway
in 1909, Tofield was incorporated as a town.

Three coal mines and a foundry were in opera-
tion in the area, as well as a gas well. The latter, how-
ever, gave out in 1913, leaving the Tofield Council with
debts which are not expected to be paid off until 1975.
Thus, interest in the town which had blossomed with the
gas well boom, began to fall off and land, which had been
marked for subdivisions, was returned to farm land.

Nevertheless, by 1914 the development of the
area was well in hand. In the early years of settlement
major services were available in the form of railways for
the shipment of grain and livestock, communications in
the form of the Post Office and the amenities of a small
trading centre. Although roads were non-existent--travel
to Edmonton necessitated a journey of sixty-five to ninety
miles as compared with forty today--it was possible to be
in contact with the rapidly developing centre of Edmonton

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[8]Centralization of schools was completed by 1960 and
closed down several smaller outlying institutions. In 1969 there
were over six hundred students attending the Tofield School, many
of them being bussed to the centre.

which also became the seat of the provincial government.

In addition to the native people who had traditionally hunted the Beaver Hills and camped around the shores of Beaver Hill Lake, several ethnic groups began to establish themselves in the area about the turn of the century. As they settled down, they quickly formed churches to attend to their spiritual needs. Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Baptist churches grew up in the district, with the later additions of the United, General Conference Mennonite and Mennonite Brethren churches. Many charter members of the latter two churches were sponsored in Canada by Salem Church. The religious plurality of the area, tied in many cases to the ethnic backgrounds of church members, may have contributed considerably to the ability of Salem Church to maintain itself as a distinct entity. Even today, the number of converts to local churches is quite small. On the other hand, religious diversity in conjunction with a religious environment of free competition, have undoubtedly urged Salem community to develop measures designed for minimizing such influences.

C. The Acquisition of Data

From the description of Introversionist sects which has been presented, it might be expected that the nature of the community would present some difficulty in

the acquisiton of data. To what extent would the members of a self-isolating, sectarian and conservative group accept the presence of a researcher within their community? The fact that they did so, were open with their archives, permitted attendance at all activities and spoke freely in informal situations is an example of the complex relationships such groups have with the surrounding society.

First, it may be remembered that Salem Church was founded partly as an affirmation of the importance of evangelism which later became a part of its programme. The researcher's presence in the community provided an opportunity for proselytizing, if not by exhortation, by friendly persuasion. Second, it provided an opportunity to demonstrate to the researcher, and to whatever wider audience she might reach, that the group had nothing to hide, that the ar good people who have not deserved the hostility and persecution which has been their lot.

While it appears that it was to their advantage to cooperate fully, certain other factors may be regarded as significant. First, initial contact was made on an informal and individual basis. This approach was advantageous in that the research could be presented as an individual interest rather than an institutional concern and appeared less threatening to the integrity of the community. Second, the age, sex and marital status of the researcher worked in favour of acceptance. Being of mature years, married and with children, provided entrée

for the researcher through women's interests and family concerns and activities. Frequent visits by husband and children confirmed the roles of wife and mother as well as graduate student, the wife and mother roles both being highly regarded in the community. Thus a good deal of historical material, particularly genealogies, was obtained from visits with women after common feminine concerns about childrearing and homemaking were established. These visits were often with older women who no longer had the responsibility of caring for children and who welcomed someone to whom they could recall stories of the earlier days.

Third, it is suspected that the sex and age of the researcher also proved an advantage. Because of the traditional Biblical view of women as subject to men, the men of the community tended to be less suspicious than they might have been with a young male researcher. On the whole the men of the community responded with less enthusiasm to my presence and questions than the women, but I was always treated in a kindly, serious and tolerant manner, if at times this was tinged with condescension.

Contact was first established during the Spring and Summer of 1969, with intermittent visits during the following Winter. Intensive research was undertaken from May to November of 1970 and 1971. Contact is still being maintained, but on a less frequent basis.

Participation in community events was always

welcomed and frequent 'working' visits were made to the
Ladies' Sewing Circle. All informants gave freely of
their time and hospitality and most talked openly about
family and community matters. It was noted, however, that
church officials tended to be more frank on the whole in
discussion of problems or 'problem people'. Financial
contributions were made, in lieu of payment of infor-
mants, to the Church, the ladies' groups and their vari-
ous projects.

One of the first tasks was to acquire data which
could be used to define the group ascriptively. This was
accomplished for the most part indirectly by noting in
informal situations who was included and excluded in re-
ference to the group. Particular attention was paid to
those who were known to have departed from traditional
practices or were infrequent visitors to the community.
The same tactics were applied to non-members in reference
to membership in the group.

The major part of the data was concerned with
the application of the typology of boundary-maintaining
devices, and can be divided along similar lines. With
regard to the spatial type, which includes spatial ar-
rangements within the community, the lay-out of the com-
munity was mapped, including the distances from major cen-
tres and schools. Frequency of visits to centres outside
the community and for what purposes was noted as well as
general excursions, such as vacations. A certain amount

of demographic data was also collected.

Data on the symbolic-technological type was gathered by observation and direct questioning, both of which were done in the homes of members. Past symbolic-technological practices and changes therein were described by several informants of advanced years and cross checked. Ritual practices were observed on a systematic basis during attendance at Church services. In all situations note taking and, on occasion, the use of a tape recorder, were permitted.

Internal-interactional boundary-maintaining devices were also studied by observation and questioning. In relation to economic matters, information was gathered on traditional and new occupational practices, the size of acreages, consumer practices, cooperative and collective labour and the sharing of equipment; participation in Trades' Unions, Cooperatives, Marketing Boards, Insurance Plans and government subsidies such as pensions, welfare, family allowances and so on. Permission was granted to examine the records of the Deacon's Fund which indicate the range of financial help given to those in need.

Social internal-interactional devices were assessed by gathering information on marriage patterns over four generations, rates of attrition of membership, baptismal practices, visiting patterns, frequency of Church attendance, attitudes towards and activities associated with education and participation in post-secondary educa-

tional instituions. Relations with the 'outside' authori-

ties, particularly on the issue of exemption from mili-

tary service, were obtained largely through conversations

with those directly involved. Finally, by participating

in a wide variety of community activities, it was possible

to gather data on the internal status system and the de-

gree of general cooperation, dependency and mutual con-

cern. Attempts were made, whenever possible, to check

answers to questions by referring them to different sec-

tors of the community, as well as by checking them against

actual events and practices.

Contacts with non-Mennonite informants were

based on a variety of approaches. First, members of

Salem who "married in" effected introductions to their

families and friends; second, contacts were made via

other churches in the area and third, fortuitous meetings

resulted in the setting up of data gathering sessions.

A local non-Mennonite school teacher was helpful in acquir-

ing data on educational matters. In all situations it is

believed that the acceptance of the researcher regarding

her legitimate intentions was facilitated by her accep-

tance by Salem community, known for its honesty and in-

tegrity. On all occasions it appeared that non-Mennonite

informants spoke freely of their attitudes and relations

with Salem community.

It has been frequently suspected and sometimes

documented that research of this nature brings changes to

a group under study. In certain cases these may be of a
dramatic kind as, for example, the introduction of hither-
to unknown items of technology. In the case of Salem, two
developments were noted as a result of this research.
First, the expansion of the inter-church Prayer and Bible
study group into a variety of evangelical activities has
been attributed to reaction to questions raised by the
writer. Although it is too early to determine, it may
well be that this development will result in the revival
of major evangelical activities on the part of Salem Church
as a whole. Second, the interest in family history ex-
hibited by the researcher, has prompted several members
to take a renewed interest in such matters to the extent
of recording and bringing such information up to date.
While not asserting that a comparable situation exists,
we might mention that the growth of historical studies in
nineteenth century English Quakerism

> was to revive the older sectarian aspects
> of Quakerism . . . . To some extent English
> Quakerism was remodelled in sectarian terms,
> with the abolition of the custom of recording
> ministers, and of birthright membership.
>
> (Isichei 1964:213, 220)

CHAPTER V

THE CONTEMPORARY CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

A. Identification of the Unit of Research

We have noted that in general terms of theoretical procedures and in specific terms relating to concrete situations, self-labelling or self-ascription can be of significance in delineating the unit of research. It was also noted that self-ascription entails expressing membership in a group by signals and signs and the sharing of fundamental value orientations for judging behaviour. Therefore, because Salem community is in close physical contact with other groups, shares many cultural traits, social institutions and a common language with them, the process of self-ascription enables us to conceptualize it as a demarcated unity for purposes of research.

The first criterion used by the group for self-ascription is that of full membership, by adult baptism, in Salem Church, with all the implications for belief and behaviour which membership demands. Children, before the age of baptism, are considered members of the community and potential members of the Church. Membership

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munity and potential members of the Church. Membership

demands acceptance of the doctrinal basis of the Church,

regular attendance at Church and Sunday School, behaviour

in accordance with the District Conference *Constitution and*

Discipline and conformity to the traditional ways of the

local congregation; in other words, acceptance of the

boundaries which are believed to differentiate the group

from others and implementation of the boundary-maintaining

devices. Unbaptized adults associated with Salem house-

holds and those persons who have withdrawn or have been

permanently excommunicated, are not considered members of

the Old Mennonite community by its members. There appears

to be no indeterminate ground and one is either a mem-

ber or not a member, either part of the community or

not part of it. In conversation a clear distinction is

always made between 'us' and 'them'. A question may be

raised as to whether those from non-Mennonite backgrounds

who became members of Church and community as adults ever

completely identify with them. In conversations with an

informant who married into Salem as a young woman and has

lived within its context for over sixty years, it was

noted that she referred often to 'them' or 'the Mennonites'

rather than using the terms 'we' or 'us Mennonites'. Si-

milar tendencies of classification were noted among other

adult converts, although in all cases their involvement in

the life of the community and the Church was above average.

The we/they dichotomy also extends to those who, having

once been full members of the Church, have now withdrawn.

Reference by an informant to family members no longer in the Church, usually includes a statement of their non-affiliation, and I have been introduced to withdrawn family members at recreational gatherings in terms of "He (or she) is not part of us".

In actuality, between the years of 1926 and 1970, a total of sixty-eight persons are recorded as having withdrawn from the Church, but only eleven of these remained in the district. Of these all but one withdrew because of marriage to members of other churches and are now totally identified with the other denominations in the eyes of Salem members. Families maintain kin ties with such persons but ties of friendship become, as one informant stated, "those of acquaintance, like we have with you-- they are not part of us and we don't see them except by chance". This is supported by the fact that in all the informal recreational gatherings that I attended there were never more than two or three such persons present.

The second major criterion of self-ascription is that of the physical location of persons and households in relation to the Church itself. Of the present eighty-seven active households only one, located in Edmonton, is at a distance which makes systematic contact difficult.[1] This

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[1]This does not apply to those engaged in missionary activities abroad. These persons are still considered members and if, on return, they should settle in the district, they would be integrated into the life of the community again.

is especially true in the winter months. While irregular

attendance at Church and related activities is accepted

under these conditions, it is expected that this house-

hold will decide to transfer its membership to the Ed-

monton Old Mennonite Church. All other households, how-

ever, live within an eight- to ten-mile radius of the

Church.

It should be noted that the term "Mennonite"

by which Salem members identify themselves in the local

context excludes the two other branches of Mennonitism

organized in the Tofield area: the General Conference

Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Brethren. Although

instrumental in helping to settle refugee Mennonites

from Russia in the district in the 1920's, and even per-

mitting a few to be buried in the graveyard adjoining

the Church, Salem members see themselves as being doc-

trinally and culturally distinct from these denominations.

In fact, Salem members usually collectively refer to

these other Mennonites as "Russians" and to themselves

as "the Tofield Mennonites", more infrequently as "the

Tofield Old Mennonites".

Therefore, the Salem community is composed of

those who are baptized members and potential members of

the Church and who act overtly in ways which validate

this identity. I have found no instances of persons

claiming membership when indeed it did not exist or, con-

versely, rejecting a valid membership. Thus, the primary

means of validation is by membership in Salem Church which

prescribes belief and behaviour with regard to spiritual

goals, relations with other Salem members and with the

'outside'.   A secondary means is by virtue of residence

within a certain radius of the focus of community acti-

vities--the Church.

B.   The Context of Analysis--Demographic, Economic and
     Social Features of Salem

        We propose at this point to present a brief

discussion of some of the salient demographic, economic

and social features of Salem Church-community in order

to provide a context or framework for the subsequent dis-

cussion of boundary-maintaining devices.   Some of these

details will be related to similar statistics from other

Old Mennonite congregations in North America and from

the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference of which Salem is

a member.   However, in relating these sets of statistics

to each other, the disparity between the dates on which

they were gathered should be taken into account.   The

appropriate statistics for Old Mennonites and the Alberta-

Saskatchewan Conference were taken from the *Mennonite Family

Census* of 1963; those of Salem were gathered primarily in

1970-71.   The intervening period of time was one in

which major changes are likely to have taken place in

both instances.   Thus, while direct comparisons cannot be

made, relating the data to each other helps us to place

Salem in relation to her sister congregations in order to
perceive the various rates of change among Introversion-
ist sects of the same ideological origin.

1. Demographic featu: s.

The Salem Old Mennonites are located primarily
in two adjoining rural townships which lie on a north/
south axis in the County of Beaver, Central Alberta (see
Map I). The community also includes a few parcels of
land to the east and south-west, the latter in the County
of Camrose. The area is well serviced by a major high-
way, one of the trans-continental railways, and rail
spurs which link several small neighbouring towns and
villages with each other and with a major urban centre,
Edmonton, approximately fifty miles to the west. In addi-
tion, a well developed network of secondary roads inter-
sects the district.

The land is gently rolling prairie with numerous
and often large shallow lakes or sloughs, one of which is
a well-known wild bird sanctuary. In most parts of the
district the bedrock is overlaid by till which provides
good farming land. Natural gas and coal are to be found
in the area.

The nearest town is Tofield, approximately five
miles to the north-west, with a population of nine hundred

Map I: LOCATION OF SALEM COMMUNITY IN ALBERTA

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

bistcho lake

FORT SMITH

zema lake

MEANDER RIVER

lake athabaska

FORT CHIPEWYAN

lake claire

FORT VERMILION

MANNING

FORT McMURRAY

PEACE RIVER

utikuma lake

SPIRIT RIVER

lesser slave lake

winefred lake

HIGH PRAIRIE

GRAND PRAIRIE

lac la biche

SWAN HILLS

ATHABASCA

LAC LA BICHE

cold lake

COLD LAKE

WHITECOURT

WESTLOCK

ST PAUL

EDSON

EDMONTON

TOFIELD

RYLEY

SALEM

LLOYDMINSTER

DRAYTON VALLEY

WETASKIWIN

CAMROSE

WAINWRIGHT

JASPER

RED DEER

CORONATION

SUNDRE

BANFF

DRUMHELLER

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA
CANADA

CALGARY

BROOKS

CLARESHOLM

MEDICINE HAT

LETHBRIDGE

pakowki lake

MAP PREPARED BY
POPULATION RESEARCH LABORATORY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CARDSTON

BRITISH COLUMBIA

SASKATCHEWAN

ROCKY MOUNTAINS

and twenty-four[2]; Camrose, approximately ten miles to
the south-west, is a bustling city of eight thousand, six
hundred and seventy-three; two smaller villages to the
east, Ryley and Holden, have populations of four hundred
and twenty-eight and four hundred and forty-eight respec-
tively. Edmonton, the provincial capital, is a growing
industrial city of 438,152 and is the hub of the oil in-
dustry in Western Canada as well as an important agri-
cultural centre.

Salem community is composed of ninety-three
households of which eighty-seven are considered active[3]
and form the basis for the gathering and analysis of
data. They are dispersed throughout four townships in
Beaver County, four in Camrose County and in the cities
of Edmonton, Camrose, Tofield and Ryley. Of the eighty-
seven active households, fifty-four or sixty-two percent
live on the farm, although eight of these are not active-
ly engaged in farming, and thirty-three (thirty-eight per-
cent) in the cities and towns where they work or are re-
tired--one in Edmonton, eight in Camrose, eighteen in
Tofield and six in Ryley.

Traditionally, Mennonites and other Anabap-
tist sects have been predominantly rural peoples but,

---

[2]Figures taken from the 1971 *Census of Canada*.

[3]The remaining six households consist of three members
who are permanently hospitalized and three whose names are still on
the Church register but who have moved elsewhere.

according to the (1963) *Mennonite Family Census,* the distri-
bution of the populations of eighteen Conference districts
at that time was fifty-one percent rural and forty-nine
percent urban. Contemporary Mennonite congregations clus-
ter in two regions in North America, one cluster being
formed on the prairies and to the west, the other in the
north-east which is an area with a highly urban popula-
tion. The distribution computed by the *Mennonite Family*
Census reflects this spatial dispersal of Old Mennonite
congregations. On the other hand, the Alberta-
Saskatchewan Conference which is located on the prairies,
had seventy-two percent of its households in rural areas
in 1963. Today, Salem community, which is part of the
Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference but located close to an
urban centre, has sixty-two percent of its members living
on farms.

Salem households are comprised of three hundred
and thirty-two persons; one hundred and seventy-four
(fifty-two percent) are males and one hundred and fifty-
eight (forty-eight percent) are females, including two
widowers, eleven widows and three spinsters. Age dis-
tribution is shown in Figure III.

It will be noted that the under-twenty age
groups in Salem community are very large, consisting of
forty-five percent of the total group; that is, almost
half of the community is composed of young people. Of
the remainder, thirty-six percent are over forty, but in

Figure III.

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN SALEM COMMUNITY--1970-71

SALEM COMMUNITY
322 Members and Children

+80

60-80

50-60

40-50

30-40

20-30

10-20

0 - 10

40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40

MALES
174:52%

per cent

FEMALES
158:48%
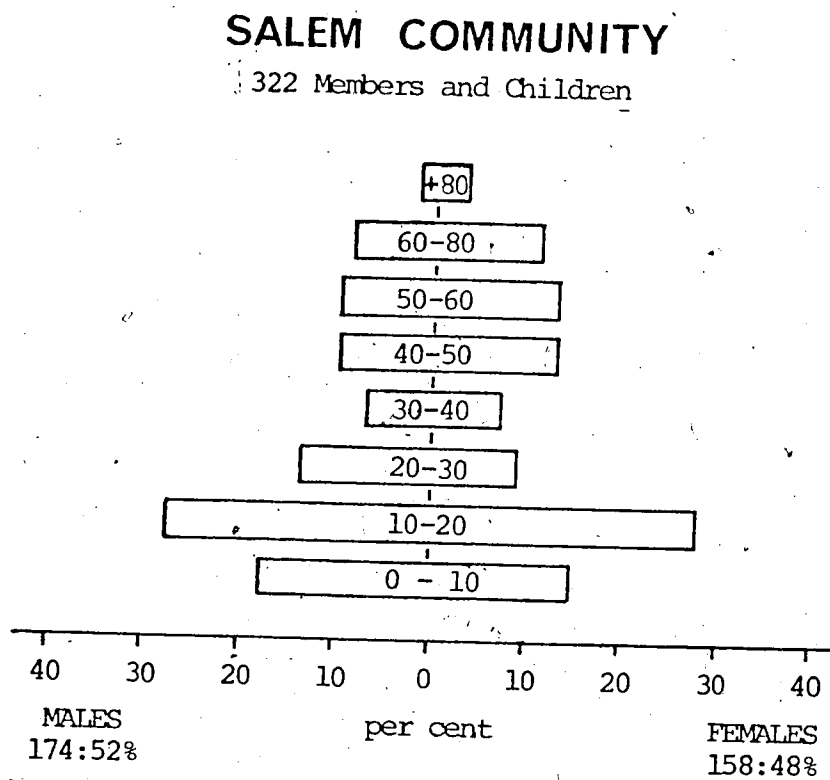
the context of adult status, this group forms sixty-five
percent of those over twenty. Thus there is a prepon-
derance of persons in Salem community over forty and
under twenty, a circumstance which is common among rural
populations in North America generally. Such a distri-
bution is a consequence of the growing numbers of young
adults who leave home for work opportunities and occupa-
tional and professional training in cities and urban cen-
tres.

The number of children per family in the eighty-
seven active households of Salem exceeds both the average
for Alberta (1.9) and that of rural Alberta (2.2) accord-
ing to the *Census of Canada*, 1966. The number of children
per family in Salem Church-community is 3.9 averaged on
the total number of households and rises to 4.2 when
only households with children are included. The data
also indicate that the average number of children in
families whose household heads are retired is slightly
higher than that of other households, indicating a ten-
dency towards larger families in the past.

The eighty-seven active households of Salem have
produced three hundred and forty-two living children. Of
these, one hundred and seventy-five are presently at
home (fifty-one percent) and one hundred and sixty-seven
(forty-nine percent) have left home, primarily because of
work and marriage. The figures in Table I show those who
have left their natal households but remain affiliated

with the home Church; those who have joined Old Mennonite congregations elsewhere and those who have no affiliation with either Salem or the Old Mennonite Church.

Table I

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF CHILDREN LEAVING HOME

Salem Affiliation	Old Mennonite Affiliation Elsewhere	Not Affiliated	Total
69 (41%)	62 (37%)	36 (22%)	167 (100%)

Hostetler (1963) has documented the pattern of attrition commonly found in Amish society where deviant behaviour eventually leads to affiliation with a less conservative Anabaptist sect. The choice is usually made within Mennonitism. In a community such as Salem we would expect, in the light of Hostetler's data, to find withdrawn members in affiliation with less conservative Mennonite congregations. Further, as there are two other Mennonite Churches in the district, we would anticipate such a pattern, particularly in relation to the General Conference Mennonite Church in Tofield. However, although the data are incomplete for the thirty-six non-affiliated offspring, eight (twenty-two percent) are known to have joined the Lutheran Church, while the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Alliance and the Church of God have received one each. The data on the remaining twenty-

five persons are inconclusive which suggests that they may not belong to any religious organization. Therefore, Salem Church does not resemble the Amish pattern despite its Amish Mennonite background.

In the eighty-seven households there are three hundred and thirty-two persons who belong to Salem community of which two hundred and forty-one (seventy-one percent) are baptized members of Salem Church. The remaining ninety-one unbaptized persons consist of eighty-eight children and three others--one retarded adult, the non-Mennonite wife of a Salem member and one young adult (who has been baptized since the data were gathered). The records of Salem Church, kept more or less systematically since 1926, show that, out of a total recruitment of four hundred and fifty-seven, there have been one hundred and eleven non-Salemites baptized and recommended or admitted by Letter to Church membership. Therefore, seventy-six percent of new members has been drawn from among the families of existing members.

2. Economic features

Originally a totally farming community, Salem now has thirty-five of eighty-seven active households fully engaged in this occupation, with an additional twelve being part-time farmers. Of these forty-seven households, thirty-four farm 460 acres and over while the remaining thirteen farm 320 acres or less. Table II

shows the acreages owned and rented by both the full- and
part-time farmers of Salem.

Table II

ACREAGES OWNED AND RENTED BY SALEM FARMERS*

	-320	320	460	480	560	640	720	800	+800
Full-time Farmers	1	8	1	7	3	6	--	2	4
Part-time Farmers	2	2	--	2	1	1	1	--	1
Total	3	10	1	9	4	7	1	2	5

*Based on 42 of 47 farms

Since the early days, the majority of Salem
farmers have moved from being self-sufficient to becom-
ing more commercial and specialized. At the present
time, thirty-one percent of all farmers raise dairy cows,
twenty-four percent raise beef cattle while the remainder
raise pigs or chickens or a combination of pigs and beef
or dairy cows and beef. Only two part-time farmers spe-
cialize in grain, although most farmers grow grain to feed
their stock. There appears to be no relation between the
size of farm worked and the commercial specialty involved,
as we find the same specialty or combination of special-
ties in the over 800-acre and under 460-acre farms.

The number of male household heads engaged in
full-time employment other than farming is fifteen at
present, approximately seventeen percent of the total

number of households. Table III gives a breakdown of the
figures for occupations presently held by the heads of
eighty-seven Salem households.

Table III

OCCUPATIONS OF EIGHTY-SEVEN
SALEM HOUSEHOLD HEADS, 1970-71

Farmers	Other Employment	Retired	Female Household Heads	Unemployed	Total
F* 35 P* 12 } 47	15	12	12	1	87

F* denotes full time
P* denotes part time

If we omit the twelve Female Household Heads
and the twelve Retired Male Household Heads we find that,
out of sixty-three households which might be expected to
be following the traditional occupation of farming,
seventy-five percent are indeed engaged in this occupa-
tion, although only fifty-six percent are working at this
on a full-time basis. But, in terms of the total number
of households at Salem, only forty percent are full-time
farmers.

In comparison with figures from the (1963) *Men-
nonite Family Census* which showed thirty-nine percent for
full-time farming among Old Mennonite congregations ge-
nerally, Salem at forty percent is close to the average
for that date. However, Salem percentages are considerably

less than those computed for the Alberta-Saskatchewan Con-
ference District which showed that sixty-seven percent of
Conference households were engaged in full-time farming.
Although Salem is part of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Con-
ference, it is less remote than many of its sister con-
gregations in that Conference; further, we should expect
the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference as a whole to   a
higher percentage of full-time farmers as its total
encompasses one of the world's most important agricul-
tural regions.

        At present, all non-retired male household
heads, with one exception, are employed. Of the twelve
female household heads six are employed outside the home
and six are at home. (There is also one female household
head who farms full time, but this household has been ca-
tegorized under full-time farmers.) There are seventy-
two households with married women whose husbands are
alive and of these fifty-six remain at home, nine work
full time outside the home, six work part time and one
attends univeristy. Thus, approximately seventy-eight
percent of the married women of Salem fulfill the tradi-
tional role of homemaker exclusively. This is somewhat
lower than the (1963) *Mennonite Family Census* figures for
Old Mennonite congregations generally where eighty-two
percent were homemakers, and for the Alberta-Saskatchewan
Conference where they comprised eighty-five percent of
married women.

A breakdown of the figures for working wives in Salem shows that the largest number is associated with non-farming households and the smallest number with farming households. Only one wife of the full-time farmers and three of the part-time farmers work, but ten wives of non-farming households have jobs as well as two wives of retired male household heads. In view of the nature of full-time farming, the small number of working wives in this category is to be expected. In the case of women associated with non-farming households, the larger number of working wives may be due, in part, to the relatively unskilled nature of their husbands' jobs which places financial burdens on the households.

It is reported that the original community was relatively homogenous in terms of economic status; only two or three households would have been sufficiently prosperous to consider banking their surplus funds. Further, all member households of Salem were engaged in farming enterprises and this contributed to the homogeneity of the community. In more recent times, economic disparity has grown among Salem members, partly as a result of individual circumstances and partly as a result of the increasing numbers engaged in a variety of occupations and professions. This disparity is apparent in the relative accumulation of consumer goods, farm machinery, home furnishings, state of repair of houses and the frequency and duration of vacations taken by Salem members.

It should be noted, however, that these overt signs of affluence may be misleading in some cases where the emphasis on 'plain' living mitigates against the display of consumer goods but where financial surpluses are considerable. On the whole, however, the life styles of Salem members have become less similar over the years, although this may be due less to changing economic circumstances than to greater exposure to 'the world' and a variety of dissimilar experiences in that world.

3. Features of social organization

a. The formal organization of Salem Church

Salem Church is under the spiritual leadership of a Bishop, two ministers, one of whom at present is semi-retired, and a Deacon. These three offices, which relate directly to the spiritual concerns of the congregation, are assumed by baptized males chosen by lot.[4] All other offices require election by majority vote. Of the present incumbents of the three 'spiritual' offices, the semi-retired minister is the only one who has had some formal theological training. The present active minister is a teacher in the local school and has a degree in education from the University of Alberta. The Bishop and Deacon are full-time farmers. At present the office of Bishop is a partially paid position while that of minis-

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[4]See Appendix for a description of choosing by lot.

ter is not.[5]

The office of Bishop is that of pastor and general overseer of the parish, carrying responsibility for baptism and the preparation for baptism, for celebrating communion, for officiating at weddings and funerals and for ultimately enforcing the Ban or excommunication. Preaching and teaching are the primary tasks of ministers, but they may assist with or perform the Bishop's duties with his permission or under his supervision. The Deacon assists the Bishop in the performance of his spiritual duties and supervises the material needs of Church members. He administers a fund, comprised of contributions from the congregation, from which he may draw at his discretion in aiding Church members; he is also empowered to help non-Salem residents of the district in time of need.

Under these offices come the various organizations which handle pedagogical, social and material matters involved in Church affairs. These include the three Trustees who manage the financial concerns of the congregation as a whole and the on-going work of the parish; the Sunday School Committee which is concerned primarily with teaching; the W.M.S.A. (Women's Missionary Service Auxiliary); the G.M.S.A. (Girls' Missionary Service Auxiliary) and the M.Y.F. (Mennonite Youth Fellowship).

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[5]Nevertheless, a 'love gift' may be made to the minister from time to time and this takes the form of a cash gift.

All these organizations have executive offices which are open each year for the election of new members. In the case of the Trustees, one office is filled every year, thus providing some continuity of administration. Further, each of the above organizations has a variety of committees associated with its over-all responsibilities. For example, the Sunday School Committee has two sub-committees, Music and Library, while the W.M.S.A. has five sub-committees--Service, Visiting, Hostess, Cutting and Scrubbing. Thus the opportunities for actively participating in Church affairs are many and open to people of all ages and both sexes. Nevertheless, women are excluded from holding certain positions, such as that of Trustee or Sunday School Superintendent, in accordance with the Biblical view that women must not be placed in a position of authority over men (I Corinthians:11:3).

Originally affiliated with the Western Amish Mennonite Conference[6] which embraced congregations from the Mississippi River west and some in Illinois, Salem Church joined the Alberta-Saskatchewan District Conference in 1915, a few years after the first families settled near Tofield. The switch in affiliation from the more conservative Amish Mennonite Conference[7] to the more liberal

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[6]See Chapter IV, page 93.

[7]In affiliating with the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference, Salem was ahead of the Western Amish Mennonite Conference which did not merge with the Mennonites in its area until 1920-21 (Dyck 1967: 183).

Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference was prompted by the great distances which separated Salem from her sister congregations in the Western Conference. Nevertheless, the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference is more conservative than other Old Mennonite Conferences due to the relatively high proportion of those with Amish Mennonite background. It is composed of eleven organized congregations and ten dependent or unorganized congregations and meets annually to discuss and make decisions on matters related to the General Conference and its Committees and to the various Boards associated with the Old Mennonite Church. In addition, the District Conference tackles matters of purely local interest.

As one of the larger congregations in the District Conference, Salem sends a considerable number of delegates to sit on its Committees. These delegates are elected by the full adult members of Salem Church to their term of office; women are elected to serve on those committees which are the concern of women. Salem Church is also one of the largest financial contributors to the work of the District Conference.

A number of the community activities of Salem centre around the Church and its spiritual and social aspects. Services are held twice on Sundays while choir practices are often held on Sunday afternoons. The M.Y.F. also holds weekly choir practices. There is a weekly Prayer Meeting, primarily attended by the older members

of the congregation, which may be held in the homes of the
participants.   A Bibl. Study group was formed about three
years ago by some couples and meets weekly; this group has
incorporated a few members of other local Churches such
as the Lutheran, Alliance, United and others.   The M.Y.F.
holds social gatherings every week which may include re-
creational outings.   The W.M.S.A. and G.M.S.A. meet
monthly.

There are several "Fellowship Dinners" held dur-
ing the year and these take place after the Sunday morning
service, while "Fellowship Suppers" precede the ev ing
service. Twenty-fifth. and fiftieth wedding anniversaries
are often celebrated by Salem community as a whole and
held at an old schoolhouse which has been taken over as
Salem's community centre.   Weddings, funerals, family re-
unions (often on a grand scale with over one hundred people
present) are all occasions which bring Salem members to-
gether as a community. Finally, an annual event is the
Alberta-Saskatchewan District Conference meetings which
are held on a rotating basis in the various parishes.   On
the most recent occasion when Salem played host for the
event, all of the Church-community was involved in pre-
parations for accommodating over six hundred people and
in participating in the Conference meetings.

Formerly Salem Church was engaged in local evan-
gelical activities and was a pioneer in a sense, in the
district. At one time it was responsible for the operation

of three miss   Sunday Schools and a Summer Bible School.
As the local churches began to initiate such activities
among 'their own parishioners, Salem's efforts in this di-
rection were reduced and, at present, only the Bible
School remains.

The Discipline of Salem Old Mennonite Church
follows that of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference which
it adopted on joining the latter body in 1915. It must
be supposed that this Discipline did not compromise Salem's
doctrinal position despite the conservative Amish Mennonite
background of the majority of Salem members. The Alberta-
Saskatchewan Conference *Constitution and Discipline* is based
on the Dordrecht Confession of Faith of 1632 and the Con-
ference adopted the statement of doctrine of the General
Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America, Gar-
den City, Missouri in 1921. In 1971 it was proposed to
adopt the Mennonite Confession of Faith of the Mennonite
General Conference of 1963. All these Confessions specify
the doctrinal basis of faith, the duties of ministers,
bishops and church members, proper standards of behaviour
and relations with 'the world'. In the past, authority
in all such matters rested with the District Conference,
including rules about owning radios and television sets,
relations with Wheat Pools, labour unions and so on. Now
local congregations are much more autonomous in such mat-
ters and the local Bishop is given the final authority.

Discipline is administered in 'informal' ways

by such means as sermons dealing with improper behaviour
or contentious issues, informal 'talks' with offenders and
by gossip; formal sanctions are imposed by meetings with
Church officials' and finally by excommunication--a con-
gregational decision initiated by the Bishop and Trus-
tees. In the past, both formal and informal sanctions
were much more strictly enforced. Today, the tendency
is to be more lenient, "not to condemn and to leave a good
deal to a person's own conscience". However, drug abuse
and divorce, persistent drinking, joining the military
and police forces and joining another church bring auto-
matic excommunication. Nevertheless, all these offences
may be forgiven and membership restored on confession
and repentance. As Barclay (1967:16) has noted for Plain
People generally:

> In the end, the murderer who confesses and
> repents and submits to the church is more
> acceptable than the man who drinks or smokes
> or swears and refuses to submit to the will
> of the church.

Finally, membership in the Church can be ob-
tained by two means--baptism and recommendation. In the
latter case, persons or families moving into the district
from other Old Mennonite congregations may become members
of Salem Church on presentation of a letter from their
previous Bishops. In a few cases, persons from non-
Mennonite Churches who have undergone conversion and adult
baptism are admitted to Salem Church on recommendation;
this has always been a policy of Salem Church and re-

baptism is not demanded if the requirements of adult

baptism have been met. Persons may leave Salem Church

and transfer to other Old Mennonite Churches by Letter;

but it is expected that permission to remove will be

sought from the congregation as a whole, although nowa-

days this remains more of a courtesy than a rule.

b. The role of age grading in Salem

Most societies use descriptive linguistic ca-

tegories which classify their members at various stages

in their life cycles. These categories are known as

age grades and vary considerably among cultures. Age

grades have significance for the study of social organi-

zation, however, when age is regarded as *a criterion for

membership in either formal or informal social groups"* (Bohannan

1966:150). Among contemporary Anabaptist sects, age

grading is at its most formal among the Hutterian Brethren

where, in particular, the social life of children up to

the age of fifteen is rigidly structured in terms of

age (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:22). But because

these age groups *"do not correspond simply to biological phases

but represent social functions"* (ibid.) they are correct in

calling them age sets. Less formal age grading is found

among the Old Order Amish, although senior age grades

always assume authority over less senior and junior grades.

In Salem, age grades constitute part of the social struc-

ture, the most significant being those initiated by at-

tendance at Sunday School, and which bear broad similari-

ties to the classic age sets described by anthropologists in African studies.

As a rule when young children are old enough to be separated from their parents for an hour or so, they are placed in a Sunday School class with their contemporaries and "stay there until they die". Thus, regular attendance at Church effects interaction with the same persons for a considerable part of the service. If people remain in the Church as adults, this association may continue for over fifty years. This may explain, in part, the often half-hearted discussions of Sunday School lessons which I observed; everyone's point of view is already well known! There has been an attempt recently to break up the classes and about four women moved out of the "old people's class" into a younger one, but returned to their original class within a matter of months. It was reported that they felt uncomfortable among younger women whose interests and experiences were different from their own. One influential Church member stated that he hoped to introduce intergenerational classes, but expected a lot of opposition; he felt he could *talk the younger ones into it, but some old people will refuse*. He admitted that he could see the idea being accepted some years from now.

These age grades tend to be diffused throughout all Church and related activities. For example, seating in the Church tends to follow a pattern based on age grades, the most senior members being seated at the front

and the most junior at the back. (Hearing aids are permanently installed in the front pews for senior members).
Another example concerns the W.M.S.A. monthly meetings which are held in the evening for the younger women and in the late morning and afternoon for the middleaged and older women. While this arrangement is allegedly made on the basis of practicality--the problem of leaving young children during the day--it certainly exhibits a tendency to classify people according to age for Church-related tasks. Further, in the afternoon sessions, the older women--the 'Grandmas'--usually quilt and are often found in one corner of the room while the 'younger' women engage in other kinds of work. Again this may be explained by the fact that few of the latter care to take the time to work on quilting (a painstaking and laborious task), but when I have been quilting the remark has been made, "Oh, you're working with the Grandmas today!" rather than referring to the type of work being done. The oldest category or age grade is the only one to be distinguished by a name-- Grandpa and Grandma--although these are terms of reference, not of address, except in cases of kinship.

Another example occurred at an annual Church picnic which I attended. All persons, including children, were asked to form specific age groups (based on Sunday School classes) and then each group was asked to choose and present a hymn or Bible reading by itself. Even in recreational situations age grades are important.

A more formally recognized age grade is associated with an organization found in all Old Mennonite congregations, consisting of young people or teenagers. This group is called the Mennonite Youth Fellowship and in Salem it performs certain functions related to Church life, has its own projects and initiates its own recreational pursuits. As a group it is integrated into the community structure primarily through undertaking responsibility for certain Church activities--new teachers for Sunday School are drawn from this reserve which also provides ushers and song leaders. The M.Y.F. is also responsible for conducting Sunday evening services on a regular basis. Other activities include the formation of a Choir which tours the Conference District; cultivation of a plot of land near the Church; the sale of crops from this land and the donation of money to certain concerns associated with the Church or District Conference.

In which ways are these age grades, informal or formal, significant in the decision making which affects the group as a whole? An examination of all the executive positions connected with Salem, plus their committees and sub-committees, reveals that in 1970 the average age of persons serving in such positions is fifty. This applies to both male and female organizations. In the cases of the Bishop, ministers and Deacon the average age rises to fifty-nine. While older people may have considerable influence in the community, there are no re-

presentatives over sixty-five in any executive or commit-
tee position. The younger people, represented by the
M.Y.F., are also excluded from participation in the exe-
cutive or committee structure and are responsible to their
elders in that structure. Further, the number of young
people of appropriate age who attend the annual Business
Meetings is extremely small.

In short, the affairs of the Church and com-
munity are in the hands of the forty to sixty age group
and this can be seen in relation to the age distribution
charted previously (page 113). In other words, this age
group provides the largest numerical source for administra-
tive positions.[8] Nevertheless, this category is composed
of persons whose upbringing and experience has taken place
in a highly traditional context. Given the accelerating
rate of departure of the young from Salem community as
revealed by the Age Distribution Chart, it might be ex-
pected that the concern for traditionalism would be per-
petuated by this older age group; that is, boundary main-
tenance would be conceived primarily in traditional terms.

c. Social grouping by sex

Another grouping which is significant in terms

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[8]It might be noted that the tendency for authority to
lie in the hands of the forty to sixty age group was not characteris-
tic of Salem's earlier times. Biographical research reveals that
the average age at which the offices of Sunday School Superinten-
dent, minister and Deacon were assumed by several men was twenty-
nine. This is to be expected from the fact that Salem was a 'young'
Church in its early history.

of Salem's organization and activities is based on sex,
a characteristic that is shared in some degree with the
Hutterian Brethren and the Old Order Amish. Social group-
ing by sex is expressed by the seating arrangements in
Church--men on one side, women on the other--although it
is now acceptable for young married couples to sit to-
gether. In a few cases whole families will be seated
together and this has been encouraged of late and it is
believed to result in better behaviour on the part of
youngsters; but the sexual distinction is always made by
older people in the context of the Church services. There
are also entrances to the Church buildings which are as-
sociated with this sexual distinction, in that the major-
ty of men utilize the north door, the women the east door
After the service the men are usually to be found on the
north side of the building while the women and children
congregate on the east side. It is rare to see women in-
teract with each other or with men on the north side.

Traditionally, Sunday School classes have been
sexually segregated and remain so for older members.
Mixed classes were introduced three years ago for younger
married couples, but the trend is moving back towards se-
gregation again as it was felt that married women were
less free to express their opinions in the presence of
their husbands.

We have already noted (page 123) that women are
excluded from holding certain offices in Church organiza-

tion, but, in addition, the W.M.S.A. and its sub-committees are also responsible to the Trustees, all of whom are male. This dependence is extended to the District Conference level where a male is elected to attend the W.M.S.A. sessions and report back to the Delegate Sessions which are attended only by males.[9] Moreover, the participation of women in the Annual Business Meeting of Salem Church was allowed only recently and subsequent female attendance at these Meetings has been very small. One informant expressed the belief that women were only invited to participate because the cleaning of the Church premises was taken over by women of the Church working cooperatively. Therefore, the men decided to permit women to be present in order to discuss the delegation of work to be done by them. From personal observation at these Meetings, it was noted that those women who were present took no part in open discussions and spoke only to ask specific questions of information.

Another manifestation of the supremacy of males at Salem is the importance given to rules about women's dress (to be discussed more fully in the following chapter). Rules about personal appearance are much more stringent for females than for males and symbolize and express the dependence of women upon men in their roles

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[9]It was an unusual occurrence when the writer, an outsider and a female researcher, was granted permission to attend one of the Delegate Sessions.

as wives and mothers.

The adherence to Biblical strictures about the differential importance of male and female roles has resulted in a male monopoly of decision making at the Church-community level. This does not imply, however, that in the smaller context of their homes women may not have considerable influence and participate indirectly in decision making through discussion with their husbands.

Thus, activities which are Church-centred, tend to bring into sharp focus the importance attached to groups based on sex and age. While much less rigid and explicit than similar patterns found among the Hutterites and the Old Order Amish, they serve to highlight the traditional concerns and characteristics of the group. Given their most explicit expression in Church services, such groups based on age or sex reflect and emphasize the divine 'order' of the world as perceived by the sect.

. d. Kin groupings

What is the significance of kin groups in the social structure of the present community? The group of primary importance is the nuclear family which is believed to be ordained by God, to be, the foundation of Christian living and the basis of a Christian society. Thus, any threats to its sanctity are taken most seriously; divorce is forbidden to sect members as a violation of the sacred design for living and brings automatic and permanent ex-

communication.[10] Further, the Church relies on the nu-

clear family as the major source of its new members and

entrusts it with the socialization and enculturation of

children in terms of eventual recruitment. In this en-

deavour the Church and Church-community generally act as

supporting structures, exhorting and encouraging parents

to train their children in the principles of Mennonite

faith and practice, and to set examples of behaviour in

accord with Scriptural goals. Lastly, the nuclear family

provides the ultimate context in which boundary mainten-

ance receives its most basic support. The community as

a whole is dependent on individual families to implement

boundary-maintaining devices and uphold their integrity.

In addition to its biological, social and

ideological functions, the nuclear family of the Old Men-

nonite community is also the basic economic unit of the

community, providing for the present and future needs of

its members. Although there are a few cases of coopera-

tive labour among farming families of Salem, in conjunc-

tion with the joint use and ownership of farm machinery,

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[10]An interesting problem arose in the case of a person
admitted to membership after unwittingly marrying a divorced mate.
When this was revealed in a fit of pique by the mate, the Church was
thrown into upheaval; the more conservative elements favoured imme-
diate excommunication, but the more liberal argued that ignorance on
the part of the new member, coupled with exemplary behaviour, demand-
ed a more 'loving' response. Eventually, after much argument, a com-
promise was reached which allowed the couple to stay together for the
sake of the children, but they had to refrain from sexual relations.
The member finally left the district and withdrew membership.

the number is small and does not reduce the importance of individual families in economic matters. However, since Salem Mennonites are prohibited from joining associations of mutual aid organized or dominated by 'outsiders', they are in a more vulnerable position when faced with economic crises. To alleviate such problems there are several Old Mennonite organizations such as the Mennonite Mutual Relief Insurance Company Limited which are intended to fill this gap. Within the Church-community the Deacon's Fund extends aid to those families which require it.

Unlike the families of the Hutterian Brethren, Old Mennonite families of Salem perform the functions similar to those of North American society generally. However, unlike nuclear families in the larger society, they have the additional function of preserving the boundaries around the group in order for it to achieve its desired degree of self-isolation. This places an additional strain on an institution which is already subject to considerable stress. Therefore, the Church, in preaching and teaching, emphasizes the importance of a strong family unit whose members are devoted to each other and to the preservation of Old Mennonite principles of faith and practice.

The importance of the bonds between family members, especially between siblings, tends to dissolve, as children mature and age groups assume more signifi-

cance in their lives. Because families in the past tended to be large, there was often a wide age spread between the oldest and youngest members. Therefore, as some informants stated, families are taken for granted and, rather than thinking too much about kin ties, people tend to socialize with those in the Church-community of similar age and interests. There is one exception, a large family, which is reported to be very close-knit with few intimate friends within the Church-community; but, as this fact was emphasized on several occasions, it appears to be a-typical of family life in general.

The majority of kin groups are represented at all levels of the organization of Salem Church. However, at the time of research, it was noted that five families were particularly prominent in this respect. One family provides five brothers to fill a series of important offices, including that of Bishop, while the senior members of the other four families are well represented in other offices. In the case of the first family, it might be said that, at this time, it dominates the life of the Church and it is suspected that other families in the past may have been dominant due to size, number of males, disposition and religious commitment. It should be noted that wealth or material success are not important factors in terms of strategic leaders in Salem. However, large families dominate socially as their members marry into other kin groups; that is, they are represented in a

greater number of kin groups. In this case, there are
four large 'families'[11] which, extended through time,
have absorbed the members of smaller families within their
ranks by marriage. To a considerable extent it could be
stated that they form the nucleus of the social organiza-
tion of Salem Church-community and, whether or not their
members, occupy important offices, they have influenced
and continue to influence the community life of the group.

In summary, the most important groups in Salem
are first, the formal ones associated with the administra-
tion of the Church; second, those related to age, sex
and the nuclear family and third, dominant kin groups.
A traditional view of the world based on Christian and
Mennonite principles springs primarily from these groups
based on age and sex in conjunction with the nuclear fa-
mily and this is most obvious in Church-related activi-
ties. Such groups also provide a social system in which
everyone has a divinely appointed status and role and which
affords a measure of security and predictability in social
and affective terms.

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[11]See Chapter VII, page 212, for the anthropological
definition of the 'family' in this respect.

CHAPTER VI

SPATIAL AND SYMBOLIC-TECHNOLOGICAL TYPES
OF BOUNDARY-MAINTAINING DEVICES

We have outlined the major demographic and socio-
economic characteristics of the group under study, and
the organization and activities of the Church-community.
We now proposed to apply the typology of boundary-
maintaining devices suggested previously and to explore
the relations between types, which should enable us to
discern changes in the character of the group over time.

A. The Spatial Type

It has been noted that the availability of de-
vices which belong to the spatial type reduces the impor-
tance of and the need for other endogenous devices. To
what extent are spatial devices significant in the c n
of Salem community? At present, the community is no
spatially isolated as it is located in a well-populated
rural district within easy reach of several villages,
towns, a ty   d a large urban centre. Moreover, when
the charter   ers of Salem Church arrived in the area,
it had already been opened up for development by a consi-
derable number of settlers, had established a School

District, a Post Office, railway terminals and rail spurs.

But roads were not developed at this time and travel was

by horseback, Democrat and on foot, and was often diffi-

cult and lengthy. Map II shows that in 1917 Salem was a

fairly compact community whose twenty member households

were settled primarily in two clusters in Township 49,

Range 18, West 4, the southernmost of four townships in

Beaver County where the present member households are to

be found. Reference to Map III will show that since that

time they have expanded and consolidated from the nucleus

of holdings, mainly in Townships 49 and 50, Range 18, West

4, but not significantly into other Townships. Although

clustered in Townships 49 and 50, there are intervening

farms in these Townships which do not belong to Salem mem-

bers. Nevertheless, a majority of Salem farms here are

contiguous at some point, particularly in the southern

Township which also includes the Church buildings. The

farms in Camrose County are at a greater distance from the

major cluster and the central focus of community--Salem

Church. On the whole however, Salem has retained its com-

pact nature over the years.

The other major concentration of land holdings

in the area has been that of the Norwegian-Lutherans who,

coming into the district around 1894, have held land pri-

marily to the west and north of Range Line 19. The dis-

tribution of these holdings in the early 1900's is shown

Map II: MAJOR DISTRIBUTION OF SALEM FARMS, 1917

RANGE 17 W4

TWP. 50

TWP. 49

RANGE 18

RANGE 19
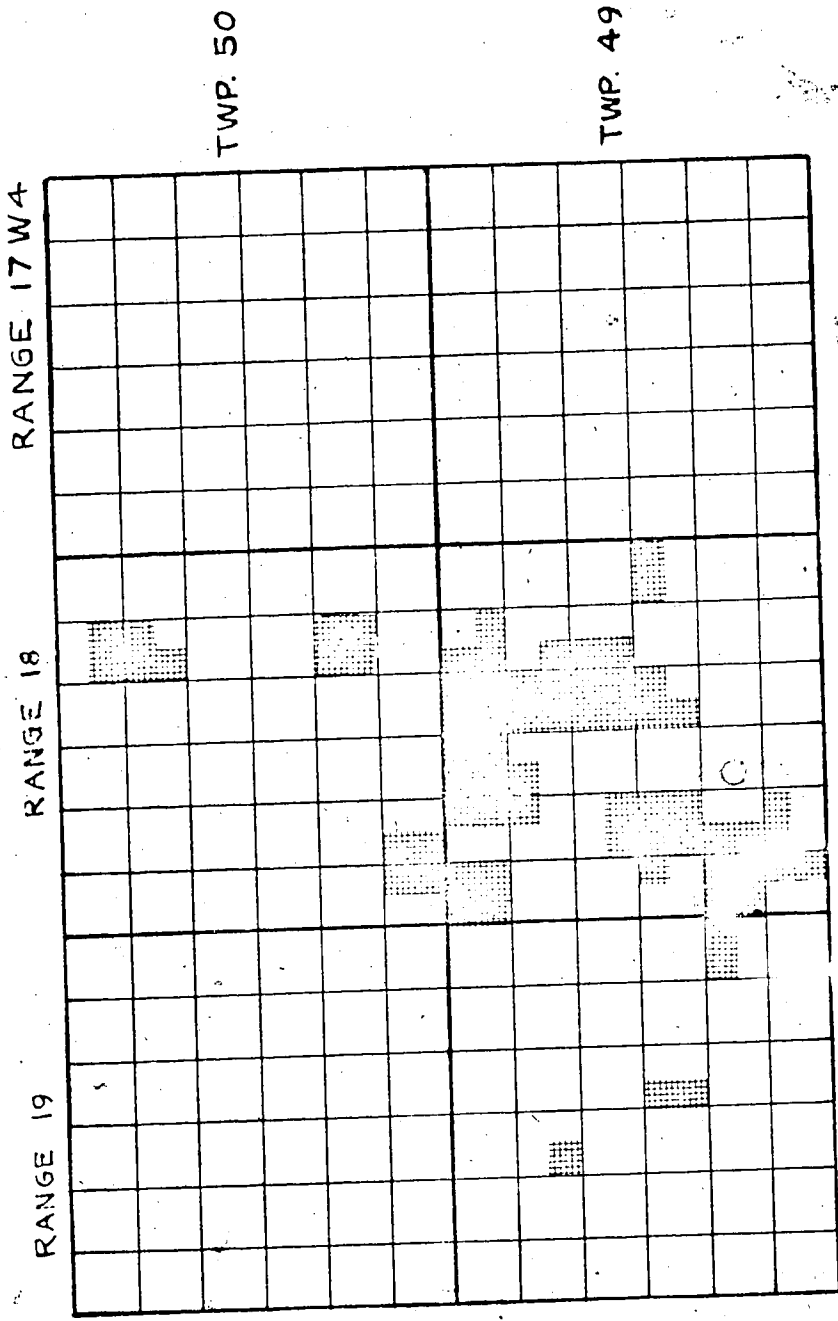
Scale: 1 inch = 3 Miles

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Map III: MAJOR DISTRIBUTION OF SALEM FARMS, 1970-71

TWP. 50

TWP. 49

RANGE 17 W4

RANGE 18

RANGE 19

Salem Church

LEGEND
LAND HOLDINGS
Old Mennonite
Norwegian-Lutheran
Other
Tofield Coal Company
Crown

Scale: 1 inch = 3 Miles
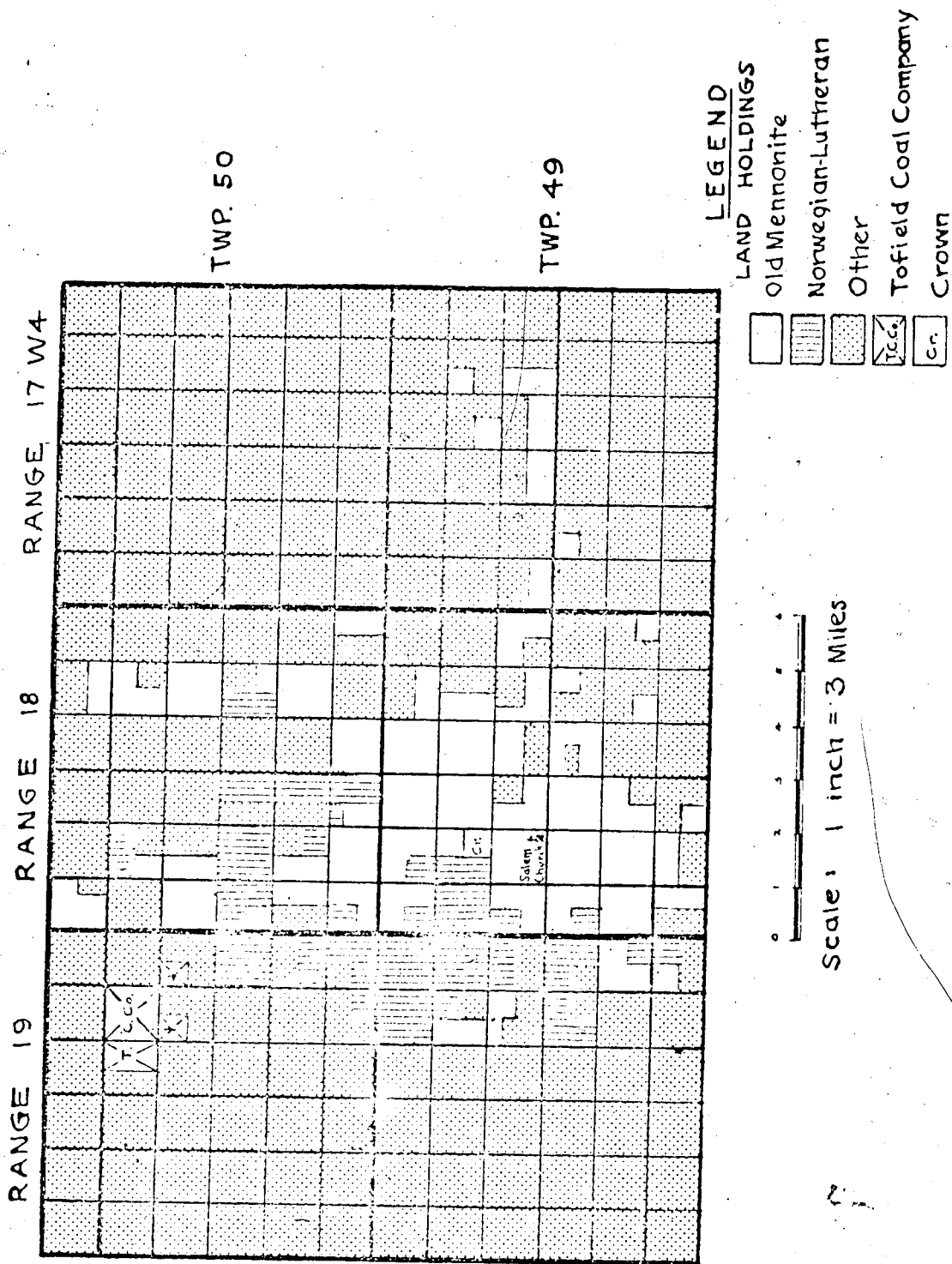
in Map IV[1].

In the days before automobile travel became commonplace, it is evident that Salem community, along with the Norwegian-Lutherans and other farmers in the area, was relatively isolated in a spatial sense. Further, the somewhat compact nature of the land holdings of Salem and the Norwegians adduced a 'sense of community' in each case and contributed to a feeling of spatial isolation. And although forty-one percent of the Norwegian farms were on the east side of Range Line 19 at this time, this line became the 'folk' symbol of the demarcation between the two communities. This was rendered more concrete later in the form of a secondary road. It is not surprising, however, that contact between these two communities has been considerable and that several marriages have taken place between the members of each.

Since the time of original settlement, the district as a whole has continued to develop its transportation and communication potential, reducing the effect of spatial isolation existing in the early days. Further, it is a popular fishing and duck hunting area and easy access is maintained by local authorities. In addition to these factors, all members of Salem community possess at least one automobile or truck and there has never been

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[1]Overlap between Maps 2 and 4 is due to the sale of land to Old Mennonite farmers during the years from 1900 to 1917.

Map IV: MAJOR DISTRIBUTION OF NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN FARMS,
IN THE EARLY 1900's
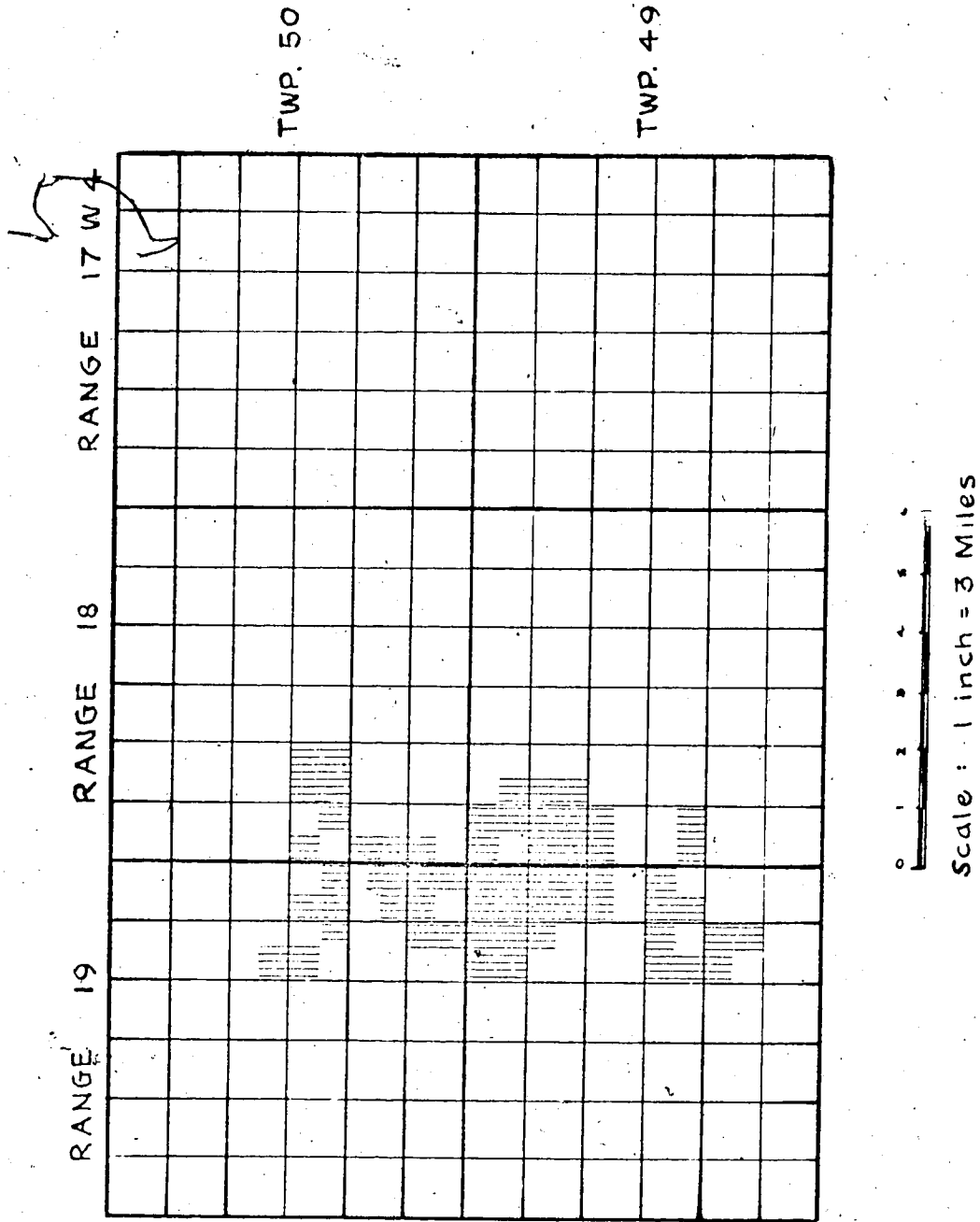
any restrictions on owning and using them as has been com-
mon among the Old Order Amish; the first automobile ap-
peared in Salem community in 1915.

We have noted the compact nature of Salem com-
munity but recognize that, although its goal was the es-
tablishment of an exclusive community, it has not claimed
a monopoly of land similar to that of the Hutterian Bre-
thren. Old Mennonite farmers have sold and acquired land
in terms of the maximization of individual interests. In
earlier days, however, this was made difficult in certain
cases by the reluctance of the neighbouring Norwegian-
Lutherans to sell to Salem Mennonites through a fear of
jeopardizing their own cultural and religious heritage.
This attitude was still prevalent in the nineteen forties
and it is reported that on one occasion representation
was made by the Norwegians to the County Council to inter-
vene in a proposed sale of land to a Salem farmer. There
was a corresponding fear on the part of Salem regarding
land sales to non-Salem members of the larger community,
although attitudes are reported as being less rigid than
those of the Norwegians and pressure to restrict such sales
was brought primarily by suggestions that a prospective
buyers' list should be extended until it included a Men-
nonite!

Unlike the Hutterian Brethren whose communality
of land, equipment and property contributes to their spa-
tial separation in colonies, the Old Mennonites deal in

such matters in individual terms necessitating a consider-
able degree of accessibility to the larger society. In
addition, the interest in engaging in local evangelical
activities has required Salem to be in contact with neigh-
bouring families, thus mitigating against spatial isola-
tion. Therefore, while close physical proximity has
enabled the reinforcement of community ties within Salem
and strengthened primary face-to-face relationships, it
should be recognized that a high degree of spatial isola-
tion as a boundary-maintaining device has never been pos-
sible for or desirable to Salem community.

It has been noted previously that *spatial arrange-
ments* play a significant role in boundary maintenance prac-
tised by the Hutterian Brethren (Hostetler and Huntington
1967:21). In the case of Salem community, there are no
spatial designs for living which might contribute to se-
paration from the dominant society. The houses of Salem
are in no sense identical, exhibit little in the way of
ideological patterns and reflect primarily the utilitari-
an or material interests of their occupants. It is true
that, in a few cases, the simplicity of furnishings re-
lates to ideological concerns, but there is no standardized
design which expresses these concerns.

Thus, we conclude that neither spatial devices
nor spatial arrangements have much significance for Salem
today. In the past, however, difficulties of travel in
the early days created a degree of spatial isolation,

although this was not applicable in the purely local con-
text. In the interests of separation from the larger so-
ciety, greater emphasis has had to be placed on other
endogenous boundary-maintaining devices.

B.   The Symbolic-technological Type

It will be remembered that we have called these
devices symbolic-technological because they serve to de-
monstrate, in concrete terms the goals of separation and
to implement them. In both instances such devices are
constant reminders to sect members and outsiders of the
exclusive nature of the group. These devices also bear
a close relationship to other endogenous devices.

1.   Personal appearance

It has long been recognized that clothing serves
several functions including protection and concealment.
But because clothing and ornamentation, or the lack of
it, are highly visible, they serve to highlight such fac-
tors as social differences or ideological commitment. It
is not surprising, therefore, to find that external ap-
pearance has had high priority among Introversionist sects
as a means of expressing non-conformity to 'the world'.
Most notable contemporary examples are supplied by the Old
Order Amish, the Hutterian Brethren and some very conser-
vative Mennonite groups.

The personal appearance of its members has been

a concern to Salem community and originally it functioned as a strong boundary-maintaining device of the symbolic-technological type. Regulations about proper dress seem to have been more extensive and stringent for females than males, however, and reflected traditional attitudes about femininity and th█████████f women as prescribed by the Bible. The origin██████of Salem all wore the "Plain" dress, a cape█████████ss with long sleeves, made of cotton and in sub████ colours. These were worn in summer and winter. The dresses were ankle-length and black stockings were worn underneath. This garb was preferred over any other, such as skirts and blouses; the wearing of trousers of slacks by women and girls was forbidden. In addition, women were forbidden to cut their hair, wear a hat, a wedding ring or any other jewellery. They were also required to cover their hair with a prayer cap or veil, although they might dispense with this at home except for family prayers and at meal times. Women who adhered rigorously to these regulations were accorded a high status in the community and were believed to express a commendable degree of religiosity.

Originally these dress regulations were effective not only in demonstrating non-conformity to the world but functioned in a latent manner to limit interaction with the worldly. They served to restrain the behaviour of sect members outside the community and, at the same time, to inhibit the expression of friendly gestures by the 'out-

side'. In the words of an informant who was married into Salem community, the members of the community in those days were thought of "as those queer people with the queer dress", whom they tended to avoid. Dress regulations created particular hardship for young girls in school. Even after the "Plain" dress had been discarded by most women of the community, girls were forbidden to wear the uniforms necessary for athletics--shorts, bloomers or slacks. Thus they were prevented from participating in sports and, in some cases, in normal gymnastic activities in class. These restrictions contributed not only to a feeling of 'not belonging' and frustration, but inhibited the development of friendships with non-sect youngsters. The wearing of short uniforms is still disapproved, although nowadays girls are permitted to wear slacks or culottes for sports. However, there are still a few families who will not allow their girls to wear slacks at all, even in the coldest weather.

Today, most girls dress in accordance with current fashions, although dress or skirt length is required to be modest and dresses with sleeves are required for church attire. On the whole, girls dress much like non-sect contemporaries, except that excessive use of slacks or 'bare-look' dresses are forbidden. However, the older women of the community still cling to the ankle-length 'plain dress' and complain about the "immodest" fashions and bright colours worn by many girls and women.

Ornamentation is also forbidden at Salem but
wearing a wrist watch is permissible; it has also become
an acceptable substitute for an engagement ring. Tradi-
tionally, wedding rings have not been worn in response to
the Biblical injunction which warns of the corrupting ef-
fects of gold and this is still the rule rather than the
exception. However young women and those in their late
thirties would like to wear a wedding ring because they
feel that its primary purpose as a symbol of the marriage
vows outweighs its categorization as a piece of jewellery.
Although corroborated on only a few occasions, it is sus-
pected that several women do wear wedding rings at home
and out of Salem community; on the other hand, several
young newly married women wear their wedding rings in
church.

On the whole the lack of personal ornamentation
on the part of Salem women is considerable even now, but
it has been suggested by older members of the community
that substitution is made through the excessive adornment
of homes and the acquisition of farm machinery.

In the past females were forbidden to cut their
hair. When the practice was broken around 1960 by a few
women, it is reported that they "felt guilty" and "heard
about it in sermons and by people talking about them".
However, the practice has continued although very short
hair styles are not seen except in the case of a few chil-
dren. Changes have also taken place in the shape and co-

verage of the prayer veil or cap. It was originally in-
tended as a covering for the hair, but many are now too
small for this purpose and are perched on the top of the
head like a hat. Older women, however, wear the larger
style. Aside from its design as a covering for the hair,
the prayer cap is also intended to symbolize the submis-
sion of woman to God and man. While women live up to
this symbolization in public, no doubt there are many
women who, in the privacy of their own homes, interact
as equals with their husbands.

Males evidently have had greater freedom with
regard to dress, although several men in the early days of
the community retained traditional Amish garb which in-
cluded dark overalls and suspenders rather than trousers
and belt, hook and eye boots, no necktie and, particular-
ly at Church and visits to town, the black Amishman's hat.
The latter article was always worn by pastor and minister,
and today, the semi-retired minister retains this custom.
Some of the older men do not wear a necktie and some favour
a grey jacket which buttons to the neck without lapels.
However, most of the men wear current male fashion, includ-
ing shirts of every hue. Hair length is short in compari-
son with contemporary fashion, although younger males may
let it grow full just below the ear. Only one young man
wears a beard.

One of the functions of boundary-maintaining
devices of the symbolic-technological type is to serve

as markers to the outside society to indicate the exclusive nature of the group which utilizes them. Research among outsiders in the district regarding Salem has revealed that devices related to personal appearance were quite unambiguous until about ten to fifteen years ago. Women and girls were instantly recognizable by their long braided hair, long skirts or apron dresses, prayer caps or bonnets; in the case of men, the lack of a necktie was the primary recognizable feature of personal appearance. In addition, men were recognized at local activities, such as farm auctions, their overalls, clean appearance and neatly trimmed hair. While the latter were not explicit boundary-maintaining devices in the sense that sanctions were attached to them, it appears to have been customary on the part of many Salem farmers to affect this appearance and it became a marker of identification for the outside. On the other hand, outsiders stated that, unlike other farmers in the district who came to such events in their work clothes, Salem men were always "cleaned up and tidy". This may have been a deliberate attempt on the part of Salem men to create a good impression as an expression of the high ideals held by the sect and as an example of the standards of sectarian behaviour. Outsiders also stated that they could distinguish among the men of the different Mennonite groups by the absence of beard and moustache among Salem men, whereas they believed that the Mennonite Brethren and General Conference

Mennonites customarily wore both. That these observations are inaccurate shows the lack of knowledge about Mennonites generally which exists among the local population. One non-Mennonite informant stated that, apart from details of dress, Salem members are identifiable because "they all look alike, being so inter related"[2]. Nevertheless, sanctioned and unsanctioned symbolic-technological devices have been the primary means used by outsiders to identify Salem members.

As a device of this type, however, personal appearance has not been effective for some time and has, with a few individual exceptions, virtually disappeared. Today, although most of the members of Salem are known by sight to local residents, surnames are the only way by which outsiders can distinguish them, apart from those who cling to a modified version of the old style of "Plain" dress. In earlier years, personal appearance was a clear statement of non-conformity to 'the world', and created and reinforced in each situation the we/them distinction. This was particularly true for females. Further, it effectively inhibited interaction with the 'outside', again primarily in the case of females and youngsters. Third, it was a concrete expression of the divine design for mankind, in which male and female have particular roles to

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[2] On the other hand, Salem members state that they can recognize "Russian" Mennonites because they "all look alike".

play.

The loss of this symbolic-technological device proceeded by stages. After the first generation of Salem women died, a change i   Plain" dress to plain dress was initiated by the next generation and this has been modified to approximate current fashion by succeeding generations. Although the issue of dress was recurrent and was discussed at Members' Meetings over the years, non-compliance with a dress code was never formally sanctioned. For example, the Bishops have never refused to perform the marriage ceremony when brides have deviated from attire held to be correct for Salem. (In actual fact, such deviations were of a minor nature, at least from an observer's point of view.) However, in the time when brides were not expected to carry a bridal bouquet, it was reported that the current Bishop would take the offending bouquet out of their hands with the words: *"You may pick this up again when you leave the Church."*

Conformity to official preferences regarding personal appearance has never been pressed as a test of membership, although gossip and talk to and about deviants were frequent. After the early years it was believed that if people's conscience directed them to wear the "Plain" dress or not, it should be done on a voluntary basis. Nowadays, many have expressed the view that the rules about dress were trivial, based on custom rather than Biblical injunctions. But they also feel that the current com-

plaints of older people are necessary to prevent an over-
reaction to complete freedom. Now the stress is laid on
modesty, simplicity and good taste as expressions of Chris-
tian living rather than Old Mennonite tradition.

2. Architectural styles

Several Utopian or 'intentional' communities
have introduced architectural styles to symbolize their
non-conformity to the world around them. The most elabor-
ate of these are Charles Fourier's 'phalanxes' and Ro-
bert Owen's plans for New Harmony, neither of which were
ever fully realized. Perhaps the most distinctive styles
to be realized in the Americas were those of the Shakers
whose buildings and furnishings reveal a

> revolutionary design, for, while avoiding
> the 'vanities' of the world and the 'luxury
> of nineteenth century ornamentation, they
> produced work of a spare and graceful beauty
> that has only been re-discovered in our own
> age of 'functionalism'.

(Holloway 1966:72)

Attempts were made by the Mennonites in Manitoba to re-
create the distinctive architectural style of the *Wohn-
stallhaus* developed in Russia, but these were rarely built
after 1900 and the surviving villages have become nondes-
cript (Sawatzky 1970:154-155).

We can find no architectural styles which are
completely identified with the Tofield Old Mennonites,
although non-Mennonite informants noted that in the early
days Mennonite houses were built in a high square design

and were quite distinctive. As less prosperous Mennonite families came into the district, this design was used more infrequently. It might be noted that even in Hutterite colonies in North America there is no Hutterite style of architecture although *"there is a characteristic colony layout"* (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:19). This is also lacking in Salem community. On the whole, there is no way to distinguish the farmhouses (and houses in town) of Salem members from those of the rest of the district population.

There have been four Church buildings on the present site of Salem Church, the first 'house' being erected in 1911. As the congregation has grown so has the need for expanded facilities. The present building was completed in 1954 and includes a large basement (used for the children's Sunday School classes), kitchens, a library and several rooms on the upper storey which serve as classrooms and, during the week, as meeting rooms. When all space is made available, the buildings can accommodate six hundred persons for worship and District Conference meetings.

The worship area, though austere, resembles the style of many other Protestant Churches in that the focal point is a raised platform at the front from which the Bible is read and preaching takes place. The major distinguishing feature is the absence of an organ or piano, but the Church design in itself, apart from the simplicity and

functionality of its furnishings, exhibits no features
which serve as boundary-maintaining devices.

The question of sanctions attached to this type
of device remains problematic. Although simplicity in
architectural style would be favoured as a symbol of
"Plainness" and non-conformity to worldly concerns, it is
not known to what extent formal or informal sanctions
might be evoked against those departing from utilitarian
forms of housing. There is little information on this
topic, although it was noted by the writer that satirical
remarks were directed at the large house built by one of
the original members of the community who was reputed to
be wealthy. This house was referred to as "the _____
mansion" and it was obvious that this description was
intended as a criticism of its size[3] and appearance.
Apart from this one instance, it is not known what sanc-
tions, based on doctrine, would be applied against those
whose houses contravened the standards required by utili-
tarian concerns.

3. Specific forms of entertainment

Proscriptions associated with specific forms of
entertainment are usually found in sectarian groups.
These take the form of prohibitions against several kinds

_____

[3]Nevertheless, this Salem member had a large family and
had the means to house them well.

of self-indulgence such as smoking, drinking, dancing,

swearing, gambling and card playing. The non-medical use

of drugs has become significant in this regard over the

past few years. All such activities are seen to be cor-

rupting and work insidiously to draw persons away from

a life of spirituality. However, different types of

sects hold certain of these activities as greater moral

evils than others. For example:

> Seventh-day Adventists feel that smoking
> and similar personal indulgences are basic
> moral evils, whereas Pentecostalists usu-
> ally view such practices as wrong but as
> only relatively minor sins.
>
> (Schwartz 1970:71)

But regardless of how these behaviours are held to relate

to salvation in different sects, any proscriptions against

such forms of entertainment are boundary-maintaining de-

vices which symbolize the separation of sectarians from

their 'worldly' contemporaries.

Salem Old Mennonites employ boundary-maintaining

devices of this type but it was observed that the most in-

tense prohibitions were directed against smoking and danc-

ing. An example of the horror of smoking held by Salem

members appeared at an Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference

session where an application for membership to the Old

Mennonite Church was rejected on that basis alone. It

was stated that the applicant, while exhibiting a higher

than average religious commitment, could not be taken

seriously until he had gained a desired measure of self-

control and purged himself of the smoking habit. Dancing

is also held to be most corrupting in a moral sense in

that it may lead to sexual desire which is improper or

cause jealousy between husbands and wives, both being

activities which strike at the heart of the Christian mar-

riage and the family.

That drinking is not held with such antipathy

is revealed in Church records where there are several

cases of men with drinking problems who retained membership

in Salem Church. It would seem that lapses from abstinence

leading to excommunication, followed by repentance and

re-instatement may be tolerated without limit. In con-

versation with informants it was noted that drinking was

referred to with sad tolerance and not with the abhorrence

reserved for smoking[4].

Gambling and card playing are also prohibited

and only one case of 'gambling', involving an office

pool, came to the writer's attention. Thus, while 'gamb-

ling' in the formal sense may be avoided, 'taking a chance'

in a localized context, such as buying a raffle ticket,

may be indulged.

All the above forms of entertainment are pro-

scribed on ideological grounds and avoidance symbolizes

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[4]It was reported that some Old Mennonite congregations in
Eastern Canada, and probably elsewhere, have more tolerant attitudes
regarding liquor, permitting their members to work where wine is sold
and consumed.

a life of separation from 'the world'. As boundary-maintaining devices these proscriptions also serve to focus the attention of the sect member towards his fellow members in a mutual concern for sectarian interests and activities. And, as Schwartz (*ibid.*:74) comments, *"The sect member is thereby shielded against seemingly harmless chance social contacts which might seduce him into acquiring a taste for worldly pleasures."* However, additional reasons for such proscriptions were advanced by Salem members which involved the wasteful nature of such indulgences. To waste money and time in these non-productive activities seems to be considered almost as sinful as the activities themselves. This is a reflection, in part, of the frugality associated with rural life in general and the tradition of 'Plain' living.

Sanctions associated with these symbolic-technological boundary-maintaining devices run from the informal (warnings and counselling), particularly in the case of adolescent rebellion, to formal excommunication. However, with the greater use of the automobile today, certain of these activities may remain undetected for a time. But, on the whole, symbolic-technological devices of this nature are upheld overtly with considerable strength and, while the young may 'try the boundaries', most adults comply with proscriptions against these forms of self-indulgence.

4. Occupations

It might seem more fitting to place occupations under the internal-interactional type of boundary-maintaining devices as restrictions on the choice of occupation have consequences for the scope and quality of contact with the wider society. Barclay (1967:5) has noted that Plain People in general have shown a prefer-ence for farm and rural life because it

> is more amenable to the preservation of
> their doctrine, since it more easily iso-
> lates and insulates the individual from
> contact with non-believers than an urban
> non-farm life and at the same time more
> readily reinforces primary and in-group
> relations.

At the same time, a predilection towards farming can re-flect spiritual concerns. For example, in the Hutterite world view

> Honest manual labour, making what is use-
> ful 'for the benefit and daily use of men'
> is honorable, but merchandising (buying
> and selling for profit, without the contri-
> bution of labour) is a sinful business.
>
> (Rideman 1950:112, 127)

Thus, farming is believed by Hutterites to be the occu-pation which is most closely allied with this belief. The Amish are reported to have an almost 'mystical' affi-liation for the land and do not

> engage in farming merely for economic re-
> wards, but they find it an occupation in which
> the individual finds fulfillment in work res-
> ponsibility and in his relations with others.
>
> (Hostetler 1963:92)

In addition, they have imbued traditional farming tech-

niques with a sacred quality and view twentieth century innovations as potentially disruptive of the divine relationship of community, family life and individual fulfillment. It is to be expected that the conservative Amish Mennonite background of Salem's original settlers induced a similar attitude towards farming and therefore, it has seemed appropriate to treat 'occupations' as a symbolic - technological device, but one that has strong implications for internal-interactional devices; that is, it has latent functions with respect to internal-interactional devices.

Initially, all Salem members were farmers, although it is reported that some male members worked periodically in the local coal mines in the early days. It was not until after World War II that the move away from farming became established. Prior to this time, young men were expected to work on the farm (that of their father or to hire out to other farmers) until they were twenty-one and, in most cases, to turn over any money they earned to their household head. Salem members were not permitted to move out of the community to work elsewhere unless consent of the congregation was requested and granted. This was considered particularly important regarding projected moves to the cities and towns which were believed to be evil places where young Mennonites would be subjected to temptations too strong to be contained. However, during World War II many of the young

men were absent from the community in 'work camps' and,
on their return to Salem, had no resources from which to
commence farming. It was at this time that men began to
look seriously for other occupations.

Today, there are fifteen male household heads
engaged in occupations other than farming, but eight of
these had previously been farmers. Of the remaining
seven, four are men of thirty-five years of age or under
who are in the teaching profession and business adminis-
tration. For the older male household heads, the move to
other occupations was taken partly as a result of the dif-
ficulties involved in setting up a farm after a prolonged
absence in World War II work camps, and partly as a result
of ill health. A few have given up farming because of the
reluctance of their sons to take over the family farm.
The choice of secondary occupations, therefore, has been
restricted by the lack of training and experience in fields
other than that of agriculture. Of the eleven male house-
hold heads who have not chosen to enter the professions,
nine are unskilled workers, one is a skilled worker and
one is a masseur. In addition there is one male household
head on welfare.

In the case of the twelve part-time farmers
(see Table III), all but two who are teachers, consider
farming to be their primary occupation and other jobs are
taken as circumstances dictate, usually in the winter
months. A steel mill in the neighbouring city of Camrose

takes four of the remaining ten part-time farmers; in addition there is an auctioneer, a school bus driver, a trucker, a mechanic, one man in agricultural servi and one who works with a seismic crew. Several of ese men have stated that they are working toward he day when they are sufficiently secure financially to return to full-time farming.

Prior to the nineteen forties, all male house-hold heads were farmers or engaged in agricultural enter-prises, apart from those reported to have worked in the coal mines on a part-time basis in the nineteen thirties. ce the 1940's however, the number of sons of Salem members who have become farmers has decreased significant-ly. The following table documents the loss in the tradi-tional occupation of farming by the sons of eighty-seven household heads, categorized by the their parents' occu-pation.

It is evident that full-time farming is not, nor has been for some time, a preferred occupation among younger male members of Salem. And, while we might ex-pect that non-farming members would prefer to "be in busi-ness" for themselves and obviate the need for economic and social liaisons with non-Mennonites, the data do not confirm this expectation. Only one case of independent business is reported, although several farmers have added individual enterprises to their normal work load such as carpentry and seed cleaning. Most men, however, have

Table IV

OCCUPATIONS OF SONS, EXCLUDING THOSE IN SCHOOL,
COMPARED WITH THE OCCUPATIONS OF THEIR HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Occupation of Household Head	Occupation of Sons			
	Full-time Farming	Part-time Farming	Other Employment	Total
Full-time Farming	10 35%	3 10%	16 55%	29 100%
Part-time Farming	0 0%	1 13%	7 87%	8 100%
Other Employment	0 0%	0 0%	4 100%	4 100%
Retired	7 24%	1 4%	21 72%	29 100%
Female H/hold Heads	9 41%	0 0%	13 59%	22 100%
Total	26 28%	5 6%	61 66%	92 100%

taken unskilled jobs, although there is a growing number
entering the skilled labour market and the professions.
Out of the total number still afiliated with Salem, there
are two doctors, six teachers, a chemical engineer (who
has since returned to full-time farming) and two men in
business.   There are three young men presently attending
post-secondary educational institutions in comparison with
nine daughters who have or are attending such institutions.

With just over half of the Salem households en-
gaged in farming and a mere thirty-four percent of the sons
of these households entering this occupation, the outlook
for the survival of Salem as a rural, farm-based Church-
community seems rather doubtful.   Such a decrease in farm-

ing over thirty years indicates that, as a boundary-
maintaining device, it has lost its effectiveness. Se-
veral reasons for this can be proposed. First, the eco-
nomic uncertainties related to agriculture, coupled with
conditions after World War II forced many older house-
hold heads to seek other occupations. Second, young people
have been exposed in school and through the media of
radio, television and popular literature to knowledge of
other occupations and their advantages in financial and
self-fulfilling terms. Young men are reported to be reluc-
tant to assume the responsibility of far   ng   th its hard
work, long hours, poor return and relativ   olation.
Third, the sanctions which accompanied occupational boun-
dary-maintenance and which rested on congregational appro-
val of assuming other jobs, particularly those at a dis-
tance from Salem community, became eroded as financial ne-
cessity overrode sectarian considerations. Fourth, as the
standard of living for many Salem families began to rise
as they took other jobs, the drive to return to farming
or, in the case of n   households, to undertake the hard-
ships involved in starting a farm, has decreased.

    There are two important consequences which flow
from the change in traditional occupations at Salem. First,
with just over one-half of the households being active in
farming, the nature of the community becomes much less
homogenous than it was prior to nineteen forty. The di-
versity of interests and experiences among the member

households is bound to affect many issues related to boundary maintenance, to the administration of Church affairs, and to the spiritual life of the community as a whole. It seemed important to discover to what extent this diversity is expressed in internal administration. Therefore, a survey was made of the occupations of those in positions of authority at the time of research. Of nineteen positions of authority, including those of Bishop, ministers, Trustees, Treasurer, Deacon, Sunday School Superintendent and Representatives to Mennonite General Conference, all but one are held by farmers; of these, fourteen are full-time farmers, two are part-time and two are retired farmers. The exception is the incumbent minister who has only recently given up farming for full-time teaching.

At present, then, farmers hold the most important offices in Church administration and spiritual guidance, although their majority in Salem households is a relatively slight one. (It was reported, however, that efforts have been made in the past to "spread the jobs around a bit" in order to utilize the expertise of those in other occupations. (This indicates a breach of boundary maintenance in that secular values and status come to be equated with, related to or substituted for religious status.) Nevertheless, the disproportionate representation of farmers in positions of authority does not reflect the growing heterogeneity of Salem Church and community.

A second consequence also relates to boundary maintenance and internal authority. As young men move out of the Church-community to work or study, their participation in its affairs dwindles, leaving positions of author-ity and influence in the hands of those who adhere to tra-ditional occupations. Thus, inasmuch as Old Mennonite traditions are preserved among those who cling to a rural way of life, the position of Salem regarding boundary main-tenance will reflect these conditions.

Although farming is the preferred occupation in Salem community, there have been few restrictions on the choice of other occupations. Nevertheless, to hold cer-tain jobs brings severe sanctions; automatic excommunica-tion from Salem Church follows entrance into the military and police forces and positions which entail contact with liquor, gambling and the theatre are sure to evoke a simi-lar response. These sanctions have been fairly effective Salem as from 1926 to 1970 only seven excommunications have been enforced as a result of young men joining the army or police.

It was noted previously that over seventy-eight percent of the married women of Salem remain at home and fulfill the traditional roles of wife and mother. Never-theless, the daughters of the eighty-seven active house-holds have increasingly received training for other occu-pations or have joined the labour force upon leaving school. Prior to the ninteen forties girls stayed at home

or hired out to local farmers. But in the early nineteen forties girls began to move off the farm to work in the neighb_____ing towns, although this move engendered much oppos_____n within Salem community and required congregational approval. The tendency for girls to work prior to marriage has increased over the years. Table V shows the number of girls who have worked, or are working, since leaving school and before marriage. The girls are categorized in terms of the occupations of their natal households.

Table V

OCCUPATIONS OF DAUGHTERS IN EIGHTY-SEVEN HOUSEHOLDS
OUT OF SCHOOL AND PRIOR TO MARRIAGE

Occupation of Household Head	Occupations of Daughters						
	Working		At Home		At Post-Secondary Institutions		Total
Full-time Farming	27	69.2%	6	15.4%	6	15.4%	39	100%
Part-time Farming	4	57%	0	0%	3	43%	7	100%
Other Employment	19	100%	0	0%	0	0%	19	100%
Retired	11	50%	11	50%	0	0%	22	100%
Female H/hold Heads	7	44%	9	56%	0	0%	16	100%
Total	68	66%	26	25%	9	9%	103	100%

Only twenty-five percent of the daughters of

the eighty-seven households have remained at home after

leaving school while sixty-six percent have entered the

labour force. It should be noted that the largest number

of girls remaining at home falls into the Retired cate-

gory, indicating that in the previous generation at least

half of the girls followed traditional practice. Since

then the numbers of those going to work after leaving

school have increased significantly, the result, no doubt,

of the growing emphasis on the mechanization of farming

techniques which makes girls largely redundant in terms

of a labour force on the farm. But, as with the impact

of the media and schools on the boys of Salem regarding

occupational objectives, girls are also under pressure

more and more from these sources to work prior to mar-

riage for financial benefits and self-fulfillment.

The occupations which the daughters of Salem

households have favoured over the years, however, show that

traditional female concerns have been carried over into

work situations. Thus, twenty-two percent of these girls

have been associated with nursing as an occupation, fifty

percent of these becoming Registered Nurses. Girls enter-

ing the teaching profession form nine percent of the total

number which has worked or is working. Both occupations

may be regarded as extensions of the traditional roles of

women. The remainder have entered a variety of unskilled

jobs, although some have received training as laboratory

technicians, librarians, stenographers and bank tellers.

These choices demonstrate the wide spectrum of occupations now open to females, including some which, at one time, would have been forbidden to both males and females.

Many of the girls of Salem community who move away to work or receive occupational training do not return to live there and often 'marry out'. Therefore, the majority of those who remain in the home community are those who have relinquished their jobs on marriage, reverting to the traditional position of women in Mennonitism. And, as is the case when young men move away from Salem, positions of authority and influence in the female sphere of Church organization are held by those who have maintained or reverted to their traditional roles.

To sum up our discussion of occupation as a boundary-maintaining device of the symbolic-technological type, it is evident that this still functions to a limited extent. However, it is suggested that this is more by default than by purpose in that, while such a rural occupation obviates the need to associate closely with non-believers, it is reported that this has become subordinate to the goal of economic success. While their Amish background with its 'mystical affiliation for the land', is still strong in some Salem farmers, it is tempered more and more by economic considerations. Sanctions have been ineffective in this case as financial pressures and the attraction of non-rural occupations lure greater numbers of young people away from traditional occupations. This

has been the result, in large measure, of events and
trends in the larger society over which Salem community has
had little or no control and which include post-war condi-
tions, the influence of schools, greatly facilitated tra-
vel and the pervasive nature of popular media. Neverthe-
less, the farming sector is still powerful in terms of
occupying positions of authority in the community and its
position regarding the maintenance of boundaries may be
reflected in rule and practice. This factor, in itself,
may be responsible for the departure of younger members
the community who aspire to freedom from whatever res-
ctions still exist. But, adherence by the majority of
households to traditional occupations has ensured, for the
present, a fairly 'conservative' posture for Salem commu-
nity, although it is not suggested that this is totally
within the mainstream of Mennonite tradition.

5.   Restrictions on the use of certain technologies

        It is well documented that technological innova-
tions are some of the factors which induce changes in pat-
terns of social life and systems of belief. Isichei (1964:
209) notes that this is

> a recurrent problem in sectarian movements,
> as new modes of consumption develop with
> changing social mores, or the changed status
> of the group in the wider society. The prob-
> lems these present cannot be answered in
> terms of the example of the sects' founders,
> and so require ad hoc decisions.

Sects of Anabaptist origin have been among those in the

contemporary world which have resisted the adoption of many new technological items in an effort to preserve their doctrine and non-conformity to the world. Old Order Amish groups furnish an excellent example in their rejection of the automobile and in their determination to retain the horse and buggy. Rejection of certain kinds of technology, however, varies from sect to sect and within sects themselves; indeed, the question of which new technologies are to be restricted has often resulted in bitter conflict and eventual schism (see Hostetler's *Amish Society*).

The most significant and contentious restrictions are to be found in the fields of occupation, transportation, communication and recreation. Therefore our discussion of the Tofield Old Mennonites will be conducted within this framework.

Unlike the Amish, the farmers of Salem have always made use of whatever new agricultural techniques have been within their financial capabilities. Indeed, it has been noted that several people in Salem expressed the view that restrictions on personal ornamentation have produced an unnecessary proliferation of farm machinery! In any event, Salem farms are run as efficiently as financial resources permit. There are no restrictions on the use of technologies associated with other occupations except those which involve the use of force against persons.

Again, unlike the Amish, Salem members have

placed no restrictions on new technologies in the field

of transportation. Automobiles have been acquired as

finances permit and cars, trucks and snowmobiles are as

much a part of everyday life at Salem as they are any-

where else in North America. One exception should be

noted; one family rejected the use of the automobile and

continued using horse and buggy until as late as 1952.

Moreover, like the Old Order Amish, Salem members make

much use of public transport to journey outside the dis-

trict. Frequent visits to family members scattered through-

out Canada and the United States are made by air and se-

veral families have flown overseas to vacation in Europe.

       In the earlier days, when telephone communica-

tion was being initiated in the district, the acquisition

of a telephone was a contentious issue, because acquiring

an instrument involved joining a telephone cooperative and

buying a share in the company. This act contravened the

Biblical injunction, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with

unbelievers . . ." (II Corinthians 4:14). In time, however,

as Salem members overcame their scruples and began to

acquire instruments, the telephone party line became an

important aspect of community life. At one time, before

'proper' party lines were installed, there could be up to

twenty-seven families on one line; sometimes one family

would ring and others listen in. Such practices reduced

the feeling of loneliness and local isolation which can so

easily develop in the severe Alberta winters. In the words of an informant, "*We were sorry when they put in proper party lines; a lot of people felt very lonely.*" Today, all the homes in Salem have telephones, some of which are the latest 'styles' introduced by the local telephone company.

Technological innovations in communication, but which have become primarily those of recreation, have been highly controversial in Salem community. In the early days, the possession and playing of musical instruments, although not formally forbidden, were frowned upon. In recent years, this restriction has been ignored by most families although it is still in effect for Church services. Neither organ of piano music contribute to the service and people are encouraged to participate in congregational singing under the direction of song leaders; in addition, several small choirs provide musical variety from time to time. Salem Church is proud of its *a capella* singing and has resisted any move towards the adoption of conventional church instruments.

There were instances where restrictions on musical instruments did not always deter their use. One or two young people in earlier times did possess Edison gramaphones which they took around with them to various activities, such as weddings. There seems to have been a tacit agreement that the young people could listen, but not dance to the records. However, it was reported that, in some instances, 'floor games' were organized in the barns

and that these games were in effect, 'square dances!

Nowadays, many homes have pianos and other musical instruments. Since the music programmes in the local schools have grown, more and more young people learn to play an instrument and the former disapproval has disappeared. However, playing an instrument for profit or in certain places of entertainment might be severely disapproved and it is still forbidden to dance to music except in the case of activities associated with the school curriculum.

When radios became popular in North America the Alberta-Saskatchewan *Constitution and Discipline* warned against them, but did not forbid their use. In the case of the resolution of 1937:

> *That all our members be governed by personal*
> *conviction based on God's Word, as to what is*
> *right and wrong and the proper and improper*
> *uses of radio and other modern inventions.*
>
> (*Ibid.:36*)

At that time and for some years after it was considered "really wicked" to have one. In time, however, people began to acquire them in accordance with their personal convictions despite warnings and objections delivered in sermons. Nowadays radios are commonplace and every home possesses one--"or two or three".

The introduction of television brought even greater discord to the community for now, not only could people hear what was going on in the outside world, but also see! Efforts to have the possession of a television

set made a test of membership failed, although there were
long discussions on the matter at Sunday evening services
and at a special meeting at which this was a major issue.
Again, in time, the acquisition of television sets became
commonplace and all but a few homes possess a set.

Given an understanding of the effects of radio
and television, it is not surprising that attempts were
made to ban their use. By failing to impose the sanc-
tion of excommunication, however, and by the inability to
devise other effective sanctions in this matter, Salem
community has permitted the introduction of two of the most
powerful instruments of change. The current attitude
among several members is that perpetuation of a 'sheltered'
life is poor preparation for contemporary living and that
young people must learn to cope with conditions as they
exist. Further, that the increased 'knowledge' which may
be gathered from such media is not necessarily bad if
families and the Church can continue to counteract 'false'
ideas and ideologies. Finally, it has been suggested that
it is better to cultivate a sense of personal responsibili-
ty in such matters rather than to impose strict rules.
Whether these attitudes are to be perceived as rationali-
zations after the fact, or whether they indicate an inde-
pendent move towards personal autonomy within the church
as a whole, is not easy to determine. In any event, 'the
world' continues to invade the homes of Salem community
and by observation and comment, it does not appear that

much control is exercised with regard to listening and viewing patterns among either young or old.

But not only do Salem members possess radio and television sets in their homes, they have joined forces with them in evangelical outreach. The Church gives its moral support to evangelical programmes and financial aid to the total of $2,000.00 a year for radio 'spots' and the *Heart to Heart* programme. Discussion nowadays does not centre around the advantages or disadvantages of the media, but around the effectiveness of the programmes they support and whether or not the money could be spent more productively in other endeavours.

A recreational activity related to radio and television which has been forbidden is that of going to movies. Objections have been of two types; the first concerns the content of movies which, on the whole, do not deal with Christian or moral subjects; the second relates to the places where movies are shown, where contact with persons who smoke, drink or swear is believed to be likely. In fact, many of forms of entertainment are disapproved because of the deleterious atmosphere believed to be prevalent in the places where they occur. (This, of course, does not apply to listening to radio or watching television which can be done in the home and may be a contributing factor to their acceptance.) The majority of persons over fifty have never been 'to the movies' although, according to non-Mennonite informants, the number of Salem

members who attend 'special' showings of nature and wild-
life films is quite high. Younger adults do attend mo-
vies which have a Christian theme and accompany their
children to movies aimed at the children's market, such
as those produced by Disney enterprises. Older teenagers
are reported to be less discriminating in their attend-
ance. However, from remarks made in informal conversa-
tions, it is evident that those members with television
sets do watch movies shown on that medium.

In addition to the media discussed above, the
reading habits of Salem members should be accounted for.
On the whole, observation would suggest that Salem members
are 'conservative' in their reading habits, confining their
reading to the various publications of the Mennonite Press,
their Bibles and several translations of the Gospels, the
local newspaper (in a few cases, the *Edmonton Journal*) and
a variety of pamphlets and papers devoted to agricul-
tural matters; the *Reader's Digest* and *Chatelaine* are among
other publications more commonly found in the homes. In
some homes with young children, it has been noted that
comic books are present, although parents state that they
usually refuse to buy them for their children. However,
such publications circulate freely among young people at
school and undoubtedly Salem youngsters read their share!

In 1941, the Annual Business Meeting decided
to initiate a Sunday School Library on the Church pre-
mises. This is still in existence and its coverage of

reading material is quite varied. Classic children's stor-
ies and books of adventure and missionary activities and
even romance, all with a Christian viewpoint are avail-
able on its shelves. On Sunday mornings the Library does
a brisk business among young and old alike. Originally
organized and run by a committee of males and females, it
is now in the hands of females only, and has been since
about 1958.

Lastly, although it is difficult to categorize,
technological innovations in birth control should be men-
tioned. Salem Church has never taken any official stand
on contraception, although in the past emphasis has been
placed on the Scriptural references to the blessings of
many children. It is believed that older members would
frown on the use of birth control measure, including 'the
pill'. However, it was stated that the younger couples
are aware of population explosion warnings and are re-
stricting the size of their families. There is only one
large family today which compares in size with several of
those of the early members. Moreover, on the practical
side, the current farm economy is not geared to large fami-
lies. Therefore, it is concluded that there are no overt
restrictions on the use of contraceptives and that deci-
sions in these matters are left to the individual cons-
cience. It might be noted also, that Salem members take
advantage of all the advances in medical technology avail-

able to them[5] and have no restrictions such as those found among the Jehovah's Witnesses.

6. Ritual practices

.In the present context we do not ... ... to discuss the wider question of the function of ritual in religious processes or its relationship with systems of belief. We are concerned with those ritual practices which are used as boundary-maintaining devices of the symbolic-technological type by the Tofield Old Mennonites.

These practices, in the main, are to be found clustered around the Communion Service which is celebrated twice yearly. It will be remembered that, in the tradition of Anabaptism, this event is non-sacramental, but is celebrated as a remembrance of the death of Jesus Christ and as an affirmation of the sanctity of the 'new church'. Participation in this rite is restricted to members of the Old Mennonite Church, although the service has never been officially 'closed' to non-members; that is, non-members in "good standing" may attend but not participate.

In its essential details the service differs little from that of other denominations, although men and women are segregated on either side of the Church and the bread and wine are brought to the communicants unlike the

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[5]In the early days, when travel was difficult, it is reported that two women of Salem practised 'gift healing' which included, at times, a form of divination.

practice in the Anglican Church where communicants receive at the altar rail. In addition, the utensils are not sanctified and are the simple items of everyday life without the costly ornamentation often found elsewhere. For example, a silver or gold chalice is common in Anglicanism and specially designed individual cups are used in the Presbyterian churches. At Salem the wine is passed in a china mug or large tea cup from which each communicant drinks.

Foot washing and the holy kiss are two practices associated with Anabaptism and both are found in Salem Church. After the bread and wine have been passed, the women retire to the vestibule of the Church where they remove one shoe and stocking; men remove shoe and sock in their places in the pews. Buckets and towels are brought in and placed at the front of the Church. After the appropriate Scriptual readings, each person advances to the front and washes the foot of their neighbour, subsequently having their own foot washed. Participation in this activity is strictly along sex lines-- women wash the feet of women, men do likewise with men. As each series of footwashing is completed, the partners exchange the holy kiss, or kiss of charity, women with women, men with men.

The holy kiss may also be exchanged on other occasions. At the conclusion of the baptismal service and after each young 'convert' has given testimony and been

formally admitted into the Church, the Bishop gives the
kiss of charity to each boy while his wife kisses the
girls. In earlier times, the exchange of the holy kiss
on other occasions was much more frequent but has/fallen
into disuse except in the ritual context[6]. However,
some older adults still follow this practice on meeting
each other after an absence.

Because of the Anabaptist tradition of adult
baptism, the baptismal services at Salem have special
significance to its members. For those who have been
raised in the Mennonite tradition, baptism occurs at
"the age of reason or responsibility", approximately be-
tween the ages of eleven and fourteen, although it may
occur later (see the following Chapter for a detailed
discussion). At Salem the majority of baptisms take
place among young adolescents, exceptions being those
who have been 'converted' later in life, often in the con-
text of marriage to a Salem Church member. Although the
practice of adult baptism is not exclusive to Mennonitism
or Salem Church in particular--some of the Protestant
churches baptize 'born again' Christians--Salem members
believe it to be an important element which distinguishes
them from the main body of Christendom. Nevertheless,

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[6]One informant confided that some young members would
like to see the practice dropped altogether, even on ritual occasions.

Salem Church feels closest to the 'born again' Protestant churches because of this bond of adult baptism. Baptism is administered at Salem by the pouring on of water rather than by immersion, practised by the Mennonite Brethren, for example, because the Holy Spirit was 'poured on' the disciples.

Thus, the rites of baptism, footwashing and the holy kiss possess a special significance for Salem Church because they are symbols of her avowed separation from 'the world' and from the established churches. Ritual practices, inasmuch as they emphasize this separation, validate in sacred terms all efforts to maintain boundaries between the sanctified community and the rest of the world. In the case of Salem, they are recognized as boundary-maintaining devices and, although few in number, symbolize in crystallized form, Mennonite principles of faith and practice.

7. Linguistic patterns

One of the most powerful means of effecting separation from a dominant majority is adherence to a language which is foreign to that majority. This not only hinders assimilation but maintains the speakers within the cultural framework with which it is associated (see Hoijer, Sapir, Whorf *et al.*). In some cases, the Hutterites for example, the retention of the mother tongue also serves as a bridge to the past and as a sym-

bol of present unity. Hostetler and Huntington (1967:12)
believe that not only have Germanic language patterns
molded the Hutterian world view, but, because of limited
contacts with other German-speaking groups, this world
view is cast in the framework of medieval Europe before
the advent of modern science. In any event, the continued
use of High German among the Hutterites has sacred conno-
tations, being the language used for all sacred and cere-
monial occasions.

The languages of the original settlers of Salem
community were High German and Pennsylvania Dutch, although
both were rapidly replaced by English, especially during
World War I. However, many children first learned English
by attending the local school. On the other hand, Church
services were always conducted in English, although the
'Grandma' Sunday School class continued to be conducted
in German until 1933. Only a few of the older people can
speak any of the former languages, although one member has
transmitted orally the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect to her
children and grandchildren. But as a boundary-maintaining
device of the symbolic-technological type, linguistic pat-
terns have no significance today, but undoubtedly did in
the early days of the community.[7]

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[7]As a matter of interest, there was a custom at one time
which not only expressed in linguistic terms the inter-relatedness
of Salem but also the dominant position of men. Because of a mul-
tiplicity of common names, women were often referred to in terms of
their husbands' Christian names; thus Sam-Lizzie, Dave-Emma and so
on. This custom has since fallen into disuse.

8. <u>Surnames</u>

We now turn to an unsanctioned boundary-
maintaining device of the symbolic-technological type,
that of surnames. These represent the initial ascribed
statuses given to individuals through general custom,
having no doctrinal basis and therefore, no related sanc-
tions. Nevertheless, surnames function as a particularly
effective boundary-maintaining device for Salem members
in their local context. The eighty-seven active house-
holds share a total of twenty-nine different surnames,
twenty-two of which are typical of Old Mennonites general-
ly (see Smith's *The Story of the Mennonites*). The remaining
seven surnames represent those who have married into Sa-
lem and who have become members of the Church. The twenty-
two typical Old Mennonite surnames belong exclusively to
the members of Salem community with four exceptions, two
of which belong to withdrawn Salem Church members and two
which came into the district independently.

The distribution of Old Mennonite surnames
throughout Salem community is also significant in terms
of boundary maintenance; fifty-three percent of the number
of persons presently in the community share six common
surnames, while twelve percent share one surname. This
fact symbolizes the relatively 'closed' nature of the
community and the prevalence of primary relationships re-
sulting from a high rate of intermarriage among Salem
families.

As a boundary-maintaining device of the unsanctioned symbolic-technological type surnames have been highly effective because of their relatively small number in the district, their almost total identification with Salem community and their significance in Mennonite history. In the absence of devices associated with personal appearance, they remain one of the few ways in which outsiders can identify Salem members. But they are also overt expressions of the close ties which members have with each other in terms of kinship and this promotes feelings of solidarity and mutual dependency which contribute to in-group identification.

C.   Conclusions

Our discussion of symbolic-technological devices has revealed that their importance to boundary maintenance in Salem community has decreased significantly since the years of original settlement. As the Tofield Old Mennonites go about their daily business there is little to distinguish them overtly from their neighbours and to symbolize their non-conformity to the 'world'. And, as Barclay (1967:24) has stated:

> Such symbolism is most important for those
> sectarians who live among non-believers,
> where the need for reminders to avoid temp-
> tation would be far greater than, for exam-
> ple, among the Hutterian Brethren who live
> as a unit in a colony apart from all out-
> siders.

The major source of pressure on this type of
device has come from events and trends in the larger so-
ciety, particularly as Salem has been unable to exert
much control over them. This is exemplified by the ef-
fect of World War I regarding the abandonment of the Ger-
man language and that of World War II in removing many
young men from the home community for its duration, mak-
ing it difficult for them to take up farming on their
release from work camps. Under these conditions, there
was an inability to press the imposition of formal sanc-
tions associated with the decline in boundary-maintaining
devices related to traditional language habits and occu-
pations. Further, the assumption of non-farming occupa-
tions has led to a reduction in economic internal-
interactional devices as Salem members in unionized labour
institutions have had to conform to union regulations.
This has had the effect of removing a large sphere of life
from under the jurisdiction of the Church, and has per-
mitted secular standards of conduct to rival those stan-
dards derived from religious conviction.

Second, once the acceptance of certain items
of 'worldly' technology became established in Salem com-
munity, it set the precedent for the ultimate approval
of other items. Such a trend is almost impossible to re-
verse and the influence of such items, such as radio and
television, has had far-reaching effects. Not only have
they permitted the development of an expanding view of the

world, but they have encouraged the growth of worldly in-
terests and concerns. Moreover, in the acquisition of
worldly technologies, Salem has moved away from the aus-
terity and simplicity which has been the symbol of 'Plain'
living and has been encouraged to enter the world of 'mass
culture' with its orientation towards consumerism.

In all these processes the decline in one
boundary-maintaining device has reinforced decline in an-
other. Thus, for example, adoption of English and modi-
fication of 'Plain' dress facilitated interaction with
non-sectarians, making it less difficult for men and women
to move off the farms into a variety of non-traditional
occupations. In turn, this enabled the decline of other
devices such as the adoption of certain technologies. In
the face of these trends, sanctions proved ineffective.
As more Salem mebers were exposed to the world, their
perspective became less narrow and they began to judge
the customs and behaviours of their own community in the
light of their new experiences and contacts. Thus, they
began to question some of the 'rules' of Salem and to
avoid imposing sanctions against deviation. And, as
heterogeneity within Salem community increased, consensus
on the imposition, scope and intensity of sanctions be-
came more difficult to achieve. This of course relates
to the nature of leadership within the community which
also began to change. In earlier days, and under the di-
rection of the District Conference, one of the main func-

tions of the Bishop was to ensure that boundary mainten-
ance followed traditional patterns in both doctrinal and
customary matters. Under the conditions described above
and particularly with regard to obtaining support for im-
posing sanctions, the responsibility for boundary main-
tenance has fallen more and more upon the individual
Church member; in other words, the Bishop has come to
serve as a guide regarding proper behaviour whereas for-
merly he functioned as an enforcer of the Discipline.

Thus, the inter-relation of external events and
pressures, ineffective sanctions and changes in the nature
of leadership have resulted in the erosion of boundary-
maintaining devices, of the symbolic-technological type.
This has been particularly true of issues which have had
a traditional or customary rather than a doctrinal basis.
One informant expressed the view that Church meetings
called to discuss and de'ate contentious matters, such
as personal appearance, should have proceeded to take a
vote; in this way, issues and sanctions would be clear-
cut. By failing to take such matters to their conclu-
sion, an attitude of *laissez-faire* has come to prevail
and boundary-maintaining devices continue to crumble.

Third, we should remember that Salem Church has
been ambivalent about its degree of separation from the
world because of its interest in evangelism and this has
affected, in some degree, the intensity with which
boundary-maintaining devices have been implemented. It

has also served to reduce the distinctiveness of Salem
Church as a counter-force against the established church-
es, in that Salem has undertaken a working relationship on
occasion with such churches for evangelical purposes.
Therefore, this has been a contributing factor to the
loss of boundary-maintaining devices and has resulted
in a weakening of Salem's original sectarian position.

        Finally, it is ironic that the most effective
symbolic-technological device in the local context is that
of distinctive surnames, a device which has its basis in
a custom shared by the larger population and which has
no sanctions attached to it. Nevertheless, when in ef-
fect, it serves to separate Salem members from the rest
of the local population and emphasizes membership in a
community known for its non-conformity to Canadian soci-
ety in the past.

CHAPTER VII

THE INTERNAL-INTERACTIONAL AND EXOGENOUS TYPES
OF BOUNDARY-MAINTAINING DEVICES

A. The Internal-interactional Type

Internal-interactional boundary-maintaining
devices are designed to minimize contacts with the world
and to ensure that the sectarian community provides the
milieu in which the significant events of life occur for
its members. We have suggested that these devices be di-
vided into two sub-types, the economic and the social,
although both are closely inter-related.

1. The economic sub-type

Unlike the Hutterian Brethren whose economic
communalism is antithetical to that of the dominant so-
ciety, the Old Mennonites share economic institutions and
values with the surrounding majority. However, they have
adopted a variety of strategies which are intended to mi-
nimize contact with the world in economic affairs. The
first, of course, has been the adoption of farming as a
subsistence technique which permits a man to work for
himself and remain, to a large degree, aloof from the
realm of business and merchandizing and to uphold the

injunction to be *"not unequally yoked together with non-believers"*
(II Corinthians 4:14). The autonomy provided by this
strategy, however, has proved difficult to maintain as
the trend towards cooperatives has increased in the North
American agricultural scene. The establishment of Wheat
Pools, Dairy Pools and Farmers' Unions, designed to pro-
tect farmers' interests, has produced conflicts for se-
veral rural sectarian groups. And as the members of these
groups move off the land to engage in a variety of other
occupations, they are faced with a similar problem in the
form of Trades' Union membership. Further, the interven-
tion of government in agricultural pursuits in terms of
subsidies, and in the realm of personal life in the form
of Old Age Pensions, Family Allowances and Health care,
has also produced problems for such groups.

Agricultural Cooperatives have been viewed by
Salem community in much the same light as Labour Unions
generally. Both have been regarded as a threat to the
integrity of the Old Mennonite faith and the community
which serves it. From 1911 to 1946, the record of the
Alberta-Saskatchewan *Constitution and Discipline* has indicated
its concern in this matter by almost yearly resolutions
urging non-affiliation with such institutions organized
by outsiders. However, for a variety of reasons, the
perceived threat from these organizations did not develop
in this particular district and the issue has ceased to
be regarded as important. The stance of Salem church is

that although joining such organizations may be regarded as a threat to Scriptural positions, only if all persons were required to become members might the issue be taken up on this basis. Today, a small percentage of Salem farmers are reported as using the facilities of the local Alberta Wheat Pool but do not accept dividends. Similarly, dairy farmers sell through the local Dairy Pool without accepting dividends. Originally averse to delivering milk to the Pool on the Sabbath, Salem members now permit it to be picked up.

Because the Farmers' Union, now known as Unifarm, is unwilling to divulge its membership, reliance has had to be placed on local informants regarding the strength of Unifarm in the district. According to Salem informants, there are no members of Salem community involved in this organization. They also stated that, to their knowledge, Unifarm has never been strong in the district and they guessed that only about ten to fifteen percent of the local farmers were members. It was also suggested that farmers in the area were relatively prosperous and felt little need to become affiliated with such an organization[1]. On the other hand, non-Mennonite informants stated that Unifarm membership was quite high in

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[1]It is not surprising to learn that the Old Mennonite view of Unionism, at least in Salem, is that it provides a haven for malcontents and those in poor economic circumstances.

the district and that it was a strong organization local-
ly. Furthermore, Unifarm itself claims that the great ma-
jority of Alberta farmers are members. The discrepancy
in points of view may be explained, perhaps, by the fact
that the Old Mennonites are not interested in Unifarm,
rarely discuss it with their neighbours and therefore
have no firm basis on which to judge the matter. But, it
might be noted that there is a considerable number of Men-
nonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites who
farm in the area and who might be expected to hold views
similar to those of Salem community. Therefore, it is
difficult to judge to what extent the farmers of Salem
deviate from the norm in such matters. In any event,
membership in Unifarm and cooperatives associated with
agricultural enterprises has not been a significant issue
at Salem for many years, although sister congregations in
Saskatchewan have had a more difficult time in this regard
because of the strength of the Trades' Union movement in
that province and the pressures it is able to impose on
dissidents to their cause.

The question of Trades' Labour Unions begins to
become of significance as people move off the farm to take
jobs in industry. A variety of approaches to the problem
has existed in Canada[2]. In Ontario, for example, union

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[2] Information on the options available in Alberta was fur-
nished by the Board of Industrial Relations, Government of Alberta.

dues may be paid to charitable organizations, but this option is not legally available in Alberta although it has been urged. Second, dues may be paid but membership not taken up, but this is an internal matter of the unions involved and one on which the law is silent in Alberta. A third option is that dues may be paid but meetings may not be attended, again an internal matter to be decided by the unions themselves.

In the case of Salem members working at the Steel Mill in Camrose, it is reported that dues are paid to the Union and Salem members attend meetings; a similar situation exists with Salem members who are teachers and the Alberta Teachers' Association. In the past, however, it was reported that Salem teachers in the local schools refused to join this Association. In other cases, dues are paid but meetings are not attended and Salem members do not participate in activities such as contract negotiations. However, among the older members of the Church, there are still very strong anti-union attitudes.

The increasing scope of governmental social benefit programmes has presented Salem with several problems because they involve the relation between church and state, an historical issue in sects associated with Ana- baptism. Acceptance of the Old Age Pension was a bone of contention for many years and the Alberta-Saskatchewan *Constitution and Discipline* still has non-acceptance 'on the books'. It was believed that the Church should recognize

the obligation to care for its own people rather than

depend on government for financial aid in this matter.

It was pointed out that the local Deacons' Funds were in-

stituted and supported to this end. However, the resolu-

tion of 1932 which recommends against applying for govern-

ment benefits was not accompanied with sanctions and Salem

members, with two exceptions, now accept Old Age Pensions.

When Family Allowances were introduced by the

Federal Government of Canada, the resolution of 1932 was

again affirmed by the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference and

a study committee charged to

> draw up a scriptural statement regarding
> the teaching of the New Testament on separa-
> tion of church and state, and to investigate
> the feasibility of establishing a system of
> mutual aid for our members.

(Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference 1932:43)

Despite this, all who are eligible at Salem now accept

Family Allowances.

The need to have financial guarantees in mat-

ters of health has prompted many members of Salem to adopt

some form of Health Insurance. Some families have paid

into the Blue Cross Plan, but since the introduction of

the universal Alberta Health Care Plan, all but a few

are covered by its benefits. The rationale for involvement

in such a scheme has been expressed in the following

terms: "even if people are not sick, the money is going to help

others". Older people with chronic disabilities are grate-

ful, they said, for the benefits offered. However, the

restrictions on buying life insurance and crop and hail
insurance are still observed. But since automobile insur-
ance has become compulsory in Alberta, all members parti-
cipate in the scheme.

The concept of mutual aid in cases of catastro-
phe caused by fire and storm was first instituted in Rus-
sia and organized in North America in the 1880's. The
Mennonite Mutual Aid Union was organized in Canada in the
early 1900's. In 1953 the various Mennonite churches
joined to form one central organization which is now
known as the Mennonite Mutual Relief Insurance Company
Limited, a branch of the Mennonite Central Committee
(M.C.C.). At present Salem is associated with the former
company originating in Ontario, but individuals may choose
to accept the benefits of either. A more recent concern
is with the high cost of funerals and the adoption of Buri-
al Insurance and again this is to be left to the indivi-
dual's preference.

Salem, however, has continued to rely on its
Deacon's Fund to help the elderly and widowed, to contri-
bute to the payment of hospital expenses, medical and fu-
neral bills[3], to loan cash for building projects and the
buying of houses. For example, a widow now resident in
a Home in Eastern Canada, has been supported since 1946

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[3]At funeral services a collection is taken up and given
to the bereaved family.

to a total of over $8,500.00. Since that date also, the Deacon's Fund has disbursed over $20,000.00 in aid, primarily to Salem members.

We have discussed the position of Salem community in relation to traditional economic concerns associated with sects of Anabaptist origin. It remains to comment on its less formal economic arrangements. In the early days, when the emphasis on 'plain' living was more pronounced and farmers produced primarily for their own needs, community members had little need to be involved in local businesses. In the case of farm machinery, it was admitted that even when there were several dealers in Tofield, Salem farmers preferred to deal in Edmonton where they believed prices were better[4]. Even today, consumer practices appear to be random in relation to local merchants. Although characteristic of other rural residents also, Salem members shop more and more frequently in the larger centres of Camrose and Edmonton. Further, many families patronize doctors and dentists practising in these centres. In general, it would seem that Salem members have remained : from the business life of the district which has kept act with non-sect persons within limits, but this is less true of those who live in the

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[4]It will be remembered that this is one of the major criticisms of Hutterites in that, by dealing in the cities, they contribute in large measure to the failure of local businesses in the towns adjacent to their colonies.

neighbouring towns.

2. The social sub-type

These devices are intended to maintain social boundaries around the community and limit individual social contacts with non-believers. At the same time, they tend to enhance the *gemeinschaftlich* nature of community life by reinforcing face-to-face relationships and mutual dependency.

a. Admission to the group

Membership in Salem community is primarily by birth and in Salem Church by conversion and baptism. Although Old Mennonite families and individuals may become members of both by settling in the district and presenting letters of recommendation, by far the greatest number of new members has been recruited from existing families within the community. Thus, the concern of parents is that their children will be nurtured and trained in an atmosphere which encourages the spiritual experience necessary for baptism. This includes regular attendance at Church services and Sunday School classes to which children are brought as babies and either accompany their mothers or are cared for in a small room near the front vestibule. Other activities include Bible study in the home, family prayers, choir practices, Bible School and, at the appropriate time, preparatory classes for baptism. Birthdays and other events important to children are re-

cognized formally within the context of the Church.

Apart from these more formal and structured aspects of the process of enculturation all adults engage informally in this process in daily life. Many everyday activities and conversations have a tendency to be placed within a religious context or given a religious connotation--an occurrence which was sometimes disconcerting to the observer whose casual and purely social remarks on the weather, for example, or a casual *"How are you?"* frequently evoked a response in the form of a religious statement or an affirmation of faith. It was observed that few such opportunities were missed in relation to children and that in the context of community life, the acquisition of a life style grounded in religious doctrine is almost inescapable. This, of course, poses problems for youngsters in many 'outside' activities, particularly those associated with education which, in Alberta[5], is totally secularized. This becomes one of the major sources of tension for young people and one of the sources of conflict between generations. Nevertheless, formal and informal techniques for inculcating the young with the experience and attitude necessary for baptism and thus providing new members for the Church have had a considerable success, not only in Salem, but among Plain People in North America generally,

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[5]While this is true in the Public School system, the Separate (Catholic) Schools have a curriculum which is grounded in Catholic doctrine.

as Barclay (1967:23) has observed.

> Contrary to usual lay opinion, the Plain
> sects in the United States and Canada as a
> whole have shown a remarkable increase in
> their numbers over the past three quarters
> of a century, many of them having increased
> as much as tenfold in that time. Practical-
> ly all of this increase has been by the pro-
> cess of producing large families and being
> able to retain an adequate number of offspring
> within the Church, rather than by conversions
> from the outside.

Sectarian groups differ on the age at which bap-
tism is to be expected and administered. In the Old Men-
nonite Church, however, the (1963) *Mennonite Family Census* re-
vealed that *"The Mennonite Church has moved from a practice of
adolescent or adult baptism towards the practice of child baptism"*
(ibid.:2). The figures reveal that for adult men of 70 or
over, the median age was 18.4 years, for men aged 20-24,
the median age was 14 years. At Salem a random sampling
of the over 50 and under 50[6] age groups shows that for the
over 50 group, the age of baptism clusters around 14 to
18 years of age for males and 11 to 14 years for females.
In the under 50 group, the age of baptism for males is 11
to 13 years and for females it is 10 to 13 years of age.

The (1963) *Mennonite Family Census* also revealed that
there is considerable disparity in the age of baptism among
the various Conferences. In reference to unmarried child-
ren who were members of the Mennonite Church in 1963 it is

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[6]It was not possible to use the age groups utilized by
the Mennonite Family Census because of a lack of data for the over-
seventy group.

shown that, out of sixteen Conferences, Western Ontario

was the highest with a median age of 15.0 years, while

the Pacific Coast was the lowest with a median age of 12.2.

The Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference is close to the lat-

ter with a median age of 12.4 years. In terms of baptism

at the age of ten or younger, the Alberta-Saskatchewan Con-

ference was third highest out of sixteen Conferences.

Thus, in comparison with other Conferences, Alberta-

Saskatchewan was among those that tended to baptize at

an early age at that time.

What are the implications for boundary mainten-

ance in these figures? One the one hand, early baptism

tends to assure a continuation of membership for the church

by incorporating young people into its formal structure

before they have been exposed to the world to any great

extent. In this way youngsters--'brothers' and 'sisters'

after baptism--become an integral part of the organization

and are offered increasing responsibility for its welfare.

Further, the spiritual conversion prior to baptism links

the generations on the basis of mutual experience and thus

contributes to community solidarity. It also provides a

secure, familiar and loving framework in which young people

can mature and adopt their appropriate statuses.

On the other hand, the turbulent years of early

adolescence are not the most suitable basis on which a

stable faith may mature, and the transitory nature of

adolescent emotions may lead to problems of discipline.

Among other sects, such as the Old Order Amish and the
Old German Baptists, the age of baptism is 18 years or
more (Barclay 1967:6). In this way the churches are not
called upon to discipline the 'mistakes' of youth and *"The
longer one is able to postpone joining the more one can prolong the
more relaxed disciplinary atmosphere"* (ibid.). Among Hutterites
also there is recognition of what they call 'the foolish
years', approximately from the age of 15 to 20 when bap-
tism usually occurs. As Hostetler and Huntington (1967:
79) observe,

> *The 'foolish years' are a time for trying
> the boundaries . . . . The adults conveni-
> ently 'do not see' the mild transgressions,
> and the young people enjoy the thrill of
> semiforbidden behaviour and of escape from
> adult surveillance.*

They also state, however:

> *As the individual matures and measures these
> trinkets and indulgences against the 'full
> life around him, and as he participates more
> completely in this very real, and busy life,
> he generally finds the satisfactions received
> from active participation in the colony far
> outweigh those of self-development.*
>
> *(Ibid.)*

When the age of baptism precedes the 'foolish years' as
is the case with Salem, the Church may be called to in-
stitute punitive measures, which may alienate young people
and hasten their departure from the community. Several
parents at Salem are cognizant of these hazards and encour-
age their children to delay baptism as long as possible.
As long as young people remain within the framework of a
Church-oriented life, a delay in baptism is acceptable in

the hope of an eventual conversion. On the other hand,
those who withdraw from this framework, socialize primari-
ly with outsiders and are unbaptized when they are about
18 years old, are not really expected to become full
adult members of the Church, although they will be remem-
bered in the prayers of members. Nevertheless, the fac-
tors which are involved in the programme of internal re-
cruitment at Salem have ensured its remarkable success.
Since 1926, when records were begun to be kept systema-
tically, there have been four hundred and fifty-seven new
members admitted to Salem Church, three hundred and forty-
six from member families. The following table gives the
figures for the various types of admission to Salem Church.

Table VI

TYPES OF ADMISSION TO SALEM CHURCH--1926-1970

Baptism from within	346	75%
Baptism of non-Mennonites	37	9%
Admission by Letter	65	14%
Admission by Recommendation	9	2%
Total admission	457	100%

It is apparent that the high percentage of in-
ternal recruitment would tend to perpetuate community
ideology and tradition. By the time young people have
been exposed to the world through higher and advanced
education and the experience of working outside the com-
munity, they have not only been socialized in community

ways but have absorbed the doctrine and dogma of the Church. Moreover, it is generally believed that those reared in the tradition are better equipped to perpetuate it and thus outsiders are discouraged from joining; further, a high proportion of members not so reared is believed to jeopardize the preservation of that tradition by introducing an undesirable degree of heterogeneity. Those admitted by Letter, of course, come from other Old Mennonite communities whose ideological position and occupational base is likely to be similar to those of Salem and it is not expected that their presence would pose a threat to the integrity of the community. Persons with a different religious and cultural background form only eleven percent of those admitted throughout the years and because they are few in number, their influence has been slight. Moreover, from among the thirty-seven 'outside' baptisms, fifty percent have dropped membership and from those received on Recommendation over fifty percent have removed. Several of those remaining now occupy positions of authority within the formal structure of Church organization and all display the attitudes[7] common to Old Mennonites although, as we mentioned previously, complete identification has not been achieved.

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[7] It has been reported, however, that several have had unhappy initial periods of adjustment. This is borne out by church records which show that some converts dropped membership for a time, returning when they had solved their problems.

Several factors, in addition to those of socialization and enculturation, are responsible for Salem's successful reliance on internal recruitment for incorporating new members. First is the relatively high degree of religious and group endogamy practised by the group (to be discussed in the following section). Second, Salem's rural location discourages interest in membership from outsiders unless they live in the district. Third, as we noted earlier, local churches have an ethnic as well as a religious basis and this tends to hold people to their own congregations. Fourth, a long probationary period for adults to be received on Confession discourages all but the mose zealous and determined. Lastly, the almost total co-incidence of Church and community makes admission to the former a 'natural' step in the maturation process for the children of Salem families.

Therefore, it is evident that the boundary-maintaining devices associated with admission to the group have permitted Salem community to preserve its 'closed' nature and have been fairly successful in preventing penetration of the community by those not reared in its tradition and ideology.

b. Marriage patterns

It has been frequently noted that endogamy is a widespread method for ensuring insulation from the world among sectarian groups and is

> the rule for most adventist and introversion-
> ist sects, the expectation in many conver-
> sionist sects, and the preferred form, if
> marriage is approved at all, in gnostic sects.
>
> (Wilson 1967:37)

In a study of English Quakers, for example, Isichei (1967:

169-170) writes:-

> One of the most significant manifestations
> of the sectarian spirit lies in the creation
> and preservation of elaborate insulating
> mechanisms against the wider society. The
> most important of these devices were group
> endogamy and distinctive modes of dress
> and speech . . . . Group endogamy was a
> protest against marriages performed by a
> 'hireling ministry' as well as an assertion
> of the desirability of religious unity in
> marriage.

The importance of group endogamous marriages is also noted

for the Plymouth Brethren (Embley 1967:243; Wilson 1967:

331) and the Churches of God (Willis and Wilson 1967:249),

as well as for the more traditional examples of the Hut-

terian Brethren, Old Order Amish and several Mennonite

groups. Further, Wilson (1967:44) has observed its im-

portance in preventing denominationalizing tendencies in

sectarian groups. He states that the latter are likely

to be intensified "if the sect is unclear concerning the boundar-

ies of the saved community and extends its rules of endogamy to in-

clude any saved person as an eligible spouse". Therefore, because

of their importance in boundary maintenance, the collec-

tion of data on marriage patterns at Salem has been an in-

tegral element of research strategy.

Withdrawal of Church membership on marriage to

an 'outsider' who did not convert to the Old Mennonite

faith has always been a concern for the discipline of the Church, and rests on the Biblical injunction against being "unequally yoked" with unbelievers. Formerly, membership could be retrieved in such cases by the making of a Confession in Church and before the whole congregation at which time the offender expressed repentance. More recently, marriage to an 'outsider' has not invalidated membership and no Confession is required in this regard. Although the sanctions against exogamy were reversible from early days, there are now no barriers to exogamous marriages and continued membership in Salem Church.

Nevertheless, young people have been encouraged to choose marriage partners from their own or sister congregations. To this end, adolescents are given ample opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex in a variety of formal and informal occasions. The activities of the M.Y.F., church choirs and tours and Bible School are all times when young people may 'look each other over' within relatively structured settings. Until recently, young peoples' groups were invited to Sunday supper in various homes on a regular basis, but this custom has now been dropped. Young people of both sexes often sit in the balcony of the Church at Sunday services (but not together) where a considerable amount of quiet interaction has been observed. Further, young people frequently accompany their parents to Conference meetings in other congregations where a variety of formal and informal activities are planned and

where adult supervision is unobtrusive. It was observed
that considerable latitude was given when young people of
the same sex were accommodated together apart from their
parents and thus given considerable freedom of movement.
Individual families also travel frequently to sister con-
gregations to visit with kinfolk and this promotes inter-
action among young people approaching marriageable age.

Until recently, the young people of Salem were
actively discouraged from forming friendly associations
with non-sect members of their peer groups. Visits to the
homes of school mates were forbidden or limited, so that
they were forced, in large measure, to depend on their own
community for friends and potential mates. This attitude
was particularly pronounced when the children of the ori-
ginal settlers came of age to be married and the communi-
ty was fearful of losing its young people to other church-
es. Because of its proximity to Salem, the Norwegian-
Lutheran church and community was of special significance.
For example, it is reported that Salem boys were forbidden
to watch, from the confines of their own property, the boys
of the Norwegian-Lutheran community play ball. But, in
the earlier days also, the youngsters of farming families
were kept busy choring and had little free time for re-
creation, so curtailment of friendly contacts was not a
great issue. Today, with the emphasis on mechanized agri-
culture, there is more free time for young people and the

growing use of the automobile makes it difficult for par-
ents to monitor the contacts made by their children. Nowa-
days also, the social activities of the M.Y.F. include
young people from other churches in the district as well
as other friends who are invited to participate. There-
fore, these factors plus others involving the centraliza-
tion of schools in the area, mitigate against the imposi-
tion of rules governing contacts made by the young.

Data on marriage patterns were accumulated for
four *Families* in Salem community, the term *Family* being an
example of popular usage. In anthropological terms, the
Family defines a cognatic kinship group (Bohannan 1966:127)
whose members are bilaterally related through a common
ancestor but who do not share a common residence and that
has the character of Goodenough's (1955) 'unlimited des-
cent group'. The four *Families* were chosen because of their
size, because they have absorbed by marriage many members
of smaller families and because the descendants of the
chosen founders are still numerous in Salem. Thus the mar-
riage practices of these *Families* are held to represent the
trends in Salem community as a whole. We propose to define
endogamous marriage in terms of two orders, "religious"
and "group"; in the former we are concerned with marriages
between Salem members and those of other Old Mennonite
congregations; the latter refers to marriage between mem-
bers of Salem community.

First, we will show the total number of "reli-
gious" endogamous marriages and exogamous marriages for
these four *Families* over three generations.

Table VII

RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS FIRST MARRIAGES
IN FOUR SALEM *FAMILIES*

Generation	Religious Endogamy		Exogamy		Total	
First	27	(96%)	1	(4%)	28	
Second	95	(70%)	41	(30%)	136	
Third	98	(55%)	81	(45%)	179	
Total	220	(64%)	123	(36%)	343	(100%)

It will be noted that "religious" endogamy
dropped forty-one percent over three generations, the
greatest loss being in the second generation. It is at
this stage in its history that Salem Church is reported
to have intensified boundary-maintaining devices relating
to contact between its own young people and those of other
religious backgrounds. That these efforts were unsuccess-
ful is revealed in third generation figures which show that
"religious" endogamy exceeds exogamy by a mere ten per-
cent, indicating the loss of a salient characteristic of
sectarianism.

However, not all four *Families* have experienced

the same rate of decrease in "religious" endogamy. The
following table reveals these differences; however, it
should be kept in mind that the numbers given below do
not present an accurate total as the same "religious"
endogamous marriages may appear several times throughout
the records of the four *Families*. A similar caution must
be applied to "group" endogamous marriages tabulated in
this table. The discrepancy in both cases is fifty-one.

It will be noted that in all but *Family III*, all
marriages in the first generation were both "religious"
endogamous and "group" endogamous. The second generation
shows a slight drop in "religious" endogamy in *Families I*
and *II*, but a significant drop in *Families III* and *IV*. Both
these families had a greater number of offspring of the
second generation than *Families I* and *II* and this may ex-
plain, in part, the larger percentage of exogamous mar-
riages in *Families III* and *IV*. As family farms can have
absorbed a limited number of offspring in their labour
force, young people would have been forced to find al-
ternative occupations. These would lead to the develop-
ment of new contacts outside the Church-community and it
is evident that many of these contacts resulted in exo-
gamous marriages. By the third generation, *Families I* and *II*
show a twenty-three and twenty-two percent drop from the
original percentage in "religious" endogamy while *Families*

Table VIII

ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS FIRST MARRIAGES
IN EACH OF FOUR SALEM *FAMILIES*

Generation	Endogamy "Religious"		Endogamy "Group"		Exogamy		Total	
FAMILY I (1889-1971)								
First	4	100%	4	100%	0	0%	4	100%
Second	16	94%	16	100%	1	6%	17	100%
Third	10	77%	3	30%	3	23%	13	100%
FAMILY II (1883-1971)								
First	7	100%	7	100%	0	0%	7	100%
Second	28	97%	19	68%	1	3%	29	100%
Third	21	78%	10	48%	6	22%	27	100%
FAMILY III (1874-1971)								
First	8	88%	8	100%	1	12%	9	100%
Second	35	69%	27	77%	16	31%	51	100%
Third	67	59%	14	21%	47	41%	114	100%
FAMILY IV (1898-1971)								
First	9	100%	9	100%	0	0%	9	100%
Second	35	60%	24	69%	23	40%	58	100%
Third*	31	55%	17	55%	25	45%	56	100%
Total	271	69%	[158	58%]	123	31%	394	100%

*data are missing for 17 persons, which suggests that these are cases of exogamous marriages where contact has been lost. If this is the case, the percentage of "religious" endogamy would be further reduced.

III and *IV* have dropped forty-one and forty-five percent. The greatest over-all loss has occurred in *Family IV* and it is this *Family* which has been reported as being particularly close-knit with few friends among Salem members. It would seem that, by emphasizing family ties to the detriment of establishing friendships in the Church, *Family IV* has lost the greatest number of its offspring exogamous marriages.

When we study the "group" endogamous marriages in these four *Families,* we find that in the first generation all "religious" endogamous marriages took place between Salem members. By the second and third generations, however, these began to decrease rapidly indicating that a wider choice of marriage partners within the Old Mennonite Church had become available outside the spatial confines of Salem community. This is linked, no doubt, to the growing use of the automobile which has permitted increasingly frequent visits to sister congregations within the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference District as well as travel to other Old Mennonite congregations throughout Canada and the United States.

Let us now examine the exogamous marriages which were contracted in these four *Families* to determine the rate of conversion of both male and female non-Mennonite spouses.

Table IX

CONVERSION TO THE OLD MENNONITE CHURCH
IN EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES IN FOUR SALEM *FAMILIES*

	Conversion Female		Male		Not Affiliated		Total	
Family I	0	0%	1	25%	3	75%	4	100%
Family II	0	0%	1	14%	6	86%	7	100%
Family III	17	27%	7	11%	40	62%	64	100%
Family IV	6	13%	4	8%	38	79%	48	100%
Total	23	19%	13	10%	87	71%	123	100%

A total of thirty-six or twenty-nine percent of
exogamous marriages in these four *Families* resulted in con-
version of the non-Mennonite spouse. The greatest number
of conversions occurred in *Family III* which has also pro-
duced the highest number of total exogamous marriages.
In this case, however, only twenty-four or thirty-eight
percent of these marriages resulted in conversion, the
largest proportion being that of the conversion of female
non-Mennonite spouses. *Family IV*, with a total of forty-
eight exogamous marriages, produced ten conversions or
twenty-one percent, again the higher number being that of
female conversion.

The record of marriage patterns in these four
Families suggests that several factors are responsible for
the type of marriage contracted and its implications for
continued affiliation with the Old Mennonite Church.

First, a large number of children is seen to be related
to an increase in exogamy as the necessity for finding
occupations off the farm leads to wider contacts with
the outside. Under these circumstances, the chances are
greater for female conversion in exogamous marriage. Se-
cond, the quality of family life which restricts partici-
pation in age grade activities in the Church and communi-
ty is also seen to be related to increasing exogamy. And
third, the commitment of parents to the principles of
Mennonite faith and practice and to the maintenance of
boundaries around the Church-community is inevitably an
important factor in the type of marriage contracted by
their children. These factors, idiosyncratic to each fa-
mily in Salem, are independently linked in each case to
the larger context in which boundaries are maintained by
Church and community in the face of external and internal
pressures.

"Religious" and "group" endogamy in a group with
a relatively small population may result in kin marriages.
In the case of Salem, the kin ties are those of second
and third cousins, as there are no instances of first cou-
sin marriages. Kinship beyond that of third cousins is
not considered significant in marriage, although the in-
dividuals concerned will be aware of a distant kinship re-
lationship between them. Although Salem members express
concern about second cousin marriage in particular, they
also point out that "family units" do not interact to any

considerable extent so that the kinship is not socially apparent. This confirms the fact that age groups are socially more important than such "family" groups. Table X shows the percentage of "religious" endogamous marriages in four *Families* which took place between Salem members related by kinship ties.

Table X

"RELIGIOUS" ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES BETWEEN KIN
IN FOUR SALEM *FAMILIES*

Generation	"Religious" Endogamy	Kin Marriage	
First	27	0	0%
Second	95	10	11%
Third	98	15	15%
Total	220	25	11%

The percentage of marriages among kin has risen fifteen percent over three generations, but the total of eleven percent is lower than might be expected in a group of this nature given the extent and inter-relatedness of its kin networks, its rural setting and the *gemeinschaftlich* quality of its social relations. It is also much less than informal conversation with Salem members indicated and certainly runs counter to opinions held by several non-Mennonites in the district regarding Salem marriages. Opinions in both quarters may be due to the fact that each such marriage may be counted more than once because it is recorded in more than one kin group. Nevertheless,

the percentage indicates that there has been a sufficient-
ly large number of potential non-kin mates within the
bounds set by "religious" endogamy to prevent a greater
rate on kin marriage in Salem community.

Let us now look at the four *Families* individually
to assess the trends in kin marriage in each, noting that
the numbers for both "religious" endogamy and kin marriage
do not give an accurate total as they record several of
the same marriages in each family history.

Table XI

KIN MARRIAGES IN FOUR SALEM *FAMILIES* OVER THREE GENERATIONS

Generation	"Religious Endogamy"		Kin Marriage	
FAMILY I				
First	4	100%	0	0%
Second	16	94%	7	44%
Third	10	77%	1	10%
FAMILY II				
First	7	100%	0	0%
Second	28	97%	7	25%
Third	21	78%	6	29%
FAMILY III				
First	8	88%	0	0%
Second	35	69%	3	9%
Third	67	59%	15	23%
FAMILY IV				
First	9	100%	0	0%
Second	35	00%	0	0%
Third	31	55%	6	19%
Total	271		45	16%

In all but *Family I* kin marriages have increased
over three generations. The low percentage in *Family I* in
the third generation may be due to the young age of the
majority of its children. With this exception, however,
the remaining three *Families* show an increase in kin mar-
riages concomitant with a decrease in "religious" endo-
gamy. It would seem that that marriage patterns of these
Families involve the existence of two contradictory trends
and it is suggested that these trends reveal the centri-
petal and centrifugal forces which have marked the history
of Salem community.

It should be recognized, however, that all the
percentages for these four *Families* regarding marriage
patterns include many members who have left Salem and are
scattered in various parts of North America. They fail
to account for the spatial community which is Salem. By
looking at the active households whose antecedents have
been associated with Salem for two generations or more
and by excluding five recent and two spinster households,
we find that in these eighty households, religious endo-
gamy is fifty-eight percent with exogamy at forty-two per-
cent. In comparison with the figures in Table VII (page
213), we find only a six percent discrepancy in both "re-
ligious" endogamy and exogamy and this strongly confirms
that the tendencies apparent in the case of the four *Fami-
lies* can be extrapolated to the Church-community at large.
However, "group" endogamy at sixty-eight percent and kin

marriage at twenty-six percent for the eighty households
are higher than that for the *Families*. This indicates that
these households have contributed more than the *Families*
to greater cohesion in the spatial community.

However, not all of the above marriages resulted
in affiliation with Salem Church and community. Of the
one hundred and fifty-nine marriages recorded among eighty
households, only eighty-seven (fifty-five percent) have
maintained affiliation. The marriage patterns of these
affiliated households show "religious" endogamy at seventy-
eight percent and exogamy at twenty-two percent; "group"
endogamy stands at eighty-two percent and kin marriage at
eighteen percent. Further, the conversion rate of non-
Mennonite spouses in exogamous marriages is sixty-eight
percent for females and thirty-two percent for males.

In comparison with the figures compiled for
the four *Families* and for the eighty households in asso-
ciation with Salem for two generations or more, the sta-
tistics for the presently affiliated households show a
much more conservative position regarding marriage pat-
terns. "Religious" endogamy among the *Families* is sixty-
four percent of all marriages recorded over three genera-
tions and fifty-eight percent among the eighty households
but rises to seventy-eight percent of those married coup-
les presently living in the Church-community. Exogamy
also drops to twenty-two percent among these couples com-
pared with thirty-six among the *Families* and forty-two

percent among the eighty households. Kin marriage is greater at eighteen   cent than the eleven percent of the *Families,* but less than that tabulated for eighty households. Taken in conjunction with the high rate of "group" endogamy, all these figures reveal that, despite the impressive trend away from "religious" and "group" endogamous marriages in Salem over the years, "group" endogamy is still the prevalent form of marriage for those who have maintained affiliation with the spatial community.[8]

The importance of the degree of "group" endogamy to the preservation of sectarian integrity has already been noted. Not only does this practice prevent the penetration of 'outside' personnel and interests, it also contributes significantly to maintaining primary relationships within the community. Taken in conjunction with kin marriages, fellow members of the community become not only 'brethren' in the Spirit, but also related to a great extent by ties of kinship. Therefore, in spite of the greatly reduced effectiveness of "religious" and "group" endogamy as a boundary-maintaining device of the internal-interactional type among the families of Salem,

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[8]The high rate of group endogamous marriages may explain, in part, why outsiders consider Salem community to be very interrelated, particularly as Salem members share several surnames but may not be kin or close kin to each other. Further, there have been several cases of brothers in one family marrying sisters in another family. All these factors have given outsiders an inaccurate picture of the extent of kin marriages in Salem. Again this is indicative of the lack of true knowledge which outsiders have of the Old Mennonites in their district.

its high percentage among those who have retained affili-
ation with the home Church has had an effect on the compo-
sition of Salem community and the quality of life sus-
tained within it. "Group" endogamy and kin marriages
have strengthened the kinship network which touches almost
all of the members of Salem and binds them together
with more than ideological ties. Thus, in Wilson's words
(1967:43); *"The membership is a membership of families rather
than of individuals and sect values are mediated by the kin group."*
By contrast, in Conversionist sects, the

> *concept of brotherhood extends beyond sect*
> *boundaries and its standards are less rigor-*
> *ous. It accepts individuals more lightly,*
> *socializes them less intensely and loses*
> *them more easily—all of which disturbs*
> *the strong sense of community.*

This sense of community has been preserved to
a considerable extent among those who have chosen to re-
main affiliated with Salem and has, no doubt, encouraged
"group" endogamy and at the same time been reinforced by
this practice. But the sense of community has not resul-
ted from sanctions related to boundary-maintaining devices
associated with marriage practices for, as we have seen,
earlier sanctions were reversible and today do not exist.
Over the years, the attitude of Salem members towards
other Christians has changed and, despite their acceptance
of the injunction not to be 'unequally yoked', it is now
believed that this does not hold when a marriage is made
"in Christ". And, as more Salem members interact more

frequently with Christian 'outsiders', they have come to
regard any rules about the choice of marriage partners
as prejudicial to other Christians. Further, as more
marriage partners from other Christian churches have come
to live in Salem, it was observed that they were 'good'
people too. In the words. of an informant; *"They don't need
to become Mennonite to be good people."*

Thus, the sense of sectarian exclusiveness has
been lost, gradually at first, but with increased acceler-
ation since the end of World War II. While this point
will be discussed in fuller detail in a later chapter,
the change in attitude is now clearly seen to be related
to a failure of boundary-maintaining devices to limit
interaction with non-sectarians. Even in the context of
the high rate of "group" endogamy within the present af-
filiated members of Salem, it should be remembered that
only just over half of the couples married over the last
two generations have been absorbed by the home Church.
Salem then has lost as many as it has retained and the
question of whether this balance can be maintained in
the future is itself problematic. More importantly, there
has been a growing tendency to accept "any saved person
as an eligible spouse", thereby obfuscating the boundar-
ies around the group. This also seems likely to increase
in the future. Both these factors clearly demonstrate
that the scope of boundaries around Salem community has
changed and indeed, the nature of the boundaries them-

selves has altered considerably.

Attempts were made to determine whether the marriage patterns of Salem were typical of other churches in the district. Three were approached for comparative data, the Lutheran, Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonite Churches, but only the latter was prepared to provide the data required. A questionnaire was sent to members of this church through the mail and elicited an above-average response at thirty-one replies out of forty-eight requests. The data thus acquired reveal that eighty percent of the marriages reported among the members of the General Conference Mennonite Church at Tofield are "religious" endogamous, being just two percent higher than that tabulated for Salem.

The percentages of "religious" endogamy for Salem and the General Conference Mennonite Church in Tofield were related to data from other religious organizations. A study (Cavan 1971:6) of Reform and Conservative Jewish students at a midwest College regarding statements of marrying outside their faith reveals that 42.9% of Reform male and 51.4% of Reform female students declared against it. Male and female students of the Conservative branches of the faith were 60.8% and 79.1% against marrying out. Lenski's (1963:54) study of Protestants and Catholics in Detroit shows that:

> Although 85% of the white Protestants and
> Catholics in our sample reported that they
> and their spouse were of the same major

> faith (i.e., Protestantism or Catholicism),
> a check of their religious background re-
> vealed that only 68% had been reared in the
> same faith. In other words, one-fifth of
> the now homogeneous marriages had been con-
> tracted by persons raised in different faiths.

These data, then, tend to support the belief that Salem's
rate of "religious endogamy" at seventy-eight percent is
high, as is that of the General Conference Mennonite
Church in Tofield.

c. Restrictions on higher education

Contemporary sects associated with Anabaptism
have viewed the education provided by local governments
for their children with some trepidation because it mani-
fests the ideology of the world which is often at variance
with that of the sect. Hostetler and Huntington (1967:98)
describe the potential disruptive force of "outside" edu-
cation, typified by the English school on a Hutterite
colony.

> For the child who has not responded pro-
> perly to colony indoctrination, the Eng-
> lish school can become an important influ-
> ence leading to possible desertion. In
> school he can function as an individual
> and learn about the world outside his colony
> from his books and from his teacher. Inti-
> macy between teacher and pupil can lead to
> defection. Friendships can lead to mar-
> riages with outsiders, to changes of deno-
> minational loyalties, and in some instances,
> teachers have helped young Hutterites find
> jobs and leave the colony.

Nevertheless, Hutterites recognize the benefits of the
English school in providing basic instruction in langu-
age skills, knowledge of arithmetic and reading. How-
ever, the English school is incorporated into the life

of the *Bruderhof* and *"this proximity allows the leaders to know
what goes on in the school"* (Redekop and Hostetler 1964:88).
Moreover, although Hutterites have no immediate control
over school curricula, they can impose certain restric-
tions, such as the prohibition of audio-visual aids in
school. Thus, while *"the English school is brought into the
colony, its influence is carefully guarded in a controlled environ-
ment"* (*ibid.*:89). Further, Hutterite children are with-
drawn from English school at the age of fifteen, at which
time they are expected to have learned all that is rele-
vant to their way of life and thereafter learning is
geared in practical terms, to adult work responsibility
in the colony.

The Old Order Amish have similar views towards
the education of their young people and, in some cases,
they have established private schools in their settle-
ments. But, on the whole, *"The role of the school is considered
marginal to the life of the Amish community"* (*ibid.*: 87). This
is particularly true in cases where the school is at a
distance from the community. Moreover, the Amish have no
control over either the curricula or the worldly philo-
sophy of education. As a rule, then, *"As soon as the law
will allow, Amish children are taken out of school for work at home"*
(Hostetler 1963:143).

Anti-intellectualism is not always characteris-
tic of Anabaptist or other Introversionist sects and most
have displayed a strong ambivalence towards education. On

the one hand, intellectual activity has been condemned for itself and as the potential source of worldly attachments and intellectual pride. At the same time, American Quakers, for example, have often been prominent exponents of higher education and both Quakers and Mennonites have established denominational colleges. Nevertheless, the warning given a young Quaker by his mother in the nineteenth century expresses the fear of education which has also been present in such sectarian groups.

> *Thou are too much absorbed in study, my beloved child, for however innocent it may be, yet like the doves in the temple, it fills up a place in the temple of thy heart . . . .*

(Isichei 1964:211)

Therefore, restrictions on the education of the young by the "outside" is recognized as being a potent boundary-maintaining device by sectarian groups, particularly those of the Introversionist type.

The relevance of education has been considered in much the same light by the members of Salem. In the past it was deemed unnecessary and "one could make a living without it". Thus, education is seen primarily in its utilitarian aspect. Also, in the early days, the nature of farming necessitated the existence of a large labour force which children were expected to form. Therefore, at that time, the majority of young people had left

school by the end of Grade Eight or earlier[9], boys to

work on the farm and girls to help in the house and with

chores. Both boys and girls were often hired out to

local Mennonite and non-Mennonite farmers. At one time,

in the late 1920's, it is reported that only one young

man had received higher education and had attended a Men-

nonite College elsewhere. In addition, higher education

was viewed as dangerous, both as a threat to the integri-

ty of community ideology and the religious belief system

and as an inducement to young people to leave the com-

munity for further training and occupations.

Today, it is reported that the completion of

High School is considered an economic necessity, although

several families are apprehensive about its ultimate

value. Informants stated that the less educated parents

are more suspicious and react unconsciously to the threat;

this is revealed in conversation among Church members.

It was also noted by the writer that satirical and humor-

ous remarks, made particularly by older people, are used

to emphasize the "foolish" behaviour of "educated" people,

thus instilling in the young a suspicion of the education-

al process administered by the secular world. This tactic

has also been observed among the Old Order Amish and the

Amish Mennonites in Ontario (Gingerich 1972:134). Further,

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[9]As always there are exceptions, and one or two families
ensured completion of High School for all their children.

it is also suspected that an aversion to higher educa-
tion is expressed in the indifferent attitude of some pa-
rents towards the progress of their children in school.
This is borne out by the remarks of a non-Mennonite teach-
er on the number of Salem children of above average ability
who had failed to complete their schooling or who had
failed to achieve what their intelligence indicated. One
might conclude, therefore, that the attitude of parents
is related in some measure to this lack of success.

On the other hand, it was not hard to perceive
that Salem community as a whole is proud of its university
graduates, particularly those in the medical and teaching
professions. But this pride is reserved primarily for
those graduates who have remained within the Old Mennonite
Church at Salem or elsewhere, especial esteem being given
to those on missionary work overseas.

To what extent do Salem's attitudes and prac-
tices regarding education coincide with those of other
Old Mennonite congregations? The *Mennonite Family Census* (1963)
shows that the percentage of male and female household
heads who had received no High School education was 60.6
percent; the number of Salem household heads with similar
education standards would compare equally with the general
average. Further, it was shown that male household heads
had a median of 8.87 years of education as compared to
9.20 for Mennonite housewives. As we noted in Chapter Six
(Section B.4), Salem daughters have been encouraged since

the nineteen forties to receive occupational training
which implies the completion of at least nine grades of
schooling. Therefore, Salem is in line with the 1963
pattern for Old Mennonites generally. But, as the *Men-
nonite Family Census* (*ibid.*:22) points out with reference
to its figures, its percentages *"do not include children liv-
ing at home who had gone or are now going to high school"*. The
same caution applies to the extrapolations made for Salem
household heads.

In order to assess the extent to which Salem
children are receiving higher education, the records of
the last fifteen years of one of the local schools were
examined. The number of Salem children graduating in
Grades Nine and Twelve are shown in the following table.

Table XII

SALEM GRADUATES OF GRADES NINE AND TWELVE,
TOFIELD SCHOOL, 1956-71

	Grade Nine	Grade Twelve	Number and Percent of Decrease	
Girls	30	20	10	33%
Boys	26	7	19	73%
Total	56	27	29	52%

The most striking feature of Table XII is that
seventy-three percent of boys graduating from Grade Nine
fail to complete Grade Twelve as compared with thirty-
three percent of girls. It is suggested that a recogni-

tion of the need for higher education for girls is a result of the increasing mechanization of agriculture and a concomitant diminished need for many "hands" on the farm. Thus, girls may be encouraged to complete Grade Twelve in order to meet the academic requirements for occupational training.

On the other hand, mechanization of agriculture does not appear to be related to the low percentage of boys completing Grade Twelve. This may be better explained in terms of the move away from a farm economy to one based on professional and technical skills, a process which is taking place over the span of one generation. In other words, this is a transitional period for Salem in which attitudes and behaviour have not yet become fully attuned to economic and social realities. It is expected that the number of boys completing the senior programme will increase in the future.

Figures gathered at the Tofield and Ryley schools and covering identical time periods show that in the school system as a whole there is an overall loss of fifty-one percent (boys and girls) from Grade Nine to Grade Twelve. Salem's loss at fifty-two percent runs close to the average for both schools. Therefore, it is concluded that Salem does not differ significantly from the rest of the district population in ensuring education to the Grade Twelve level for its children.

Because a lack of higher education is a severe

handicap to engaging in most occupations other than farm-
ing, it is a deterrent to the flow of young men away from
the community with its tradition of farming and thus is
a significant boundary-maintaining device. Further, the
lack of higher education removes young people from the
dangers inherent in the educational process itself at
this level, particularly as it applies to the preservation
of the religious belief system of the Church. At the
lower levels of education it is believed by Salem mem-
bers that the Church can counteract, in its own educa-
tional programmes, ideas and ideologies which threaten
the faith. But even at the elementary level some parents
have expressed concern on this matter. However, the high
school curriculum with its emphasis on science, including
the theory of evolution and its examination of "worldly"
social issues and t: ds, is considered specially danger-
ous.

At the present time there is only the slight-
est indication that a trend away from the restrictions
on education exists. But, continuing economic pressures,
including those related to the farm economy, the rising
standard of living and the fact that young people are more
and more exposed to models of professional men and women
in Salem Church itself, may accelerate a trend towards
encouraging Salem youngsters to complete their higher
education programmes.

Within the context of the educational system

itself, Salem children have had some problems regarding their participation in activities associated with the local schools. We have noted previously that dress regulations for Salem girls deterred their participation in sporting activities. Competitive sports were also forbidden Salem children of both sexes. Today, however, they take "very active parts" in all such endeavours.

Graduation exercises have posed a few problems also. When these were staged as purely academic occasions, Salem youngsters participated freely. But when certain social events were added, these were prohibited. Recently the Prom (Graduation) Dance has been held in the Spring and the Graduation Banquet and Ceremony in the Fall. This neatly separated the forbidden from the permissible! However, the Prom has introduced a Programme and Processional or Grand March which most Salem children attend, remaining to watch the dancing and even to take part. My informant noted that the latter activity may not be engaged in "with parental approval".

After the centralization of schools was accomplished, it was reported that the initial shyness of Salem children soon disappeared and, in the words of an informant: *"In recent years they mix well with other children and often close friendships are formed"*. It was also noted that *"although Mennonites are not supposed to vote, they take an active part in High School elections"*.

We conclude, therefore, that while failure to

complete Grade Twelve may still be an effective boundary-
maintaining device in certain respects, the interaction
of Salem children with non-sectarians is high and they
have adopted the activities which are characteristic of
school life in rural Alberta.

d. Participation in politics

Mennonites, in common with other Anabaptist--
derived sects, view the world as being composed of two
realms: that of evil men and that of the righteous which
is the Kingdom of God. The former requires government
and God has provided this institution to ensure the good
of country and people. But, in the words of an inform-
ant, *"Governments can never speak to the real needs of man or make
a bad man a good man"*. In the Kingdom of God, His word, as
revealed in the Bible, is the final authority. Mennonites
also recognize that, in order to implement their policies,
governments rely ultimately on the use of force which is
antithetical to New Testament injunctions. Further, par-
ticipation in certain levels of government (the Provin-
cial and Federal in Canada) involves "going along with a
political party" rather than following one's own indivi-
dual conscience. Therefore, on the whole, Salem Old Men-
nonites have remained aloof from participation in poli-
tics relating to the Federal and Provincial Governments.
Nevertheless, the policies of all levels of government
are freely discussed and grievances aired, particularly
when such policies "touch the pocket books". (The farm

economy is supported by Federal subsidy.)

Exercise of the franchise is viewed differently among the various Old Mennonite congregations in North America. In some parts of the United States it is considered obligatory to vote, but at Salem some of the older men disapproved and it has become a community tradition to refrain. It was reported that in the over-fifty age group Salem members would not vote on religious grounds, while it was not expected that more than ten percent of the younger members would do so. It was also reported that younger people of voting age (eighteen in Alberta) were too disinterested to vote and probably too apathetic to check their names on the voters' lists. On the other hand, other informants stated that political matters were of considerable interest to Salem members and that the percentage of those voting would be well over twenty percent. The discrepancy in opinions on this matter reflects the different ages and experiences of informants, the more conservative estimate being offered by older farmers. Younger men, particularly those who have worked at occupations other than farming, have a higher percent for probable voters among Salem members.

In the total context, however, several Salem members have served on School Boards. In the early days and before the centralization of schools in the district, this was seen as a necessity and not considered a violation of principles because, although these were elected

positions, the context was very localized. Further, there was little authority involved and it was primarily a case of hiring teachers and looking after school buildings. It is also reported that a few Salem men have held positions in County administration and one served on a local Town Council for two terms. To hold such positions was not considered a threat to religious principles, although being an elected Member of Parliament would be seriously frowned upon.

On the whole, Salem has retained a traditional Anabaptist aloofness from participation in government and politics generally which has separated them, to some degree, from the interests and concerns of the community at large.

e. Relations to external authority

As a rule Introversionist sects have encouraged their members to be "good citizens" and obey the laws of the land to the extent that these do not contravene their religious principles. Generally speaking in North America such sects have had few disagreements with external authorities except in the matter of education and, in the case of the Hutterian Brethren in Alberta, land ownership. In the case of military service, the Canadian Government has recognized the status of Conscientious Objector and Old Mennonites and others have been free to adopt this status in two World Wars. Jury service is also forbidden to members of such sects but as the occasion has never

arisen in the case of Salem, it has never been a contentious issue.

In World War I, one Salem member went to register as a Conscientious Objector but was refused and no other members attempted to do so but remained at home to work on the farms. In World War II, several men registered as Conscientious Objectors and were sent to Work Camps which they preferred to the Medical Corps which was seen as part of the war machine. Some men served in these camps from 1939 to 1945. Other young men of Salem emigrated to the United States while it was still neutral and it is reported that approximately eighty Church members left Canada at this time. Others were registered as Conscientious Objectors but received farm deferments during the course of the War. In this case, payments were made to the Red Cross organization to compensate for wages earned or profits made at this occupation. A total of $1,592.00 was paid on behalf of twenty-eight Salem men by the Deacon's Fund to the Red Cross, while seven men made payments on their own.

There seems to have been little friction between the community and the authorities in regard to military service although several complained of the tactics used to trick prospective Conscientious Objectors during application procedures. One man recalls that, through ignorance of the requirements for establishing Conscientious Objector status, he stated the position of the Mennonite

Church rather than his own personal convictions and his application was refused.

In the context of non-resistance, mention should be made of the reaction of the wider community towards Salem during the two World Wars. In the 1914-18 struggle Salem was regarded with considerable suspicion because of the frequent use of the German language as well as the Conscientious Objector status claimed by its young men. It is reported that local people definitely felt that Salem was in sympathy with the German cause and no doubt this was a hindrance to the development of friendly contacts during that period. During the Second World War local reaction was based primarily on Salem's posture on non-resistance and became fairly intense as the sons, fathers and relatives of non-Mennonite families were reported as casualties. Some overt acts of hostility were perpetuated but, on the whole, ill feelings were confined to verbal confrontations, although Salem members of military age were aware of unexpressed feelings of resentment. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that Salem farmers on the whole were prosperous and successful and it was felt by some "outsiders" that economic motives formed the basis of non-resistance. Some members of the wider community felt then, and do so today, that to accept Canadian citizenship includes a moral duty to fight Canada's battles. Although over twenty-five years have passed since the end of World War II, several non-Mennonite resi-

dents of the district still hold feelings of resentment against Salem community on this basis.

f. Friendly contacts

The final boundary-maintaining device of the social internal-interaction type to be discussed is that of restrictions on friendly contacts with non-Mennonites. In ideal terms, this device has its basis in custom rather than doctrine and therefore the sanctions associated with it are very nebulous. No doubt an excess in the establishment of friendly contacts with outsiders would provoke reaction from Salem community, particularly if it reduced participation in Church-community affairs or led to activities considered sinful. As Wilson has written (1967: 43): *"The individual is a sect-member before he is anything else, he is expected to find his friends within the group . . . ."* However, at Salem, no formal precedents are reported for disciplinary action in this regard.

Although the Old Mennonites of Salem have shared with other sectarian groups such as the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren, the injunction to be separate from "the world", their interest in evangelism has resulted in a less stringent attitude towards friendly contact with outsiders. There has always been an "outgoing" attitude on the part of some Salem members and several of those in authority have become well-known and respected in the larger community, primarily as the result of evangelical activities. This is particularly true of those

who have been actively involved in the small Mission Sunday Schools and who have kept contact with local non-Mennonite families. At present, such local evangelical activities are carried out by a small group which is involved with the Lutheran "Pioneer Girls" organization and by another group which participates in Bible study and Prayer Meetings with members of the Lutheran, Mennonite Brethren, General Conference Mennonite, United, Anglican, Catholic and Alliance churches[10] in the district. On the other hand, it has been reported that "most (Mennonites) don't talk to their neighbours and won't stop to talk in town". One informant was proud that her mother had never visited in the locality, but that people came to visit her.

According to Salem informants and those from outside the community, friendly interaction with neighbours was relatively high among the original members of Salem, particularly with the Norwegian-Lutheran community established close by. However, members of the latter report that they "made the first moves". But, as later generations came of marriageable age, both groups became

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[10]This association has not been accepted by Salem Church without opposition. As the group is Pentecostal in nature and the power to witness is manifested in *glossolalia*, it received much criticism. A further point of contention was that the Salem members of the group were accused of forming a clique and only interacted with each other. However, after a recent visit by the Reverend F. Augsburger, a staunch supporter of evangelism, the group has gained a measure of acceptance.

"afraid for their churches" and interaction was discouraged on both sides. Nevertheless, Norwegian-Lutherans reported that they were *"glad to have Mennonite wives for their sons because they were good, hardworking and fine girls"* and thus were less strict than the Old Mennonites in restricting contacts.

From observation it was noted that in all the visits, both formal and informal, which were made to the homes of Salem members, the number of "outsiders" encountered was negligible, except for family members who had married out. On a few occasions, a neighbour or two would attend the W.M.S.A. Sewing Circle and several neighbouring families were observed at two funeral services. The number recorded at other gatherings, such as wedding anniversaries, was quite small. On one occasion I attended a farm auction with a Salem friend and later called on the widowed occupant, a non-Mennonite. Although my Salem friend was recognized by almost all those present, most did not speak to her, neither did she attempt to "visit around".

In an effort to determine the extent of friendly contacts between Salem members and their non-Mennonite neighbours, a sample of seventeen households was asked to keep a record of visitors to their homes over a period of one to two weeks. The sample consisted of four households in the towns and thirteen on the farm. Households were chosen in terms of age groups and categorized in terms of

the marriage patterns of their senior members. In the first instance there were two households representing the thirty to forty age group, eight of the forty to fifty age group, three of the fifty to sixty age group, two in the sixty to seventy age group and two of the seventy to eighty age group. In the second instance there were thirteen households of "group" endogamous marriages, one of "religious" endogamous marriage and three exogamous marriages in which a spouse had been baptized into Salem Church on marriage. All respondents were asked to differentiate between social and business visits and to indicate visits of both kinds which had been made by relatives. The results are tabulated in Table XIII.

The figures shown in this table would indicate that the households in CATEGORY I not only socialize and conduct business primarily with their fellow members of Salem community but with their kin in that community. The households in CATEGORY II also conduct the majority of their business and socialize primarily with kin, but these are non-Mennonite relatives. CATEGORY III resembles the pattern in CATEGORY I. Therefore, we conclude that non-Mennonite contacts acquired prior to admission to Salem Church tend to be maintained quite strongly in both business and social life.

By combining the figures in Table XIII we should obtain a representative picture of the visiting patterns of Salem community as a whole (Table XIV).

Table XIII

VISITING PATTERNS IN SEVENTEEN SALEM HOUSEHOLDS

CATEGORY I--Salem Mennonite ↔ Salem Mennonite
13 Households

Type of Visit	Mennonite Visitors		Non-Mennonite Visitors		Total	
Kin social	139	34%	--	0%	139	34%
Kin business	67	17%	--	0%	67	17%
Non-kin social	48	12%	30	7%	78	19%
Non-kin business	57	14%	63	16%	120	30%
					404	100%

CATEGORY II--Salem Mennonite ↔ Non-Mennonite
3 Households

Type of Visit	Mennonite Visitors		Non-Mennonite Visitors		Total	
Kin social	16	15%	31	30%	47	45%
Kin business	2	2%	10	9%	12	11%
Non-kin social	3	3%	26	25%	29	28%
Non-kin business	5	5%	11	11%	16	16%
					104	100%

CATEGORY III--Salem Mennonite ↔ Old Mennonite
1 Household

Type of Visit	Mennonite Visitors		Non-Mennonite Visitors		Total	
Kin social	10	67%	--	0%	10	67%
Kin business	2	13%	--	0%	2	13%
Non-kin social	--	0%	1	7%	1	7%
Non-kin business	2	13%	--	0%	2	13%
					15	100%

Table XIV

VISITING PATTERNS OF SALEM COMMUNITY
BASED ON A SAMPLE OF SEVENTEEN HOUSEHOLDS

Type of Visit	Mennonite Visitors		Non-Mennonite Visitors		Total	
Kin social	165	31.5%	31	5.9%	196	37%
Kin business	71		10	1.9%	81	16%
Non-kin social	51		57	10.8%	108	21%
Non-kin business	64		74	14.1%	138	26%
				Total	523	100%
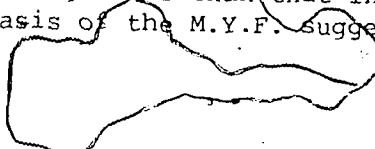
In assessing the distributions t ulated above,
it should be remembered that the sample does not equally
represent, in numerical terms, the three CATEGORIES of
marriage patterns; in other words, it is heavily weighted
in favour of "group" endogamous marriages at seventy-six
percent of the total sample. However, as we noted in
Section b. of this Chapter (Marriage patterns), "group"
endogamous marriages form eighty-two percent of all mar-
riages recorded for the eighty households retaining affi-
liation with Salem Church; therefore, the sample is judged
to be well in line with this figure.

Social and business contacts with fellow Salem
Mennonites are tabulated at forty-two percent and twenty-
six percent respectively, while such contacts with non-
Mennonites are sixteen percent and seventeen percent res-
pectively. This suggests that the members of Salem com-
munity as a whole, despite the contacts maintained by

those with non-Mennonite backgrounds, restrict friendly
and business contacts to within their own community. The
relatively high percentage of visits among relatives is
to be expected in a community where almost all families
are interrelated. Thus, not only is Salem a relatively
'closed' community by virtue of its "group" endogamy and
internal recruitment, it seems to retain and maintain
this characteristic through its visiting patterns which
indicate a restriction on the establishment of friendly
contacts in the district.[11]

Thus far we have been concerned primarily with
the activities of individuals and families. The posture
of Salem community vis-a-vis the wider community requires
discussion. Salem has always been encouraged to be of
help to those who need it, be it in financial terms or
donations of time and work. Thus, for example, in the
1920's Salem Church sponsored about thirty Mennonite fa-
milies from Russia, helping them through the first Al-
berta winter and assisting them to locate in the area
during the following summer. Much more recently, the men
of Salem helped to build a new Lutheran Church in Tofield
in 1967 and in 1971, when a vicious hailstorm hit a small
town several miles east, Salem Church was ready to extend

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[11]The contacts young people establish in school and asso-
ci   activities and those acquired at work or in training, are ex-
pected to be much greater than that indicated for household heads.
The expanded basis of the M.Y.F. suggests that this is indeed the case.

its aid. The women of the Church have formed a commit-
tee, the members of which go into the homes of the sick
and hospitalized where they wash, clean house and cook
meals. A group within the W.M.S.A. also visits the Old
People's Home in a neighbouring village on a regular ba-
sis and the M.Y.F. choir sings in hospitals in the area
and in a neighbouring gaol. These examples represent the
activities of the Church in this respect, but there are
also many acts of kindness and help given by individuals.

However, the community has been reluctant, it
seems, to participate as a community in local activities.
A history of the district, compiled by the Tofield His-
torical Society (1969) cites the development and leader-
ship in a number of local organizations such as the Agri-
cultural Society, the Women's Institute, the Tofield Com-
munity League and various sports organizations. No names
of Salem members appear in these records, apart from two
associated with the Tofield Gun Club in the 1960's. Fur-
ther, rather than participate in the local Baseball Club,
Salem formed its own in the past although a few 'outside'
boys were invited to play on it. Nowadays many young
people are involved in athletic teams associated with the
local schools. Nevertheless, it was reported that even
today Salem is poorly represented at the Bardo Sports
Day, a well known local annual event.

On the other hand, Salem community had an offi-
cial part in Alberta's fiftieth anniversary and in 1967,

during the Dominion Centennial celebrations in Tofield
town, the Centennial Queen was a pioneer member of the Lutheran community who had married into Salem Church.

Salem's interaction with district churches has
also been slight. The barriers between the Mennonite
groups in the area have been quite fixed and Salem informants have stated that this was due as much to prolonged cultural differences between the members as to
ideological considerations. Today, the Mennonite Central Committee of Alberta (M.C.C.) has brought the three
groups together in the areas of relief and service, but,
according to informants, "in not much else".

Regarding the other district churches, local
informants in Tofield state that Salem Church has "kept
to itself" over the years. This term does not imply physical distance, although this has been a factor in the
past, but social distance. Invitations to participate in
local church activities were reported to have been given
but rarely taken up by Salem Church. It was stated that
"whenever we had something for young people in town, Salem
usually had its own young people's activity". Nevertheless, Salem has participated in the World Day of Prayer
services in Tofield and the Christmas Carol Festival
which is now held annually. Reportedly, it was Salem
Church which succeeded in introducing Scriptural readings
into what had been a purely musical event.

According to non-Mennonite and Mennonite sources,

cooperation and mutual endeavours among the churches in the Tofield district has been a fairly recent phenomenon due, in part, to the close relationship between ethnic background and religious affiliation. But, by remaining aloof from district church activities and by providing alternative internal social and religious events, Salem has, to a large extent, prevented the intrusion of non-Mennonite denominational interests. Because of its evangelical outreach, however, Salem has chosen to interact with local "born again" churches in mutual evangelical activities.

B. Conclusions

The decrease in the effectiveness of internal-interactional boundary-maintaining devices of both sub-types is apparent from the data presented. The most significant losses have occurred, first, in the economic sub-type where associations with "outside" organizations such as Labour Unions and Cooperatives and with government social agencies have grown. This has served to involve Salem members more fully in the economic concerns and varies of the larger society. A consequence of this has been the development of a greater interest in the materialism espoused by North American society in general. Moreover, involvement in worldly associations has meant that the Church has lost control over many significant spheres of life and that the behaviour of many Salem members is per-

force governed by secular standards and values rather than by spiritual convictions.

Further, dependence on "outside" agencies, such as the Federal Government's social aid programmes erodes the cohesiveness of the community by diminishing ties of mutual dependency. The sense of responsibility each Church member is expected to hold towards all other members lessens, and this permits individual concerns to over-ride community welfare. Therefore, as the writer noted, major decisions affecting removal from the congregation or the exploitation of job opportunities may be taken by a family in isolation, without consultation with members of the community and without Church approval.

The results of the erosion of economic internal-interactional devices can be linked directly to the loss of traditional occupations, a boundary-maintaining device of the symbolic-technological type. We have already discussed the growing heterogeneity of and economic disparity within Salem community as a consequence of the decline in traditional occupations. This fact has led to increasing fragmentation of community life which, in turn, allows secular economic concerns to encroach on sectarian principles. It has also encouraged many young people to leave the Church-community to seek or train for occupations which will relate to their individual needs and talents.

In the face of external events which have per-

mitted these trends to develop and over which Salem has
had no control, and in dealing with the consequences of
these events, such as parti..ipa.ion in economic institu-
tions dominated by "outsid..s" .anctions have proved
difficult to enact. With the increasing "individualiza-
tion" of Salem community, consensus on the scope and inten-
sity of boundary maintenance becomes more difficult to
achieve. Thus, the changing nature of leadership which
places the onus for complying with boundary-maintaining
devices on the individual's conscience rather than on the
rules enforced by the Bishop, may be seen as a response to
these conditions, rather than a genuine movement within
the Church to encourage personal autonomy as an outgrowth
of spiritual conviction.

The data have also indicated a loss of effec-
tiveness in the social sub-types of internal-interactional
devices. The most significant loss has occurred in mar-
riage patterns where, over three generations, exogamy has
risen to thirty-six percent of all marriages (based on
data from four *Families*). In the present spatial commu-
nity however, exogamy is less at twenty-two percent and
"group" endogamy is the pattern for eighty-two percent of
all marriages; but, it should be remembered that only
fifty-five percent of all married couples have retained
affiliation with Salem Church. Again we can relate these
figures to the loss of traditional occupations and to the
exodus of young people seeking work opportunities else-

where.

Breaches in other social internal-interactional devices seem less severe. Those related to military service are still effective but, of course, they are not tested in times of peace. Interest in politics has grown with greater exposure to and experience in "the world" and active participation is likely to develop among younger members where jobs and occupational opportunities and rewards are seen to be affected by the impact of political activities. Also, greater participation in higher education is to be expected as traditional occupations decline further in favour.

The two strongest boundary-maintaining devices in this sub-type appear to be those affecting admission to the group and restrictions on friendly contacts. Reliance on internal recruitment plus the factor of its rural location, secures for Salem a continuing supply of new members who have been socialized and enculturated in terms of group goals and principles, thus ensuring some continuity of the sectarian position. The restrictions on friendly contacts provide for considerable group interaction and, as a consequence, a degree of mutual social dependency continues to bind Salem community together. The success of this boundary-maintaining device is due, no doubt, to the fact that Salem members do share a considerable number of mutual interests, but, it is suggested, as these interests decline, group interaction will de-

crease and friendly contacts with the wider community will
grow in number and intensity.

However, the data on internal-interactional de-
vices suggest that tendencies towards accommodation to
and withdrawal from "the world" co-exist and that this
is a time of critical transition for Salem. In this stage
in its history, it appears that the spatial community is
able to exert a conservative influence regarding some as-
pects of accommodation to "the world", but, at the same
time, has lost control over significant spheres of life
which has resulted in the departure of ever greater num-
bers of young people to "the world".

C. The Exogenous Type of Boundary-Maintaining Devices

It has already been stated that formal exo-
genous boundary-maintaining devices have not been cus-
tomarily applied in democratic, pluralist societies whose
efforts have been directed towards the assimilation of
dissident groups. As Dyck (1967:242) reports in the case
of the first Mennonite emigrants to Latin America from
Canada:

> The Manitoba government had no desire to
> undermine the faith of any of her settlers,
> but there was a strong desire to create
> greater national unity through standardi-
> zation of education and less emphasis upon
> the ethnic uniqueness of minority groups.

The major problems sectarian groups have had with the
authorities who possess the power to enact formal devices

of this type have centered around efforts to promote
assimilation rather than isolation.   (Of course, in recent
times several such authorities have reversed their public
stance by encouraging the retention of ethnic and religi-
ous uniqueness. But, it will be observed, only non-
contentious cultural forms are still in existence and
thus pose no threat to the underlying thrust towards as-
similation.) At the informal level, however, members of
groups which resist pressure to conform and which, on
occasion adopt positions contrary to the values held in
the wider society, may expect to be subject to informal
devices of this type.

In the case of Salem, it is estimated that such
devices are not intensely implemented today. Indeed,
among those whose contact with Salem members is slight,
the major attitude appears to be one of indifference ra-
ther than of conscious efforts to avoid interaction. Ne-
vertheless, several non-Mennonite informants reported
that the members of Salem are disliked in the district
(in one instance the word "hated" was used) because of
their relative prosperity, "clannishness" and refusal to
participate militarily in two World Wars. Some Mennonite
informants who "married into" Salem Church confessed to
similar feelings before coming to know the members of
Salem. Today, the feelings of dislike seem to be mani-
fested in a disinterest in what happens at Salem and in
a disinclination to establish friendly contacts which are

unrelated to activities which require cooperation with Salem members. Nevertheless, there appears a willingness to respond to overtures made by Salem members.

Salem children are reported to suffer from informal external-interactional devices implemented by non-sect children in the schools. Further, there seems to be little effort made by one of the local schools to modify graduation exercises to accommodate the restrictions placed on Salem graduates. But it should be remembered that the percentage of Old Mennonite children in the local schools, particularly at the Grade Nine and Twelve levels, is very small and may not be seen to warrant changes in programmes in which the majority of children may participate freely. And, in reference to discrimination against Salem children generally by the local school population, it should be remembered that the ethnic-religious background of many of them tends to promote intra- rather than inter-group interaction.

Nevertheless, Salem members express the view that the larger society avoids interaction with them. On several occasions it was remarked to me that "they are not interested in us" or "they don't bother with us". And it was noted that on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Salem Church, there were few "outsiders" present. In fact, although invited to participate in a special Church service to commemorate the occasion, few of the local churches sent representa-

tives.

However, as boundary-maintaining devices imposed
by Salem itself decline, informal external-interactional
devices also begin to disappear. This is particularly true
where the decline in endogenous boundary-maintaining de-
vices causes the members of Salem to look like and act in
ways shared by the larger community. Thus modifications
in dress, English speech, the assumption of jobs in in-
dustry and in local business, and the adoption of "worldly
technology" by Salem members all tend to break down in-
formal boundary-maintaining devices imposed by outsiders.
However, any situation which would cause the re-imposition
of endogenous boundary-maintaining devices would surely
result in an intensification of exogenous devices.

Therefore, we conclude that informal external-
-interactional devices are still present to some degree
but that, as local prosperity has grown and as there are
no crisis situations, such as wartime, these are disap-
pearing as Salem members look and act in ways similar to
those of the local population and interact more frequently
with others in the district.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. The Population of Salem and Boundary Maintenance

Boundary-maintaining devices of all types have
been discussed in accordance with the typology previously
outlined and their influence on the nature and composi-
tion of Salem community has been indicated. Before pro-
ceeding to a discussion of the relationship between types
and its significance for continuity and change in the com-
munity, it is first proposed to examine the effectiveness
of such boundary-maintaining devices in terms of the demo-
graphy of the group; in other words, how successful they
have been in retaining personnel in affiliation throughout
the years. It should be noted, however, that Salem Church
records have not been kept systematically all through its
existence and the following figures and tables represent
the attempt of the researcher to reconstruct and interpret
historical data which have been made available. Data prior
to 1926 are the most unreliable and have therefore been dis-
carded. The following sets of figures refer to records
kept by the Church from 1926 to 1971.

The first set of figures, shown in Table XV in-

Table XV

RECRUITMENT AND LOSS OF PERSONNEL AT SALEM CHURCH
1926-70

Date	Total Recruitment	Letter	Loss by Withdrawal	Excommunication	Loss by Death	Total Loss	Net Increase
1926-30	29	--	--	--	--	--	29
1930-40	153	14	10	3	14	41	112
1940-50	62	61	24	4	12	101	-39
1950-60	90	15	8	--	14	37	53
1960-70	123	41	19	--	14	74	49
Total	457	131	61	7	54	253	204

dicates the gains and losses in personnel for Salem Church
from 1926-1970. In the 'losses' column, a distinction is
made between those who have left the Church by Withdrawal,
Letter and Excommunication, and those who have died.

Over the last forty-four years the net increase
in Salem Church has been two hundred and four new members.
Until the 1940's recruitment exceeded all losses by an
almost five-to-one margin, resulting in a net increase of
one hundred and forty-one for those fourteen years; that
is, sixty-nine percent of new members were admitted prior
to 1940. From 1940-50, the years encompassing World War
II, recruitment was at an all-time low at sixty-two and
tal losses stood at one hundred and one. It will be noted
that not only are losses greater during this period than
in other decades, but gains are lower also. Both sets of
figures may be explained, in part, by the relatively large
emigration of families and individuals to the United States
prior to its entry into World War II, when both baptized
and unbaptized persons left Salem community. Thus, losses
are to be expected in the numbers of new members and in
the loss of established members of the Church. At this
time also, several recent converts from outside Salem com-
munity withdrew membership under the tensions created by
a wartime situation. The 1950-60 decade appears to have
been one of consolidation with total losses at their low-
est. The last decade has seen an increase in total re-
cruitment but also shows the second-highest rate of loss

at seventy-four persons.

It is now proposed to incorporate the specific types of recruitment into a table which also shows the specific types of losses in order to focus on the relation of boundary maintenance to these figures.

Table XVI

TYPES OF RECRUITMENT AND LOSSES IN SALEM CHURCH,
1926-70

Recruitment			Loss		
Baptism	383	84%	Letter	131	52%
Letter	65	14%	Withdrawal and Excommunication	68	27%
Other	9	2%	Death	54	21%
Total	457	100%		253	100%

These figures reveal that the largest number of new members are admitted to Salem Church by baptism, seventy-five percent of which is drawn from affiliated families (see Table VI, p. 206). As we have noted previously, the implications of this for boundary maintenance are considerable, ensuring to a significant degree a continuity of faith and practice. The greatest loss has been by Letter which implies that Salem lost the majority of its members not through a lack of faith but of the necessity or desirability of moving away from the community by those who intended to remain within the orbit of the

Old Mennonite Church elsewhere. The major factors involved in moving have been that of marriage to Old Mennonites in other congregations, occupational training and work opportunities.

It is also suggested that the percentage shown in the table above give an indication of the mobility of Salem members. By this we mean mobility in the physical sense rather than in the sociological vertical sense; that is, the movement of people from one locality to another. More specifically, the term relates to movement away from the locality in which a person is born. Excluding the years from 1940 to 1950, it is estimated that, prior to 1960, the mobility rate at Salem was around twelve percent. This is less than that reported in the (1963) *Mennonite Family Census* for old Mennonites generally which was 17.8 percent. It is also lower than that for the rural farm population of Canada from 1956-61 at 16.6 percent (*Census of Canada*, 1961). This would indicate that a majority of Salem members, prior to 1960, by choosing to remain within the spatial parameters of their community, were far less mobile than other Old Mennonites and the rural population as a whole. But reference to Table XV shows a sharp rise in loss by Letter from 1960-70, and the distribution of age groups in the community (Figure III) suggests that a variety of reasons documented elsewhere have begun to draw young adults away from the community to live elsewhere.

We might characterize loss by Letter as a par-
tial failure of boundary-maintaining devices, at least
with regard to the strength of the spatial community of
Salem and indeed in the eyes of its members, but loss by
Withdrawal and Excommunication must be considered as a
total failure. Excommunication was highest during the
1940-50 decade and is explained by the wartime situation
in which young men joined the military forces. The highest
number of Withdrawals also occurred during the same decade
and is related to the tensions of wartime; but the num-
bers of the last decade have doubled that of other de-
cades. We are led to conclude, therefore, that the last
decade has seen a major decrease in the effectiveness of
boundary-maintaining devices. It is also during this
same approximate period of time that the decline in the
imposition of boundary-maintaining devices has been most
pronounced.

Before proceeding to a discussion of how boun-
dary maintenance has declined and its relation to the
changing nature of Salem community, a brief discussion
should be made relating to the 1940-50 decade, which
experienced the greatest losses. Perceived external stres-
ses may trigger a variety of responses in Introversionist
sects, one response being that of migration to less tense
conditions. Examples of this abound in Latin America,
from the early settlements of Old Colony and Sommerfelder
groups from Manitoba and Saskatchewan escaping the threat

of the 1915 education laws, to recent migrations from
Northern Alberta by some Old Colony Mennonites in 1971.
It could be stated that those who returned to the United
States from Salem community prior to 1941 were following
a traditional pattern.

Nevertheless, the extreme losses during this
period also suggest the fragile nature of boundary
maintaining devices at Salem when they are exposed to
strong external pressure. A similar case may be made for
the recent rise in losses under the pressures springing
from higher education and the technological ex   sion of
recent decades. It is suggested that this fr   1   is
the result of a failure to impose severe sancti   on the
breach of those devices which are designed to maintai
posture of non-conformity.

B. Boundary-maintaining Devices and Fundamental Processes

It is now proposed to return to the question of
the functional relation between boundary-maintaining de-
vices and the fundamental processes suggested as being
necessary for a group to remain as a self-isolating sec-
tarian community.

The first fundamental process is that of supply-
ing new members for the group by reproduction and recruit-
ment, a process which, as we have suggested, is dominated
by successful internal recruitment and a birth rate which

is high enough to compensate for fluctuations in the rate of attrition due to withdrawal and death. As our figures have shown in Table XVI, recruitment runs under half of the attrition rate whereas in the past it exceeded attrition by an appropriate proportion of three to one. Moreover, the sixty to over-eighty age group now forms thirteen percent of the total number of Salem members and we might expect that the annual death rate in Salem of 1.2 will increase in the next few years, adding considerably to the loss in personnel. Further, even a seventy-five percent internal recruitment rate does not ensure that young people will remain affiliated with the home Church and community, for as we noted in Table I, less than half those leaving home retain such affiliation. With the accelerating decrease in "group" endogamy, this trend seems likely to continue.

Therefore, we conclude that Salem is approaching a critical stage in maintaining its numerical strength and that this is the result of the changing relations between types of boundary-maintaining devices yielding to pressure from events generated outside the community. It is also suggested that the loss of symbolic-technological devices, which created a strong sense of identity and solidarity, can be related directly to the growing numbers of young people leaving the community.

The second fundamental process concerns th economic sphere and relates to the group's continued iso-

lation. We have already indicated that farming as an oc-
cupation can ensure that a degree of control be exercised
over production and distribution and that it restricts
contact with outsiders. This control may also prevent the
development of a preoccupation with the values of the
economic system of the larger society. In the case of Sa-
lem, we have noted the gradual loss of farming with a con-
comitant increase in participation in outside economic
institutions. This has led to a move away from the simple
and austere habits associated with Plain People generally
to the adoption of many of those materialistic interests
characteristic of North American life.

The third fundamental process relates to the
quality of life within the community, particularly as it
applies to its status and authority systems. The empha-
sis on higher education and the trend away from farming
has meant that the statuses available outside the com-
munity come to have increasing relevance to Salem. Thus,
for example, election to office has included an attempt
to utilize the experiences and skills of members gained
outside the community as well as their experience within
the Church, that is, to grant a value to secular as well
as spiritual status. This reduces the strong sense of
community and identity.

Second, the abrogation of authority by Church
leaders in regulating behaviour has opened the way for
alternate standards to be utilized in following the dic-

tates of individual conscience. The choice of alternates has become consierably wider with exposure to radio, television and an expanding school curriculum. Nevertheless, the power to expel uncooperative and unsatisfactory members is still in effect. In general, however, increasing defection from the community indicates that not only is its social life not conducive to self-isolation but that it has ceased to be meaningful for many of its young people.

The last fundamental process relates to the coherence of the belief system which, as we have indicated, is important for isolation to be realized and persist beyond an individual's lifetime. We have found no essential changes in church doctrine to have occurred over the years, but suggest that the practical aspects of realizing that doctrine in daily life have altered significantly, particularly with respect to alternative models of behaviour. And, as older people tend to behave in terms of the former rules in which they were socialized, and the younger people more in terms of personal responsibility, the ideological ties which have bound the community together in the past have begun to disintegrate. This is fostered further by the nature of the composition of the group in which there is a comparatively small number of young adults to mediate between the old and the young. Therefore, it is concluded that, despite continuance in the belief system itself, its functional relation

to boundary maintenance is beginning to break down.

In conclusion, then, a reduction in the tension between Salem and the larger society, particularly as Canada's national condition has been one of peace for the last twenty-six years, and an increased toleration of community idiosyncracies by the 'outside', suggests that boundary-maintaining devices are not functional in relation to the survival of Salem as a sectarian entity seeking a measure of self-isolation. We would expect, therefore, that while Salem may continue to maintain sufficient numerical strength to support a church-centered community for a number of years, its boundary-maintaining devices do not now provide for any degree of self-isolation.

C. Salem's Changing Nature

The previous discussions have indicated the processes by which change has been wrought in Salem community. We now propose to seek the reasons for these changes and, in doing so, will focus on three areas; changes and events in the larger society and their consequences for the life of Salem community; the decreasing power of the Church and changes in the nature of leadership and the significance of the position taken by Salem on evangelism.

In the first years in the Tofield district, Salem Church-community was marked by the introversionist spirit because of its emphasis on non-conformity in dress,

speech, occupation and in its rejection of worldly acti-
vities and values. And, although there is no evidence
to support the view that the location of Salem was chosen
purposively to establish a high degree of spatial separa-
tion from the larger society, it is true that its initial
physical remoteness contributed to the maintenance of its
Introversionist tendencies. The sense of community and
exclusiveness thus fostered was rigorously reinforced by
the strong, trandition-oriented leadership of the Bishop
and by the mandates of the Alberta-Saskatchewan *Constitution
and Discipline.* Salem's position vis-a-vis the larger society
was to change quite soon however, by the advent of the
automobile and by World War I during which Salem communi-
ty was exposed to the suspicion and hatred of the larger
community because of its continued use of the German lan-
guage and its anti-military stance.

Thus, as spatial isolation declined, increasing
importance was placed on other ways of signalling and
maintaining separation from 'the world'. But the effect
of World War I was to hasten the abandonment of the Ger-
man language and cause the first major loss in boundary
maintenance. We noted previously the importance of dis-
tinctive linguistic patterns as devices which contribute
t   paration and which hold their speakers within the
framework of a particular world view. But, such linguis-
tic patterns may function in another sense, as Hostetler
and Huntington have noted for the Hutterian Brethren.

They write (1967:14): "In a society that permits no material ob-
ject to become sacred, special importance is attached to words, lan-
guage patterns and oral traditions." As with the Hutterites,
Salem Mennonites attach no sanctity to material objects
and, by adopting English for all occasions, they lost the
possibilities for inducing symbolic and sacred connotations
to the totality of, or part of, their social experience
through the use of a language not commonly spoken by the
dominant majority in the larger society.

   The years between the two World Wars were ones
al change in Salem community marked by a concern
loss of religious principles, community tradi-
t   s and personnel which focussed attention on boundary
maintenance. Nevertheless at this time recruitment was at
an all-time high with losses running at their second low-
est number, indicating the success of boundary maintenance
in terms of personnel. But an erosion of the sectarian
position was taking place with the adoption of modern
technology, such as the telephone, which necessitated
joining a cooperative and buying a share in a company or-
ganized by 'outsiders'. It was at this time too that the
issue of owning radios was acute, finally resulting in
their adoption by Salem members. Also, the growing use of
the automobile permitted Salem members to travel freely,
acquiring a greater experience in and knowledge and under-
standing of the outside world. We note too, that exogam-
ous marriages began to rise in number during this period,

in some cases rather dramatically. While Church leader-
ship was still firm, there was a growing attitude of
questioning, particularly in relation to rules associated
with custom; however, this was not to reach significant
proportions until the post-war years. Nevertheless, the
sense of exclusiveness had begun to diminish and, at the
end of the thirties, Salem undertook its first steps in
evangelical outreach. This reflected its growing aware-
ness and concern for those who were not members of the Old
Mennonite Church. In terms of this thesis, the erosion
of symbolic-technological devices at Salem permitted an
increasing interest in and interaction with the larger so-
ciety, indicating the prior importance for boundary main-
tenance of such devices.

World War II was to hasten the changes which
has occurred previously and bring others. One of the major
results of the war was the decline in traditional occupa-
tions brought about by the absence of men in work camps
for its duration. At this time too, girls began to move
off the farm, where their labour was no longer required on
a full-time basis, to work or train in the neighbouring
towns. As people moved away from farming and agricultural
enterprises, greater heterogeneity and widening economic
disparity became characteristic of Salem community. This
weakened the cohesiveness and mutual dependency which had
marked its earlier history. A similar decline in these
qualities has been noted for the Holdeman Mennonites in

Linden, Alberta. *"Cooperation or mutual aid in the productive sphere is now limited to those cases in which a church member has become incapacitated"* (Barclay 1969:153). And Van Dyke (1972:70) writes of the Old Colony Mennonites at Blue-menort, Northern Alberta:

> Many persons claim that years ago, things
> were not like this and neighbours were help-
> ful. Everyone contributed as they could to
> the church treasury and the poor or victims
> of misfortune were aided from these funds.
> But now people say everybody selfishly looks
> after himself and does not see his neighbour's
> need.

We find a similar tendency in Salem, except in a few cases where relatives or close neighbours share certain items of agricultural machinery. However, Salem members are ge-nerous in contributing to the Deacon's Fund which assists those in need. Nevertheless, over the years a tension has developed between the ideal of a community of brotherly love in the Spirit and that of individual self-interest. This exacerbated by the fact that Salem members hold a variety of occupations which furnish disparate finan-cial returns. And, as the heterogeneity induced by a variety of occupations extends to other spheres of life, the possibilities for achieving consensus on decisions, which affect the Church-community become reduced.

A further consequence of the decline in tradi-tional occupations has been that more Salem members have left the Church-community for work opportunities and oc-cupational training as the years have gone by. Those that

have returned, or maintained their affiliation with the home church, have done so with increased experience of 'the world', and this has been reflected in their attitude towards and participation in Church affairs. However, many have not returned and this fact has two consequences for, boundary maintenance. First, the survival of the spatial community is threatened by a reduction in numbers; but, at the same time, this situation has allowed those with traditional occupations to keep the reins of administration in their hands. Thus, more and more the implementation of boundary-maintaining devices at Salem has rested with those whose occupations permit them limited participation in worldly affairs.

On the other hand, there have also been changes in the nature of farming itself over the years which have brought closer ties with the outside world among those who have chosen this traditional occupation. As farmers have moved from self-sufficiency to commercial farming, they have been drawn inevitably into closer contact with the economic institutions of the larger society. Thus, for example, while avoiding direct participation in agricultural cooperatives, they have nevertheless made use of their facilities. They have also compromised in other areas, such as permitting milk to be picked up on the Sabbath.

A more significant aspect of the closer ties with the economic institutions of the larger society in-

volves the increased financial security offered by non-
farming occupations and even by commercial farming, which
may result in the possibility of accumulating wealth.
Barclay (1969: *passim*) has suggested that the emphasis on
farming among conservative Mennonite groups has obviated
the need to deal with the problem posed by wealth in the
context of other-worldliness. He says:

> *Farming requires hard work and few have*
> *ever become wealthy in such an occupation.*
> *The agrarian community is essentially one*
> *of relative equality in occupation, econo-*
> *my and hard work, and limited wealth, thus*
> *facilitating obligations of mutual aid and*
> *other sharing practices.*
>
> (*Ibid.*:155)

However, in the transition to non-farming occupations and
with a growing emphasis on commercial farming, it has been
inevitable that some Salem members are faced with the prob-
lems of "entanglement in the world, and stress on individual gain"
(*ibid.*).

Among the Holdeman Mennonites at Linden, it has
been demonstrated by Barclay (*op. cit.*) that negative sanc-
tions, excommunication and shunning, are strongly enforced,
thus ensuring that all members of that community obey the
regulations of the Church. In this way, a curb is placed
on "unbridled capitalist expansion" (*ibid.*:156). At Salem, how-
ever, external conditions and internal pressures including
the need for financial stability, caused the over-all de-
cline of boundary-maintaining devices and their associated
sanctions, making it difficult for the small community to

restrain the development of accumulated surpluses and the resultant disposition of such surpluses. Thus, it appears that there will be few, if any restrictions, on capitalist expansion now and in the future.

Finally, the decline in traditional occupations and an increase in the number of Salem members in unionized industries has resulted in a loss of control by Salem Church over significant aspects of the lives of these members. Thus a conflict of loyalties can occur where such members are forced to adhere to Labour Union policies against their religious principles. Further, persons in such situations are thrust into a direct relationship with politics and political parties in which individual concerns may be at variance with political goals and the means chosen to implement them.

Another set of factors in Salem's changing nature has been the effect of an increasing interference from the larger society on a variety of fronts from education, health, social legislation, politics and, as Wilson (1970:240) writes, from "the conformity demanded by a wide range of technical processes". He continues: "Where (such) sects have attempted to hold a balance between their own ethic and limited commerce with the outside, they have gradually succumbed . . . to the allurements of the world." Unlike the Hutterian Brethren, the Amish and other Mennonite groups, Salem has not intensified its sectarian spirit in response to such interference and external pressures.

The intrusion of government at both Federal and Provincial levels in matters of health and social legislation are significant examples of this accommodating process at Salem, including the acceptance of Old Age Pensions, Family Allowances, Provincial Health and Automobile Insurance Plans. Salem has also had little choice but to participate in Federal Government programmes and subsidies related to agriculture. In making these accommodations to the world, Salem has lost much of its original sectarian impulse. Wilson (1970:7) writes of sects:

> Sectarians put their faith first: they
> order their lives in accordance with it.
> The orthodox, in contrast, compromise faith
> with other interests, and their religion
> accommodates the demands of the secular
> culture.

External pressures, then, have not only caused a reduction in boundary-maintaining devices at Salem, but have changed the nature of the boundaries themselves.

Another case in point regards Salem's response to centralization of schools in the Tofield area. Unlike other Mennonite groups, in both the historical and contemporary sense, which have rebelled against this and other moves in the field of education, Salem did not choose to make this an issue with the local Boards of Education and with the Provincial government. It is true, however, that Salem was not pleased with the phasing out of the small rural schools which its children attended. While the numbers of Salem children completing Grade Twelve (see Table XII) reveal that higher education is discour-

aged, the impact of the centralization of schools has pro-
duced an effect in excess of what Salem members expect
from exposure to the advanced school curricula. Centrali-
zation has increased participation in secular activities
associated with the schools, including team sports, school
elections, school plays and other social activities and
induced the formation of friendly contacts with non-
Mennonite children. This, in turn, gives Salem children a
greater interest in the school and what it can provide in
social as well as intellectual terms. Moreover, as travel
within the local community is greatly facilitated by the
use of the automobile, it becomes easier for adolescents
to keep these interests and contacts alive.

As all these changes have come about, Salem's
relations with its neighbours have also changed. Ori-
ginally confined to some extent within its spatial li-
mits, Salem members were able to pursue their socio-
cultural idiosyncracies without arousing much reaction
from the outside society. As spatial separation decreased
and as Salem's population grew, however, these peculi-
arities became more evident and were the stimulus for the
imposition of external-interactional devices of an inform-
al nature. As we have noted, World War I first brought
Salem's use of the German language and its refusal to
serve in the military into sharp focus, eliciting strong
reaction from the community at large. This took the form
of personal, exogenous boundary-maintaining devices such

as avoidance, gossip and confrontation.

But, as Salem members have become more like their neighbours in appearance and behaviour over the years and have not confronted the values of the larger society except in times of war, such exogenous devices have begun to disappear. Those members of the district who live in closest proximity to Salem members, who work with them or interact regularly with them, tend to be well disposed to Salem community and have displayed greater understanding of its sectarian position than those whose contact has been slight. Therefore, while dislike and resentment may still be apparent in certain sectors of the district with regard to Salem, increasing contact has enabled the surrounding society to perceive that Salem is a repository of many of the same values which it itself upholds, such as honesty, hard work and 'clean' living. In times of peace and prosperity in particular, tolerance for many of Salem's idiosyncracies becomes greater.

It should not be assumed, however, that Salem has moved consistently in modifying its boundaries in relation to external pressures. For example, although Salem's economic boundary-maintaining devices have been reduced considerably over the years, it is the writer's opinion that this process has been related primarily to the pragmatic concern of maintaining and improving the economic security of its members. And, while reaction from the 'outside' induced the giving up of the German language by

Salem members, it had no effect on the Church-community's
position on military service, regarded as ever more extreme
by the larger society. Thus, while Salem modified its
economic boundaries and certain symbolic-technological
boundary-maintaining devices in relation to outside pres-
sures, it has retained its anti-military stance through
two World Wars in the face of strong local opposition and
resentment. Salem's position does not seem likely to
change, although, for obvious reasons, this cannot be test-
ed against existing data.

As Salem became more exposed to the world and
its members began to establish significant contacts with
non-sectarians, they also began to feel more free to ex-
press their feelings about the regulations related to cus-
tom and tradition. And, as this trend was developing in
the Alberta-Saskatchewan Conference as a whole, the power
of the Conference to rule on such matters was diminished.
At the same time, many of the Church leaders who had been
charter members of Salem and raised in the traditional
ways had died or relinquished their positions of authori-
ty, and each generation of leaders was raised in success-
ively less traditional and sectarian conditions. Thus,
over time, new officials were much more open to the ques-
tioning of the congregation. Further, while they may not
have agreed with all the changes that were taking place,
it seems that the new leaders were also reluctant to press
sanctions on many contentious issues because they were un-

sure of support. Thus Salem passed from being ruled by a benevolent 'dictatorship' to a changed situation of leadership where more and more autonomy was given to the individual to decide on how to maintain the desired degree of separation from the world. This also re-emphasized the traditional role of the congregation in decision making.

The effects of external events and pressures on Salem, therefore, have been considerable, particularly as the Church-community has been able to exert little or no control over them, and this, in itself, has been a function of their impact. They have been the major factors in the secularization and liberalization of Salem community.

In a search for the causes of Salem's changing nature, the social structure of the small community must also be explored as a contributing factor. It will be remembered that we discussed the significance of kin groups (Chapter V) in Salem and the influence that a nucleus of large families has had on community life. That is, because they have articulated a large network of smaller families, the influence of these major families has been considerable. For example, before many of its members emigrated to the United States in the early forties, one family exercised a liberalizing force on Salem because its members all received higher education and were critical of the customary practices associated with tradition. However, the histories of these families have been far

from identical; some have lost many members to the 'outside' world while others have retained a high percentage within the faith and the community; some families have remained in traditional occupations while others have branched into other fields; some have ensured higher education for their children and others have not. We cannot state, therefore, that the influence of such families has been totally liberalizing or conservative although, as we have noted previously, as a family or groups of families enjoy temporary dominance in the small community, either of these tendencies may be accentuated. Thus, as we noted with regard to the marriage patterns of four *Families* over the years (p. 215), in a similar manner the histories of the major families in Salem mirror the centripetal and centrifugal forces which have marked the changing character of the community.

We have also discussed the importance of age grades in Salem which supersede family ties as individuals mature. As the members of these age grades tend to have similar experiences in relation to 'the world', the 'community' and changes in both, we would expect to find that the impetus for change springs from such groups as a whole rather than from individuals. In this way, more forceful pressures for new directions and fresh interpretations of custom and doctrine are generated. The significance of such groups in these processes has come to have especial importance in recent years as the younger generations,

whose life experiences are markedly different from that of the older ones, come to form a large percentage of the total Church-community. We should also remember that, according to the data presented on age groups and administration (pp.113, 168), Salem members of sixty-five and over do not occupy positions of authority. This removes the more tradition-oriented persons from the sphere of administration, enabling change to take place more easily. In interaction and conversation with the members of different age grades, particularly with reference to tradition and change, the writer was made aware of the importance of such groups in creating the possibilities for the modification of behaviour, attitude and custom. Therefore, such groups are considered to be contributing factors to Salem's transformation.

Another internal factor which has had an effect on Salem's changing nature has been its interest in evangelism, this being one of the causes of the emigration of the charter members from Nebraska to Alberta. Thus, despite its conservative Amish Mennonite background which we would expect to stress a disinterest in evangelism as a *"particular wile of the devil, to lure the faithful out into the wider world where they may be exposed to alien influences"* (Wilson, 1970:122), Salem's interest in evangelism has been a factor in the conception of its relationship with the world and the worldly. This concern, however, was not manifested concretely until the 1940's at which time, as we have

noted, major changes in the Church-community were already
under way.

Initially, evangelical activities were local in
extent and on a relatively small scale, but in more recent
times Salem has been associated with such activities of
international scope. This has had two consequences for
Salem. In its initial phases, as we have noted, Salem's
evangelical outreach resulted in a realization of the good
qualities of other Christians, reducing the sense f ex-
clusiveness usually associated with sectarian groups.
This served to weaken an already faltering sectarianism
within the Church. The other consequence is related to
the emphasis placed on doctrine in comparison with that
placed on a separate life style. Isichei (1964) has shown
that a concern for evangelism which swept the Quaker move-
ment in England in the nineteenth century began to obscure
the doctrine of the Light Within and was one of the contri-
buting causes of the shift towards a denomination-like
outlook and organization. This led to a neglect of

> their central distinguishing doctrine, so
> that they were only differentiated from other
> Christian churches by their unusual form of
> polity, and a number of negative 'testimonies'.
>
> (Isichei 1964:216)

This example suggests that when evangelical concerns are
in the ascendancy in a sect of Introversionist tendencies,
the interest in preserving a distinct and separated life
style becomes secondary in importance. This is true also

in the case of Salem. Further, as there are few essential differences between the doctrine of Salem and other Protestant churches and only a few practices distinguish Salem's ritual from that of many others in Protestantism, the growing lack of emphasis on a community-based distinctive way of life has blurred the sectarian protest against the established churches. This has enabled Salem to undertake evangelical missions with other 'born again' churches and has contributed to her shift in position from one of withdrawal from the world to one of concern for the world. Thus, the change in emphasis brought about by the emergence of practical evangelism, reinforced and was reinforced by the other changes which were taking place in Salem.

The socialization and enculturation of succeeding generations brings to attention the matter of evangelism within the sect. As Niebuhr noted, the second generation in particular may acquire commitment to the religious principles of the sect without undergoing the profound experience of conversion and conviction shared by the founders. Then,

> As fervour diminishes, and as the sect is
> palpably maintained by natural increase,
> members turn from proselytizing activity
> and concentrate on educational processes
> within the movement.
>
> (1957:208)

At Salem, the concern for educating the young in the faith has been evident since its inception, as a

Sunday School was organized along with Church services.
The first Sunday School Superintendent took office in
1910. In 1941, this concern was widened by the introduc-
tion of a Sunday School library which is an extension of
the educational process in a less formal sense. In addi-
tion, young people attend classes, given by the Bishop,
prior to baptism. Wilson (1967:25) has stated that a
concern for education of the young is a characteristic of
the denomination rather than the sect. However, the em-
phasis on education within the sect need not, in itself,
mark a change in the nature of a group. If the prerequi-
site of a conversion experience prior to baptism is demand-
ed, evangelism in this sense merely prepares the young per-
son to expect and recognize this experience when it comes.
But this type of evangelism is a modification of the sec-
tarian position in which membership is given solely on a
test of merit, that is conversion, for which no preparation
is essential or required.

In summing up our discussion, we can state that
Salem has changed remarkably since its early days and, in
doing so, has gradually discarded many of its Introver-
sionist tendencies and the boundaries associated with
Introversionism. The major sources for change can be
located in the larger society with events such as the
two World Wars, with the intrusion of governments and
their agencies in the fields of social and economic affairs
and with the availability of modern technology, including

radio, television and the automobile, the last making
physical contacts with the 'world' free and casual. The
pressures generated from these sources have worked in con-
junction with internal factors, such as the nature of
Salem's social structure, her position on evangelism and
the loss of a vigorous system of sanctions to weaken the
sectarian quality of the Church-community. In this pro-
cess the nature of Salem's boundaries has changed and,
indeed, the question might arise as to whether any boun-
daries or boundary-maintaining devices still exist. We
can, however, discover a few such as Salem's practice of
closed communion; adherence to farming as an occupation for
the majority of its members; non-participation in poli-
tics to any overt degree; refusal to serve in the mili-
tary and police forces; a disinterest in higher education
and proscriptions on swearing oaths, smoking, drinking,
dancing and gambling. Although some of these devices
are characteristic of sects of other types and some conser-
vative churches, it is the configuration of such devices
at Salem which gives it a special uniqueness. Further,
much of the *gemeinschaftlich* nature of the community remains
due to the fact that relatively few 'outside' people have
been admitted and primary face-to-face relationships pre-
dominate.

What has been lost is the distinctive life
style which was expressed by symbolic-technological boun-
dary-maintaining devices and implemented by internal-

interactional ones. By abandoning these Salem has for-
feited its sanctified nature which, according to Wilson
(1970:118,119) is one of the major hallmarks of Introver-
sionism. Salem has replaced this tendency with one which
more approximates the Conversionist type. At the heart of
this change lies a concern for the redemption of a sinful
world and a shift in emphasis from holding Salem to be a
'gathered remnant' to the acceptance of *individual guilt for.
sin and the need to obtain redemption through Christ*" (Wilson
1967:27). Individual salvation can be obtained without
reference to the community and outside its bounds; there-
fore, the erosion of a unique sense of mission and identi-
ty begins to dissolve the co-terminality of Church and com-
munity. Under the pressures from the larger society which
have virtually destroyed its Introversionist response,
Salem appears to have but two choices for the future. It
can strengthen its Conversionist tendency into a strong
response and redraw its boundaries in accordance with that
position. On the other hand, and this seems more likely
in view of the secularization which has already occurred,
it can reject all boundary-maintaining devices associated
with a strict and traditional sectarian position, and ac-
commodate to the conservative and evangelical denomination·
which the Old Mennonite Church has become.

D. Sect Typology and Boundary Maintenance

Several points emerge from this analysis which
are relevant to sectarian studies. The first is that a
caution should be exercised with respect to a dependence
on the 'ideal' typology of sects as proposed by Wilson,
particularly when analysis spans several generations.
Of course, Wilson himself has warned against confusing
historical reality with models formulated for manipula-
tion on *"a stage projected by the sociological imagination"* (1967:
2). And we have already discussed the deficiencies of
Wilson's typology in terms of obscuring normative, organi-
zational and historical differences between and within
sects, and in terms of the diacritical specification of
voluntary affiliation. It should be recognized, and Salem
furnishes an example, that more than one sectarian response
may exist within a sect and, under external pressures,
these may enjoy different periods of ascendancy and the
temporal shift in one emphasis or another may represent
vital stages in sect transformation.

Indeed, Wilson has indicated such a pattern in
the case of the Christadelphians, an adventist type, who
have come

> *in large part, to recruit internally, and to*
> *sustain their segregation from the wider so-*
> *ciety, so that they have also come to adopt*
> *a more Introversionist position.*
>
> (1970:239)

Chamberlayne (1964:147) notes a comparable confluence of

sectarian tendencies in the history of Methodism. It might be more advantageous in the study of sect transformation to use Wilson's types as a base line which indicates tendencies within a sect at a particular time in its history, rather than to characterize sects themselves in these terms. It would then be possible to relate these tendencies to the types of boundaries associated with a sect and to the shifting relations among boundary-maintaining devices.

The second point refers to the often stipulated linear transformation of sect to denomination, first proposed by Niebuhr. His proposal, specific to the recruitment of the second generation, has been fairly well refuted on the basis of the timing of this transformation, but a considerable volume of writings on sects *imply* that this process is inevitable. Wilson denies this for sects of all types and offers various patterns of response in the sectarian position to change. The case of Salem indicates also that the transformation is, in no sense automatic, but depends to a considerable extent on the control that a group, seeking a measure of self-isolation, can exercise with respect to the world at large. Obviously many events and trends lie outside the realm of this possibility and the resultant pressures are threatening to boundary maintenance over time and space. Other worldly activities are more capable of manipulation by the sect towards its own goals, provided the will, the personnel

and the techniques are available. The case of the Hut-
terian Brethren is instructive in this regard (Eaton
1952). But it may well be that the colony structure and
communality of property of the Hutterites are essential
in terms of withstanding external events and trends, and
that Introversionist sects which do not possess these or-
ganizational features are significantly vulnerable in
such circumstances[1].

A third point refers to the problem of the soci-
ological characterization of sects in the stages of de-
velopment and/or transformation. Yinger (1957:150) has
proposed the concept of the 'established' sect in this
regard and to be particularly applicable to what he calls
"uncompromising sects of Anabaptist origins". It might appear at
first glance that this concept offers a solution to the
conceptual dilemma mentioned above. However, the major
stumbling block is that different writers define the sect
(and church and denomination) in a variety of ways, each
formulation emphasizing some combination of characteris-
tics and omitting others. For example, Yinger uses two
criteria in his type construct, based on .

> *the degree of inclusiveness of the members
> of a society and the degree of attention to
> the function of social integration as con-
> trasted with the function of personal need.*
>
> *(Ibid.:147-148)*

---

[1] An interesting comparison might be made between Salem,
a Hutterite colony and the *"closed corporate peasant community"* (Wolf
1957) in respect of withstanding the pressures of external forces.

Wilson's characterization of the sect is much more general. Thus, by combining types offered by various authors, it is possible to arrive at a typology and set of processes which bear no conceptual relation to each other.

Nevertheless, Yinger's discussion of the 'established' sect is relevant to our discussion of Salem. He suggests (op. cit.: 150 - 152) that those sects which emphasize the evil nature of society are more likely to develop into 'established sects' than those which are preoccupied with individual guilt and anxiety; the latter are denominationalizing sects. But, as we have indicated, Salem's Introversionist and Conversionist tendencies have produced both these elements and, in our opinion, the concept of the 'established sect' offered by Yinger does not clarify Salem's position, in sociological terms at this stage in its history.

Other writers, such as Chamberlayne (1964:147-148) suggest that the denomination as a type may be explored with a view to extending its range to include sects in advanced stages of development. But, as we noted earlier, the addition of new criteria and a proliferation of sub-types to an established typology often only blunts its use as an analytical tool.

The outcome for Salem, in terms of the sociological analysis of sect transformation, is not certain and underlines Isichei's concluding comments on nineteenth century English Quakerism. She states that her study (1967:

181):

> . . . *suggests strongly that a sect does not*
> *evolve automatically or even typically into*
> *a denomination, that these terms represent*
> *attitudes which may well co-exist, and that*
> *a sect is likely to move through successive*
> *phases of outward and inward orientation,*
> *which are closely associated with fortuitous*
> *external circumstances, and are unlikely to*
> *be subsumed in any widely accurate and mean-*
> *ingful statement of sectarian sociology.*

Our study of boundary-maintaining devices at Salem and the relationships between types suggests that Isichei's statement is relevant to this case also. The implications of this thesis, then, are that the focus on boundary main-tenance highlights these problems and offers opportunities for further research.

It is suggested that an exploration of boundary maintenance as undertaken in this thesis moves Wilson's typology of sects a step further, in that now not only can we distinguish sociological tendencies in sectarian groups, but also approach the problem of how such tendencies, and the groups which espouse them, persist and change over time. That is, we have added a dynamic aspect to Wilson's typology. Thus, by applying the typology of boundary-maintaining devices to Conversionist, Adventist and Gnos-tic sects and by analyzing the relationship between types of boundary maintenance, comparative research may now be initiated among such sects to discern the general proces-ses of change and persistence. Indeed, we will suggest that it may be possible to compare these processes in self-isolating groups of differing ideological bases, both with-in the realm of the traditional concepts of 'religion'--

sects,--and other ideologies of separation--contemporary contra-culture communes.

E. Boundary-Maintaining Devices and Problems in Anthropology

We now propose to return briefly to the issues raised in the initial chapters of this thesis, issues which several anthropologists have considered as being relevant to the discipline at this time. As these issues were discussed fully and in some detail in the conceptual preamble, we propose merely to assess the extent to which our methodology, utilized in terms of a self-isolating, sectarian group, speaks to these issues as a whole.

One of the major concerns, debated particularly in more recent times, has been how to define the unit of research, a problem which tends to become acute in situations of cultural pluralism or where several groups inhabit the same ecological area. It was also stated that this becomes even more difficult in research which extends over space and time and deals with groups which have persisted as units although their cultural inventory has changed. One of the strategies suggested (Barth, Moerman et al.) was the use of self-ascriptive criteria to define membership in such groups.

We have found this to be a valuable tactic in the case of Salem, primarily because the nature of the group lends itself to this procedure. The criteria used

by Salem to distinguish its own were unambiguous and
there were few, if any, marginal people. Despite changes
in boundary maintenance, there is still a clear distinc-
tion made between themselves and others, and, within the
community, between those 'born in' and those 'converted
in'. It is doubtful, however, whether all research units
are so clearly demarcated in the eyes of their members,
but it is suggested that the use of this strategy, in con-
junction with others, may elicit the criteria by which
membership in a group can be determined. This is of par-
ticular importance in diachronic research in cases of con-
tinuous cultural variation.

We do not intend to suggest, however, that the
self-ascriptive labels used by Salem members are identical
in meaning. At one time in the past, it was probably true
that consensus was high regarding the meaning of such
labels, but today there is considerable disparity. Older
members tend to regard themselves first as Old Mennonites
while younger people use a more inclusive term, Christian.
This is the expression of the two tendencies, Introver-
sionist and Conversionist, which now co-exist at Salem,
the first emphasizing the exclusive nature of membership,
the second stressing a degree of community with Christen-
dom at large. Nevertheless, as long as Salem members re-
gard themselves as belonging to a group which is separate
to some degree from the larger society and while there is
agreement among the majority of members as to the meaning

of separation, then self-ascriptive labels are useful in identifying the unit of research.

The need to study a group in its physical and socio-cultural contexts and not in isolation, and in its relations with other groups, has come to be regarded by several anthropologists as intrinsic to current research. In the case of Salem, this perspective was essential as the very existence of a sectarian community is predicated on its counter-stance to the prevailing values and institutions in the larger society. Moreover, in our exploration of the shifting relationships among boundary-maintaining devices we found that the changing nature of the community was related, in large measure, to the events and trends in that society. Therefore, in sectarian studies and those involving minority groups of whatever kind which are linked within a larger context along common axes, it seems imperative to conceptualize research in contextual terms.

It may be remembered that we argued in some depth Barth's proposal to utilize the concept of boundary maintenance to approach the problems of persistent socio-cultural identity over time and space. We have found this to be valuable in the case of Salem where, despite the changing nature of the group, it still persists as an identifiable entity both in the eyes of its members and in its organization of relations with outsiders. Thus, while a study of traditional overt cultural forms at Salem might

suggest its total assimilation within the larger society,

the focus on boundaries and boundary maintenance revealed

that this conclusion was not justified. As Barth (1969:

38) noted for ethnic groups:

> . . . most of the cultural matter that at
> any time is associated with a human popula-
> tion is _not_ constrained by (this) boundary;
> it can vary, be learnt, and change without
> any critical relation to the boundary main-
> tenance of the ethnic group.

Our research suggests that, unless a provision is made for

exploration of boundary maintenance, the assumption that

"group" and "culture" are synonymous, that culture trait

inventories equal group organization, is never seriously

questioned. And, as we noted previously, this may be an

unwarranted assumption in studies over time and space.

On the other hand, it may indeed be argued that boundary-

maintaining devices _are_ the sum of 'objective' differ-

ences between a group such as Salem and the larger so-

ciety. But, as our thesis has shown, the assumption that

this is the case obscures the fact that there can be a

change in how the boundaries are defined which causes a

shift in relations with the surrounding society but which,

nevertheless, permit the group to retain a separate iden-

tity.

It may be remembered that we discussed briefly,

in Chapter I, Cohen's (1969) concept of "Social Boundary

Systems" in which he argued for analysis of the social

networks of several kinds of groups within societies in

relation to the degree of exclusivity or openness of such networks and the bases of their boundedness. Although recognition of the importance of boundaries and boundary maintenance in studies of social structure and social organization exists, Cohen is one of the few writers who has specifically called for research into this important aspect of social life. It is suggested that this thesis is relevant to such research. Thus, when Cohen asks whether territoriality, economic considerations, ethnicity or symbolic identifications are the basis for degrees of 'separation', it is the writer's contention that identification of the ideology of exclusivity is but a preliminary, although fundamental step in such analysis. The more significant problem lies in understanding how degrees of exclusivity are maintained over time.

It is this dynamic aspect or process which may be elicited by the application of the typology of boundary-maintaining devices proposed. This method should be relevant in terms of any group which is distinguishable by a particular net   of social relations and based on a specific ideology o   clusivity. A variety of cases, ranging from university co. unities to factory workers, could then be analyzed both in ir .tuational contexts and in how they perpetuate their identit in socio-cultural terms. It should be remembered, however, that the analysis is to be conducted only in terms of those social and cultural forms used by a group to demonstrate its exclusivity and

not necessarily by all such forms shared by a group. Further, it is the interaction between the different types of boundary-maintaining devices as they respond to external pressures, including the imposition of exogenous devices, which lends a dynamism to analysis.

The purposes of such analyses would include an understanding of *how* such groups maintain themselves as distinct entities and the discovery of what *conditions* are responsible for change and the *direction* in which these changes are likely to occur--towards higher or lower degrees of exclusivity or openness, or the emergence of new groups. From this point, through comparative research, it should be possible to elicit some general principles regarding process and conditions in relation to the dynamic aspects of social organization.

Although this typology has been developed for specific groups which desire a degree of self-isolation, we should not overlook the fact that many of North America's indigenous populations, formerly the victims of involuntary segregation, are now moving in the direction of exclusivity. Recent events have seen the adoption of both symbolic-technological and internal-interactional boundary-maintaining devices by such groups and, because of their changing relationship with the dominant society, they may be studied within the conceptual and methodological framework of this thesis. In this case, unlike the Old Mennonites of Tofield, it might be expected that the

focus would be shifted to the increasing number of endo-
genous devices which have arisen in response to external
pressures in that boundaries and boundary maintenance have
become a conscious concern of many such groups.. Thus,
while the processes of coercive.and exploitative assimi-
lation continue, there is now a current running in the op-
posite direction and the concepts of boundary maintenance
devised for this thesis may be added to the appropriate
analytical procedures.

It is suggested, therefore, that an exploration.
of boundaries and boundary maintenance ca be, a valuable
addition to strategies devised to identify the unit of
research, in diachronic studies of minority groups, parti-
cularly in situations of cultural pluralism, and.in re-
gard to certain problems in the study of social structure
and social organization.

Finally, we offer this thesis as an ethnographic
contribution to studies of Canada's religious minority
groups, few of which have been carried out by researchers
who are not members of such groups.

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APPENDIX

CHOOSING BY LOT

After this the voice of the congregation was taken for candidates for minister. Husband and wife as a rule entering the council room together. As a result three brethren were taken into the lot; namely H.B., E.S. and P.V.

Congregation was then dismissed for dinner. After dinner the candidates were privately examined by the ministry in charge.

Brother M.S. had charge of the devotion, Scripture reading: Acts 1.

After this the lot was arranged for as follows: three song books as near alike as possible were chosen, then Brother J.W. was asked to proceed to the basement of the church and place the slip prepared by Brother M.S. in one of the books on page 200, then Brother M.B. brought the books upstairs. The candidates each chose a book, Brother P.V. drawing the book with the lot in it.

Except from *History of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference* (1960)