
Appendix A □ NOVITIATE AND BAPTISM
VOWS

QUESTIONS FOR ACCEPTANCE INTO THE
NOVITIATE 1964

1. Are you certain that this way of brotherly community, based on a firm faith in God and Christ, is the way to which God has called you?

2. Are you ready to put yourself completely and utterly at the disposal of the Church-Community of Christ to the end of your life – and with yourself, all your faculties and the whole strength of your body and soul, as well as you entire property, both that which you now possess and that which you may later inherit or earn?

3. Are you ready to accept every reproof (where this is justified) and vice versa, to reprove others if you sense within our community life something which should be clearer or more fittingly bespeak the Will of God, or if you should feel that something should be abolished or set aside?

4. Are you firmly decided to remain loyal and true, bound with us in mutual service as brothers and sisters, so that our love may be more complete in the building of the Church-Community, in the outreach to men, and in the proclamation of the Gospel?

5. Are you ready, then, to surrender yourself completely and to bind yourself unreservedly to God, Christ and the brothers?

[An earlier form has a sixth question:

Are you ready to be used in whatever place the Church-Community needs you, be it Germany, England, Uruguay, Paraguay or whatever country where there are Bruderhof Communities or wherever you may be sent?]

BAPTISM, 1964

Baptism is the sign that we are humble before Christ and that we dedicate ourselves to Him. We confess ourselves to Him. All human greatness is refuted. *He is the Head*. He is the Master. He is the King, and we give ourselves in faith to Him.

Let us consider together what one must do to join the Church of Christ.

1. The Church of Christ is the Community of the believing, the people of God, who do and have abstained from sinful life. Into this community we are brought through true submission – (that is, into the spiritual Ark of Noah, in which we can be preserved).

2. It is not a human deed, but an act of God. Just as Mary through faith and the Holy Spirit conceived Christ when she placed her will in God's and said, 'Here am I, a servant of the Lord. Be it unto me according to Thy words.' Thus we must also conceive Christ in faith – then He will begin and complete His work in us.

3. Let each be mindful that the Church has the key and power to loose and to bind, even as Christ has commanded to put away the vicious and to receive the contrite, that it should also be binding in heaven according to the words of Christ (Matthew XVI).

4. That each should count the cost first that will come, but one is not to counsel with flesh and blood. For they that would enter the service of God must be prepared for tribulation for the sake of the truth and the faith, and to die for Christ's sake, if it be the will of God, be it by fire, water or the sword. For now we have the house and shelter, but we know not what will be the morrow. Therefore, no one should join for the sake of the prosperous days. He who will not be steadfast with all the Godly, to suffer the evil as well as the good, and accept all as good whatever the Lord may direct, let him remain away. We desire to persuade no man with smooth words. It is not a matter of human compulsion or necessity, for God wants voluntary service. Whoever cannot

render that cheerfully and with hearty pleasure, let him remain in his former station.

5. Let no one undertake to join the church for the sake of another – the wife for the sake of the husband, or the husband for the wife, or the children for the sake of their parents – that would be vain and building upon the sand, having no permanency, but who would build upon rock tries to please God alone. For each must bear his burden upon that day.

6. One must submit to and follow brotherly admonition, address and punishment – also practice the same and apply the same with respect to others in the house of God, so that no one may partake of another’s sins.

7. One should submit himself to obedience to God and His Church, and not be obstinate, or do only his own desire, but permit himself to be guided for the good and necessity of the Church whithersoever it be known to be right.

8. That no one shall have any private possession any more – for one who gives and surrenders himself to the Lord and His Church with all that he has and is able to do, as it was in the original apostolic church when no one said of his possessions that they were his, but all things were common to them. This we regard as the safest way and the most perfect foundation – of this we are also well assured in our hearts.

9. This we now plainly state to everyone beforehand, so that we may be under no obligations to return anything to anyone afterwards. Therefore, if anyone should undertake to join and later feel it impossible to remain and wish to have his goods returned, let him now stay away, keep his own, and leave us in peace. We are not anxious for money and possessions, but desire Godly hearts.

10. Whoever has wrong dealings that are punishable in the world, be it that he is owing men or that he has defrauded them – or if anyone has involved himself in matters of marriage or is engaged to be married, he should first straighten these matters out. For if anyone should conceal any of these things from us, and should in the meantime have himself baptised and we should learn of these matters afterwards, such a one we should be com-

pelled to excommunicate as one who came into the Church improperly and by falsehood. Therefore, let each one be truly warned.

Questions:

1. Do you recognize the teaching of Jesus as set forth in the Gospels and by the Apostles to be the truth and the true foundation of life, and do you acknowledge the Church-Community as being the living expression of this truth in the world today?

2. Do you believe in God, the Father, the Son, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, and will you confess to this?

3. Do you desire that the Church pray that God may forgive the sins which you have committed?

4. Do you desire to give yourself unreservedly to God in the bond of baptism?

Appendix B □ METHODS OF STUDY

This is not a comparative study. There are frequent references to the Hutterians, whose influence on the Bruderhof has been enormous, and occasional mention is made of other communitarian experiments. But the reader who wishes to place the Bruderhof in full comparative perspective must be referred to a number of excellent monographic accounts of other intentional communities, listed in the bibliography appendix.

My experience is that it is very difficult to merge good comparative sociology and good ethnographic sociology. The several excellent comparative studies that I have read (notably John Humphrey Noyes and Rosabeth Kantor) could not at all have prepared me for my experiences in encountering the Bruderhof. The comparative approach to sociology, being excessively concerned with the common denominators of things, often misses their flavor and overlooks their importance. Studies of intentional communities in general have suffered through excessive concern with external forms and insensitivity to inner meanings. The main thing I have to offer in this book about the Bruderhof is an account of what I saw and heard and how I was moved by it.

One ex-Brother criticized preoccupation with the specific patterns of Bruderhof life by citing an analogy. 'Suppose,' he said, 'you saw a man standing up straight and tall wearing clothes in which the creases were also straight and well-ironed. You might as well explain the man's posture by his clothing, as explain the Bruderhof by its external forms.' Almost all previous writings on intentional communities have fallen into this error of fascination with form and technique. Of course, it is important

for a community's life to have some form. But this can, and often does, vary tremendously over time, and especially from one successful community to another. All of these forms, however, derive from essentially similar means of maintaining commitment and order.

This study was begun in 1965. I had visited a dozen or so intentional communities in the eastern part of the United States, of which the Bruderhof seemed by far the most interesting. I made arrangements for my wife and myself to visit the Woodcrest colony for a long stay beginning in August. They did not like the idea of a sociological study, but they said that I could come since I also had a personal interest in the community and a desire to understand the life from inside instead of merely analyzing it from without. This was certainly correct. On my part, I assured them that I would conduct no 'surveys' while I was there, do everything possible to fit into the life, and remain open to their Christian message as well. The arrangement was that we would be treated the same as any other guests. That is, we would both work full time in whatever departments of labor we were assigned to, and we would receive free room and board from the community. I asked if we could come for several months, leaving the exact date of departure open. They said that we should come for a month and, at the end of that time, see how we and they both felt about a longer visit.

Before going to the Bruderhof, I spoke to several ex-members of the community. It became clear, from conversations with them, that, in order to get an accurate picture of Bruderhof life, I would have to conduct extensive interviews with ex-members as well as visit the community myself. One reason for this is that a great deal of information in the Bruderhof is kept secret. For instance, Brotherhood meetings are closed to all but full members of the community. I decided to put this off until after our stay at Woodcrest was over.

We stayed at Woodcrest from 11 August 1965 to 5 December 1965, except for two short trips back to Baltimore. Relations with the Bruderhof during almost all of this time were excellent. Toward the end of our stay, the Bruderhof was plunged into one

of its periodic crises. Our original intention was to spend two weeks in each of the other two American *hofs* but, because of the crisis, we were not allowed to do this. During our stay at Woodcrest we tried to behave as much as possible like any other residents. I worked in the toy shop, and my wife was shifted around to the various women's work departments. We both kept extensive journals, recording our experience with no attempt, at this point, at analysis or interpretation. While at Woodcrest we were also able to speak informally with many of the members about their own backgrounds and reasons for joining the community. We were also given access to the Bruderhof archives which contain much written material about the Bruderhof community. Minutes of meetings, however, were off limits.

After leaving the Bruderhof, I conducted twenty in depth tape-recorded interviews with ex-Bruderhof members. These averaged approximately four hours in length, the shortest being two hours and the longest over eleven hours. I treated the interviewees mostly as informants rather than as respondents. I followed the format, as much as possible, of a completely unstructured interview, allowing the informant to talk about what he thought was significant. This, I believe, results in greater validity than if the data had been elicited in response to my question. I did, however, guide the interviews by general topic. And some of the time I asked quite specific questions.

In choosing informants, I tried for a great diversity of standpoints. I spoke to *sabras*, to people who had been brought to the Bruderhof, as children, when their parents joined, long-term visitors, novices, full members, and former members of the power hierarchy (Servants of the Word, Witness Brothers, etc.). I spoke with some who had been members in Paraguay and some who had been members in the United States.

Appendix C □ BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography has been divided into three sections. The first lists works dealing with the Bruderhof; the second, general works on intentional communities; the third, all other works. In the case of the first two sections, there is a slight amount of overlap and double listing. Two abbreviations are used: AJS stands for *American Journal of Sociology*, and ASR stands for *American Sociological Review*.

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No attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive bibliography of these works. Those listed here will serve to provide a thorough introduction to the subject of intentional communities in general. For communities in America which existed before 1830, Bestor's *Backwoods Utopias* provides the definitive bibliography. For more recent material,

there is no comparable bibliographic work. The nearest equivalent, published in 1942, is Eaton and Katz's *Research Guide on Cooperative Group Farming*.

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(At the time of this writing we are looking forward to the publication of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's, *Utopia: A Study of Comparative Organization*.)

□ NOTES

Introduction

1. A.E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1653–1829*, 3 f.
2. Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*, 38.

Chapter One

3. Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*.
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16. Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 23.
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Chapter Two

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