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The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1970
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OLD ORDER AMISH AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING
OF MENTAL RETARDATION: A RELIGIOUS
SUBCULTURAL APPROACH TO THE PHENOMENON

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

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1970
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Studies in the Philosophy of Education. Professor Everett Kircher.

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INTRODUCTION

Mental retardation means many things to many people. No definition of the phenomenon is presently acceptable to the professionals in the field or to people in general. Mental retardation is a phenomenon which deals with every facet of life. It includes the areas of education, medicine, economics, and politics. To think of it as a single entity or trait is absurd. The term itself is ambiguous and in the future it will probably be replaced by a more acceptable term or terms. Since its origination as a descriptive term, it has tended to be used as an expression of opprobrium.

Many individuals consider retarded behavior as a defect in intellectual capacity; therefore an individual is retarded when he is labeled intellectually incompetent by the society in which he lives. It naturally holds then that it is entirely different when one is classified retarded by an industrial civilization rather than by one that is less economically developed. If the term is ambiguous to the professionals and the general populace of our culture, then to think of the condition as a defect by a universal concept is almost an impossibility.
One way to gain a clearer understanding of the phenomenon of mental retardation is to see it from the point of view of other peoples and other cultures. The cost and time involved in investigating the awareness of mental retardation in a non-Occidental society would make such a study prohibitive in a doctoral program. It is possible to use a subcultural approach in studying the condition in this country by working among one of our closed subcultural groups. The most well-known and the largest of our religious separatist closed subcultural groups are the Old Order Amish, of which several thousand members are residents of Ohio. The cultural background of the group is predominantly agrarian and is strengthened with Christian traditional religious beliefs.

The purpose of this study is to present the phenomenon of mental retardation as it is seen among the Old Order Amish, in the hope that such knowledge will eventually be reflected in a clearer understanding of the phenomenon and of our conception of it. Since the Amish are, of course, a literate group and publish a number of periodicals, it is feasible to seek in their writings statements, allusions, and illustrations which give insight into their view of retardation. Moreover, the Amish are a kindly people and are generally receptive and helpful to scholars pursuing studies like this one, so that a field study which culminates
in an extensive program of interviewing can prove reliable and highly productive.

A study of a particular conception of mental retardation, or of mental retardation as seen from the point of view of a particular group, or subculture, must be predicated on three sets of ideas and knowledge: (1) present day theories of retardation as a sociological concept, (2) the methodology and findings of comparable studies in other closed cultures and subcultures, and (3) a historical and sociological summary of the most significant aspects which can be considered definitive of the particular closed culture. In this study we shall therefore begin by reviewing and analyzing in some detail contemporary theoretical writing about the meaning of retardation.

There are societies, different from our own, that tend to look upon retarded behavior as inconsequential. The condition is serious only if the retarded individual is in a severe pathological state. In most non-Occidental societies, even this type of individual is cared for with a minimum of distress or dislocation. It is elementary to note that societies treat their unfortunates in different ways. It then follows that to be classified as mentally retarded by an industrial culture does not have the same meaning as it does in a predominantly agrarian culture. In the introduction to their text, Masland, Sarason, and Gladwin note that
the differences of classification by means of culturally determined attitudes, behaviors, and criteria of social acceptability are all made by the culture in which one lives. They write:

... although we shall be concerned primarily with the sources of retardation rooted in the individual and his environment, we must pay equal attention to the way in which society defines, perceives, reacts to, and attempts to cope with mental subnormality regardless of its origin. Even a child with a severe defect must be viewed as deficient relative to cultural standards of acceptability; the cause of his deficiency may be organic, but its magnitude is dependent upon social criteria.¹

The term subculture is used to mean "the culture that is peculiar to a particular group of people who form a part of a larger society, and who also share in much of the culture of the larger society."² A closed culture is sometimes a totally distinct group standing apart from others entirely, but the concept is appropriate to this study because the Amish are clearly an example of a group of people who live unto themselves, outside the main currents of the dominant culture. Very few outsiders ever


join them, and anyone who leaves the subculture leaves it permanently.

For our purposes, we can formulate some hypotheses and develop some approaches to our major questions of interest by a critique of earlier studies of several Western and non-Western groups which will illustrate closed cultures and subcultures. The cultures presented were usually chosen because they have been studied in regard to mental retardation. Only one of the groups discussed in this critique is not related to the phenomenon, but is included as an example of a separatist, religious subculture, even though it is an urban group.

The Old Order Amish need no introduction to us in terms of subcultural sociological or religious separatist thinking. The Amish as a subculture are clearly defined by their patterns of living. For over two hundred years, they have been living in rural communities near urbanized areas and holding to "horse-and-buggy" traditions, not only in their religious beliefs, but also in their way of life. They too, like all peoples everywhere, have the mentally retarded among them. If we are to comprehend the Amish view of retardation, we must initially seek to achieve a broader understanding of Amish life and beliefs in general.

There is already an extensive accumulation of research completed among the Amish on topics related to the
study at hand. The Amish, or communities of Amish, have been studied and have cooperated with scholars in studies of such matters as children's listening skills, word usage, academic performance, creativity, and community conflict over educational provisions and requirements. There have also been several specific medical and genetic field studies. A summary review of these researches can give support to this study of the Amish conception of mental retardation.

In a literate subculture such as that of the Amish, a study of beliefs and conduct is pursued both through the writings of the group and through study in the field. Fortunately for our study, the Amish have a growing body of published writings. They have now completed two years of successful publication of three family journals, greatly adding to their periodical printed matter, which was formerly only a weekly newspaper published on their behalf by a non-Amish press. In these journals references and articles are found which speak of mental retardation and other handicapping conditions. One can study their literature and gain ideas and, then, take from it pertinent information concerning the Amish view of mental retardation.

Field study among the Amish is quite feasible in Ohio. There are more Amish living in Ohio than in any other state; Amish settlements in the state are to be found in eleven counties in the northern and central parts of the
The Holmes County settlements, only a hundred miles northeast of the capital of the state and not far removed from the industrial cities of the northeastern areas, represent the largest concentration of Amish church districts in the world.

Exploratory conversations and conferences with Amish and Mennonite persons in Ohio, Indiana, and Canada led to the decisions that Holmes County would be a suitable locale for the field study and also that the approach should not be made formally through the bishops of the churches but informally throughout the communities. In the fall of 1968, I began to make trips into Holmes County to investigate the possibility of conducting the field study there. From January to August of 1969 I maintained residence in Berlin, a small community in Holmes County. For five months I held the position as a remedial reading teacher, under Title I funds, for the East Holmes County Public Schools of Berlin. My professional duties consisted of teaching reading to elementary students in four different, predominantly Amish public schools in the eastern section of the county. When not teaching, I acquainted myself with the customs of the Amish by attending their churches, weddings, and funerals, patronizing their stores, visiting with them in their homes, and serving with them on the Mennonite Disaster Team, which cleaned up some of the areas of the county struck by the
Fourth of July flood. During all of these visits, I discussed the topic of handicapped children with as many of the Amish as the time and opportunity afforded. I felt early that this method of getting myself known to the Amish would tremendously aid in the procurement of the information sought.

From the contacts made during this pre-interview period and the information gathered through informal conversations, and on the basis of theories of retardation, methodology and findings of comparable studies, and a historical and sociological summary of the Amish culture, I devised an interview schedule which would be appropriate in eliciting from the Amish their knowledge and opinions about retardation. The contacts made during this period also helped in gaining the cooperation of many of the informants to whom the interview schedule was administered. The contacts made and the formulation of a schedule closely associated with Amish culture were easier to accomplish because of the time spent in observing and visiting throughout the Holmes County area.

The items included in the interview schedule have been carefully written and arranged so that the topic of mental retardation is introduced gradually. The items begin by asking questions relatively unrelated to mental retardation. As the interview continues, the inquiry into
mental retardation becomes more evident. All of the items were given to the Amish informants in one sitting by the personal interview method and in the exact manner presented in the questionnaire.

In the early formulation of ideas about the study, several "culture-fair" or "culture-free" standardized tests were analyzed and discarded because of their inappropriate-ness to Amish culture and their lack of pertinent items for inquiring into this culture's awareness of mental retardation.

The instrument's primary purpose is the eliciting of comments from the Amish regarding their present day religious philosophy as it relates to their awareness of mental retardation, their opposition to institutionalization, their provision of opportunities and educational facilities for the retarded, their ideas of social acceptance and limitations of the retarded, and their sources of information and expressions dealing with the definition of the condition within Amish life. The instrument is not used in the field study to report on the incidence or prevalence of mental defectives, retardates, and persons having related handicapping conditions among the Amish.
CHAPTER I

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT OF MENTAL RETARDATION

The concept of mental retardation discussed in this section will be one that stresses a sociological viewpoint. The terms "mentally retarded" or "retardates" will refer to a specific group of individuals making up the lower end of the curve of intellectual capacities and abilities. This group of individuals exists in any culture, society, or subgroup within societies. Although there exists no universal agreement as to the role these individuals play in their societies, they simply exist everywhere, and their particular places are usually defined within their own environments. These groups are characterized as having numerous differences in non-observable intellectual abilities, as well as in observable physical abilities. In any culture, they are distinguished as a subgroup because of their intellectual inadequacies. This inadequacy keeps them from fully adjusting to their immediate environment.

So that the phenomenon of mental retardation may be presented as a universal characteristic, it is to be seen through the social-cultural approach. Thus the discussion
will include ideas dealing with cross-cultural assumptions of mental retardation, the negative results of labeling retardates as "defectives," and the social problem of retarded behavior, not only in interpersonal conflict, but also in ensuing economic problems. Several studies are presented as examples of the approaches used in studying the position of the retardate in our technological culture. Related social-cultural concepts are stressed within these studies.

The Definition of Mental Retardation

Mental retardation can be seen as "a condition in which intelligence is prevented from attaining full development, limiting the victim's ability to learn and put learning to use." The condition can also be defined as impaired or incomplete mental development. It may possibly be a "defect" in the intellectual makeup of the individual but it is meaningless to argue how much of this "defect" is due to intelligence, heredity, or environment. Gottesman, and many of the experts today, believe it is more profitable to investigate:

\[ \text{how much of a variability observed within a group of individuals in a specified environment on a particular measure of intelligence is} \]

attributable to hereditary differences among them, and how modifiable by systematic environmental changes is the phenotypic intelligence of each genotype?4

Mental retardation can also be labeled "a condition in which an individual is incapable of performing at the level required for acceptable adjustment within his cultural environment."5 The individual's inadequacy can be seen to arise from both environmental and nonenvironmental factors. It is agreed upon today by the experts that nonenvironmental contributions are based on hereditary (predictable parental contribution), innate (mutation and segregation in genes), congenital (acquired in the uterus and present at birth), and constitutional (alteration of the body state by life experience) conditions. All except the last of the above refer to components acquired between conception and the completion of the birth process. The constitutional contribution would be all that is physiological or somatic in the post-natal development of the individual and changes over time.

The environmental contribution to intellectual endowment is found within the life-span of all individuals. This


5Mental Retardation, it's Biological Factors, op. cit., p. 7.
contribution is the result of all the external circumstances, conditions, and things existing in the individual's culture. An individual's intelligence may be inadequate because of hereditary, innate, congenital, or constitutional errors, but it is the individual's environment that classifies his behavior as mentally retarded. One is simply not retarded or defective unless his group, culture, or society declares him to be so.

In our industrial-urbanized society the phenomenon of mental retardation poses quite a problem, not only in statistics and finances, but in emotionalities as well. It is believed that three to five per cent of the population can be classified as mentally retarded. At a minimum, 5.4 million children and adults in the United States cannot fully adjust themselves to the culture and the demands of the country because of their inadequate mental abilities. It is thought that at least 400,000 persons are so retarded that they require constant custodial care. Over 200,000 adults and children from the severe and profoundly mentally retarded groups are cared for in state and private institutions.¹

Social and Cultural Approaches to the Study of Mental Retardation

Research within the field of mental retardation has recently become quite extensive, not only in its increasingly technical terminology, but also in its various related fields, areas, and approaches. The study of mental retardation has consistently posed problems because of many factors, one of which has always been that of definition. A shortcoming seen by one writer is the traditional approach of understanding mental retardation through unitary terminology. On this he writes:

I would first argue that research in mental retardation has been hobbled by the tendency to conceptualize the problem in unitary terms. As all of you know, mental retardation is many things. It is a term that derives operational significance primarily from procedures that have been developed for the social management of a remarkably heterogeneous group of people.

Although mental retardation may pertain to social management of a group of individuals, it also has reference to an area of study. It may even develop into an issue.

Of this, another writer states:

\[\ldots\] mental retardation is at once a symptom and a central issue, a scientific and a social issue. It can be held to no disciplinary line; mental retardation crosses the vista of workers in virtually every discipline from literature to genetics.\[^8\]

If the study of mental retardation is continually crossing every discipline, its awareness is becoming more of a widening experience; not only for laymen and professionals alike, but also for groups of people—for cultures and subcultures. If one continues to look at this widening experience it is not too difficult to become confused because there are no specific concepts commonly accepted by all societies for speaking about or defining mental retardation, nor even a universal criterion as to what a handicapping condition is. When looking at cultures and societies other than our own, or even when looking at subcultures or subgroups within our own culture, we simply do not have a unified standard that we could use in delineating the phenomenon of mental retardation.

In an armchair approach to the problem of understanding handicapping conditions in non-Occidental societies, Hanks and Hanks have emphasized certain conditions which arise from several "determinants". They see these as:

parish (denial of a protective group for the handicapped), economic liability (can the handicapped become an asset to the culture?), tolerant utilization (how far can the handicapped be tolerated?), limited participation (the handicapped can never become "full citizens" of their culture), and laissez-faire (the handicapped may simply be left alone to do whatever they can or cannot do). Among the determinants noted by Hanks and Hanks which influence the care, understanding, and treatment of the handicapped are those which revolve around the increasing amount of protection and social participation in societies where: (1) the level of average productivity is higher and its distribution more equal, (2) competitive factors in individual or group achievement are minimized, (3) the criteria of achievement are less formally absolute than in hierarchical social structures and more weighted with concern for individual capacity, than in democratic social structures.  

Following the reasoning of Hanks and Hanks, we can note that in the United States we have had a high level of productivity since the beginning of World War II, and our

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hierarchical social structure is not as formally tied to social class structure as in some Western European and Oriental countries. But, we have always tended to be a competitive society that emphasizes group or individual achievement. We have had a long tradition of caring for the mentally retarded through institutionalization and segregation within large hospitals or state institutions. The retarded have traditionally been excluded from contributing to our society.

The response to intellectual impairment in the industrial-oriented complex of the United States is strongly contrasted by the author Dentan with the response among the Semai of Malaysia, a primitive subcultural group in an Oriental society:

... intellectual impairment per se in the United States violates norms of behavior. The violation is serious, not something to laugh about. The result is that, whereas the Semai sequester only those who are an intolerable economic burden, Americans (who have no intolerable economic burdens) segregate those who violate their quasi-esthetic norms of intellectual behavior.10

The Sociology of Mental Retardation

In order to clarify and understand the meaning and awareness of mental retardation among cultures and subcultures, it is necessary to approach the inquiry from a sociological, economic, and anthropological viewpoint. In the area of social inquiry into retarded behavior the works and writings of Lewis A. Dexter are valuable. In his view if there is to be a sociology of mental deficiency, there first will be: (1) a sociology of those who study mental deficiency, (2) a sociology of those who work in institutions, and (3) a need to see mental defectives in terms of the general theory of social problems.11

Dexter, using sociological approaches, avoids the use of certain labels attached to individuals by society. These labels, if stigmatization is involved, may define a particular life career for the individual. He continually suggests that if certain types of labeling had not taken place, then the individual's chances for a better life would be increased. He believes that:

the feeble-minded who get along best in the world are those that have had the good fortune not to have been

assigned the unique role of mental defective, at least, not in their own primary group, and to have been able to avoid the particular requirement for maturity which is "formal education." It is formal education, supported by compulsory laws of school attendance for all, says Dexter, that has brought this society-oriented division between the "stupid" and the bright. He believes that the concept of compulsory education needs to be challenged, and he looks upon it as "the most sacred cow in modern societies— not only in American society but almost equally in Soviet society." Dexter elaborates his sociological interpretation of mental deficiency by showing that the problem is not only one of "abnormality" itself but also of the self-image of the person considered deficient. He offers four generalizations which are intended to clarify the various meanings of mental deficiency as a sociological concept:

1. Mental deficiency may usefully be regarded as a social problem in the technical sense in which sociologists use the notion group within that society acting as though they regard some existent behavior as dangerous or undesirably "abnormal".

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(2) The mentally defective tends to constitute a social problem in society because he has failed (or is supposed to be incapable of learning) the "right meanings", attached to events, symbols, or things in that society.

(3) In a society like ours which emphasizes as an end in itself formal demonstration of skill in the technique of symbolization and coordinating meanings, a far higher proportion of mental defectives are likely to be treated as cases of a social problem than would be so treated in a society emphasizing some other set of values, for instance the capacity for survival or effective economic contribution.

(4) The self-image of the mentally deficient in a society which stresses aptitude and intellectual achievement is likely to be negative because the "looking glass self" principle operates and they learn from their social contacts and experiences to look down upon and distrust themselves; in consequence difficulties are created, derived from the social role of the defects rather than from anything inherent in the bio-psychological nature of defectives.\(^{14}\)

As Dexter asserts these statements can be supported by numerous case-studies of defectives or by studies of the problem in societies which do not as completely and finally condemn the retardate as does the dominant culture of the United States. He points out that questions concerned with

the effect of institutionalization, work-habits, legal requirements, self-images, and successful and unsuccessful career patterns among retardates need to be investigated. He emphasizes that these inquiries, using a case-study approach or a cross-cultural method should seek to answer such questions as:

(1) What social meaning is learned through the institutional experience of many so-called mental defectives in the high grade retarded?

(2) Is the sharing of experience with other "mental defectives" more or less likely to teach "undesired" self-images and work habits to retardates than living and working with a number of normals?

(3) Would the negative status of mental defects be less critical for them if society as a whole modified its legal requirements about compulsory schooling?

(4) Are there significant differences in the status and role accorded mental defectives in different social groups or sub-societies?

(5) What, if anything, is known and pertinent about reversing the negative self-image acquired by many handicapped individuals?

(6) What are the characteristics and what were the experiences of those "retarded" who have apparently been normally successful at some stage of life?

(7) Is any light on successful and unsuccessful retardates to be obtained from a study of successful and unsuccessful careers in general?\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{15}\text{Dexter, op. cit., 1960, p. 837.}\)
Dexter, like Jordan, uses an elastic definition. Dexter's writings concerning mental deficiency also deal more with the "high grade" than the "low grade." He sees the "high grade" retardate as one "whose lack of intelligence is no barrier to normal functioning in most areas of life; and who does not suffer from any serious physiological or nervous defect." He adds depth to this definition of the "high grade" by stating:

Whatever else characterizes the high-grade retarded, they may be described and defined as persons who: (a) have considerable difficulty in getting along in some aspects of our society for reasons of intellectual slowness and stupidity, but (b) would probably have gotten along well enough in a primitive agricultural village as peasants or woodsmen.

In order to explain the whole pattern of retarded behavior, for both "high" and "low" groups, he presents at least three physiological or quasi-physiological factors that would generally explain mental retardation. These explanations are: (1) brain damage--defective nervous systems, (2) seemingly irreversible physical effects of "cultural deprivation"--inability to learn attention-paying habits early in life, and (3) inherited physical behavior

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16 Dexter, op. cit., 1964, p. 5.
17 Ibid., p. 105.
related to the way people think—looking, listening, moving, feeling, and touching, with language and intellectual skills following. 18

As Dexter sees it, the individual's IQ and his previous record of academic performance earn for him the label "stupid" regardless of whether "the stupidity is relevant to the task, or claim, or situation." 19 The "stupid" person is discriminated against and considered an outsider by the technological industrial complex of our society, as are also the dope addicts, alcoholics, the mentally ill, and Negroes. 20 The discrimination begins with labeling. To be labeled "stupid" is to be degraded, and this degradation Dexter feels is not essential to the everyday workings of modern society. He believes that there are sufficient rules and positions in society that can be fulfilled by anyone. What is needed is a more acceptable attitude toward the retardate which would offer more opportunities in employment, better legal rights, and fair treatment.

18 Ibid., pp. 107-109.


In particular, Dexter sees the "stupid" child as a product of the American school system. It is the school that creates the whole phenomenon of retardation, as it relates to the "moron". The "moron" is labeled incompetent in schoolwork, but when he leaves school, he usually, with luck, adjusts to society. The pressures and prejudices that are placed on the high grade retardate by the school are enormous. At times it is almost impossible for this individual later to succeed in society. On hoped-for adjustment of the "moron" within society, Dexter writes:

In other societies such high-grade retardates find useful and helpful occupations and social roles without creating, so far as is known, any particular problems or bother. Even in our society the majority of such 'morons' still find such occupations; ordinarily, they adjust to society's demands effectively once they are permitted to leave school. But the enormous pressure on them to show normal intellectual achievement in school and the substantial prejudice against them because of their lack of capacity for such achievement do create great problems in many individual cases. 21

Dexter's thoughts are supported by the works of socially-oriented writers like Edgerton, Sabagh, and Goffman in contemporary sociological thought concerning institutionalization, labeling, avoidance, and stigmatization of the retardate. Looking at the mentally retarded and his social

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21 Dexter, op. cit., p. 5.
and economic standing within the American industrial complex, Edgerton and Sabagh support the thinking of both Dentan and Dexter when they write:

> In a society that emphasizes literacy and verbal ability and places a premium on achievement in school as a major prerequisite of upward mobility, the mentally retarded are likely to be rejected and humiliated.²²

There may also be a long previous history of this sort of rejection and humiliation from the heads of families which include a mentally retarded child. In cases of this kind, a protective blanket is usually thrown around the stigmatized children. As Edgerton and Sabagh point out:

> Many of the mentally retarded come from families of low ethnic or socioeconomic status, and the family members may have had humiliating experiences with law enforcement or welfare agencies. Such a family will protect its members against those who 'accuse' them of mental retardation, and may not even believe that the accused actually is retarded, since his intellectual level may not be much below that of his relatives. To them, this may simply be another instance of discrimination against the whole family.²³

Goffman goes somewhat further in his sociological analysis of the retardates as a subgroup and presents them

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²³Ibid., p. 266.
as sharing the numerous sociological characteristics of individuals as possessing attributes different from each other. He believes that stigmatization of the handicapped begins when individuals tend "to size up" each other through acceptance or rejection. He writes concerning the stranger with a handicapping condition:

He is reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive; sometimes it is also called a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap. It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity.24

Although Edgerton, Sabagh, and Goffman look at the retardate and other handicapped individuals from this internal view of the subgroup, other writers express their approach to the sociology of mental retardation in a manner comparable to Dexter's. Similar to Dexter's comment on the retarded individual and his environment is Maher's definition of mental retardation as being a socially derived phenomenon:

What constitutes mentally retarded behavior depends to a large extent upon the judgment. An individual who does not create a problem for others in his social environment and who manages to become self-supporting is usually not defined as

mentally retarded no matter what his
tested IQ may be. Mental retardation is
primarily a socially derived phenomenon,
and it is in large part meaningless to
speak of mental retardation without this
criterion in mind.25

Maher would suggest that before labeling a person mentally
retarded in any society, the following be done: (1) a long
and thorough observation period of the individual's behavior
be undertaken, and/or (2) the presence of evidence of physical
damage or gross developmental deviation early in life be
determined.

Farber goes beyond Maher by seeing mental retardates
as a sub-category of an even larger group of social misfits.
He presents the retardate as part of a surplus population
within any industrial community. He defines this surplus
population as:

In any society, there are always
persons who cannot be used to fill slots
in tables of organization. Frequently,
this inability to fill an organizational
slot results from the incompetence of
the individuals who are specifically
trained for them. There will also be
persons who are incapable of, unwilling
to, or prevented from filling any of
the existing slots, and they constitute
a surplus population.26

25 Brendan B. Maher, "Intelligence and Brain Damage,"
Handbook of Mental Deficiency, ed. Norman R. Ellis (New

26 Bernard Farber, Mental Retardation: Its Social Con-
text and Social Consequences (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,
Thinking in the same manner as Dexter does, Farber places within this surplus population, the rural poor, slum dwellers, disadvantaged children, school dropouts, and delinquents.

Farber strongly believes that this surplus group helps maintain the social structure of American society in at least three ways: they generate a series of special institutions (legal, welfare, health, and educational bureaus); they make possible the effective operation of the basic social institutions of the society (the constant rearranging of persons to fit slots); and they aid in the perpetuation of the social classes (the inheritance of privilege and wealth for the elite and general subjugation and poverty on the part of the surplus populations). 27

Also like Goffman and Dexter, he is concerned about the effects of labeling, but he does not see it as the major problem attached to the retarded individual. Instead of concentrating on the process of labeling within any surplus group because of their incompetence. He focuses on "stupidity" and sees it simply as the inability to solve problems, with society attaching "badness" to those who lack the ability and "goodness" to those who have the ability.

Although Farber places more emphasis on incompetence than on labeling, he does not see either one as the sole

reason for retardates failing in society. The retarded, like all of us, are affected by many labels in our "life chances": race, religion, occupation, deviant or conventional identity, age, and sex attributes. Incompetence alone cannot be the sole determinant of life chances (except in cases of severe retardation). It is associated with other social characteristics. On this association, Farber writes:

I suggest that mental retardation tends to occur in connection with other characteristics whose combination may operate to prevent the incorporation of the mentally retarded person into the stream of social life of the society. Perhaps, if the individual were not mentally retarded, he might possibly compensate for some of his other handicaps. However, the combination of mental retardation and other social handicaps may affect his life chances appreciably. For these reasons, I regard the mentally retarded as a surplus population rather than as a group solely affected either by labeling or by their own incompetence. 28

The positions taken by the theoretical writers are supported by the findings of a number of scholars who have conducted research of a number of aspects dealing with mental retardation. Highly significant are the studies dealing with the social distribution of mental retardation, the effects of hospitalization of persons labeled retarded, and a long continuing longitudinal study of the social adjustment of mental retardates.

28 Ibid., p. 19.
Studies Showing the Retardate as Subjects Within Their Own Subgroups

Stein and Susser undertook to study the social distribution of mental retardation through scientific means. They used two clinical groups of 106 adult English retardates. One group included members who had brain damage or serious handicaps to learning, and the other included those who appeared to be "clinically normal", without brain damage, or serious handicaps to learning. The families of the two clinical groups were then classified in an attempt to distinguish them by subcultural background: way of life, values and attitudes common to particular sections of society. The families were also divided into aspirant (father was either in non-manual position or one child was attending grammar school), or demotic (fathers were manual laborers and no member had attended grammar school). The authors found that mental retardation was more prevalent in the demotic subculture than in the aspirant family. Of the approach and findings, Stein and Susser write:

All known causes of mental deficiency must of course be excluded. When careful examination reveals no positive neurological sign or history suggestive of brain damage, and no obvious physical incongruity or metabolic disturbance; when investigation shows no chemical abnormality in the urine, a normal electro-encephalograph, the expected sex-chromatin on oral smear and no abnormality of chromosomes; and when
there is no other psychiatric disorder then the diagnosis can be inferred from the social background.29

Of the two groups, it was more likely that a "clinically normal" child who had a father in manual unskilled work and no siblings in grammar, technical, or similar schools was suffering from mental retardation than from cryptic brain disorder. Seventy per cent of the subjects of this group had an adult intelligence quotient above 55 and fell within the educationally subnormal range.

The topic of stigmatized behavior was taken up by Edgerton who presented a study involving 48 ex-patients from the Pacific State Hospital. Part of his purpose was to study seriously the impact of hospitalization and of the acceptance of the stigma of being mentally retarded. The former patients refused to accept their past experiences of hospitalization and the stigma attached to them. They did this by "denying" that they were ever at the hospital and by passing throughout society as if they were just as normal in intellect and social adjustment as those individuals who had never been to Pacific State. Edgerton incorporates these terms of "denying" and "passing" from the works of Goffman. 30


Edgerton's 148 ex-patients lived within a 50 mile radius of the hospital. They represented a subgroup living within a social functioning group. Information concerning their daily lives was gathered and collected from unstructured interviews and observations. The majority of the 148 individuals were married and had jobs, but only three of the retardates were living fully independent lives. Seven others were "largely" or "periodically" independent. According to Edgerton, the vast majority managed to struggle through their daily lives only with the continued assistance of some 50 people who had become the ex-patients' benefactors.

Edgerton found the self knowledge of mental retardation was totally unacceptable to the 148 ex-patients that he studied. They could not maintain their self-esteem and at the same time believe that they were mentally retarded. Their self-esteem was maintained by passing and denying their condition along with their past hospitalization experiences. Edgerton found that they did not fool anyone, and only successfully "passed" with the aid of a benefactor. On the paradox of passing, denial, and the dependency on benefactors, the author writes:

There is also a paradox about their efforts to maintain themselves that is for them not a paradox at all. The paradox lies in the contrast between their often ingenious and always strenuous efforts to pass and to deny on the one hand, and their compliant dependency upon
normal benefactors on the other. For them, however, such a commingling of opposites is not paradoxical; they find it natural to seek and accept help wherever they can find it. They tend to look upon help as a right which is due them as a partial recompense for their past wrongful institutional confinement.\textsuperscript{31}

The presentation of Edgerton is somewhat fatalistic concerning the successful contributions of ex-patients from an institution for the mentally retarded. The retardate in his study is burdened by his past experience of life in an institution, of the stigma attached to his condition, and the responsibilities he must face in the working world. He summarizes his study by stating that the former retardates exist and struggle in their present positions through the maintenance of their self-esteem:

In the efforts of the former patients in the present study to evade the stigma that they feel and fear, we see an eloquent testament to man's determination to maintain his self-esteem in the face of overwhelming cultural rejection and deprecation. If we accept the unanimous findings of the behavioral and psychological sciences concerning the fundamental importance of self-esteem for any human being, then we can understand the dilemma in which these former patients find themselves, and we can appreciate their achievements in finding what is for them a cloak of confidence.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., pp. 208-209.
\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., pp. 218-219.
In a final note of passing, Edgerton seems to be somewhat confused in distinguishing between labeling, stigmatization, and hospitalization. One does not receive from his book the answer to the question why his subjects were predominantly social failures. Were his subjects unsuccessful primarily because of their attached stigmas or their past experiences with hospitalization? This is not clearly answered by Edgerton.

Bailer's study is one of the longest continuing longitudinal studies dealing with societal adjustment of the mentally retarded. It is a continuation by Bailer himself of a study begun nearly thirty years before, in 1936. He and his associates traced 109 men and women into their 50's (who had an average IQ of 50) from a "special opportunity room" in the Lincoln, Nebraska public schools. One of their unexpected findings was that their subjects had done better in life than anyone would have predicted from their school records. They had not become a burden to their communities.

Some of the successful accomplishments of the group were as follows: none of them were in jail; only four had criminal records; and only two men and six women were living in institutions. Almost all had been married, and at the time of the study 48 per cent were living with their spouses. Over 80 per cent of the men and 77 per cent of the women
were employed most of the time. Some 65 per cent were entirely self-supporting. Over half of the employed subjects had been working at the same job for at least five years. They worked as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, but 18 per cent of them were employed in higher-level positions such as office workers, foremen, photographers, and auto salesmen.

Baller, in explaining the success of his retardates described what he called "experiential antecedents" of good and bad adjustment. These antecedents were: (1) formal training experience at different periods during the life of the individual, (2) family and neighborhood influences, (3) employment experiences, (4) economic factors, (5) conditions of health and physical attributes, and (6) circumstances related to marriage, especially whether the individual married into an improved economic or social situation. He supports his use of these data by writing:

The identification of antecedents as mentioned has value for persons who work with retarded individuals. From such identification educational and social planning might be expected to improve, thus opening the way to better chances for successful development and adjustment on the part of the mentally

retarded; deleterious influences might be more easily noted and dealt with.34

Bailer discusses concomitants of the phenomenon of mental retardation, some of which may explain why his earlier adult subjects had been classified as mentally retarded, and some which may explain why a part of his subjects are no longer so classified: (1) psychological atmosphere of the home—patterns of parental behavior or absence of parent(s), (2) influences of the general culture upon the "subculture" of the neighborhood, socioeconomic class, race, etc., (3) educational experience—its potential impact on the development of a retarded individual, (4) selection and influence of work choice—opportunities or lack of them for career patterns, (5) lives of the retarded—the continual struggle of the importance of "retarded" individuals for acceptance, and (6) evidence regarding IQ change—the theoretical and artificial construct of intelligence fails to reflect many aspects of a changing life.35

What appears to be the success of a number of his subjects, Bailer argues, may be chiefly an error in original classification, which was due to special problems in the home or to personality conflicts. These two factors accounted for low test scores and poor school performances. It is

34 Ibid., p. 240.
interesting to note that 16 of his 109 subjects came from homes in which English was not the spoken language. The mental capacity of his subjects was low during their school years and over a period of years it had increased. They simply learned quite a bit more in later life than they did while in school. Many of his subjects came from "culturally deprived" homes or broken homes, and in either case most of the fathers worked as unskilled laborers and many of the mothers worked away from the home.

From his total group of subjects he separated and studied those who were most successful in life. This was done by dividing the individuals into low, medium and high groups based on their level of success. His most successful group did not have an IQ any higher than the group average, but shared some characteristics which set them apart from the less successful: (1) They came from a more middle-class pattern of dress, speech, and personal habits, (2) They worked for a big paternalistic business all their adult lives, or learning a single skill early and sticking with it, and (3) They knew, while still a child or young person, some adult who instilled a sense of their own worth in them.36

36Ibid., p. 248.
Neither Edgerton's nor Baller's study can be used to support generalizations sufficiently broad to be of major significance in evaluating the accomplishments of institutions which deal with the mentally retarded. Whereas Edgerton does not give any comparison with a clinically-determined retarded group outside an institutional setting. Baller's study is not perfect in that his subjects were not determined to be clinically retarded. In any event, these studies are valuable because they treat the phenomenon of mental retardation through a subcultural approach.

The contributors to all these concepts have one common characteristic: they see mental subnormality, primarily not as an educational, psychological, or medical matter, but as a social-cultural phenomenon. In this context, the suggestion has been made that it might prove fruitful to approach the study of handicapping conditions through observing cross-cultural phenomenon. In this context, the suggestion has been made that it might prove fruitful to approach the study of handicapping conditions through observing cross-cultural differences in the meanings assigned to the concepts involved and through cultural definitions of these concepts. It has been argued that mental retardation in the United States chiefly signifies violation of the norms of behavior and that the condition would not be a serious violation of behavior in many non-Western cultures.
Mental retardation, it has been asserted, is part of our labeling system and is, in fact, the product of stigmatized behavior. Both are the result of the American view of placing undue emphasis on academic accomplishment for all school children, regardless of individual intellectual differences.

The effects of early labeling and of stigmatization of retardates was observed in two significant studies. One dealt with a large group of former patients of a state institution, the majority of whom were unsuccessful in adjusting to their culture after release. These individuals struggled unsatisfactorily in the dominant culture by passing and denying their condition and their past experiences. The second study explored the successful accomplishments in later life of many members of a class of former students in a public school opportunity room. That retardates can be regarded as a distinct sub-cultural group was illustrated in a number of studies and analyses, but the real import of this concept was best revealed in a British clinical study which has shown in detail how individuals referred to as retarded consistently come from the lower economic, social, and educational classes. One expert has urged that we honestly accept that mental retardates are regarded as a surplus population in our social-economic class structure.
Clearer understanding of retardation, all these writers say—some directly, some by implication—will be achieved not simply by further studies of the retarded and of their often hopeless conflicts with the surrounding society, or even by studies of the mentally retarded as a distinct sub-group in the society, but by investigations of the meaning of retardation and the status of retardates within other cultures than our own or within sub-cultural groups in our dominant culture.
CHAPTER II

SUBCULTURAL AND CLOSED CULTURED SOCIETIES

In the United States and Canada there are not many religiously-oriented subcultural groups left who are successfully maintaining their identity as separatist societies. Among most successful of these are some branches of the German or Austrian Anabaptist groups. These are, of course, the Old Order Amish of the United States and Canada; the Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario; the Old German Brethren of Darke County, Ohio; and the Hutterian Brethren of South Dakota, Montana, and the prairie provinces of Canada. There is also one non-Christian, separatist group, composed of Hassidic Jews, now living in Brooklyn, New York.

The Hutterian Brethren and the Hassidic Jews are the two groups which will be given special attention in this section. The Hutterites, obviously, are more closely related than are the Hassidic Jews to the Amish in religious beliefs and basic living patterns. Moreover, the Hutterites have been the topic of numerous research projects, one of which looked partly at the problem of mental retardation in
their community. In contrast to these Western subcultures, there will also be discussed a Malaysian closed cultural group, the Semai, who have been the subject of a comprehensive anthropological study that involved a particular interest in the phenomenon of mental retardation. A Puerto Rican peasant group, while not actually a closed subculture, is sufficiently distinct from its surrounding society that an extensive study of the incidence and significance of mental retardation among the group merits inclusion in this review; hence, the chapter is closed with an investigation of retardation among the jibaros, as they are called.

The Hutterian Brethren

The great majority of the Hutterites of North America live in colonies located in South Dakota, Montana, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. In 1965 there were, in North America, approximately 17,800 Hutterian Brethren, of whom 12,500 lived in Canada, and 5,300 in the United States. All of the Brethren descend from 800 individuals who came to the United States from Russia in the 1870's and settled in the Great Plains region.36

During the 1870's three groups of Brethren decided to re-establish a communal way of life, which had been

almost discarded in Russia. These groups were known as the Davasleut, Lehrerleut and Schmiedeleut, and today they make up those Brethren living in communal isolated colonies. There has also developed, over a period of years, the Krimmer Church group who consider themselves "kinship Hutterites", who do not practice communal ownership. Some of them live in the Dakotas and the prairie provinces of Canada; they came with the Ukrainians and the German Brethren in the 1870's.

A recent group, the Bruderhof Hutterites (Society of Brothers), were founded by Eberhard Arnold, who was a refugee from Hitler's regime. Branches of the Bruderhof society are now found in Pennsylvania, New York, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Germany. These groups are a scholarly movement within the Brethren, and they have published several texts. Not all of them practice the communal way of life.

The colony Hutterites are the oldest and largest Christian communal society left in the modern world. Their movement began when Jacob Hutter, in 1533 organized and disciplined a group in Moravia. The colony Hutterites have remained apart from Industrial Western Civilization for over 500 years, maintaining their continuous isolated traditions, except for the interim in Russia, where, for a time, they did not practice communal ownership.

They resemble the Amish in that they are a closed society. They marry only among themselves, and marriage to
an outsider means expulsion from the faith. According to Bennett's research, they will allow marriages to take place between second and third cousins on both sides of the family; but marriage between first cousins is definitely taboo.

The Hutterites are primarily an agricultural folk. They wear simple plain clothes and lead a life of austerity. They speak a nearly extinct Tirolean dialect of German and represent the great Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century. Labor to both the Hutterites and the Amish is not a commodity that one purchases, but rather a basic human activity. Both groups are peasants, living their lives by working the land or by practicing related vocations.

Part of the Hutterian Brethren differ in that some of them hold property in common. The agricultural methods of all Hutterites are far superior technologically, to those of the Amish, who do not use modern machinery, and the majority stresses an even more rigid form of isolation from the world than do the Amish. Although austerity is a common characteristic to both the Amish and the Hutterites, the latter adhere more strongly to it. Bennett, on this point writes: "The Hutterites enforce (austerity), whereas the Mennonites and the Amish live austerely."37

37 Ibid., p. 19.
Using ecological and anthropological social techniques, Bennett studied the Hutterian Brethren and their agricultural economy in seven colonies in the Jasper region of southwestern Saskatchewan. Like his predecessors, he was amazed at the remarkable stability of the group:

The Hutterian colonies represent the most stable social units in the region. They diversify their economy in order to distribute their risk, they maintain an economy of scale to provide enough capital to cover failures, and to participate in a unique socio-religious system that provides a basic continuity for the families and the kin group.

He continues:

The large scale of their operations and the economic diversification of their colonies provide adequate margins against most financial incisitudes. For this reason, the Hutterian adaptation is characterized by large colony population per land area. Characteristically, a colony's population continues to increase until it reaches optimum size, as defined by the colony economic and social system, whereupon it divides, and half its members leave the region to set up a new colony.

In Canada, for taxation purposes, the colonies are considered enterprises. All financial assets raised by the colony go into a common bank account. When the Brethren invest, they do not invest in money values, but in social

38 Ibid., p. 20.
39 Ibid., pp. 237-238.
values for the continuity and stability of the colony. This type of investment is best seen when the colony decides to buy pieces of land nearby. When it buys, it purchases the land forever.

The Brethren cooperate with the local public school-boards by building and maintaining an "English" school on the premises of the colony, as well as a home for the teacher. This is a common practice throughout Canada and is adhered to in the Jasper region. The teachers are certified and non-Hutterite. After the daily program is finished, a Hutterite German teacher enters the building and German classes are held for the children. On this method of cooperating with local school authorities, Bennett writes:

The Brethren relations with the local School Unit (which supervises all the schools in the Jasper vicinity) are somewhat strained. The Brethren will only send their children to school on the colony premises, and although they are willing to provide the teacher with a well-built schoolhouse and dwelling, few teachers are eager to accept such an isolated and demanding position. The colonies often find difficulty in keeping the teachers they do get, for the older men often attempt to maintain surveillance of the teacher's methods, texts, and supplies. 40

Bennett, although interested primarily in the social and ecological structure of the colony Hutterites, does by side interest, enter into other facets of Hutterian life.

40Ibid., p. 101.
Like the Amish, the Hutterites avoid the cities simply because urban living is not conducive to their culture. For the Hutterites, rural life is a prerequisite for their communal mode of existence. It is partly due to this rural, agricultural way of life, that the Hutterites have successfully lasted for so long. On the importance of agricultural labor for the Hutterites, Bennett states:

Agriculture, with its relative isolation and its earthy tasks, shields the Brethren from contamination by worldly life and minimizes the necessity of wage labor.41

A great deal of Hutterite life, as of the Amish life, consists of separation from the world. A colony can separate itself in mental life, but not in economic relations, from the larger marketing town. The Hutterites stay an "arms-length" from the external world, but they have been influenced by that world through their economic adaptation:

Therefore, in order to survive they must seek knowledge of economic trends and opportunities, and of the many favors and inducements to increased productivity offered by organized agriculture. They must learn how to find bargains, how to deal for machinery, and how to sell their goods at the best price; and they must have close contact with the organizations and institutions of Gentile (external world) society and economy.42

41 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
42 Ibid., p. 102.
This exposure to more sophisticated methods of farm organization puts the leaders of the colonies in full contact with the agricultural-industrial complex of our culture. The leaders, in turn, are required to be aware and well read. As Bennett’s study has stressed, the most sophisticated, affluent, and successful colonies are those in which magazines, business newspapers, journals and technical manuals are used abundantly. By keeping abreast of events and changes within the dominant culture’s economy, a sound program can be maintained. Simply, the Hutterites:

... become effective modern agricultural businessmen by using the external world cleverly and with knowledge, rather than by assimilating its social program.43

In concluding this study, Bennett finds the Hutterian Brethren to be a stable traditional society with a strong social system. There is a clear sense of cultural identity but there is also danger in this "heaven on earth" society. By their own lives, the Hutterites are threatened by extreme privation and extreme prosperity. The external world, to them, offers temptations and hostility and the fight must continue to keep both at "arms-length".

Bennett foresees further increases in the resistance to the Hutterites in the buying of land because they will be competing further with nearby farmers in purchases. This will

43Ibid., p. 103.
curtail the division of the colonies into further daughter settlements and will change the identity and the motivation of the Hutterian character. There will also be a further increase in educational requirements with the appearance of compulsory secondary education. There will be more defectors and restlessness among the colonies. Many colonies will dissolve and the holding to "all things common" will be lost to private ownership. Finally, a hard core will arise again among the Hutterian Brethren in order to hold to the colony form of life. These people will move to a more isolated area and continue their withdrawal from the commercial influences of the world.  

Hostetler and Huntington, in their recent publication, summarize the Hutterites' major beliefs as: (1) the worship of the absolute authority of a single supernatural being, (2) the perverse condition of man and nature due to the disobedience of man through transgression of the divine order, (3) the carnal nature and the spiritual nature are antagonistic to each other with the spiritual kingdom being ruled by the spirit of Christ, (4) the submissiveness of the individual to God at all times, (5) the teaching of young children so that they may move out from sin and away from self-pleasure, and (6) the ultimate good of what is achieved in

Ibid., p. 277.
life is found only in the full surrender of the individual will to the will of God.\textsuperscript{45}

All of the above beliefs are part of the Hutterian theocracy. The belief in the divine will of God is incorporated into each individual living within the colony environment. Insights are passed from the leaders to the members with the theocratic principle remaining strong. It is also the same with the Hutterian form of commune insurance. An individual who firmly believes and supports the theocratic form partakes of the protection and the insurance offered. If individuals leave the fold, then the sanctity of the divine will and the protectiveness of the theocracy are no longer offered.

Numerous publications and academic studies have approached Hutterite culture in various ways, but it is from two important field studies that valuable information has been gained about their culture in the areas of reproduction processes and mental disorders.

Eaton and Mayer in their work on reproduction among the Hutterites see them as providing:

\ldots an exceptional opportunity to study social and biological aspects of human fertility and reproduction. It is well

known that in technologically advanced countries, where population statistics are adequate, the population does not increase under sufficiently stable and unplanned conditions to use demographic data as an ex post facto experiment in human biology. In groups where there is little migration, where no birth-control measures are used and where reproduction proceeds without conscious planning, vital statistics are usually unreliable. Hutterite vital statistics are an exception to this generalization.46

From the government census of 1880 Eaton and Mayer found four existing Hutterite colonies in southeastern South Dakota. At that time the total population was 443.47 This area had contained all the Hutterites who had migrated from Russia. Seventy per cent of the 443 colony Hutterites had one of five names: Hofer, Waldner, Stahl, Walter, or Wipf. Ten other patronyms accounted for the remainder of the group.48

In December 1949, questionnaires were mailed to all existing Hutterite colonies, and a 100 per cent response was recorded. During the summers of 1950 and 1951 detailed demographic data were obtained for 71 of the 93 colonies, with about 80 per cent of the population taking part in the study. The methods of inquiry consisted mostly of personal

47 Ibid., p. 5.
48 Ibid., p. 8.
visits by the staff and intensive correspondence. Family enumeration was completed by a Hutterite Leader in much of Manitoba, Canada. The final data included records of 6,796 living individuals, as of December 31, 1950.

From 1940 to 1950 Eaton and Mayer recorded a 52.1 per cent increase in the Hutterite population. During that same period the population of the United States increased by only 14.5 per cent. It was found that this phenomenon in the Hutterite society was a result of a ratio in which births greatly exceeded deaths.

The Hutterites maintain a high level of fertility, abstaining from the use of any contraceptive to curtail births. The refusal to use any kind of birth control adds to a strong basic cohesiveness in a well integrated orthodox Christian communal society. Everyone is equal and life is adequate in a society such as this. As long as the society is held together with a guarantee of a prosperous life, the Hutterites can be fruitful and multiply at a rate which doubles the population every 16 years. Eaton and Mayer predicted that 12,700 Hutterites would be living by 1960 in 130 colonies instead of the 93 in existence at the time of their study.49

49 Ibid., p. 52. Bennett's population figures (17,800) and number of colonies (164), ten years after Eaton and Mayer's work, shows a doubling in population and an increase by 71 daughter colonies.
In summarizing the findings of a high rate of Hutterite reproduction, Eaton and Mayer show that: (1) the culture puts much positive value on having children; any form of birth control is regarded as sinful, (2) the community and its values assure economic support to parents who have as many children as they can biologically conceive, (3) the maintenance of good and expensive medical care allows women to bear many children, (4) a very small proportion of adults fail to get married, and (5) there is little migration, traveling, or marital separation or divorce.\(^{50}\)

The authors expect the high birth rate to begin to fall off as a result of more contact with "worldly" mothers. There are also warnings from numerous physicians that large families are damaging to the women's health. The authors end their study by stating:

The cohesiveness of the group is still strong. However, as the acceptance of these competing social values increases, Hutterite fertility is likely to decrease. The two factors are closely related. Hutterite fertility may give a positive indication of major changes in the basic values long before these changes lead to any breakup of a community.\(^{51}\)

Eaton and Weil in a study contemporaneous with the one just reported undertook to relate the culture of the

\(^{50}\)Ibid., p. 57.

\(^{51}\)Ibid., p. 57.
Hutterites to the incidence of mental disorder. As would be expected, the matter of fertility and childbearing is involved quite directly in their study. They believe that "being fruitful and multiplying" will be the inevitable doom of Hutterian culture. Of the hazards of a high rate of population increase they write:

Their great growth potential constitutes one of the most serious direct threats to their continued existence as an autonomous culture. . . The more Hutterites exist, the more colonies they form, the larger the number of contacts which in-group members make with the larger American culture. The rate of acculturation and assimilation is likely to increase even more rapidly than the population.52

The primary purpose of the Eaton and Weil study was to deal with cultural and social variables affecting mental disorders, an area they found relatively neglected by other scholars. The authors found some degree of psychosis and conditions of mental retardation existing among the Hutterites. The discussion of this study will now concentrate on their comments concerning the retardate within Hutterite culture.

A major contribution to data collecting was made by Eaton and Weil when they determined to sample the entire population of 8,542 persons living in South and North Dakota,

Manitoba, and Alberta, for incidence of mental disorders. The staff had visited \( \frac{81}{93} \) of the 93 colonies in existence when the field work was completed; the remaining nine colonies were screened through a variety of informants.\(^{53}\)

Using with care the rather precise definition of mental retardation formulated by Karnosh, Eaton and Weil found in the whole population only 51 mentally defective subjects, an extremely small number, the significance of which is not immediately clear. Fifteen of the subjects, were classified as severely defective, four of the 15 had Down's Syndrome, two had basal ganglion disease, two had Little's disease, two were hydrocephalics, one was a dwarf, and four had epilepsy.

They exhibited the following behavior patterns: (1) they could not talk or walk normally, (2) they could not feed themselves, (3) they were incontinent, (4) none could attend school, (5) their life expectancy was very short with none of them being over 30 years of age, and eleven of them being younger than 15. All of the fifteen

\(^{53}\text{ibid.}, p. 230.\)

\(^{54}\text{Louis J. Karnosh, A Handbook of Psychiatry (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1945), p. 197. Mental deficiency or feeblemindedness implies a lack of normal intellectual development that has existed from birth or was acquired early in life. It is largely a defect in understanding one's environment and in utilizing such knowledge for the purpose of social adjustment and of making a living. The person with mental deficiency is limited in his capacities and total accomplishment in direct proportion to the amount of defect.}\)
could qualify for admission to an institution for mental
defectives. 55

Sixteen of the original 51 subjects were diagnosed
as mildly defective. They had schooling and knew the rudiments of reading and writing. They participated in the work
of their colony and, as adults, had a regular work assign-
ment which required little initiative or skill. Seven of
the 16 were over 30 years of age. 56 The remaining group of
20 subjects were moderately defective and were not particu-
larly noted in the study.

Eaton and Weil, in dividing their mentally deficient
subjects into the severely and the mildly retarded, make
distinctions by the type of behavior exhibited by each group.
Schoolteachers were their major informants in detecting these
individuals, and they, more than likely included a proportion
of either neurotic or psychotic children. Possibly some of
the defective retardates were mixed up with the other two
functional disorders. This confusion is common and takes
place in any culture.

Eaton and Weil took their defective subjects and
studied the place that they played within the Hutterite
communities. They found an overall philosophy of care and
acceptance. The Hutterites never institutionalize their

55 Eaton and Weil, op. cit., p. 151.
56 Ibid., p. 153.
defective offspring. To them it is a religious obligation to do everything they can for the defective individual, including keeping him well. Because of the care and treatment the defectives receive, the authors believe that they have a longer life expectancy than similar American cases, who are born into families and communities less able or less willing to care for their retarded. This hypothesis enables Eaton and Weil to account for the proportion of severe defectives in comparison to the moderate defectives enumerated in their Hutterite study. The severely retarded are there simply because they tend to live longer due to the care they receive. It may further be said that the Hutterites accept the mentally defective person into their culture. If a child is recognized as being defective he is taken to a physician to see if his condition can be treated. If he cannot be treated then his condition is accepted in a fatalistic manner. If the family with a defective child needs extra help, the community provides for it. In some families the defective child is turned over to another family who may have more time and patience for his care. Children are punished if they ridicule or take advantage of the afflicted child. Defectives who reach adult life are encouraged to work.57

The Hutterites accept that marriage within the kinship group is unavoidable, but they are aware of what

57Ibid., p. 157.
Eaton and Weil call "deleterious genetic consequences." They disapprove of first and second cousin marriages, but the importance of maintaining the faith outweighs considerations of inheritance. Simply, second cousin marriages are not prohibited. Eaton and Weil believe that second cousin marriages among the Hutterites are higher than among the general American population, but mental defectives from such situations are proportionately lower than in other populations.

The Hutterites discourage the marriage of mentally defective persons. The study revealed that there was no sexual exploitation of the defective women, and none of them were married. Four of the defective adult men were married and had families. As of 1952, they had a total of 22 children, two of whom were moderately defective. Eaton and Weil report that "the birth of a defective child in a family is not considered a justification for birth control measures; the family continues to procreate."59

The Hutterites, Eaton and Weil note, are quick to recognize mental deficiency in children:

> Often the condition is noted by the midwife at birth or shortly after. Mental defect is suspected if a child's physical growth or social maturity proceeds at a noticeably slower pace than

\(^{58}\) Ibid., p. 54.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 140.
that of other children. Hutterites are fairly sensitive to such developmental patterns, because several women in a colony usually have children of the same age and intellectual deviations are easily recognized by comparison. . .60

At the close of their chapter on mental deficiency the authors argue strongly against imputations of low intellectual ability as a common characteristic of the Hutterites:

Some non-Hutterite informants, whose acquaintance with the sect was usually superficial, report impressions that intellectual dullness is widespread. Their judgments seem to be greatly influenced by the fact that Hutterites take little public interest in politics or general education. They do not approve of radios. Film stars, comic strip heroes, and sports celebrities are unknown to most Hutterites, and few read more than their scriptures and the Bible. Many speak a somewhat faulty (but fluent) English. As one of our informants put it: 'They are ignorant of the folksy things any American fool would know.' Nevertheless, our staff, and most of our professional informants, such as English teachers in Hutterite colonies, doubt that there is anything substandard about the general Hutterites intelligence level. All but a few colonies have excellent leaders who handle business affairs involving tens of thousands of dollars. They buy, operate, and repair complicated machinery. They show considerable intelligence in handling their own community problems. Without such talents the Hutterite people, who are often an unpopular minority, could not survive, grow, and prosper.61

60Ibid., p. 158.
61Ibid., p. 205.
They further predict that during the next generation there will be no great change in the frequency of severe and moderate cases of mental retardation among the Hutterites. Although better prenatal and obstetric care may result in the prevention of some birth injury cases of mental defects. The number of mild mental defect cases will increase, however, as the community becomes less protective of its membership and as individuals experience more difficulties in making an adjustment between the conflicting expectation of some of the Hutterite and general American social values. 62

The Hassidic Jews

The success of the Hutterian Brethren and of the Old Amish in maintaining their separatist cultures may seem to be in part a consequence of their insulated, rural life, but it should not be concluded that a religious group determined to live a life apart must withdraw to an agrarian environment. In the past quarter century, an ultra-orthodox Jewish community have maintained their way of life in our greatest urbanized area.

The Hassidic settlement, numbering from ten to twelve thousand, is located in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. The community is made up of Hassidic Jews who managed to escape the Nazi concentration camps of Eastern Europe,

together with their descendants. The Hassidim were extremely strong in Eastern Europe, especially in Hungary, previous to World War II and the Nazi persecutions. Their settlement in Williamsburg, New York, began in the forties and the fifties of this century.

As Shachter points out, there is much which can be learned from a study of the Hassidic Jews as a subcultural group, for here are important areas of research which have not been fully explored:

... researchers into Hassidism have not generally made a close examination of the minutiae of Hassidic teaching, but have rather given more attention to the stories and legends in praise of the Zaddikim, (the righteous one) to the Hassidic mode of life, to narrations about Hassidic communities, to the genealogy and history of Rabbeic dynasties and to the history of the long strife between the Hassidim and the Mitnagdim, (the rationalist). In other words, they devoted their attention to the Hassidic Movement rather than to Hassidism itself.63

The Hassidic Jews take their name from "Hassid," a term which is found in the Psalm 4: "For the Lord hath set apart the 'Hassid' as His own." The Hassid is God's chosen one, as are his followers. He has accepted God, loves Him, and cleaves to His attributes.64


64Ibid., p. 10.
The center of present day life in the Hassidic community is the Besmedresh, used for both prayer and social life, the leaders of which are appointed by the Rebbe, the spiritual leader of the community, who directs the prayers and serves as a mediator between his followers and God. Unlike a bishop among the Old Order Amish, who as we shall see is chosen by lot, the Rebbe comes to his leadership through inheritance.

The Hassidic community is dominated by mitavos (commandments) from the Old Testament and a host of laws formulated through rabbinical interpretation. These are learned early in life, especially by the boys, through intensive religious training. Hassidic children are educated in the home and in religious parochial schools under the direction of Hassidic teachers. The standard of conduct is strict within the community and deviation is not tolerated. Hassidic men marry in their early twenties while the women marry when they are teenagers. Marriages are usually arranged by the families involved. Raising children is encouraged, birth control is not approved, and prophylactic devices are used only when there is a clear danger to life. Families are devoted to their children, and family ties are extremely strong. Marital infidelity is almost nonexistent.

66 Ibid., p. 81.
and the relationship between the sexes is rigidly controlled, as most clearly shown in the shielding of Hassidic girls from boys in their early years.

Conformity to the ways of the Hassidic community are accomplished through controls and techniques used by its members. Some of these include the following: (1) religious organizations are open only to those who promise complete conformity to Hassidic norms, (2) the indoctrination and socialization of children is geared and directed toward group conformity, communication with the outside community in the form of radio, television, and non-Hassidic newspapers is rigidly prohibited, (4) contact with individuals outside the community is discouraged in order to maintain social isolation, and (5) the community assumes responsibility for its poor and sick in order to establish their greater dependency upon the group.67

The Hassidic community divides its occupational hierarchy into two sections — those who deal with religious and professional services, and those who deal with nonprofessional services. In the former are found the ritual slaughterer, the instructors in religious matters, the cantor, and the circumciser.68 The nonprofessional occupations

68Ibid., p. 127.
center around the manufacture and sale of religious or non-religious articles. This self-contained community is accomplished through a firm religious belief in separatist thinking and a utilization of technology which does not violate the religious tenets.

It would be most helpful to our study if there had already been made an analysis of the treatment of the defective within the Hassidic community. There appears to have been no study as yet which deals with this phenomenon. What we can gain from this brief review is an awareness of some common elements among the means utilized by both the Hassidic Jews and by the Old Order Amish for maintaining the integrity of their subcultural groups. The Hassidim and the Old Order Amish have much in common in the way they live their daily lives. Both groups are bi-lingual, both avoid television within their homes, both faithfully observe the Sabbath, both read predominantly from their own forms of literature and newspapers, both fight the threat of assimilation, and both are known for their distinctive dress and grooming: beards and long hair for the men, and wigs for the Hassidic women. Both the Amish and the Hassidic community oppose higher secular education for their children. There is firm agreement in both groups that children need formal training in reading, writing, and arithmetic; however, the Hassidic parents apparently have more control over their
children's secular education and their religious training in special schools than do the Amish, for there is still a large group, possibly over 50 per cent, of Amish children attending public schools in areas predominantly Amish.

The significance of mental retardation among non-Western closed cultural groups could certainly become a most worthwhile study of itself, but it cannot be successfully completed until there have been many anthropological investigations in different settings all sufficiently exhaustive to provide the necessary materials relating to mental deficiency and the acceptance of it. To date, only a few studies afford us adequate data on mentally defective persons in a closed culture in a foreign land.

The Semai of Malaysia

Dentan, an American anthropologist, studied the Senoi Semai in the hinterland of the Malay Peninsula during fieldwork in 1962-63. He reports that there were 12,748 Semai as of 1965 living in the jungle areas of Malaya. They are an aborigine group with Negrito features and have a great deal of genetic diversity because of Chinese, Negro and Malay mixtures. The Semai were the original inhabitants of the peninsula, but they know little of their own history. They are a subculture within the mass of Malayan inhabitants.

The Semaïans build small houses of bamboo poles and
flattened bamboo and live together without much privacy. The men hunt with blowpipes and fish with traps or spears. A wild animal caught and killed is butchered and portions of the meat are evenly distributed to the men of the village, who in turn pass portions out to other members of the tribe. Land is cleared by the nuclear family and is not individually owned. Amaranth, a kind of spinach eaten with rice or tapioca, is planted along with maize, squash, and rice.

The Semai are a nonviolent people, and each Semaian thinks of himself as a nonviolent person. For example, Dentan points out that they are very uneasy about killing animals, especially those they have raised themselves. They never hit their children or apply corporal punishment. However, the Semai have in the past abandoned very elderly or hopelessly sick persons. Of this Dentan reports:

In the old days during times of scarcity the Semai would reluctantly abandon very old or hopelessly sick people who were completely unproductive, in a hut with a small supply of food and water to die. The only document occurred in 1956 when the Communist uprising had reduced all the Semai to dire economic straits. The Semai are uneasy about such abandonment. They say that they never go near the spot where someone was abandoned. But they insist that abandonment is not really

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'killing' and that the abandoned person is usually in such misery that he or she wants to die.\textsuperscript{70}

The Semai isolate themselves from their Malay neighbors by living apart. Their emphasis on nonviolence adds to the suspicion of them by their neighbors. As Dentan says, "this suspicion makes it hard for the Semai to organize themselves to deal profitably as a group with other Malaysians."\textsuperscript{71}

The Semai also are afflicted with mental subnormality. The author postulates that the condition may result from many diseases prevalent in a very unhealthy part of the world. The children suffer from protein deficiency, worms, malaria, and goiters. Chronic pulmonary diseases, including tuberculosis, are a major killer. The Semai fear epidemic hepatitis, their most serious disease, as well as yaws, elephantiasis and forms of filariasis. On the general health of these people, Dentan writes:

\textit{Although the Semai seem generally to be as 'intelligent' as any other people, a prolonged high fever sometimes results in a readily identifiable case of mental subnormality. The victim participates as best he can in community activities, for example, pounding grain or winnowing rice. In turn he is dependent on a kinsman who feeds and clothes him, albeit not very well. Unlike Euro-Americans, the Semai do not regard such an unfortunate with horror and disgust.}\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{70}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{71}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{72}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 12.
For these people a normal person is considered to be one who has a "cool" (healthy) body and a good appetite. A normal person in Semaian culture has no problems with sexual adjustment; he settles down after adolescence, marries, and has children. As he experiences fatherhood, he makes no one, including his children, do anything that he does not want to do himself. If he is attacked by another man, he flees.

Kalot is the word used by the Semai to refer to mental retardates. Kalot means "slow-witted" and "unable to speak." It also refers to children who have had their larynx pierced and to those who are reluctant to speak up in public. The Semaian tend to divide retardates into the moderately intellectually impaired individual (mendoi) and the severely retarded. Mendoi means "the way one is." The severely retarded are simply referred to as "dumb."

These non-Western people also show signs of going berserk (beel behiib), being "drunk on the blood," being disoriented (deq ruai), experiencing "soul loss" (a state of lethargy characterized by withdrawal and fretfulness) demonstrating psychotic behavior (yeg-strong delusions and hallucinations). Dentan's analysis of psychoses among the Semai include: (1) acute melancholia involving systematized

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delusions, (2) sexual papag, which is aberrant sexual behavior, and (3) epileptic paranoia (Nyaqnil dast wuui), which is a grand mal seizure. Those that have epileptic paranoia have a short life span and are referred to as "dumb." The author observed one epileptic while living among these people.\textsuperscript{74}

The Semai have no clear-cut expressions for the causes of any disorder that they experience, but they do use the term nyaqnil, which means sickness or pain. Spirits and certain kinds of animals are nyaqnil and enter a person's body and destroy it from within.

Dentan feels, in regard to epilepsy, that the Semai believe it is caused by the woman eating dangerous foods during the pregnancy or crossing an area where domestic animals have been killed. The behavior of the epileptic is the result of his "bad heart."\textsuperscript{75}

There are several ways in which the Semai treat the retarded. They may have a "sing," a ceremony which takes place on two successive nights. Spirits are invoked so that the person can be diagnosed and treated. In the more isolated areas in which the Semai have settled, the "sings" are popular village entertainments. The main purpose of the "sings" are,

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., p. 1142.
\textsuperscript{75}Ibid., p. 1145.
to effect a cure by extracting (through sucking and/or palpation) or expelling (by prayer, curse and invocation) a malignant entity, almost always a nyaqnig. 76

No fees are charged by the magico-medical expert, who conducts the "sings" but some gift is considered proper. Looking at the entire spectrum of actual medical treatments among the Semai, one finds that there is none for intellectual impairment.

The care of a Semaian retardate depends upon the degree of his retardation. If the person is severely retarded, he is dependent on the care of some consanguineal kinsman who is willing to take him in. Retardates do the simpler jobs around the house, and, in times of scarcity, receive inferior goods, for example, ragged clothes, manioc instead of rice. If he is mildly retarded he performs routine activities but never excels at any one job. Some of the Semaians tease or mock mild retardates, but none of them avoid the company of a retardate. It is taboo for a Semaian woman to marry a man who is subnormal.

Dentan found that the subnormal Semaian was treated somewhat dispassionately but with interest and some understanding. His biological needs were provided for when necessary. He was left to act as he pleased unless he became violent and required restraint.

76 Ibid., p. 147.
Near the end of his presentation on Semaian culture, the author compares Semaian treatment of the retardates with the treatment found in the United States. His major point in this comparison is that the Semai live compatibly with the retarded among them whereas this is not the case in the United States. Being retarded in the Semaian society does not exclude one from the social milieu, but in the United States it does. He concludes that the Semai involve the retardates in the total community life when he writes:

Such a set of attitudes is incompatible with day-to-day life in Euro-American society, with the result that the mentally aberrant are incarcerated among trained personnel for their own sakes and for the sake of the orderly continuity of daily social relations. In Semai society, the provision of custodial care does not require so sharp a wrench from ordinary patterns of interaction, nor, except in extreme cases, does mental aberration significantly affect the form of social relations, although it may affect their frequency. Perhaps as a result, the Semai apparently do not usually incarcerate or otherwise expel the mentally aberrant.77

Dentan's contribution to the study of mental retardation within the Semaian culture shows them completely integrating their retardates into the total community pattern, whereas, in the United States, the retardates are isolated rather than incorporated.

77Ibid., p. 152.
The Jibaro of Puerto Rico

Among the jibaros of Puerto Rico (the white and mestizo peasants), who are a distinctive subgroup but perhaps not a closed subculture like the Hutterites and the Semai, one would historically have found a ready acceptance of mental retardates, but the jibaros are now facing a situation different from that of the two other rural groups, in that they are confronted with serious problems of forced adjustment to an industrial, urbanized society which surrounds them.

Albizu, Hatlin, and Stanton have studied success and non-success of retardates among the jibaros who live in a predominantly Roman Catholic but actually an open religious community. The jibaros are not typically separatist or non-violent. Their main preoccupation with life is the constant struggle against poverty. Albizu's study is reminiscent of Mintz's work of 1960, a sociological study concerned with one Puerto Rican family living in Barrio Jauca, a sugar cane area of the south coast. "One was born to work in the cane, to come to know the feel of the dirt in every cane field on the hacienda. . ."78 This is Mintz's way of vividly describing the poverty level of the family he studied. Although

this statement, as well as the bulk of his study is fatalistic, this conclusion is not quite so evident in Albizu's work.

The jibaro sees a mentally retarded individual as Es un bruto, the word bruto having the connotation of stupidity and not of brutality. Spanish words like brutos, bestias, and animales are used to describe stupidity existing in human beings. To the Puerto Rican peasant these metaphors do not refer to anyone who is only a bit slower but explicitly make reference to individuals who are totally different. These words are used to stigmatize individuals, and they place them in a very undesirable social position. It is hardly an exaggeration to call the Puerto Rican retardates animals; from the jibaro's point of view, a stupid person lives like an animal. Describing him as an animal is a simple statement of fact, and the description itself is highly fatalistic. 79

The term used to describe a retarded person seems harsh, but the retardates are not the recipients of harsh judgment. When the jibaro is asked to point to those whom he calls brutos he does so by pointing specifically to the severely retarded individual living in the community. These

individuals are relatively few and are mostly representative of severe organic cases of retardation. They are seen as the victims of disease whose fate is in the hands of God. On this Albizu writes, "the more callous may enjoy a laugh at their expense, but good people will pity them."\footnote{Ibid., p. 3.}

Brutos and bestias are also used by outsiders as terms to refer to all jibaros living in the community. The words are never used as reference to the rich or the professionals living nearby. Since these expressions are closely related to class standing, the author approaches the description of intelligence as more or less an exact description of intelligence as more or less an exact description of the socio-economic class structure of Puerto Rico. To be intelligent and to have opportunities to move into the industrial world of the island is closely bound to socio-economic position. The upper classes attend the best schools and have access to books and money. With these, one can become an intelligent person. Without good schools, books, money, and employment opportunities, intelligence has no meaning for the jibaros. The upper classes, in turn, refer to all jibaros as "brutos."

The jibaros further insert a line between themselves and the retarded. When they meet a retarded person, they
thank God that they are not like him. But this line of demarcation is not the jibaro's everyday concern. The retarded are few enough to be forgotten. The jibaros think continually on the daily difficulties of their hard existence. To these people, intelligence is seen as a "J curve" instead of a neat bell-shaped one, and little intelligence is found on the right side of the curve. Intelligence has an entirely different meaning for the jibaro than it does for psychologists and those of the Puerto Rican upper classes. For the jibaro, to be intelligent is to be able to survive in his harsh environment.

Albizu discusses mental retardation in its relation to social functioning. Puerto Rican retardates cannot function in any one of three areas of activity--social class, occupational patterns, and the educational system. If the individual does not succeed in any one of these areas, then he is considered retarded; if he does, then Albizu considers him the "successful retardate."

Albizu and her assistants contacted 4771 adult individuals between the ages of 23 and 49 in order to determine the proportional distribution of successful retardate careers and the processes accounting for success and failure. The first step in analyzing the data was to formulate a screening procedure for the determination of success and

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81 Ibid., p. 3.
failure among retardates. This procedure was begun by the administration of a census (the last grade of school attended, occupation, etc.). Her first screening procedure separated 2803 as probably retarded and only 1968 persons as probably normal. A vocabulary test was then administered to the retarded group, with a total of 2566 persons taking it. The lower half of these persons, or 1284 who received a score of 17 or less, were then administered the Stanford-Binet; on this test, 81.8 per cent received a score of 70 or less. 82

After the Binet testing, a questionnaire was administered to these individuals, in which questions were oriented to elicit a picture of the respondent's self-image and indications of his autonomy or dependency. An interview was held with the 219 employers of the persons scoring 70 or less on the Stanford-Binet. This dual process enabled Albizu to designate 31.6 per cent of the population (that is of the 2566 persons who were judged to be probably retarded and who were available for testing) as psychometrically retarded. Such a high rate, according to her associates, was due to the inappropriate use of the instrument, particularly the verbal section, which was culturally biased. The staff was quick to point out, that although the instrument carries

82 Ibid., p. 24.
a cultural bias, retardation is a definite part of the life of the jibaro.

Because of their retarded behavior which is both psychometrically observable and socially related, the jibaros find themselves unable to function in the changing patterns of the island's economy. On this inability to function intelligently, the author writes:

While we attribute the bulk of retardation in underdeveloped countries to the lack of opportunities, we should not fall into the error of thinking that the retardation is somehow, since it may be explained, not real. Whatever its genesis, the retardation we are speaking of is an actual inability to function intelligently. It means that we are dealing with adults who cannot answer questions which we expect a seven-year-old to answer. While the adult may be able to hoe a field or do all manner of other things that the child cannot, this is not necessarily intelligence.83

Motor skill is not correlated with intelligence and hoeing a field is a skill. Intelligence is needed to make highly complicated decisions. As Puerto Rico becomes more heavily industrialized, the level of intellectual thinking will also have to be raised. In a rural community, like many of the villages of Puerto Rico, a high percentage of unsuccessful retardates would seem to be primarily those who are profoundly retarded. The mildly retarded in adjusting

83Ibid., p. 37.
and getting jobs associated with Puerto Rican commerce, industry and agriculture have about the same chance as those non-retardates who come from the same social environment and social class.

Puerto Rico today is moving from a traditional to an industrial society. In the traditional society, the preponderate number are in the lower classes, and the few are in the upper classes. Above the lower class are found the artisans and the skilled workers, and above this middle class are found the landed proprietors and the professionals. The rise of industrialism in the island will change the old class structure somewhat, and with this change will come new thinking on the plight of the retardate.

The author concludes her study of the successful retardate in Puerto Rico by contemplating the fate of the jibaros and the social and economic changes presently experienced. She writes:

We have suggested that the retardate is relatively worse off in more complex societies. While this is empirically true, it will remain so only if we are content to allow it. In a more complex society, retardates need more help. But there is no reason why retardates should not be given sufficient help to permit them to compete with normals with some reasonable chance of success. In this area, also, present day techniques, if they were widely applied, appear sufficient to achieve our goal. Where vocational rehabilitation has been given to retardates it has been, on the whole, successful. Unfortunately,
rehabilitation has too often been seen as a therapeutic rather than a preventive method. There is no reason to wait until a retardate is in the job market to offer him training. A program of habilitation which pays more than lip-service to the concept of total personality should start early enough in the retardate's life to avoid the irremediable damage of constantly competing, at a disadvantage, with normal peers.

The Ohio Amish, like the Semai and the Hutterites, are not now affected greatly by the force of an industrial culture. Thus the phenomenon of mental retardation among the Amish is not comparable with the problem among the jibaros. Nor are the methods of investigation and the techniques used there to determine the rate of retardation appropriate to the Amish community. Since so many of the Ohio Amish live near the industrialized areas of Northeastern Ohio, studies in a later generation may need to be conducted differently.

The Hassidic Jews and the Hutterian Brethren discussed early in this chapter, represent two strongly established closed-culture religious communities, both of which have been the subjects of a number of research studies in recent years, although only among the latter has there been a study of mental deficiency, and this was in fact an aspect of a study dealing with reproduction, mental disorders, and personality.

\[6\] Ibid., p. 58.\]
The *jiberos*, in a sentence, are an open rural sub-culture characterized by poverty, lack of educational facilities for entrance into an industrial culture, and the continual demonstration of retarded behavior caused by social and economic deprivation. These villagers, whether retarded or not, are illustrative of a peasant mentality now forced to seek assimilation into the commercial world which envelops them. If Puerto Rico were not experiencing change, the *jibaros* would be indistinguishable from the mass of population so typical of underdeveloped cultures. As in the case of the retardate among the Hutterites and the Semai, the retardate among the *jibaros* would then not pose a problem because he would be cared for with a minimum amount of strain. In order to meet the challenge of assimilating the *jibaros* the author and her staff have suggested vocational rehabilitation, not only in workshop training centers but in schools and in work industries themselves, as a means of applying modern techniques for the reduction of mental retardation among these people.

Within the Hutterite culture it was seen that inter-marriage takes place in order to keep the faith, that the incidence of mental deficiency is no higher (perhaps somewhat lower) than in any comparable population, and that retarded behavior poses no significant problem to the Hutterites. The institutionalization of defectives is an
alien idea, but there is no problem for the defective because the standards of intellectual adequacy are based on the agrarian way of life and communal support is practiced in the colony. There is no stigmatized behavior or labeling. The recognized retardate (usually of the pathologically deficient level) is accepted fatalistically and life proceeds as usual.

The Semai are nonviolent peoples. This characteristic shows through in their approach to the retardate living among them. He is kalot, or "slow-witted." A sing is held to extract or to expel the handicapping entity from the individual. If this is unsuccessful, the individual is accepted fatalistically. A severely retarded person, much as is true among Hutterites, is cared for by a member of the family. Here also a moderately retarded person is given duties and jobs that he can perform. All forms of retardation are accepted and restraint only takes place when violence is evident. The Semai, like the Hutterites, would never cast a retarded individual out into the care and hands of other people.

Masland, Sarason and Gladwin, who studied cultural problems associated with mental deficiency and presented their findings some years before Dentan's report on the Semai had appeared, gave an interpretation of the significance of Eaton and Weil's research among the Hutterites which admirably
summarizes the gist of the findings reviewed in this section:

Particularly, it is clear that among the Hutterites--however they may appear to outsiders--the intellectual preparation provided within the culture is adequate to meet the needs of adult life within that setting. Furthermore, the standards of adequacy set by the culture appear to be wide enough to embrace most people who function at anything but a pathologically deficient level, a fact strikingly reflected in the very small proportion (compared to our culture) of the population identified as subnormal which falls in the 'slight deficiency' category. Finally, the Hutterite society is so organized that it can take care of all persons, whatever their level of functioning, within itself without resort to special institutional or other devices. In all these respects the Hutterites conform much more closely to the patterns characteristic of the non-European cultures of the world than they do to the standards of our society which surrounds them.84

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84Masland, Sarason and Gladwin, op. cit., p. 284.
CHAPTER III

AMISH CULTURE AND PERTINENT CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

The Amish are not part of the technological culture of change which characterizes our time. They, as the most conservative branch of Anabaptism, are interested in Wisdom (Logos), far more than they are in Science (Techne).\(^85\)

For the Amish, Logos deals with human tragedy and redemption. Human tragedy is experienced by suffering, and redemption is found upon entering heaven. These are the sole interests of the Amish, who are supported by a firm dialogue with the past and have maintained the awareness of their identity. To the contrary, Techne lives in the present and the future, with little regard for traditions and continuity in human affairs. Amish society, then, is in complete conflict with Techne, and as some writers have stressed, Techne will eventually destroy the religious primitivism of Amish life. That religious primitivism is the basic tenet of the

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\(^85\) This distinction, cast in classical form, is borrowed from a paper by Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist Heritage and Oral Tradition," given at the Conference on Child Socialization, which was devoted entirely to studies among the Amish and the Mennonites, held at Temple University, Philadelphia, March 20-21, 1969.

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traditions in this comparatively closed cultural society, where new ideas coming from without are less important than the cultural heritage itself.

This chapter will first introduce the Amish as part of the Anabaptist movement, beginning with the break which took place between the Amish and the "Swiss Brethren" during the seventeenth century and continuing into their American experience. Some of the beliefs, traditions, and cultural characteristics of the Amish will be discussed, as well as their educational and child-rearing practices. The presentation is intended as a brief introduction to the Amish; there are other more extensive publications concerning Anabaptism and the Amish culture. 86

A second portion of the chapter will contain selected examples of very recent research projects which deal with the Amish in the areas of listening, word association patterns, and creative thinking, and also several genetic studies which have been done within isolated Amish subgroups.

The Anabaptist Movement and the Amish Division

The Old Order Amish are the present day followers of Jacob Amman, a Mennonite reformer of the seventeenth century.

86 See John A. Hostetler's Amish Society (Johns Hopkins Press, 1968) and his to be revised Annotated Bibliography on the Old Order Amish (Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1951) for a more thorough discussion. See Milton Gascho, "The Amish Division of 1693-1697 in Switzerland and Alsace," Mennonite Quarterly Review (October, 1937) for a thorough discussion on the Amish division.
Earlier, the Mennonites of Switzerland did not use the name Mennonite, but preferred to be known simply as "brethren." These early "Swiss Brethren" came from the close supporters of Zwingli of Switzerland, and among their leaders were men like Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, and George Blaurock. All of these men became early Anabaptist leaders.

The Amish are part of the Anabaptist tradition, which had one of its early important centers in Zurich where Zwingli was the leading reformer of the Roman Catholic Church. Zwingli relied upon the lords of the city to interpret the Roman Catholic and the State Church doctrine. The early Anabaptists concluded that the lords had deviated from the biblical teaching; therefore, they were to be ignored.

Simon Stumpf, a converted priest and a colleague of Grebel's, reproached Zwingli for waiting upon the State to rule in matters of religion, instead of at once following the teachings of the Bible. His reproach (often quoted in present day Mennonite literature) was:

Master Ulrich, you do not have the right to place the decision of this matter in the hands of my lords, for the decision has already been made; the Spirit of God decides... If my lords adopt and decide on some other course that would be against the decision of God, I will preach and act against (the decision of the State). 87

This disputation was a major turning point in the early Anabaptist movement. The followers of Grebel, Mantz, and Blaurock rejected the council and looked to the New Testament as the sole authority in spiritual matters. They also rejected infant baptism, and in 1525, Conrad Grebel, a layman, performed the first adult baptism, ignoring the Zurich religious and political authorities. It was in this year that the Täufer (Anabaptist) movement had its beginning.88

During the early period of the rise of Anabaptism, there were many individuals and groups who were connected with the movement, but who were not truly Anabaptists in worship or belief. Grebel and his group, for instance, were instrumental in implanting the idea of the restitution of the original apostolic church in all its purity and power. He was not satisfied with just reforming the existing Roman Catholic or Protestant Reformed state churches. Some individuals during this time would call themselves Anabaptists, but they were not entirely thinking about the restitution of the early Christian church.

However, the belief in restitutioning the early church provided the greatest concern for the early Anabaptists, for in this relief was centered the true meaning of the church. The True Church was the brotherhood of saints. They avoided

theological or political connections with the state, and their only appeal was to the authority of Christ and the Bible.

Redekop summarizes the basic beliefs of Anabaptism as: (1) separation of church and state in order that the church should be pure and autonomous; (2) church membership based on adult confession of faith and adult baptism; (3) the disciplined life in the church; and (4) obedience to Christ, which required such activities as nonresistance, simplicity, mutual aid, honesty, love, and eventually suffering. 89

Littell believes that there has traditionally been much confusion concerning the early identity of the Anabaptists. He defines the early Anabaptists as "those in the radical Reformation who gathered and disciplined a 'true church' (rechte Kirche) upon the apostolic pattern as they understood it." 90 They became one of the historically important sects. The original adherents to the Anabaptist beliefs lived not only in Zurich but also in Berne, Switzerland. According to Gratz, the Bernese Anabaptists go further back than the Reformation period, possibly having some connection with


the early Christian Waldenses. 91

The Anabaptist movement, under the influence of Melchior Hoffman, spread into the Netherlands in 1530. Hoffman was a gifted, but uneducated leader, a tanner or furrier by training. He believed in adult baptism and compared it with the recurrent epiphany of Christ. A Christian after receiving baptism "will stand steadfast for the Lord, even while his body is being burned at the martyr's pyre, or until at the blow of the executioner's sword his blood flows anew." 92

Even greater than Hoffman's influence was that of Menno Simons, a native of the Netherlands, who was ordained a Roman Catholic priest, but withdrew from the church in 1536. He proved to be a significant influence among the churches of the Anabaptist faith, which soon spread into Belgium, Northern Germany, and along the coast of the Baltic Sea. 93 His name is carried by the Mennonite Church and his memory is revered by the Amish.

Later in the next century Jacob Amman of the "Swiss Brethren" began to stress the importance of shunning or

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93 Williams and Mergal, op. cit., p. 183.
excommunication of the unfaithful. He believed that members should avoid eating, doing business, and having social fellowship with those who are excommunicated. Dyck suggests that Jacob Ammann might have borrowed some of his ideas on shunning from Menno Simons' *Foundation Book of 1575* and from the Dordrecht Confession of 1632.\(^9\) The Dordrecht Confession, or a "declaration of the chief articles of our general Christian faith," comprises eighteen statements with biblical backing, to which most Amish and Mennonite Churches today adhere. The articles are concerned with the creation of man, the coming of Christ, repentance, baptism, teachers and ministers within the church, communion, footwashing, marriage, civil government, use of force, swearing of oaths, excommunication, and the last judgment.

Jacob Ammann gained support for his ideas concerning shunning, footwashing, and the semi-annual service of communion, by traveling throughout the Anabaptist areas of Switzerland and persuading some of the "Swiss Brethren" to accept his beliefs. His greatest opposition came from Hans Reist (Häusli Hans), an elderly bishop. Their disagreement concerned four matters: (1) the leniency of the Reist party, both on avoidance and on other things, (2) the failure of the Reist party to excommunicate a woman who had told a lie,

(3) the stand of the church on the salvation of the "true hearted" (those individuals who belonged to the state churches but supported Anabaptism, yet would not join that movement) and (4) a more detailed regulation of the clothing to be worn by the true members of the church. Ammann supported the more restrictive position because he believed that his methods instituted boundary maintenance in such a way that the community of believers could be developed separate from those who did not fully believe.95

Jacob Amman's ideas on avoidance and excommunication are best seen in a letter of his written during his tour of Switzerland. An English translation was first reproduced in Begebenheit, ("The Happenings") in 1936:

Concerning the avoidance of the excommunicated, we believe and confess that a person who has greatly fallen away, whether by a debased life or erroneous teaching, that he is secluded from God, and, rightfully cut off and chastized by the church, he must be shunned and avoided according to the teaching of Christ and His apostles, without distinction, by the entire brotherhood and especially by whom it is known, in eating and drinking and similar concourse, be shunned and avoided. For Paul says: I have written you in an epistle not to company with fornicators; yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world. The apostle means to say that: you may company in eating and

drinking with fornicators of this world, or covetous or robbers, but if someone permits himself to be called a brother and is a fornicator, coveter, railer, drunkard, or robber, with such not to eat namely, bodily, for if the apostle had meant only spiritual eating as is the contention of our opponents, then he must have consented the holy sacrament to be eaten with the fornicators of this world.  

One interesting manner of reconciliation was the excommunication of the Jacob Amman group. Jacob Amman, knowing that he had been too harsh, excommunicated himself and several of his followers from the church. He and some of his group then addressed to the Reist group a contrite letter, a portion of which is translated in Christliche Gemeinde Kalender:

We, Jacob Amman, Isaak Kaufman, Nicholas Augspurger, confess that in this controversy and strict ban which we practiced against you in Switzerland we have gone far astray. For we were assembled on January 7th, 1700, and have agreed upon this Confession. We herewith acknowledge that we are deservedly excommunicated, and therefore stand blameworthy outside the church and desire to be reconciled to God and men, as much as possible; and we therefore sincerely request the patience of you all; that you forbear with us, and earnestly pray the Lord for us; that He may extend to us His pardon and grace, for we are sincerely concerned about our errors, and prefer to do penance for our sins, while we are yet...

alive and healthy, and we therefore, once more ask your patience, for it has happened to us unaware; which I hope you can believe us, therefore have patience with us, and forgive as much as you can forgive us, and pray the beloved God for us that He might pardon us all by His grace. 97

Reconciliation was impossible, and the churches in Alsace followed Amman while those of Switzerland and South Germany opposed his teachings. Bender summarizes the division of the "Swiss Brethren" and the impact of Amman by writing:

Amman and his group represent a rigidly conservative point of view which insisted upon sharp discipline and inflexible adherence to the practices which they considered essential to a true Christian church. It is this inflexible conservatism which has marked the Amish ever since and which has resulted in an unchanging perpetuation of forms of worship and church organization as well as costume, custom, and language. 98

The Amish separated from the Mennonites so rigidly that even today there can be no changes in the interpretation of strict doctrine. This inability to change is also part of the efforts of the Amish to hold to the boundary maintenance. The Amish are in the strictest sense, a changeless society.

97 Ibid., p. 98.
98 Bender, op. cit., p. 92.
Amish Beliefs, Traditions, and Culture

Present day Amish congregationalism centers around the worshipping together of some fifty to ninety member families, who meet every two weeks on Sunday in their homes or barns. The churches generally serve a geographical district but sometimes families attend church in another district, because of differences in beliefs and practices. Each church is under the spiritual guidance and authority of a bishop (Vollor Diener) chosen by lot from among outstanding members of the church. He performs all the church functions such as marriage, baptism, communion, ordination, and excommunication, and usually preaches the main sermon at church services. Each church has also two other types of ordained brethren: ministers (Diner zum Buch), and deacons (Armendiener or Diener der Notdurft). The minister is the teacher and interpreter of the Word of God, and he assumes charge of regular worship service in the absence of the bishop. According to Dyck, the minister

... has as his responsibility the teaching correctly and safely the doctrinal and ethical understandings of the brotherhood. When a sermon is finished he wants to be able to hear the warm endorsement of his fellow ministers that the message was sound, that it was the Word of God which will stand for time and eternity.

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99 Hostetler, op. cit., p. 86.
100 Dyck, op. cit., p. 186.
The deacon is responsible for the collection of monies and the care of the less fortunate within the church. He sees to it that the hosting of church services is rotated equally among the members within the district. He is in charge of disciplinary functions and performs this duty by visiting members who are transgressing the Ordnung (rules), and advising and counseling them back to harmony with the church.

The Old Order Amish church is a group of member families living within horse and buggy distance of each other. The Amish believe that rules are necessary to a Godly life. The historic rules "Regeln eines Gottseligen Lebens," deal with daily thoughts, words, and works.^101 Churches draft their own Ordnung from this respected document. The Ordnung sets norms that cover human experiences. The norms tend to keep out the world and hold the congregations to the old ways. Some examples of the restrictions on the Ordnung for adult members might be the following: no electricity, no telephones, no central-heating systems, no automobiles, no tractors with pneumatic tires, and beards must be worn but no mustaches. They are required to have long hair, hooks-and-eyes on dress coats, and horses for farming and travel.^102

^102 Hostetler, op. cit., p. 61.
A specific example of an Ordnung written by one Amish group, located originally in Pike County, Ohio, and now in Aylmer, Ontario, is recorded by Hostetler. Their prohibitions include: no decorations in buildings inside or out, no bottle gas or electricity, no tractors, no forms of worldly amusements, no musical instruments, no insurance, no photographs, no business partnerships, no buying or selling on Sunday, and no fellowship with churches that are full of worldliness or practice anything contrary to sound doctrine. The members must wear plain clothes, take part in farming or related occupations, and confess all manifest sins before the church.103

The Amish also cling to Plattdeutsch as the spoken language in the home, in public (among themselves), and in church worship services. The language, symbolic dress, and the agrarian way of life add to their emphasis on nonconformity with the world. They firmly believe in the importance of doing manual labor as part of their working lives. Work is not an unfortunate calamity, but a blessing of God. Children are expected to work and labor hard before and after school hours. Man is to till the earth in the sweat of his brow. Work is honorable, good, and wholesome, and it is to be done by all.104 In this respect they closely resemble

103 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
104 Dyck, op. cit., p. 188.
the Hutterian Brethren.

The Amish also have a distinct educational philosophy. They are very much interested in education, both parochial and public. They see the eighth grade as the ending point of full-time academic training and the time for return of the child to the farm so that he may perpetuate the agrarian way of life. The children learn to read, write, and do arithmetic as well as develop their minds in the things of God and nature. They are taught both in school and in the home to practice thrift and love for their fellow man. Some Amish men, especially those who become ordained brethren, continue educating themselves for many years.

On asking an Amishman why his group disdains further education, Stroup received this reply:

Don't misunderstand me, we do not desire to discourage those who are capable of going through college and developing their minds further in order to be lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., as the world has need of people like these. We feel that anyone who is capable of making a decent living, helping their neighbors in need; raising a family that will be an asset to the community, and living at peace with God and his fellow man has attained about the most practical and best education there is to get. So, really, we do not disdain a good education.

The same type of thinking is seen in Klein's early work:

Amish boys must not enter the professions or the white collar class. This is not due to prejudice against professions as such. While the Amish do not send their sons to professional schools, they do engage the services of the best surgeons, physicians, oculists and dentists. They have no objections to other non-Amish people entering a learned profession, but their own boys and girls must remain on the land if the old order of their forefathers is to survive. The fear of making their children 'lazy' forbids sending them away to school. 106

The Amish have within the last ten to fifteen years assumed responsibility for educating their own children in Amish parochial schools. These schools are usually one or two room buildings, purchased from public school systems that have recently consolidated. Some are new buildings erected by the Amish themselves from a modern one or two-room schoolhouse plan.

What is taught in the schools is under the control of the schoolboard, who also appoint the teachers. They devise the curriculum and request the teacher to teach the subjects to the best of his or her ability. The parochial schools teach reading, grammar, spelling, arithmetic, penmanship, social studies, devotions, readings from the Bible, church history, and Bible geography. The schools on certain days teach German.

The state of Ohio requires the Amish settlements to provide a ninth grade vocational program for their teenagers who have completed eight grades of academic training. These classes are known as the "Amish ninth grade" and usually meet on Saturday mornings in the home of the Amish vocational teacher, generally a farmer who gives part of his time to these duties. Instruction is continued in arithmetic, spelling, penmanship, and the High German language as it is used in the Lutheran German Bibles. Farm related skills, carpentry, and the management of equipment are some of the vocational areas covered in the classes. Each individual scholar is also required to keep a daily diary about his school, home, and farm activities. These are turned into the vocational teacher for grading and comments.

Among the Amish, the need and value of a program of this nature is recognized:

... a vocational school program in some sections of the nation has been proven many times. It is no longer in its experimental stage, but a time tested and valuable asset whether used in conjunction with an Amish parochial, or a public school system. Mainly, the value of this program probably lies in the fact that the pupil's educational program is not terminated with the completion of the elementary course of study, but is being continued on a practical level for several years thereafter, with the farm as their school and the parents as their teachers.107

107 Mimeographed sheet describing the purpose of the Amish vocational program, in the possession of an Amish vocational teacher of Wayne County, Ohio.
Like the parochial school movement as a whole, this program does not have as its primary purpose the instruction of religion. It is sectarian and is solely dedicated to perpetuate the Amish way of life. The fact that religion, as such, is not taught can be seen in the following comment:

The instructor shall not induce, nor shall practice religious teaching in the vocational programs. If such shall occur, he shall be advised by the committeeman (the chief-officer-in-charge of the vocational schools in any Amish settlement) to cease and desist from such practice. If religious teaching continues and the instructor does not heed this advice after a reasonable period of time, his services shall be discontinued and another supervisor shall be appointed to replace him. It is the belief of the Amish church organization that these schools are to be used to educate and not to convert. The duty of child conversion belongs to the parents in the home.108

The parochial schools are in existence today because of two situations. First of all there have been conflicts with public school authorities at the local, county, or state levels, and secondly, there is an Amish awareness of secular teachings. The Amish find much that is not to their liking in the public schools. These dislikes are:

(1) public schools are foreign to everything the Bible teaches and their forefathers practiced in the way of separation from the world.

108Ibid., mimeographed sheet.
(2) the companions and environment are not Christian,

(3) a secular view of life is presented rather than a sacred view,

(4) evolution, atheism, and a host of other godless isms are not kept out of public schools,

(5) the teachers in the public schools are not of a conservative Christian viewpoint, and

(6) public schools are changing fast, and the Amish fear it is not for the better.109

When we look at the Amish as they stand outside the present dominant culture, we see the real conflict between the Amish and the public schools is based upon the increasing secularization of American society. Huntington expresses the Amish culture quite descriptively as seeing the world "incompletely" by looking at it through a window. The world, in turn, sees the Amish in the same manner. She compares Amish culture to a patched quilt.

The design of the quilting that holds the pattern in place may vary from one quilt to another. Although two quilts may not have a single detail in common, if the configuration of their pattern is the same, they are called by the same name. So it is with the Amish. Some people notice the color of a single patch, the printed pattern on another, and observe that the patches are different. What they

fail to observe is that it is not the characteristics of the patch, but its shape, that is important. Though all the details change if the configuration of either the quilt or the culture remains the same, it has survived.\textsuperscript{110}

In summary, the Amish may be considered part of a close-knit brotherhood of believers, with love and mutual concern exhibiting itself in all of their churches. The Amish are independent farmers, who own their own land and have no property in common as do the Hutterites.

The faith of the Amish today still centers around nonconformity with the ways of the world, wholesome living, congregationalism, total simplicity, and "Alles Deitsch." The rural life, buttressed by close family ties, is the best way for the Amish. Kephart expresses this belief:

\begin{quote}
The Amish are willing to forego personal attainment-exchange for a deeply rewarding solidification of family and group values. For 250 years the Amish man believed in the primacy of the group over the individual, and in the process he has achieved a personality integration which is particularly adaptive to the agrarian way of life.\textsuperscript{111}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{110} Gertrude E. Huntington, "Dove at the Window" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1956), pp. 16-17.

In the agrarian environment the simple and nontechnical ways of life can be followed more closely than in metropolitan areas. The Amish faith today Hostetler sees as part of an "Amish Charter" which is held together by separation from the world, the rules for living (Ordnung), the punishment of the disobedient, and closeness to nature. The Amish are non-conformists because they live outside the realm of an industrialized America. They do so in a voluntary manner, firmly believing that their well-kept farms are the closest they can come to the presence of God in this world.

The most noticeable facet of Amish physical nonconformity is their dress. It is symbolic of nonconformity. There are no ornamentations, no cosmetics, and no bracelets or jewelry. The Amish wear plain clothes made at home or purchased in local dry goods stores that cater to the Amish trade. Their plain clothes also represent a simplification of the peasant costume of the Palatinate and Switzerland of previous centuries.

The Amish represent a religious subculture living within the dominant culture, which is our great industrial-urbanized complex. This complex has continually threatened

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112 Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 75-80, reports Amish numbered approximately 44,885 as of 1967, having increased from 8,200 in 1905, 18,500 in 1930, and 33,000 in 1950. This total is possibly contradicted by the Mennonite Yearbook and Directory (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1967), p. 95, which lists the Amish population by including only members in their respective churches instead of estimating the total population. The result is an adult population of 21,023 as of 1967.
Amish traditions and culture, more so today than ever before, especially since this dominant culture has landed a man on the moon. In the Budget, a predominantly Amish and Mennonite weekly newspaper, a scribe recently wrote:

About eight years ago Tom Byler, then of Phoenix, Arizona had the question in the Budget, 'Do you think man will ever get on the moon?' I remember I had an answer in the Budget at that time to that question. This morning I looked through my files and found it. It was interesting to read over it again, but I think I stuck my neck out too far. My answer was then, 'I don't think man will ever leave the habitation of the earth and live.' Well, this morning the milkman told me he saw the astronauts walking on the moon last night! So, I'll take back what I said eight years ago, although it's a little hard to grasp what man has done since the Wright Brothers first flight 60 years ago this month. Where will it end? Do I believe that men were actually on the moon? Well, I have nothing to prove that they were.113

The Amish feel that it is the responsibility of the church to care for its own poor, aged, infirm, and handicapped. Their scriptural backing for this is the passage:

But if any widow have children or nephews, let them learn first to show piety at home, and to requite their parents; for that is good and acceptable before God.

But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.114

113Sugarcreek Budget, July 31, 1969, p. 15.
1141 Tim. 5:4-8.
Accordingly, the Amish do not accept government subsidies, welfare, child bonuses (in the present case of Canada), workmen's compensation, pensions, or social security. This belief is supported by the Biblical passage:

And that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you;
That ye may walk honestly toward them that ye may have lack of nothing.115

These principles help to maintain the closeness of the Amish Brotherhood.

The Amish also firmly believe that a Christian should never take part in any violence. This includes war and even self-defense. They point to the words of Jesus about turning the cheek. Their scriptural backing for non-resistance includes three passages:

Ye have heard that it hath been said,
An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:
But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.
And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.
And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.116

Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence.117

115I Thess. 4:11-12.
116Math. 5:38-42.
117John. 18-36.
Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. 118

These people strongly believe that the Bible teaches a distinct separation between the church and the world. The Amish do not associate freely with other people who hold different values.

The meaning of life, death, and salvation to the Amish centers around the belief that man by nature is sinful which is based upon the New Testament statement, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." 119 Man also needs to repent and be baptized.

Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. 120

Finally, the majority of the Amish may be described as is done in the popular literature—a peace-loving people who are law-abiding taxpayers, conservative Christians, and contented individuals. The Amish ideas about life are superbly expressed in the following testimony:

118 Romans. 12:19-21.
119 Romans. 3:23.
120 Acts. 2:38.
We know who we are... Look around you, look in your world, and look here. Poor people you have plenty, and worried people and afraid. Here we are not afraid. We do not have all your books and learning, but we know what is right. We do not destroy, we build... And wars we don't arrange.  

Related Amish Research Dealing with Listening, Creativity, Word Associations and Educational Conflict

The Amish have consistently been studied over a period of years in the form of essay assignments, master's theses, and doctoral dissertations. The pace of these studies has greatly increased within the last five years, with the appearance of unpublished dissertations dealing with educational conflict, educational academic achievement, development of a geographical area within a church district, perceived parental behavior characteristics and personality


patterns of Amish 1-W boys, incidence and prevalence of genetic abnormalities among Old Order Amish families, and belief and behavior of the Amish relating to sickness and illness.

Numerous empirical studies have also recently appeared in the literature dealing with a variety of topics. A sample, and a discussion of these studies, as they relate to the topic of investigation of this study, will be briefly discussed.

The three studies given special attention in this section are significant in that they deal with listening ability, creative thinking, and language retardation.


of Amish children, when compared to samples of non-Amish children, some of them in similar rural areas. In all three areas of investigation, the Amish children included as comparative samples scored lower on the respective instruments used. Theories which may serve to explain these results and comments and implications of the findings are discussed by the investigators; among these are cultural differences and possible variations of genetic stock.

A study of the listening ability of Amish and non-Amish children was addressed chiefly to three questions: (1) What are the relationships between listening ability and the radio and television habits of children? (2) What are the relationships among listening ability, the number of children in the family, and the position of the child among siblings? (3) What are the relationships among listening, reading, intelligence, and scholastic achievement? The subjects for the study consisted of 76 Amish-Dutch and 86 non-Amish elementary school children of the same economic class, all of whom attended a single public school in Northern Indiana.

For a portion of the study, scores obtained on the California Test of Mental Maturity were used to select 51 pairs of subjects. The basic criterion used for evaluating listening ability was Form 4A of the Educational Testing Service Test for listening. In comparing the listening
skills of the Amish and the non-Amish school children it must be remembered that Amish children do not have radio or television in their homes, they live on farms, they come from large families, and also they uniformly come from the same economic class. Not all of the non-Amish children included in the studies can be placed into these categories.

Data from the tests used and information volunteered from the non-Amish children (an estimate of the time spent watching television) support these conclusions: (1) children who watch television are better listeners than those who do not, and no differences in better listening habits exist between boys and girls, (2) children who have older and younger brothers and sisters are not better listeners than are older or younger peers, but children from small families are better listeners than those from large families (true only for the non-Amish children), and (3) listening and intelligence are highly correlated, as are listening and reading scores.

All these results, and even the further observation made by Brown, the author of the study, that listening was more highly correlated with scores on achievement tests than were reading, are rendered quite uncertain by the recollection that the data used are drawn from standardized tests which are certainly not appropriate for use with Amish children because of their distinctly different culture.
The inquiry into Amish children's ability to think creatively utilized two major tests from the Minnesota Tests of Creative Thinking. The tests were given to culturally-distinct Amish children attending public schools in East Holmes County, Ohio. The results of this testing were compared with responses from 76 urban non-Amish children attending the Kent State University School of Kent, Ohio. Preceding the testing, the investigators inquired into the background of the children (number of siblings, parent's occupation, and child's occupational aspiration), and concluded that:

... the world is well structured and delimited to an Amish child and he knows exactly who he is and where he is going to fit when he grows up. This clear conceptualization of a man's position in the world and in the universe might partially account for the extreme rarity of known incidence of delinquency, and interpersonal aggression among these people. At least, such is a possible inference from the results of anthropological studies of other cultures.

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131 The tests are edited and further explained by E. P. Torrance in Guiding Creative Talent (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962).

132 Lembright and Yamamoto, op. cit., pp. 54-55. The authors may possibly have adopted some wrong conclusions regarding the interpersonal aggression of the Amish. Bennett, Eaton and Weil, and Redekop, cited above, have specifically pointed to increases in the appearance of delinquent behavior and conflicts among their separatists groups.
On all measures of creative thinking, the Amish children scored lower than the non-Amish. They were not as creative in replying to "asked to ask" questions as were the children in the second sample, but they recorded more aggressive responses on the "asked to guess" test, dealing with what would happen as a result of a hypothetical event. It was noted that the aggressive responses of the Amish children were directed toward farm animals, whereas those of the urban children were addressed to interpersonal conflicts. The Amish children did not react favorably to a "circles task" test: the drawing of an object using a circle as a major part of the thing to be drawn.

The authors recognize that the Amish represent a subculture in which everything is highly restricted, that there is little desire among them for "free-wheeling" development, exploration of ideas, or highly competitive interpersonal relations. They ascribe the lack of creativity among the Amish children to strong environmental influences:

... it might be suggested that the Amish community provides a highly homogeneous and sharply delineated world for children to live and grow in. Everything has its place and everybody knows precisely what he is expected to do and where he is expected to be. The world is more closed than open and there is not much to choose from or to be confused about. Nature is one's friend and one's reality and he is to accept it as it is. Development into the adult world is continuous...
and no isolated, 'artificial' fantasy world called childhood is there. Question-asking is directed more toward finding out specific features of the object and confirming one's knowledge about it than toward wondering 'why this?' and 'why not that?'.

The study of English language retardation among Amish children was based upon the use of a list of ninety-six word stimuli for which "standard" responses had been developed by administering the list to 200 undergraduate males and females from the Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College. The experimental samples included 100 Amish elementary school children in the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania community, and 100 rural Maryland children who matched the Amish samples in IQ, age, and grade level. In responses to the stimuli words, the Amish subjects ranked lower than all of the above groups.

As cause for this low response in applying English word usage (percentage of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and others not stratified) to a list of word stimuli, the investigator gives little emphasis to IQ, bilingualism (first-grade Amish children gave a Plattdeutsch response to about 19 per cent of the stimuli, but no Plattdeutsch responses were given by either third or fifth-grade Amish children), age, or results on other tests (Lorge-Thorndike, Draw-A-Man),

133 Ibid., p. 62.
which were given to all the Amish children. She suggests that language retardation among the Amish may be due to the importance of residential locus (the relative lack of verbal interchange between parents and children and the drastic restriction in exposure to mass media) typical of rural life. Her conclusions are perhaps sound when seen in view of the life patterns of Amish culture:

It is tempting to conclude that the four samples (two urban Maryland groups, the rural Maryland, and the Amish) are comparable except for exposure to spoken and written language. In urban settings, where one presumes high exposure to language because of mass media, crowded dwellings, large numbers of easily accessible peers, and proximity of movies, theaters, and other recreational facilities, there are negligible differences in language associated with income level, father's educational status, and other measures of social class. Rural Maryland children of intelligence comparable to urban Maryland children develop language facility more slowly with exposure to educational facilities held constant. Conditions of life in rural areas other than schooling appear to be responsible for the difference. This presumption is reinforced by the fact that Amish children display further deficits in language development compared to rural Maryland children, again with intelligence controlled. Here the educational opportunities are not as well equated, to be sure. Lack of opportunities for verbal interaction, including covert interactions with radio and television speakers, seem a possible cause of this slowed development of Amish children. 134

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A major study which involves all the hypotheses and conclusions of the three studies just discussed, in addition to much more concerning the socialization of Amish youth has recently been completed by Hostetler\(^{135}\) and is now in press. Hostetler has written that the general objective of the study is to discover the socialization patterns in a traditional society, and to ascertain aspects of human conservation and human deprivation under conditions of social change, using Amish subjects. Specific objectives of the study have been: (1) to formulate the core values of the traditional society and to relate the core values to educational patterns, (2) to construct the socialization patterns in the life cycle from birth to death in the traditional society, (3) to discover the achievement scores and personality variables of school children in the traditional society, (4) to present the findings in the form of inductive generalizations, outlining the areas of human conservation, human deprivation, and social change. The investigation has attempted to find out how the younger members of Amish society are trained and equipped for participation in their adult society. Achievement scores of Amish pupils in parochial schools have been compared with those of the surrounding community and with national norms.\(^{136}\)


\(^{136}\)Miller, op. cit.
The testing of Amish school children for Hostetler's study was carried out by Miller who has already reported his findings in an unpublished dissertation. Miller's basic purpose was to determine whether Amish pupils do as well as, better than, or less well than non-Amish pupils in integrated and non-integrated schools, and also whether extroverted Amish pupils do better, equally well, or more poorly than introverted Amish pupils. Amish children in parochial and public schools in Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, and Ontario were tested (standardized tests) in six areas of achievement and also in personality so that extroversion or introversion could be indicated. For comparison, rural non-Amish public school pupils were tested. In interpreting the results of the tests he used, he wrote:

... that integration with non-Amish is not a positive factor in relationship with the achievement of Amish children; in fact, the opposite is true. Amish pupils, being bilingual, are significantly weaker in the vocabulary category of achievement, about the same in reading comprehension and knowledge and use of reference materials, and significantly higher than the non-Amish in spelling, word usage, and arithmetic problem solving. Extroverted Amish pupils, when compared with Amish introverted pupils, generally do better in all the achievement areas except in arithmetic problem solving, but none of the differences is large enough to matter statistically.

137 Ibid., p. 4.
138 Ibid., p. 2.
The author further found that the Amish pupils did reasonably well in the areas tested, and appeared to possess the basic skills needed for their distinct cultural way of life. He believes that the parochial schools are adequate for the Amish, and since the Amish do not pose a danger to themselves or our dominant culture, he concludes his presentation by stating, "It would seem that considerable flexibility should be exercised toward Amish educational objectives and methods." 139

A single aspect of the socialization of Amish youth, the formation of personality among young males, has been studied by Wittmer. 140 Using as his subjects 25 Amish and 25 non-Amish male youth between the ages of 18 and 20 from the Daviess County, Indiana settlement, Wittmer found similarity among the groups in their perceptions of mother-son relationships. The Amish males tend to look more to a father figure, not only in advice but also in personality makeup. Wittmer, agreeing with the implications of Brown, Lembright and Yamamoto, and Entwistle on personality development and the absence of creativity, writes:

... In the absence of newspapers, books, fairy tales, radio, television, and creative surroundings, the Amish youth's imagination and creativity are at a minimum. Once this pattern of values is

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139 Ibid., p. 3.
140 Wittmer, op. cit.
is internalized, it is difficult to alter; and the Amish youth will be insecure when away from home and community.\textsuperscript{141}

Two major unpublished studies have dealt with the response of the Amish society to external pressures for change. The conclusions reached are not in all ways in agreement. One investigation, conducted in an Amish settlement in Indiana, studied the importance of industrialization and resulting conflicts in producing changes in the settlement by analyzing two interaction patterns: (1) loss of agricultural orientation, and (2) the maintenance of a differential Ordnung, which is related both to the growth patterns of the settlement and to the activities of the Amish residents. In two church districts at Nappanee, Indiana, the author found only 32 per cent of the Amish household heads engaged in full-time farming; whereas 45 per cent were directly involved in employment in factories.\textsuperscript{142}

The appearance of industry has also, since 1940, changed the areal expansion along the periphery of the settlement. With more Amish individuals entering industrial-related jobs there is less need for an expansion of land solely

\textsuperscript{141}Ibid., p. 37.

\textsuperscript{142}Landing, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 118. The site of Landing's study (Elkhart County, Indiana) is one of the nation's leading production centers for mobile homes; thus, the carpentry skills of Amish men are being used in an area of business completely unrelated to Amish life.
for agricultural pursuits. This reduction in land usage has also placed more persons on each Amish-controlled square mile, and reduced the area of church districts.

One immediately suspects that the industrial movement in the area will destroy the Amish culture. According to the author, the opposite is the case. Industrialization has strengthened the economic base of the Nappanee settlement as well as the social structure. The traditional Ordnung has placed the full-time farmer at a premium disadvantage compared to his non-Amish neighbors. The new Ordnung does not militate against an Amish family who is becoming economically stabilized by a regular income from a nearby small industry, and who have been released from the time and effort of a horse-dominated agriculture.\textsuperscript{143} With continual economic and social stability, more and more Amish children are staying within the group. According to the investigator, they:

marry, build a home along the edge of a farm owned by a father, father-in-law, grandfather, or other close relative, and work in industry as well as part time on farms in the area as the needs of the season dictate.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{143}Ibid.; One can surmise that the leadership of the Amish churches were flexible men of considerable wisdom. The group which remained at Nappanee were willing to accept change. Part of the Hardin County, Ohio, Amish settlement left the Nappanee area to escape the upcoming changes. On a personal visit to the former community during the summer of 1968, I observed that the Hardin County Amish settlement is completely withdrawn.

\textsuperscript{144}Ibid., p. 126.
Landing concludes his comments on the effect of industrialization on the Nappanee community by stating:

Whatever the ultimate outcome, the industrial occupation has now achieved full acceptance in the Nappanee settlement and will soon engage more than half of the household heads. The Nappanee settlement, although rural in appearance and located in an agricultural setting, is today distinctly industrially oriented.  

Another study which as it develops comes to deal with the probable effects of increasing industrialization upon the stability of the Amish community, is basically concerned with Amish response to public schooling and acceptance of Amish parochial education as an alternative. From the responses of forty Old Order Amish adults in Geauga County, Ohio, the author found his subjects supporting the Amish parochial school because they were opposed to the teaching of evolution and the emphasis placed in the public schools on worldly success. The belief that Amish attendance at public schools is contrary to the biblical ideal of separation from the world was also expressed.

The advantage of a parochial school education over a public was expressed with a 62.5 per cent response favoring the parochial school because the environment was more conducive to Amish life and religion, a 12.5 per cent response

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146 *Buchanan, op. cit.*, p. 150.
favoring the separate system because it kept Amish children away from worldly influences, and a 25 per cent response consisting of less important attitudes.\footnote{147}

Buchanan, like Landing, was interested in the effect of increasing industrialization on an Amish community, but unlike Landing, Buchanan believes that further increases will eventually cause the Amish community to disappear. He found 40 per cent of his subjects agreeing with him on this point; whereas 32.5 per cent disagreed, while other responses ranged from strongly agreeing (5 per cent), undecided (15 per cent), and strongly disagreeing (7.5 per cent).\footnote{148} Buchanan’s findings regarding Amish attitudes toward education and traditional beliefs and practices are as follows:

(1) The Amish are aware of the encroachments which modern industrialization is making on their society, but rather than compromise on basic religious essentials, they will relocate in more rural areas.

(2) The Amish believe that a willingness to learn and practical experience are more important to Amish occupational success than years of formal schooling.

(3) The Amish believe that even with their eighth grade limit on formal schooling they can readily adapt to the occupational demands of modern industry in the event that they do not follow the farming tradition.

\footnote{147}{Tbid., p. 150.}
\footnote{148}{Tbid., p. 176.}
The Amish view farming and farm-related tasks as the most appropriate employment for Amish people and as being more consistent with the Amish religious values than work in industry.¹⁴⁹

Medical and Genetic Research Among the Amish

The Amish have just recently become the topic of serious research in genetic studies. They, as do the Hutterites and possibly also the Hassidic Jews, represent a culturally isolated group. Further it is true that within the Amish freundschaft are to be found subgroups, sufficiently isolated in their inheritance that they are worthy of careful genetic investigation. In these subgroups, several research projects have been completed within the last five years.

The Amish, as a closed population, can make contributions to genetic studies because they are self-defined; their origins are western European and well known, genealogic records are extensive, their standard of living and their medical care are very high as well as their interest in illnesses, the rate of consanguinity is high and illegitimacy is low, their socio-economic and occupational circumstances are uniform with families usually being large and immobile when compared to other families in the country, and defective and disabled individuals stay in the home rather than in institutions.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 181.

The importance of consanguinity and the Amish blending of folk and scientific medicine have been central themes in genetic research among these people. The incidence and the possible effect of consanguinity within the *freundschaft* are often noted in general writing about the Amish; one writer a few years ago stated:

The Amish have kept careful family records since their early days. These show that although the Amish seldom marry first cousins, they often marry second cousins, and over a number of generations this adds up to inbreeding. The records also show that there hasn't been much intermarriage between the various settlements in different states; in fact, marriages are often confined to neighborhoods within districts. This greatly increases the chances that recessive 'bad' genes will match up on both sides of a family.  

The acceptance of scientific medicine poses no great conflict within the Amish community or between the Amish and their surroundings as do educational or industrial encroachments. On the acceptance of established medical practices, Hostetler writes:

Modern science has penetrated the Amish culture to a far greater extent that have other aspects of 'worldly' culture, as, for example, recreation and leisure. The services of clinics, hospitals, and physicians, constitute linkages with outside social systems. While the Amish have maintained  

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boundaries against such dominant values of American culture, the automobile, radio, television, and even against technological improvements, they have erected no boundaries against hospital or improved medical care. . . The Amish find nothing in the Bible which would prevent them from using hospitals, dentists, fluoridation, surgeons, or anesthesists. There is nothing sacred about traditional Amish healing arts and practices, that clashes with the desire for health, yet folk beliefs and cures are still practiced for some types of illnesses.152

Of great importance among the traditional healing arts is Brauche (sympathy-healing) sometimes called "pow-wowing." Brauche is performed by an elderly Amish gentleman who receives no fee for his services which include saying certain incantations, with or without the presence of the patient. This type of folk medicine is important for chronic, non-incapacitating malfunctions or for treatments not responding to scientific modes of healing.153

The most important medical and genetic studies among the Amish have dealt with hemolytic anemia,154 two distinct


153 Ibid., p. 272.

types of dwarfism,\textsuperscript{155,156} progressive muscular dystrophy,\textsuperscript{157} mongolism,\textsuperscript{158} phenylketonuria,\textsuperscript{159} and four new disorders of autosomal recessive type.\textsuperscript{160} The earliest medical study among the Amish dealt with hemolytic anemia. The condition was discovered in an eighteen month-old Pennsylvania Amish girl on the verge of death. Blood transfusions were given to the girl in an attempt to save her life. Later her spleen was removed, and successful recuperation occurred. Successful operations have continued among Amish children who have this condition. In concluding his research and successful treatment, Bowman stated, "splenectomy halted the transfusion requirements

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{155}Victor A. McKusick, Janice A. Egeland, Roswell Eldridge, and David E. Krusen, "Dwarfism in the Amish: I. The Ellis-van Creveld Syndrome," \textit{Bulletin of Johns Hopkins University Hospital}, 115 (April, 1964).
\item \textsuperscript{158}Peter Kwiterovich, Harold E. Cross, and Victor A. McKusick, "Mongolism in an Inbred Population," \textit{Johns Hopkins University Hospital Bulletin}, 119 (July-December, 1966).
\item \textsuperscript{159}Paul H. Martin, Louise Davis, and Dorothy Askew, "High Incidence of Phenylketonuria in an Isolated Indiana Community," \textit{Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association}, 56 (August, 1963).
\item \textsuperscript{160}Cross, op.cit.
\end{itemize}
of these patients and permitted their osseous defects to regress."\(^{161}\)

Two rare conditions associated with dwarfism seem to have more than normal incidence among subgroups of the Amish. These are the Ellis-van Creveld Syndrome, which is found among the Amish only in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and the Cartilage-Hair Hypoplasia which occurs with some frequency in Wayne and Holmes Counties in Ohio, but also in scattered Amish settlements elsewhere. Although the Ellis-van Creveld Syndrome includes a number of disfiguring abnormalities and has been found in persons mentally retarded, it is not to be assumed that there is a connection between these handicaps. The more widely spread disability, Cartilage-Hair Hypoplasia is not so disfiguring as the Ellis-van Creveld Syndrome and medical evidence would point to the conclusion that it is inherited as an autosomal recessive factor, totally inept of mental factors.

Of importance to the present study is McKusick's comment on the acceptance and work opportunities of the dwarf within Amish society:

> In agrarian Amish society, with the practice of mutual assistance, handicapped persons, including dwarfs, are accommodated fairly well. Opportunities for employment

\(^{161}\)Bowman and Procopio, *op. cit.*, p. 567.
are, however, limited. Whereas dwarfs in the outside find work such as in entertainment or as riveters in the aircraft industry, jobs of such diversity are, of course, not available to the Amish. Some Amish dwarfs have managed to operate farms; sewing, watch repairing, carpentering, and harness-making have been acceptable occupations followed by others. Because of limited occupational opportunities some dwarfs have left the Amish group. The parents of four dwarf sibs left the Old Order Amish group for the more liberal church Amish who permit electricity with which their dwarfed children operate a large poultry and egg-laying establishment. 162

A study of all offspring of the 627 marriages involving descendants of a single couple through four or five generations from 1850 to 1949 showed that 4.1 per cent were marriages of first cousins or closer, and 21.5 per cent of the marriages were between second cousins or closer. Although medical experience would more commonly suggest other patterns of inheritance, the nature of the patients' symptoms in this family and the higher incidence of the autosomal recessive type of inheritance of muscular dystrophy in their Swiss ancestral canton, led the investigator to conclude that:

the presence of inbreeding of the parents of a patient with muscular dystrophy favors the possibility that the individual might more likely have the autosomal recessive type of dystrophy. 163

163 Hammond and Jackson, op. cit., p. 61.
Of more direct concern to this study was an investigation of mongolism among the Holmes County Amish. Kwiterovich, in connection with a cytogenetic and clinical study of Down's syndrome in seventeen individuals, sought to determine whether an unusual frequency of mongolism existed among the Amish in that area. He estimated the prevalence of mongolism at 0.16 per cent, a rate no different from that of the general population, and concluded that:

although the present study does not disprove genetic control of non-disjunction, the data provide no support for a genetic factor in etiology. The Down's syndrome in this inbred population is undoubtedly similar to those described in outbred populations, cytogenetically and clinically and except for the findings in two fingers, dermatoglyphically. If non-disjunction associated with the G1 trisomy is controlled by a rare recessive factor, one might expect an increased incidence of mongolism in this population. But the frequency (0.16 per cent) is close to that found in outbred populations. The possibility of specific genetic predisposition to mongolism is not excluded by this study, however, because the particular Amish population may be free of the genes predisposing to meiotic or mitotic accidents.164

Another study of a disease closely related to mental retardation was completed in the Elkhart County, Indiana Amish settlement. The study involved the taking of an incidence of phenylketonuria, a disease resulting from a genetic defect

164Kwiterovich, et. al., op. cit., p. 272.
which leaves the victim unable to metabolize phenylalanine. Associated with the high blood levels of phenylalanine is irreversible brain damage, and if untreated, leads to severe mental retardation.

The investigators gave the stick test on urine specimens to 310 members of 49 families with ages ranging from infancy to 74 years in the Elkhart County, Ohio area. Of those tested, five were positive for phenylpruvic acid. The incidence of the disease in the 310 Amish population is one in 62. This significantly exceeds the one in 25,000 incidence rate found in the general population. Concerning the high rate of both phenylketonuria and the possible connection with consanguineous marriages, the investigators state:

As the disease results from a genetic defect, it might also be expected that the community exhibiting a high incidence might have a high degree of consanguineous marriage. There are a relatively large number of marriages between blood relations in the community but, interestingly, blood relationships were not established between any mothers and fathers of phenylketonurics.

A total of 220 physically and mentally handicapped individuals in 144 families of the Holmes County settlement, studied by Cross in 1967, were diagnosed for any rare or unusual condition. The "new" autosomal recessive disorders for which Cross found evidence were: pre-senile dementia with motor disturbances, a form of spastic paraplegia with distal
muscle wasting, another form of spastic paraplegia with onset in infancy and accompanied by mental retardation and seizures, and an oculocerebral syndrome with hypopigmentation. He also found new evidence for dominant inheritance in both goitrous cretinism, a lethal form of epidermolysis bullosa and at least three other conditions which might involve mental symptoms. He adduced no evidence of high incidence of mental deficiency among the population studied.

The Amish, as a social isolate group, have proven to be a living laboratory for geneticists. Genetic research among the Amish has only begun, and the potential for further investigation exists. From the research presented above, it has been found that the Amish are afflicted in some degree with hemolytic anemia, the autosomal recessive type of progressive muscular dystrophy, and several newly classified recessive disorders. Research studies were also reviewed pertaining to the low incidence of Down's syndrome in one settlement among the Amish, and the somewhat high prevalence of two distinct syndromes associated with dwarfism.
CHAPTER IV

AMISH LITERATURE DEALING WITH HANDICAPPING CONDITIONS

The Amish traditionally have not been a literarily-minded people, although they have for many years been privately publishing pamphlets, booklets, and genealogies, it has only been in very recent times that they have begun to express their views and opinions in published form. There seems also nowadays to be a trend for them to read more than in the past. Their reading material consists of books, magazines, periodicals, newspapers, and agriculture-related journals. An increasing amount of the reading material is produced by the Amish themselves.

In an effort to make the Amish churches more aware of their traditions and culture, the Amish group at Aylmer, Ontario have begun publishing materials called the Pathway Publications, which are mailed into many settlements throughout the United States and Canada. They are now publishing three periodicals monthly, entitled Family Life (for the whole family), Ambassador of Peace (for young people), and Blackboard Bulletin (for the parochial school teachers).

The Aylmer group has also published a set of four textbooks called Pathway Readers: Thinking of Others (fifth grade),
The Amish in large numbers also read and subscribe to the Sugarcreek Budget, a weekly newspaper mailed throughout the world to Old Order Amish, Beachy-Amish, Conservative Mennonites, and Bethel Fellowship church members. The first issue of the paper was published May 15, 1890 by John C. Miller, a Mennonite member of the community of Amish and Mennonites at Walnut Creek, Ohio. The newspaper has been experiencing a healthy growth, and today has a circulation of 11,500. It contains local news of the Sugarcreek community and letters from "Budget Scribes," who are mostly of the Old Order Amish faith, and who write weekly of the events in their respective communities.

166 The texts are a collection of reading material, short stories, poems, and Bible scripture. They have been edited by three Amish gentlemen, one of whom is a convert from the Roman Catholic faith.

167 The Beachy-Amish Mennonite Church is closely related to the Amish in religious beliefs, but they worship in churches, engage in mission work, have Sunday Schools, and support the Herold der Wahrheit. They wear the plain clothes and usually drive in black or dark colored automobiles.

168 The Bethel Fellowship is also closely related to the Amish as well as to the Beachy-Amish. The differences between the Bethel Fellowship and the Beachy-Amish are in doctrine, and from an outsiders viewpoint, the differences seem slight. The converts to both churches come primarily from dissatisfied Old Order Amish families.

169 Budget, December 26, 1968, p. 6. A complete history of the newspaper is presented by the editor in this edition under the heading "The Editor's Corner."
Ideas, expressions, word usage, experiences, and reactions to the institutions of our culture appear in the majority of the articles. The Amish have consistently borrowed ideas, but not from any German ethnic group relationship, since there are no European German or Swiss Amish peoples living in Europe today. Many of their concepts in the areas treated by this study are then borrowed from the Mennonites or from the medical and educational professions of the American society at large.

The topics in this chapter will give the reader an opportunity to see examples of Amish contemporary writings. Many of the ideals expressed in the articles are later to be incorporated in the items included in the instrument, which was presented to selected Amish subjects. Most of the included examples of literature deal solely with viewpoints expressed on topics associated with the awareness and understanding of mental retardation and other handicapping conditions. From this literature an analysis can be made of how the Amish are thinking. A historical search of the literature was not made because it was felt that there would be little to gain in that the topic of investigation is itself of very recent times.

The Pathway Publications and Examples of the Literature Dealing With Mental Retardation

Of the Pathway Publications, Family Life appears to be the most popular. This periodical alone goes into 8,149
homes, with an additional 113 copies being sent to businesses for resale. The magazine goes into 38 states, 4 provinces, and 9 foreign countries. The states and provinces in order of number of subscribers are: Pennsylvania with 2,442, Ohio with 1,927, Indiana with 1,309, Ontario with 591, Illinois with 282, and Virginia with 228. The five top mailing addresses of Family Life are: Millersburg, Ohio (407), Ephrata, Pennsylvania (232), Sugarcreek, Ohio (200), Middlefield, Ohio (169), and Fredericksburg, Ohio (163).

The printing press (gasoline propelled), the office, and rooms for the staff are located in the rural area of Aylmer. Each publication has, at its head, an editor and several assistants. The editors are salaried, but during the summer months several volunteers, usually female, make the trip to Aylmer to assist in the publication.

Since the beginning of the Pathway Publications, there have been frequent articles submitted dealing with defective children, birth defects, medical quackery, education of slow learners, blindness, deafness, and the phenylketonuria condition. Articles dealing specifically with mental retardation have discussed the phenomenon in articles

170 Joseph Stoll, "Where They Go," Family Life, 2 (May, 1969), p. 10. The author, co-editor of the Pathway Readers, and author of several booklets on Amish parochial schools, recently moved from Aylmer, Ontario to Honduras, Central America. He has continued to contribute articles to the Pathway Publications as well as to the Budget.
dealing with close-relation marriages, the acceptance of the affection, concern for the mentally retarded in institutions, problems encountered by parents of retarded children, and the problem of "slow learners" in an educational setting.

In some cases, the Amish may be said to be too zealous in their concern whether it is God's will that a defective child is born. The conservative Amish may not clearly see the medical and the health problem involved in giving birth to numerous handicapped children. The subject is discussed by Stoll, former editor of Family Life, in an article which appeared in his column, "Fireside Chats." In a paragraph entitled "Near-of-Kin Marriages" he discusses why some Amish say that it is God's will that a handicapped infant is born.

By using some letters received at the editor's desk on previous articles written into Family Life, (see Appendix A for an example of some of the letters) Stoll reflects on whether God wills that handicapped children be born:

Some of the letters say, "Why blame retarded or deformed children upon close-relation marriages? We were always taught that if such children were born to us, it would be because it was God's will. So perhaps He has a reason for it, and wants to draw us nearer to Him through such children." 171

171 Joseph Stoll, "Thoughtless Zeal," Family Life, 2 (April, 1969), p. 9. The author, as the other editors of the Pathway Publications, undoubtedly have a personality, writing style, and thinking ability quite distinct from the non-writing Amish population. Since the Pathway Publications have only been published for two years, these distinct qualities that mark a writer, are not as well accepted or known as the more homely qualities of the authors who have continually been writing for the Budget.
Stoll believes that this type of zealous thinking is not being fair to God:

Certainly, God can and does allow abnormal children to be born to parents who are related, and to parents who are not. In some instances He may well have a special reason for letting such a child be born to certain parents. In any case it is God's will insofar that He allows it to happen. 172

He continues to stress that this form of belief does not explain away the laws of heredity. He uses the example of mother and father having brown eyes and expecting the child to be born with the same color. The same point is made with tall children being the offspring of tall parents. Stoll stresses that it is not impossible for God to allow the birth of a short son to tall parents, or a blue-eyed daughter to both brown-eyed parents. His religious view is that "God could do it just as easily as the other way, but He isn't likely to." 173

In reference to inheriting diseases and handicapping conditions, he writes:

In the same way, when there is a family history of some sickness or abnormality that can be transmitted from the parents to the children, the chances of the children being born with more defects is greatly increased if the parents are related to each other, and have the same family background. (If, however, the family tree is not a tree of such inherited

172 Stoll, op. cit., p. 9.
173 Ibid., p. 10.
weaknesses, marrying within the relationship can well be a different matter, with very little likelihood of abnormal children).\textsuperscript{174}

He concludes his "fireside chat" by stating:

If my wife and I are second cousins and our common great-great-grandparents had two retarded children, let's not be surprised if some of our children are retarded, too, and wonder why God let it happen to us instead of to some other couple. If I stumble on a rotten cellar step I should have fixed six months ago, and fall down the stairs and hurt myself, I might better admit my carelessness and not say, 'Well, I guess it's just one of those things that was supposed to happen.'\textsuperscript{175}

Stoll's view of children born with defects is not of the conservative Amish school. He does not see these children as entirely being God sent, but as he puts it, they may be the "result of our own bungling."\textsuperscript{176}

The religious acceptance against which Stoll was arguing is very well illustrated by an article sent to Family Life by the mother of a blind and retarded daughter. Her contribution was included in the "shut-ins page," which appears in each edition and deals primarily with handicapped persons or "handicaps," as the Amish call them. The mother wrote the article as if it had been written by her daughter. It shows how the Amish accept their misfortune and adjust through the help of a strong religious faith:

\begin{itemize}
\item[174]Stoll, op. cit., p. 9.
\item[175]Ibid., p. 10.
\item[176]Ibid., p. 10.
\end{itemize}
Sometimes when we have company or go away, I hear people say, 'Would it not be nice if all such poor children could die.' Then I wish I could talk to them. I would tell them that I have work to do in this world just like they do. I would tell them that the reason my Heavenly Father made me this way is because I can do greater things for Him than if I had been healthy and normal.

Even when no fervent religious support is given for the kindly acceptance of retarded persons, there is still a firm conviction as to the rightness of such action. Many of the Amish men have had direct experience with mental retardation in institutions and hospitals, which they gained by l-W service in lieu of the military draft. Peachey has had this kind of experience, and in an article he expresses concern for the mentally retarded:

I often think of the mentally retarded since I'm at home. I can say I have a different feeling for them than I had before—a feeling of love, of which they get very little. A lot of them appreciate it when you stop and talk a few words with them. They feel nobody wants them for they are often dull and absent-minded.

There are many different kinds. Some would rather not talk and some can't, but not many refused a candy bar or dime when it was handed to them. This usually did more good than any talking. It was a treat for me to go among a group of them.

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The majority of the articles appearing in *Family Life* on mentally retarded or physically handicapped children are by parents of these children. They express their thinking and their hopes for the future. These articles have proven to be very popular with the Amish reading public in the Holmes County, Ohio area.

Kuhns, a mother of two handicapped children, wrote about the acceptance of her daughter, born at the Wooster Community Hospital, Wooster, Ohio, August 13, 1958 with "chronic facial dysostoses of Cruzon." Her daughter Miriam presently attends Ida Sue School in Wooster, Ohio which is a public supported school for retarded children. As a baby, the daughter went through numerous skull operations at the Cleveland Lakeside Hospital. A son also experienced an early operation and, as a result, is not as severely handicapped as his sister. About living with retarded children, Kuhns writes:

> When dealing with retarded children, one's patience is sometimes tried to the breaking point. They are often very determined and self-willed. Miriam is no exception. However, after years of teaching, correction, and patience, most of them blossom into happy, willing individuals.

> It is very rewarding to see them accomplish something by their own efforts, even though they've probably been working at it much longer than a normal child would have to. Some of them probably for years.
Miriam worked a whole year to be able to recognize and print her own name. Now, after three years, she not only prints her full name but those of her family, schoolmates, and teachers as well.\textsuperscript{179}

Another example of an article by a parent of a retarded child is one by Mrs. Melvin N. Miller, who has a 14 year old phenylketonuria daughter born with a harelip, which was later corrected by plastic surgery. The author first noticed that something was wrong with Lucy Ann (her daughter) when she did not sit up at eight months. She also began having "jerky spells." After examinations at the Cleveland hospital, the author and her husband, were told that Lucy was "mentally retarded and that she would always be retarded." In attempting to help her further, the family took the daughter to the Spears Clinic in Colorado, for three months of chiropractic treatment. After returning to Ohio, here they were told to accept the fact that their daughter was retarded.

The second child, a son Dennis, born with the same condition, could not sit at seven months. He was taken to the clinic in Cleveland, Ohio, and while there, the family was told that he was a phenylketonuria child. Of this visit and the condition, Mrs. Miller writes:

Most people don't know anything about PKU disease. It is caused by a defect, usually inherited, in the

body's functions. Such a child is born unable to produce the enzyme necessary to digest and use certain needed parts of food. The part of food which Dennis is unable to use is a kind of protein necessary for normal growth and development. Because of a lack of this enzyme this particular kind of protein builds up in the bloodstream causing among other things mental retardation. By using a special diet, the child is able to grow and develop normally.\(^{180}\)

Lucy, an untreated phenylketonuria child, was kept upstairs in a room of her own. On a visit to the Miller's home one evening, I was introduced to Lucy after she was brought down from her room. Mrs. Miller had thought of again placing her in the Sunshine Children's Home in Maumee, Ohio, since her condition was deteriorating. Lucy was placed in the home this past July, 1969. On accepting the situation of having a handicapped child like Lucy, Mrs. Miller writes:

> We are thankful to God that we got Dennis on the diet on time. Sometimes I feel sorry for Lucy Ann, but then I have to think she's better off than some who have their right minds but do not act it.\(^{181}\)

Hershberger also contributes an article on a child suffering from mental retardation. Her son, Eli, had been hospitalized at Millersburg, Ohio, during his childhood. It was suggested that he had leukemia, and he was transferred to the University Hospital at Columbus, Ohio, and placed under


\(^{181}\) Ibid., p. 17.
oxygen. Eli had received a vaccination (the supposed cause of his present deteriorating condition) while in his first year of school. Upon his being discharged from the University Hospital the doctors told Mrs. Hershberger that Eli "will never outgrow this." The condition Mrs. Hershberger thinks, was caused by a heavy dose of oxygen used while the boy was in the Millersburg, Ohio hospital.

The purpose of Mrs. Hershberger's article was to stress that unfortunate individuals should never be made fun of. She writes of the teasing that Eli has experienced from phone calls while at work and of the avoidance of him by Amish young folks. She concludes her article by writing:

Eli becomes confused sometimes by all the struggling he has gone through in his life, but what would we be like if we were in his place? He does and says things he shouldn't, but we need to be patient with him for we don't have the pressure on us that he has. I am glad if I never have to answer for misusing him or anybody else. 183

In the Pathway Publications are also two articles dealing with "slow learners." Shork, a teacher in the Amish parochial schools, posed the problem of whether a child should be passed or failed solely on a percentage basis. For

183Ibid., p. 15.
the "slow learner" he recommends that teachers ignore their present grading system and concentrate on accepting what talents the child has. He writes:

The child who attends school for a year learns many things in that time. His test grades might seem hopeless yet the truth remains—that child has probably picked up all he could digest. Did he accomplish all that his God-given talents allowed? Is as much required from the child with one talent as from the child with ten?184

Byler also presents interesting viewpoints on the "slow learner" in the same school environment. He, unlike Shork above, defines what he means by "slow learner." He writes:

We will divide the slow learners into three groups. They could all be put in one bag, like ground wheat, but when we start turning the sifter, we will detect the difference. For the sake of clarity, the names of these three will be: (1) the school haters, (2) the dreamers, and (3) the Don't Have It's.185

Concerning the "Don't Have It's, he writes:

This slow learner is the unfortunate pupil who simply does not have the equipment in his make-up to do his school work. Try as he may, he fails; it is almost heartbreaking to see a honest and

sincere hard-working child struggling unsuccessfully to get good grades. He always has a poor grade to report when teacher gets the record book out. This makes him very self-conscious; he may become nervous and touchy because he sees all his efforts and hard work is in vain. 186

The major duty of the teacher for all three "slow learners" is to keep up their interest in school work. Parents should cooperate and help the teacher improve the work of these children. In his article, Byler, recommends "pre-school education, a sort of kindergarten at home." 187

In summary of the above eight selections, the following generalizations may be listed:

1) Awareness of the causes of retarded behavior is based on simplified genetics. The religious belief that God is responsible for all abnormal conditions is not always held.

2) Normal Amish men and women have, as their duty, the care and the understanding of the peculiar problems of retarded children and adults.

3) Specific conditions which lead to retarded behavior (phenylketonuria and chronic facial dystors of Cruzon) are discussed by parents without any great difficulty. The source of information about these conditions is to be found in parent-physician relationships.

186 Byler, op. cit., p. 179.
Individual differences among school children are noted by teachers, who speak of "slow learners," using this term to mean children who have inadequate intellectual abilities, which make school success difficult. (We will find that Amish families very often call even severely retarded children by this same title "slow learners.")

Examples of the Pathway Literature Dealing with Institutionalization

Several articles have appeared in the Pathway Publications, written by Amish authors on their experiences as volunteer workers in institutions, their impressions on visits to hospitals, and even the effects of maternal deprivation of young children in institutions. The thinking found in the articles usually gives a negative impression of the facilities and the ways of treatment given to the patients. These impressions reflect on the Amish idea of the institution as foreign and alien to their way of life.

Graber wrote of his experiences in a Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, mental hospital as a Civilian Peace Service volunteer during 1943. Conditions may have changed somewhat in mental hospitals since that time, but the article is important in that it deals with the negative implications of institutionalization. Of his experiences in feeding patients he wrote:

At the time I was on this ward, we had three locked up in rooms by themselves without any clothing on, no chairs
or anything else in the room. When we brought them something to eat, it was in a little tin bowl. One of us opened the door and the other shoved the bowl in. The one patient would come up and eat out of the bowl like a dog; when he was finished he would, with a bang, throw the bowl against the door. When we went into the room to clean it once a day, we needed no less than three men to hold him down till the others cleaned the room. When we have seen things like this, it is easy to be thankful for a good mind. Let us use it to the glory of God.168

Kuhns submitted another article in which she wrote about her experiences while waiting with her daughter in a hospital in Cleveland, Ohio. She sees much to be thankful for, but paints a picture of her disapproval of the hospital and the people in it:

I sit here in the hospital lobby and see all these disease-stricken children and meet their parents. Other than Myron's mother (who has fully committed herself and her son into God's hands), I see no one reading the Bible, nor do I hear anyone thanking God for giving them strength to bear their problems.

Instead, I see them smoke and smoke, and they watch television, to soothe their nerves. I cannot help but feel sorry for them.169

The conservative belief which must abhor the impressions of conservative religious neglect of most non-Amish

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parents, clearly is shown in an article by E. Stoll in which he stresses the importance of maintaining good mental health through the understanding of emotionally-caused illnesses. In his presentation, Stoll describes the non-physical needs of children by writing about deprivation of young babies in institutions:

Fifty years ago the majority of babies under one year of age that entered children's homes was simply shocking. The homes were often understaffed and the workers that were available did not realize that a child needed to be fondled and loved in order to stay alive. In 1915 Dr. Henry Chapin reported on ten infant asylums in the United States in which, with only one exception, every infant under two years of age died! One institution even had the practice of entering the condition of every infant on the admission card as hopeless. Since the babies all died anyhow, this simplified any explanations that needed to be made later.

In view of these facts, in the late 1920's a Chicago hospital made a new ruling—every baby in the hospital must be picked up and held, amused and mothered several times a day. An immediate difference was noticed in the health of the infants as soon as the rule had gone into effect.  

Stoll's source of information, unlike Graber's is not from his own experience; but like Graber's article, however, his information is dated. What is important is that both gentlemen do not approve of how patients, either mentally ill or

190Elmo Stoll, "Stress and Sickness," Family Life, 2 (September, 1969), p. 16. The author is co-editor of the Pathway Readers, the brother of Joseph Stoll, and a frequent contributor to children's stories, which are usually published in Family Life.
unwanted infants, are treated in institutions or hospitals. It would be very unlikely that many Amish would make a habit of visiting our large institutions for the mentally ill and the retarded. The information gained about these institutions would be hearsay but there is no doubt that the basic ideas of the Amish concerning institutionalization are negative.

Examples of Pathway Literature Dealing with Faith Healing and Quackery

A discussion on faith healing and quackery found in the Amish literature would be incomplete without mentioning several "doctors", usually of the Amish faith, residing in the Holmes County area. Reliance on faith healing and on non-medical quacks is deplored by many writers for the Pathway Publications, but the continued patronage of these "doctors" shows that most of the Amish cling to the old ways.

There are presently, in the Holmes County settlement, two Amish "doctors" who are very popular with the Amish, especially the Swartzentrubers group. One of these "doctors" lives near Holmesville, the other near Becks Mills. According to many Amish in the area, the "doctor" at Holmesville has the gift of healing. He simply lays his hands over the area of the patient's body where pain is felt. He moves his hands over this area, and with the "electricity" that he has in his body, he removes the pain. The Amish say "he draws the pain from your body with the electricity that he has in his arms."
The Amish "doctors" do not charge a fee but accept a financial reward if the patient can and desires to give one. They do not desire to be called "pow-wow doctors"; instead, they prefer to be called men who have "the gift of healing." Many of the Amish who visit these "doctors" are those who are opposed to taking medicines. Many of them have incurable diseases or conditions.

The "doctor" at Becks Mills concentrates more on chiropractic treatments than healing. The Amish who visit him make appointments, and at times he has often had more in his home than he can treat.

There is also a non-Amish "doctor" treating the Amish outside the Holmes County area. Known as the "Pennsylvania Doctor," he has his office in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania. He previously attempted to set up office in Millersburg, but was unable to do so because of opposition from the local medical association. He is at present drawing a sizeable number of Amish to his office.

The Amish have a long tradition of supporting medical quacks, as well as spiritual healers. Sometimes the two meet, and it becomes difficult to distinguish quackery and religious belief. An article critical of faith healing appeared in Family Life, signed by an "Amish sister." The author suffered from a lame condition and had been taken to numerous doctors, but without successful treatment. Of her affliction, she writes:
Little did I realize that years later I could thank God that He permitted my affliction to come over me. He kept me in check with His reins of love, but when He put a song in my heart then my days were filled with joy. He had another purpose for my life—something I didn't realize as I sat there in the tent beside my sister, hoping that good health would return to me. 191

The writer tells of responding to a revivalist preacher and walking to the front of the tent. Nothing happened. She also writes of an Amishman taking his blind son to another healer. The following dialogue took place:

Preacher: Do you believe that it is God's will for your boy to be healed?

Amishman: I don't know if it is God's will, or not.

Preacher: Unless you believe it is God's will, your body cannot be cured. We can't help you then. 192

While the article is a direct attempt to sway Amish readers away from divine healers and revivals, there does remain another kind of cure, stressed in the article, which is one that revolves around a strong belief in the words of the Bible and in continual praying but not in faith healers.

Weaver, in another article, writes about the subjects of quackery, chiropractic healing, machine doctors, and the

192 Ibid., p. 19.
"Pennsylvania doctor." Her purpose, like the "Amish sister" above, is to sway the Amish away from paying high prices and getting little in return. She is aware of the number of Amish that frequent quack doctors and of this she writes: "The remark has been made, perhaps not without reason, that nobody falls for quack doctors and fake peddlers quicker than the plain people." The author explains that the reason for this is the honesty that Amish people have been brought up with and expect in others. Her article further discusses mineral water treatments, "Drown Radio Therapeutic Instrument," "Ozone Generators," and "Krebiozen."

She lists the types of people who go to quack doctors. These are: (1) people who have incurable diseases looking for a miracle to cure them; (2) those that imagine they have an incurable disease, but in fact are in perfect health; (3) the uninformed; and (4) the emotionally disturbed. Her discussion of the "Pennsylvania doctor" is interesting for its factual statements but its generally negative tone.

There is a doctor in Pennsylvania who is drawing many of our people. He is located in an out-of-the-way place and has no nurse. Oft times he is busy from late morning until late at night. He can treat as many as 75 patients in a day.

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193Sarah Weaver, "Is the Doctor In?" Family Life, 2 (August, 1969), p. 10. The author is an assistant editor of Family Life, contributes frequent articles and is the author of "A Page for Shut-Ins", which is always included in each edition of Family Life. She is handicapped with muscular dystrophy.
He uses a machine to make his analysis. . .

People listen intently, believing everything which is said. Then they will be anxious to go home and tell their friends about it, so they too can be healed. This is cheap advertising for the doctor, and very effective.\textsuperscript{194}

The Amish have traditionally believed in and catered to those individuals and organizations who are unlicensed in their medical practices. The articles above are examples of the method of persuasion, authored by Amish, in an effort to change this belief and practice. The views expressed are also examples of the importance of modernization entering Amish culture. Faith and belief in "quackery" are expressed as characteristic of those who are "disturbed" or "uninformed." Articles dealing with faith healing and non-medical practices are informative, but they are unlikely to stem the traditional popularity of the Amish in visiting and supporting non-medical practices.

The Importance of the Sugarcreek Budget and other Local Newspapers

The \textit{Budget}, published in Sugarcreek, Ohio is predominantly an Amish-Mennonite weekly newspaper, circulated throughout the Americas. The majority of the newspaper consists of letters written by "Budget Scribes" telling the news

\textsuperscript{194}\textit{Weaver, op. cit.}, p. 12.
of their own localities. News usually revolves around deaths, births, individuals published to be married, marriages, farm sales, visitors to the community, church services, and any sicknesses or conditions with which individuals seem to be bothered. The contributing letters come from all over the world, but the majority are from Pennsylvania and Ohio, as already noted. As high as 178 letters have been received at one time for publication.195

Amish selections expressly on mental retardation are quite rare, although references are made to related conditions. In expressing a cause of mental retardation one contributor wrote:

We have seen that if a baby is born without proper nourishment by the mother just prior to its birth and just after, it can have a permanent effect on the mentality. In greatly undernourished countries this can be and often is, a self-perpetuating deficiency, and accounts in part for the lower standards of mental efficiency of the populace.196

Another writer combined folklore with human psychology and writes of retarded children "acting up" when there is a full moon:

Some folks still swear by planting and pruning according to phases of the moon but even most of them probably little realize that the moon has an effect on

196 Ibid., March 6, 1969, p. 3.
human psychology. Just why it is that way, no one really knows, but it is a widely observed fact that mentally disturbed people tend to act up more violently around the full moon. We notice working with our retarded children that those of them who are emotionally disturbed are more likely to throw temper tantrums around full moon.197

Occasionally a scribe will write into the Budget on the topic of mental retardation and give guidance or make comments on the condition. The following selection tells of a retarded child being cared for by the scribe, and a visit to an institution in Illinois, specifically for retarded children:

Little A., the cripple and retarded little girl we are taking care of, is growing and gaining weight, but is making very little progress in helping herself or doing things. She is a sweet little girl and has a winsome smile. The sad part is that she is in this retarded state because her mother's boyfriend beat her up so badly.

This fall we, with four of our oldest girls, visited the Dixon State School. It is a state institution for retarded children and grownups.

One of the impressive things we saw there was the grandparent program in which older people come in and spend from four to eight hours with the children, one elderly person to one child. Some of these people drive up to 30 miles every day to bring joy and help to these children.

197 Budget, March 18, 1968, p. 5.
This ought to be a challenge to older or retired people who have time on their hands. Is there someone near you who has a retarded, crippled or sick child who is daily struggling to take care of this charge and still meet other responsibilities? Just to know that someone cares would help make the burden lighter. Try it and you will be surprised how much richer your life will be.\footnote{198}

Almost exactly the same type of comments were made in a previous article dealing with a retarded individual who was taken from the Lancaster, Ohio county home and cared for by the writer. The letter comes from Plain City, Ohio:

Mrs. E.H. and C.G. and wife left last Thursday morning for Lancaster, Ohio, where they got A.M., who has been an inmate at the County Home there for some time, and took her to the home of Mrs. S.M., at Greenwood, Delaware. S. has other retarded girls there, which she is taking care of, for the welfare department. . . While A. had good care at the county home, we are sure she will enjoy the environment at this Christian home much more than at the county home.\footnote{199}

During 1968, 1969, and the early part of 1970, articles appeared in the \textit{Budget} and local newspapers by non-Amish writers on various topics associated with mental retardation, the majority of which concentrated on the activities

\footnote{\textit{Budget}, \textit{op. cit.}, January 9, 1970, p. 14. The full Amish or Mennonite name is never used in the selections included in this study taken from the \textit{Budget}. The Amish usually frown on the use of their full names in academic studies and published books; therefore only initials will be continually used throughout this chapter.\\
\textit{Ibid.}, December 26, 1968, p. 7.}
of two community supported schools for retarded children—
Happy Hill School of Holmes County, Ohio, and Sunnyhaven
School and Home of Madison County, Ohio.

An article appeared on June 26, 1969, by a non-Amish
writer mentioning the state of Ohio's recently passed State
Bill 300, which provides immunization of children against
German measles. Part of the article states:

German measles are a major cause of
mental retardation and severe birth de­
fects. Young girls who some day will be
mothers will through the immunization
against German measles be spared the
possibility of bearing a child that could
have severe defects as a result of German
measles.200

Numerous articles appeared during 1968 in the local
Millersburg, Ohio paper, the Holmes County Farmer-Hub, con­
cerning the formation of the new Holmes County Council for
Handicapped Children and the beginning of the Happy Hill
School. The Budget also ran an article stating that the
executive director of the Ohio Association for Retarded
Children would appear as the principal speaker for the above
council.201 At the April meeting Mr. White, the executive
director, spoke of the possibilities of community classes
for the retarded, follow-through programs for students
attending the Happy Hill School, activity centers, workshops,

200 Budget, op. cit., p. 6.
and pre-school home training to assist families adjusting to their retarded child.\textsuperscript{202} The same paper subsequently reported the election of officers to the Council and plans for the beginning of a workshop to be tentatively held at the Happy Hill School.

In November an article appeared in the \textit{Holmes County Farmer-Hub} announcing the beginning of plans for a workshop and the addition of another classroom space. A picture was also included showing members of the council looking over initial plans for the addition.\textsuperscript{204} During the same month, an article appeared with three pictures showing Amish and non-Amish children working at the newly instituted workshop.\textsuperscript{205}

The Happy Hill School, located at Bunker Hill, is supported through local taxation and administered by the Board of Mental Retardation and the above mentioned council. The Board and the Council are under the authority of the Holmes County Welfare Board. The success of the school depends on the voting approval of the populace of the county.


\textsuperscript{203}``Holmes County Council for Handicapped Picks Officers,'' \textit{Ibid.}, October 12, 1968, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{204}``Handicapped Workshop is in Planning,'' \textit{Ibid.}, October 19, 1968, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{205}``Workshop Plans are Viewed,'' \textit{Ibid.}, November 14, 1968, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{205}``Workshop Training Underway,'' \textit{Ibid.}, November 7, 1968, p. 3.
In 1969 the cost of the operating levy was set at 1.65 mills for a maximum period of five years. Descriptive articles on the school and the program, again appeared in the local newspapers during October, 1969. Two levies were placed before the voters in November, 1969: the operating levy, and a second levy which was intended to build a workshop and a new school building on the grounds of the Holmes County Home for the Elderly. The latter failed to gain support from the voting populace. (See Appendix B for descriptive articles concerning levy support and the proposed new building for the retarded).

In similar fashion, the Plain City Amish and Beachy-Amish settlement in Madison County, Ohio, has organized a non-profit organization to build a home and school for retarded children. The home, Sunnyhaven, is presently being built three miles southwest of Plain City. The organization and school has been an effort of cooperation, not only among the Amish and the Beachy-Amish, but also of the surrounding community. An announcement of the opening of the school appeared in the Budget, followed by a request for applications for 1-W and V-S workers. The school and home will be under the supervision of the Beachy and the Amish brethren church of the area. An article, taken from the Plain City Advocate, and one written by a member of the Amish, Beachy-Amish community also appeared in the Budget giving information
about the new school and home. (See Appendix C)

The Amish who read the Budget and their local newspapers could not have escaped the above articles and discussions dealing with mental retardation, the formation of the Council in Holmes County, and the beginning of the two schools for retarded children. Although they may not have a deep interest in the subject, the articles themselves would have exposed them to information concerning mental retardation. It is not clear that the articles had any significant effect on the Amish readers.

Brief excerpts from letters written to the Budget in recent years will show the sorts of handicaps and illnesses the Amish notice and also how they react to these conditions:

J., Son of R. Jr., is a patient in Aultman Hospital resulting from biting his tongue from a fall and is also a bleeder, so he is having blood transfusions. His age is 4.206

A., 9 year-old son of E.N.Y., is a patient in Dover Hospital, having pneumonia and spinal meningitis.207

Miss M.E.Y. is a multiple sclerosis patient. Walking is difficult for her.208

A.A.H. died recently at the age of 35 due to blood poisoning after being operated on for a ruptured colon, which was at first thought to be appendicitis. He was a

208 Ibid., March 21, 1968, p. 3.
Hemophilia person and nothing could be done for his bleeding internally. 209

The baby of J.R.S. could not come home from the hospital until a week old due to jaundice and they changed its blood when 2 days old. 210

The funeral of Mrs. A. was held on Saturday. She had been a victim of cancer for more than seven years, but she never told George about it. 211

Some letters mention accidents causing permanent disability and specific handicapping conditions:

AKM, Jr., received injury to his one leg when his pants leg caught in a portable feed grinder, his leg being drawn into the gears and was mangled below and above the knee. 212

A week or so ago, Mrs. II. had gone to sleep on the chair and woke up. When she went to get up she forgot about her missing leg and fell and hurt herself that she was in bed for some time. 213

Mrs. A.B. is still not able to work because of her heart. Needs a lot of rest but can sit out in the kitchen most of the time. She is taking chiropractic treatments in St. Jacobs where he goes with the car. Their daughter, S., ll., who is rheumatoid arthritis victim, is as usual. 214

211 Ibid., February 27, 1969, p. 3.
Our daughter, S., has 'St. Vitus Dance'. It affected her left side. She can't use her left hand. The Dr. thinks it comes from a strep throat infec-
tion.215

J., handicapped son of Mrs. D.L., suffers from an unusual headache. The doctors are puzzled and thus far have been unable to help him. He is to go to Ann Arbor, Mich., for examination yet.216

On Sunday we made a couple of visits in the Old Peoples Homes again. Also sang a few Gospel songs for them. They seemed to enjoy it and invited us back. Two blind women were in one home. Since my own mother is blind, I feel a closeness to all who are thus afflicted.217

Our little boy has had a very successful operation and recovery in the repair of his palate. The doctor is very pleased with the way it went. This was in sharp contrast to the lip surgery last year which was drawn out by a long time in the intensive care unit because of excessive bleeding.218

Specific mention of rare conditions or abnormalities is occasionally made:

B.F., 4 year old daughter of J. and S., is still at a Toronto hospital where she has been for almost 4 months. She is the girl who was born with part of her internal organs on the outside of her body. Within the first hours of her life doctors had done a quick operation which she survived, much to their surprise. Her abdomen was much enlarged because normal wall muscles were lacking and this is what they have

216Ibid., October 3, 1968, p. 3.
217Ibid., March 6, 1969, p. 6.
now tried to correct.  

W.S. has a son M., and S.M. a son D. The latter baby was reported to have an abnormal head but has been told this is not so.  

J. and H.M. are the parents of a baby girl. She needs an operation on her head to make more room for the brain to expand. This will be done soon in Toronto.  

There are also specific examples of the problem of senility and deterioration of the mind:  

She is quite feeble and not enjoying good health. She was 98 on April 15.  

Grandma G's broken hip seems to be healing nicely but her mind seems to be failing fast. Her mind seems to be much delirious at times.  

Last Mon. p.m. I visited Old Bishop K. and found Mr. K. in good spirits and had a nice visit with him. But the Mrs. is getting quite feeble minded and is at times a little hard to control.  

Mrs. I.S. is at home now, and getting along as good as can be expected. Her mind is mixed up at times.  

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220 Ibid., May 16, 1968, p. 3.  
221 Ibid., December 26, 1968, p. 4.  
224 Ibid., October 17, 1968, p. 2.  
225 Ibid., August 8, 1968, p. 4.
There are frequent comments that deal with deafness, paralysis, and potential blindness:

EJM of BG, Mo. spent Tuesday in this vicinity in the interest of the school of the deaf.226

H.H.Y. moved to Kalona, Iowa last fall before school started, where they are now sending their 3 year old son, I., to a deaf school there. They have another son J., 2 years old, who is also deaf. They are teaching lip reading and it is good to say that little I. can already say some words by lip reading.227

Neighbor SWS is home from his recent stay in the hospital. He is partly paralyzed and requires constant care.228

Grandma's eyesight is very dim on account of cataracts. She has been confined in her bed after falling near the furnace register, presumably to warm herself.229

The Budget also carries a variety of advertisements for folk medicine, herbs, vitamins, and organic pills. There are occasionally references to health resorts that purport to cure arthritic conditions, arthritis, and asthma. Frequently an Amish scribe will write in and "pass on information" dealing with cures for diseases and conditions. An example of this is illustrated in the following excerpts:

229 Ibid., February 20, 1969, p. 11.
Dr. Olney examined a slide containing the brain section of a mouse that showed brain damage after being given MSG (monosodium glutomate). He said: 'Sufficient data is available so that baby food manufacturers should remove MSG from their produce until scientists can determine a safe level of dosage for infants.' MSG is employed widely by the food industry to enhance the palatability of processed foods that only recently added to baby foods to make it more tasteful to the mothers.230

Arthritis and rheumatism are degenerative diseases that arise in a body that is already poisoned. To overcome them you need not only to take a pill or something but you need to undergo a complete cleansing juice diet, sweat baths and the herbal remedies.231

M.E.S. was here last week one day and asked me to put in the Budget that he has gotten so many letters giving cancer cures that he is not able to answer them all. He has had good results with a cancer salve and the cancer came out and is healing.232

From the above selections, appearing in the Budget, it can be seen that the Amish have their own distinct way of expressing sicknesses, handicapping conditions, and even a variety of forms dealing with mental retardation and senility. From the newspaper, and other local community newspapers the Amish also have the opportunity to be exposed to

231 Ibid., March 6, 1969, p. 8.
very recent announcements concerning state laws dealing with medical aspects of mental retardation as well as new schools and homes specifically built for the care of Amish and non-Amish retardates. Since these articles appear in their most popular newspaper, it is very unlikely that they will escape this movement of modernization in their historical and contemporary patterns of thinking, when dealing with mental retardation and related handicapping conditions.

Related Amish-Mennonite Publications Dealing with Handicapping Conditions

In searching through Amish literature one finds no books or booklets that pertain specifically to mental subnormality, although there are several privately printed booklets that contain themes dealing with sickness and handicapping conditions which are to be found in Amish homes and Mennonite college libraries. The publications have strong religious themes in them, and they are part of the Anabaptist tradition of suffering and acceptance.

Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Kurtz's book is a collection of Budget letters, in which the acceptance of a long term condition is faced by the authors. The book tells of Mrs. Kurtz's illness and her travels to get to the sanitorium at La Junta, Colorado. The letters began on October 23, 1936 and ended September 18, 1950. On the religious acceptance of Mrs. Kurtz's condition, the authors write:
We just feel that we cannot be thankful enough for the good health we have in our family again. I truly hope that the sickly, cripples or invalids who read these few lines can also say that they feel better than they did for a long time. If this would not be the case I would feel sorry, but God always knows what is best for us poor mortals. He will not desert us if we live an honest and obedient life and put all our trust in Him.  

Closely related to the above publication is another of about the same date that deals with handicapping conditions and physical suffering as part of God's work. Of religion and suffering, this author writes:

God does not send suffering to his own, but he permits it and oft times uses it to produce His most magnificent Christian characters.

The problem of maimed and battered bodies, owned by God's children, is a real and vital one, and unless considered in the light of strong faith, will be liable to rob us of a usefulness which is ordained of God, and cannot be performed by anyone else or in any other way.

In privately printed records and genealogies, in the possession of the Amish families of Holmes County, Ohio, there are occasional references to handicapped individuals.

\(^{233}\) A. D. Kurtz, *Budget Letters of the Experiences of Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Kurtz While in the West For Mrs. Kurtz's Health* (Gordonville, Pennsylvania: A. S. Kinginger), p. 35.

In two compilations of old records, carried out by Amish bishops, there is mentioned a cripple who lived and died near Trail, Ohio. One booklet, written by Schrock and actually an account of the deaths of over 1700 Amish and Mennonite individuals covering a 50-year period, reports the death of "cripple Jonathan M. Miller":

... his lower limbs and body being drawn more and more together until finally his head lowered below his knees. He learned the shoemaker trade. For many years he was engaged in that business. To add still more to his suffering and in which he displayed great patience and fortitude. He became blind the last thirty years of his life. However, he still continued with some of the work especially the hammering of soles for shoes, which he continued until a short time before his death... He was always cheerful, happy and contented, never complaining in his afflicted condition. Early in life he united with the Old Order Amish Church. Fifty-six years unable to walk and thirty years blind. And yet more contented with his lot than many of those who are blessed with health, wealth, and earthly blessings....

The body could not be straightened without breaking the joints. So it was placed in a coffin in an almost sitting position, using a coffin about 4 feet long and 3 feet high.235

A most important historical source among the Amish of information concerning sicknesses, deaths, and handicapping

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235 Abe C. Schrock, A Record of Deaths Mostly of the Holmes, Wayne, Stark and Tuscarawas Counties, Ohio, and some From Other States (Millersburg, Ohio: Privately Printed, 1957), p. 34. The other publication that deals with the same individual is Jacob Mast, History of Preachers, Bishops, and Deacons 1703 to 1963 (Privately Printed, 1960), p. 37.
conditions are the numerous genealogies which are constantly being published privately in hard covers. Abnormal conditions, unusual births, or institutionalization of family members would appear in the majority of the genealogies. Since a thorough search was not made in the older genealogies, because the major emphasis of this section is placed on contemporary Amish literature, a single account of the institutionalization of one Amish male can illustrate how the genealogies compare with the general Amish pattern of literature:

Christian Stutzman, Walnut Creek, Ohio, at death, was born in 1804, near Berlin, Pa., died Oct. 3, 1845, and married Betty Troyer. . . 530, old records. Age on admission, 40; avil (sic) condition, married; Post Office, Carlisle, Holmes County, Ohio; time of admission, July 31, 1844; hereditary or periodical, periodical: approved cause unknown; duration before admission one year; occupation farmer; nativity, Pa.; black hair, hazel eyes: committed by friends; time spent in asylum, 59 weeks; removed by death, Oct. 3, 1845; cause of death, Inflammation of Brain; condition of mind, stationary. From the records of the Columbus State Hospital, Columbus, Ohio.236

The Herold der Wahrheit mentioned above, is a semi-monthly Amish periodical, which is rather different from the other journals described in preceding paragraphs. Published at Kalona, Iowa since 1956,237 it carries approximately equal

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237 After removal from the East where it was earlier published for many years.
amounts of German and English material. Since the publication of the Pathway materials, it is slowly losing popularity among the Amish, possibly because of the gradual loss by the young people of their reading knowledge of the German language.

The majority of the November 15, 1968 edition of Herold Der Wahrheit was taken up with the theme, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget none of His benefits." The aim of the edition was to place emphasis on the blessings and benefits derived from afflictions and handicapping conditions. Amish and Mennonite church members wrote articles expressing their views, as to the benefits derived through being bed confined, having a home burn to the ground, being paraplegic, being in the Pax Service and the Civilian Public Service. Another article in the edition stressed benefits derived from the birth of a mongoloid child.

Miller and Miller write of their acceptance of the birth of a mongoloid child. Shortly after birth, their child was taken to the doctor with, what they thought, a common cold. The physician told the couple that the baby was suffering from a respiratory congestion that went along with the mongoloid condition. They expected the child would become normal, but with the physician's comment, they decided to accept the inevitable; they had given birth to a mongoloid. Of this acceptance, the authors write:

238Psalm. 103:3.
We knew the healing power of Jesus is stronger than abnormality. We wanted Andrew to be a normal child, but most of all, we wanted God's will to be done. We prayed, fasted, searched the Scriptures and counseled with Christian friends. No, there was no marked change in Andrew, but God healed our broken spirits. To this day Andrew is what he is by the grace of God.\textsuperscript{239}

The Miller's see their child as "a jewel entrusted to them by God," and they also feel that it has given them more understanding and confidence in their daily lives. Of the lessons they experienced with their child, they write:

\begin{quote}
The previous lessons of patience, forbearance and love have brought real peace and joy. The dark moments have drawn us closer to God. Therefore, we feel confident that God knew we needed one of these handicapped jewels in our home. We, as a family, have learned to love, work, weep, sing and pray together. The short time here on earth is only a vapor compared to eternity. We know we have no continuing city here, but we seek one to come.\textsuperscript{240}
\end{quote}

The occasional references to handicapping conditions which can be found in privately published books among the Amish and in articles appearing in a German-English periodical which contains some influence among them, in no way contradict the thoughts expressed in other Amish publications


\textsuperscript{240}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 436.
enjoying wide distribution. Instead they reinforce the conclusions already derived concerning the religious basis of the acceptance of handicapping conditions among the Amish.

Amish Emphasis on Handicapped Gatherings, Friendship Letters, and Folklore

There are other ways besides newspapers and books through which the Amish experience knowledge dealing with handicapping conditions and possibly with mental retardation as well. These non-literary examples include the yearly gatherings of the Amish handicaps, the friendship letters of the handicapped Amish, and the Amish folklore dealing with unnatural births. The handicapped gatherings, initiated in recent years by a handicapped Pathway editor are held annually in Amish settlements. Amish friendship letters among the handicaps are also increasing in popularity, and as in all cultures, morality tales of the committing of sin and the results and punishments arising from it, are well known among the Amish.

In the summer of 1968, the meeting of handicaps was held at Goshen, Indiana, and during 1969, at Berlin, Ohio. An account of the 1968 meeting was given in Family Life which reported the attendance of two deaf individuals, one amputee, two blind persons, three people with muscular dystrophy, and one individual with an open spine and many polio
cripples among the 65 who attended the meeting. 241

Nearly 100 handicaps, including eighty-nine from outside the Berlin, Ohio, area were present at the 1969 meeting. An account of the Berlin meeting appeared in the Budget the following week:

On June 14 was the annual handicaps meeting at the Berlin school house. The handicaps, with some parents, were there from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. Many people wonder why there are so many handicapped in the world today. Surely, it is the work of God made manifest. And it is for the Amish to care for their own handicapped at home. The handicaps all have talents so that they can make useful objects for the home, or things to sell. 242

The 1969 meeting at Berlin was different than the meetings in the past because parents and friends of the handicapped were allowed to attend. Several parents from the Holmes County area and other Amish settlements brought their retarded children and fellowshipped among the Amish.

Amish friendship letters among the handicaps are important in that they allow for a close subgroup affiliation. They are also important to an outsider who has the opportunity to read a sample of them. From the letters, attitudes and self-expressions by the handicaps themselves

241 Sarah Weaver, "Reminiscence of the Past," Family Life, 10 (October, 1968), p. 22.

can be read. If the writers mention any particular skill or special economic position they have in an Amish community, a sample of them can illustrate the problems faced and the hurdles overcome. The following are some examples of these types of letters in which handicapped individuals express their opinions on their particular type of handicapping condition:

We have never been to a medical clinic. I was in a hospital for nine months, but didn't get helped. What's the use of going places when there's nothing to do? The diet Vick's on is the best help yet.

(Letter written September 25, 1958, by a 37 year old female with cerebral palsy)

I still can't wear my brace more than about ½ day but even so it seems to help and I've been feeling better the past few weeks than I have for some time. The most noticeable improvement is in my nerves. They were just about carrying me away for awhile and I'm so thankful to be better that way.

(Letter written November 13, 1952, by a 47 year old female polio patient in a wheelchair)

So you have been to Youngstown after all, I do hope you make sure of the way you're going, before you step too far. We must remember, we are duly warned by one such wiser than we to believe that if God had intended for us to use such books as you mentioned on divine healing they would have been written along with the Bible. Hope you do not feel offended if I speak my mind, but sometimes it helps to explain things if we get others views on some matters

The letters are in the possession of an Amish woman living in Canada, who desires to remain anonymous.
and I know I'm always glad for good opinions and advice.

(Letter written December 20, 1955 by the same individual who wrote the previous letter).

You were wondering what the cause of my trouble is. I can tell you it was the brain surgery that I had 7 years ago. It was a brain hemorrhage and it formed a large clot and pushed the brain which made me almost blind and speechless. They took me to the Cleveland Clinic and operated to put the brain back in place. They said it takes many years to heal. My back seems weak but my left foot gives me the most trouble.

(Letter written July 19, 1968 by a 40 year old female crippled because of a brain hemorrhage).

You asked what my trouble is and how it started. Nine years ago we noticed a small tumor on my left arm, so I went to the Dr., and he noticed some others scattered all over my body. I now have so many you can't count them. They follow the nerves and are very painful. I have seen more than 40 doctors. Three times they have taken some out and tested them. The last operation was on April 9, 1957, since that I can use my right hand, did not have much use of it before, that is why they operated. They took out about a quart from the arm pit.

(Letter written June 21, 1968 by a 19 year old female now deceased, who was bedfast).

From the letters, one can also see how some of the Amish handicaps inspire each other into doing work and contributing to the daily tasks of their communities. Examples of the types of work done by the handicaps are illustrated below:

I go out on my tractor every day that the weather is nice. Samuel made
an outfit in his shop that I can use to sharpen mower knives. I also tried welding but have some to learn at that.

(Letter written June 27, 1968 by a 30 year old male paralyzed from injury).

This afternoon I ironed and did a few pieces of mending at brother Jonas's, then this evening we took Emma and the children, and made several stops.

(Letter written July 9, 1968 by a 28 year old female polio victim).

Just finished with the ironing so I thought I'd write my poor lines yet so I get these welcome visitors on the way again. I want to do some sewing then. Also should sweep the upstairs. Didn't get it done Saturday as we were so busy canning peaches.

(Letter written March 3, 1967 by a 36 year old female who is paralyzed).

I had a deal of doll work to do but it's all done now and waiting on the owners to claim them. Had 11 completed, in all, one was a boy doll, with pants and shirt. They are so amusing but I seldom get calls for this kind.

(Letter written November 10, 1953 by a 19 year old female who was in a wheelchair).

There are several unwritten stories that the Amish in the Holmes County area tell concerning situations and incidents which they believe have caused handicapped children. Other stories deal with adults or young people who made fun of handicapped individuals and, as a result, later stuttered. In the latter cases, these individuals have also paid for their light jokes, laughs and destructive acts by
giving birth to deformed children.\textsuperscript{244}

The most popular story that the Amish tell concerns a Mennonite man who, while young, caught birds and plucked their eyes out. He committed these useless acts until he was married, and as the story goes, fathered two children who were without eyes. The Mennonite man accepted Christ at the age of 70 and died shortly thereafter. He had always sent his wife and children to church, but he seldom attended himself.

Another popular story concerns a young man who, upon seeing dwarfs, would always get down on his knees and say, "Look here how these dwarfs walk!" Because he made fun of another person's condition, he fathered dwarf children.

These individuals sinned by doing evil things to other human beings or helpless living animals. Some of the Amish believe that God visits people like this with a punishment. The Amish say \textit{Gott lost sicht nicht spotton} (God is not mocked).

There are two more stories that several of the Amish have mentioned, although they are not directly concerned with the result of an individual who has made fun of another's

\textsuperscript{244}The stories were told to me by numerous Old Order Amish, Beachy Amish, and several Conservative Mennonite church members in the Holmes County, Ohio area. The stories are frequently heard throughout the area.
misfortune. One of the stories concerns a man who shot a fox, brought it into the house, and wiped the tail on a pregnant young lady’s face. The child (a girl) was born with fox hair on the side of her face where the tail had been placed. When the girl grew older, an operation was performed to remove the hair, but a slight scar always remained.

The other story pertains to an Amish pregnant woman who was sitting in a doctor’s office waiting to receive a checkup on her condition. A great commotion took place while a group of men hurriedly came into the office. One of the men had been involved in a sawmill accident and had his arm cut off. Apparently, the man had a tremendous amount of blood on him and his clothes. This sight put the Amish woman into shock. As a result of this incident, some of the Amish claim her child was born without an arm.

The Amish handicapped gatherings are a very recent endeavor. They were begun through the efforts of a handicapped Pathway editor so that the handicapped Amish men and women could meet together for social visiting once a year. The meetings are proving to be extremely popular and are usually held in Ohio or Indiana since these states are more centrally located than others in which the Amish live. Some retardates attend these meetings with their parents.

Friendship letters among the handicaps keep them in touch with each other and allow an outsider, who has the
opportunity to see them, to place in context the overall acceptance of the handicapped in Amish society. From a sample of the letters, one can see the unique problems faced by the handicaps and also the many varied opportunities they have in contributing to the work force of their families.

The examples of Amish folklore dealing with handicapping conditions are illustrative of primitive ideas which have been closely connected with a religious moral. These unwritten stories are all known by the Amish of the Holmes County area. They do not disbelieve them; instead, they say, "It is possible!"

The Significance of Amish Literature for Understanding the Position of Handicapped Persons

The Amish have never produced any great literary works of art. Their basic reading material has usually consisted of the Bible, the Martyrs Mirror, the Budget, local newspapers, and a variety of farm related magazines and journals. The Pathway Publications, recently inaugurated the first efforts of the Amish to write and publish materials of their own.

Included in the material the Amish read are references to mental retardation and related handicapping conditions. From the literature it can be seen that the writers of the articles are aware of:

(1) hereditary abnormalities that may lead to the birth of retarded children,
(2) specific genetic or endocrine disorders in children and the proper diets and treatments prescribed in these cases by a specialist in child care.

(3) the necessity of Amish family and communal care of the less fortunate,

(4) individual differences existing in school children and the needed integration of these individuals within the whole school context.

(5) the ill effects of long-term institutionalization of the defective or the insane,

(6) the futility of seeking non-medical aid and treatment from individuals who are unlicensed in the medical profession,

and continue to hold to the historic Amish religious conviction of patient acceptance of handicapping conditions.

Included in the local county newspapers read by the Amish are numerous articles concerning mental retardation. This has been especially true in Ohio in the last two years where local authorities have assumed responsibility in providing facilities for retardates. The Amish have not escaped exposure to the movement because these articles have been regularly appearing in locally sponsored newspapers.

In the Budget, and in other periodicals read by some Amish, references are found dealing with numerous sicknesses, handicapping conditions, and home remedies for these abnormalities. There are also occasional semi-technical articles with reference to the medical aspects of abnormal conditions.

In a society that has never placed great emphasis on literary abilities, the importance of gatherings, correspondence,
and the telling of stories still are important. The Amish enjoy visiting, family reunions, gatherings, singings, council and teacher meetings. In this same atmosphere, the handicaps also carry on the tradition and hold their own annual meetings. The Amish folklore dealing with morality tales about cruelty, teasing, and ill treatment of animals or the less fortunate are believed by the majority of the Amish populace.

On the basis of the examples of Amish literature which have been discussed, it was possible to formulate questions to be used in the field investigation of Amish understanding of mental retardation.
CHAPTER V

PRELIMINARY PLANNING FOR THE FIELD STUDY

Early in the spring of 1968 I began to subscribe to the Budget and to the Pathway Publications for the twofold purpose of acquainting myself with Amish literature and also to begin a compilation of items to be included in the interview schedule. This was done for the purpose of developing an instrument that would be close to the interests of the Amish on the subject of inquiry. During the summer of 1968 I visited the Pathway office at Aylmer, Ontario, where I discussed my project with one of the editors. While there, I was shown several articles dealing with handicapping conditions and mental retardation which had previously been published in Family Life. Later that summer while attending the Amish parochial school teachers meeting in Daviess County, Indiana, I met several Amish teachers from the Ohio area, one of whom was later to be instrumental in gaining the cooperation of many of the informants from the Wayne County, Ohio Amish area.

At the meeting I also gained my first impressions of the Amish parochial school movement and the manner in which "slow learners" would be (or would not be) taught in a school
situation which includes grades one through eight in one room. As a result of attending the teachers meeting I early decided to include a sample of teachers in the group.

While still pursuing my academic studies and the continual search of Amish literature related to the inquiry, I began making weekend trips into the Holmes County area for the possibility of doing the field study there. On one visit I contacted the superintendent of the local public schools and inquired into the possibility of employment. My intentions were to live for a short time in the community so that I would have no difficulty in gathering the desired information. Beginning January, 1969, I became a remedial reading teacher in the Charm, Farmerstown, and the Winesburg areas. The Amish children that I taught attended five different public schools; the schools in the Charm and Farmerstown areas are predominantly Amish.

In sociological terminology, the role I played within the study can be said to be more than just an interviewer, or a pure observer. I was closer to a participant-observer than just an interviewer. While living in the area for eight months, I taught Amish children, attended numerous Amish churches, weddings, funerals, a barn raising, made purchases at numerous Amish dry goods stores, visited and dined with Amish families, observed classrooms in the many parochial

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245 Geographical and social information concerning Holmes County is presented in Appendix D.
schools in the area, served on the Mennonite Disaster Committee on several occasions with the Amish in helping to clean up areas that had been flooded during the 4th of July, 1969, flood, and in many situations was a driver for those Amish desiring to visit throughout the area. All of these activities enabled me to gain preliminary information and viewpoints, whenever the situation would be appropriate, concerned with handicapping conditions and related topics.

Toward the latter part of the spring of 1969 I had compiled articles, notes from observations and conversations, and suggestions from numerous Amish and non-Amish individuals, all on examples of the Amish literature dealing with the topic to be investigated. At that time I began to sort out the literary examples and to write preliminary items. While this was being done the Amish approach and concept of the care and understanding of retardates and handicaps was being considered, as well as local Amish and non-Amish institutions that would bear directly and indirectly on the topic.

Retardates in Amish culture stay close to their families and they are given every opportunity to take part in all community activities as their intelligence and social behavior permit. The retardates, the physically handicapped, and the senile all attend church services. Absence of these individuals would mean sickness or the inability to attend due to their extreme conditions. It was because of this custom that I attended many of the church services in the
Holmes County area and saw numerous individuals, children and adults, there with a variety of mental and physical handicapping conditions.

When visiting with numerous families who had handicapped children I was always told and shown what the handicaps could do in the form of helping in the home and on the farm, and any particular skill they had in making objects or handicrafts which were eventually sold or used in the home. For items in the interview schedule which would deal with the economic contribution made by handicaps in Amish life, I decided during these family visits to include questions that would elicit information and opinions on the type of work, jobs, and skills that mentally retarded Amish children could learn and put to use. I began to investigate whether the Amish would distinguish differences in severe or less handicapping conditions in a different context than would a population in an industrial culture.

In and around the Holmes County area are found several nursing homes, a state institution for the retarded, and two county supported public schools for the training of retarded children. Visits were made to these places and conversations were held with teachers and administrators on their opinions concerning the Amish handicapped individual. The reactions of several Amish individuals to these institutions were also noted, as well as the awareness of a parochial school for deaf children sponsored by the Amish church.
in Missouri. Amish ideas, as well as those from the non-Amish associated with the above institutions, were incorporated into the format of the instrument.

As was observed in the previous chapter much of what the Amish write about in regard to handicapping conditions is seen from a religious viewpoint. The pious Amish are frequent readers of the Bible, therefore several passages from this Book were used in the interview schedule. Pertinent Bible scripture that specifically aid the Amish (and other conservative Christians as well) in understanding their relationship to handicapped children and adults is clarified in the following:

And the Lord said unto him. Who hath made man's mouth? Or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? Have not I the Lord? 246

Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind, but shalt fear thy God: I am the Lord. 247

Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feebleminded, support the weak, be patient toward all men. 248

Closely related to Amish religious beliefs in their outlook on mental retardation are their folklore and their

246 Ex. 4:11.
248 1 Th. 5:14.
dialect. Since the literature reviewed and many persons consulted had mentioned folk medicine and medical quackery, several items dealing with the "Pennsylvania Doctor" and folk medical cures for the condition were included in the interview. Plattdeutsch expressions for a variety of handicapping conditions, including mental retardation, were early inquired into and a list was made up of these expressions. From the list pertinent Plattdeutsch expressions were combined and placed in the items.

A great amount of research into the Amish literature dealing with handicapped children, supplemented by continuous conversations and inquiries into the topic, led to the finalization of the interview schedule. The items contained in the schedule are then Amish-oriented and they are also based on the existence of local institutions and factors that would be considered common knowledge among the Amish and non-Amish population in the Holmes County area. Finally, the items and the kinds of responses elicited from the informants reflect the personal knowledge gained of Amish life and culture from the period of time spent working and studying in the area.

The interview schedule is a compilation of 49 open-ended items which are planned to give the Amish every opportunity to reply to them in any manner they so desire. Although a few of the items are structured so that the Amish informants could reply "yes" or "no" most items are arranged
so that the informants would give their opinions in a frank and unbiased way.

The instrument is so arranged that the first six items act as introductory presentations. As the items proceed, in the order in which they were asked of the informants, the interests and directions move into inquiries that deal specifically with mental retardation. In the early part of the interview the expressions "retarded behavior," "mental retardation," or "mental subnormality" were never used, but the phrase "mental retarded—mental retardation" did occur in some of the final items. The feeling I had regarding this was that these terms could be culturally biased, and if used, would possibly influence the thinking of the informants so that their replies would be directed out of their own culture. The study is intentionally directed toward eliciting responses from the Amish on mental retardation, based on their own thoughts and directed toward their own culture. The terms "handicapped children" and "handicaps" were early used instead of any of the above expressions. The 49 items are then a collection of questions which begin with indirect inquiries and end with very strong direct questions dealing predominantly with the condition of mental retardation.

The first six items put the informant at ease, and

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249 Items 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, together with brief compilations of specific answers, are not being presented in the discussion but are found in Appendix E.
were intended to give the impression that questions of a personal, prying, nature were not going to be asked. The replies to all the items were taken down in shorthand and later transcribed.

The items, regardless of their serial order, are planned to fall into several categories. Within these major categories are found sub-topics of inquiry: interpretation of biblical references, opposition to institutionalization, comprehension of the existence of subnormal behavior, Plattdeutsch expressions, limitations of retardates, home and parochial school training for retardates, and the importance of reading material and individual contact in extending awareness of mental retardation. The categories are not completely distinct, but can afford a convenient framework for organizing and comprehending Amish views of the mentally retarded and of mental retardation, as a phenomenon of a closed culture:

A. Old Order Amish conservative religious beliefs relating to mental retardation

1. To inquire into Amish interpretation of biblical references as applied to their present day awareness of mental retardation (Items 37, 20, 21, 44)

2. To determine the nature and possible basis of Amish opposition to institutionalization of retardates and other handicaps (Items 33, 34, 26, 27, 28, 14, 15, 16, 17)

B. Amish explanation of the definition and the etiology of mental retardation
1. To inquire into the Amish understandings of some of the causes of subnormal intellectual behavior (Items 45, 46, 47, 48, 38)

2. To inquire into the prominence of peculiar Amish Plattdeutsch expressions dealing with handicapping conditions and mental retardation (Items 17, 49)

C. The social acceptance and economic limitations of the retardate in Amish life

1. To inquire into the social limitation of the retardate (Items 42, 43, 35, 36, 7)

2. To determine the specific place in Amish agrarian work patterns of the retardate (Items 41, 24, 25, 22, 23)

D. The Amish support of educational and vocational facilities for the retardate

1. To ascertain the importance of Amish self-support for the home and school training of the retardate and handicapped child (Items 12, 13, 18, 19, 39, 40)

2. To determine the degree of acceptance or rejection of a publicly supported school and a workshop training facility for Amish and non-Amish retarded children (Items 8, 9, 10, 11, 32)

E. Areas of information from which knowledge is gained by the Amish concerning the handicapped child

1. To ascertain the importance of reading material and individual contact in and outside the Amish community when dealing with mental retardation (Items 5, 29, 30, 31)
Interviewing of the 52 informants included in the study took place during June, July, and August of 1969. The majority of them, forty-six in number, live in the Holmes County area; five live in either Norwich or Aylmer, Ontario, and one in Plain City, Ohio. The informants were contacted by a variety of methods (see Table 1). Eight of the 52 individuals lived in Wayne County, Ohio, and were sought with the aid of an Amish parochial teacher friend whom I had met at the 1968 Amish parochial school teachers meeting. One morning in July, we drove through the county area visiting the farms of prospective informants. Appointments for the interviews were made for the following week.

In August of 1969, I was the driver for the same teacher and his wife for a week’s trip to the Amish settlements of Norwich and Aylmer. While we were there, the teacher again located several individuals who consented to be interviewed.

Several parents of handicapped children agreed to be interviewed, when I was introduced to them by the mother and father of a handicapped daughter (the mother was also a "Budget Scribe"), whom I had already met and interviewed. This couple approached prospective informants in German and explained the purpose of my study. More than half of the informants were persons whom I met while living in the area or were others to whom I was sent by the few who declined to be interviewed but were courteous enough to send me to persons known to be willing to talk with a stranger.
TABLE 1
CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION AND METHODS
USED IN OBTAINING INTERVIEWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ways of meeting informants</th>
<th>(A) Investigator</th>
<th>(B) Introduced by parents</th>
<th>(C) Introduced by teacher</th>
<th>(D) Published article</th>
<th>(E) Referred by Amish</th>
<th>(F) Assistant</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents of handicapped children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A parent of non-handicapped children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deacons and Ministers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers in Parochial Schools</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Contact initiated by investigator
B. Introduced by parents of a handicapped daughter
C. Introduced by male parochial teacher
D. Contacted by investigator because informant had published an article concerning handicaps
E. Referred to informant by unresponsive Amish individuals
F. Selected and interviewed by assistant
It will be seen that most informants were male. A few teachers were female and in a few interviews with parents of handicapped children, the mother gave most of the responses and I have counted these as female informants. In order to increase the percentage of females included in the survey, the assistance of Miss Emma Hershberger, a teacher's aide in the public school of Winesburg, Ohio, was sought. She interviewed nine mothers of non-handicapped children living around the Winesburg area. Instructions were given to her on the purpose of the study and also on interview techniques. Several practice sessions were held in her home before she began the interviewing.

Interviews usually lasted from one to two hours. They were held in one sitting with the wife of the informant, and some of the children, present. In most cases the wives of the bishops, deacons or ministers, and school teachers remained silent but sat in the same room and listened to the interviewing. Occasionally a spouse would make a clarifying comment or suggestion to substantiate what had been said. All of the informants were helpful, cooperative, and interested in the inquiry, and their comments represent their frank opinions on all questions asked.

The 52 informants are all baptized adults and members of their respective Old Order Amish churches. None, at the time of the interview, were members of any other Amish-Mennonite related or Mennonite affiliated church. The
informants do not come from one Amish church; instead they come from numerous churches, and, in the case of Holmes County, live throughout the settlement. It was felt early in the study that the scattering of the informants would be better for a study of this nature. No specific recognition was given to differences in religious beliefs or traditions. It was unavoidable that some groups, which are extremely withdrawn, could not be included even in a wide spread sampling.

If we use the word "group" in a loose sense perhaps allowable in a sociological investigation, we can divide the total number of informants into five groups. The groups and their inclusive totals are:

22 parents of handicapped children (husband and wife, interviewed together with one or more handicapped children and counted as 11 informants),

11 individual parents of non-handicapped children (nine mothers and two fathers interviewed in the absence of their respective spouses),

10 deacons and ministers (religious brethren who deal with spiritual and social problems in their church districts),

10 teachers in Amish parochial schools (men and women who were full time or "Amish Ninth Grade" teachers, and

10 bishops (the spiritual and religious leaders of ten different church districts).

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The above five groups of individuals do not actually represent "class structure" because there are no distinctive social or economic class positions in Amish society. Three of the included groups may represent "social, religious or educational standings" in Amish life. These are, of course, deacons and ministers, bishops, and teachers, with the latter receiving a salary for work performed from the local Amish school board. The parents of handicapped and non-handicapped children, especially the former, were included in the survey because of their important relationship to the topic of investigation. The parents of handicapped children would have a wealth of information to pass on to a stranger doing a study of this nature; whereas parents of non-handicapped children would probably have a somewhat different outlook on the topic. The grouping used was decided upon early so that a unified system could be set up for securing interviews with a cross section of Amish individuals.

In addition to the 52 informants whose interviews are analyzed in the study, six other individuals were interviewed but are not in the analysis for the reasons specified: one bishop of a church recently involved in a split who would not complete the interview because of what he called "prying", one bishop of a withdrawn church who began answering the items in a negative manner and who would not complete the interview at the urging of his wife, one single female who was caring for a retarded brother, and who would not complete the
interview because of the objection of a normal brother, and three males who did not fit into any of the five groups because of their distinctive characteristics—one single blind son of a bishop, one bachelor farmer, and one middle-aged gentleman with Parkinson's disease.

The age range of the informants is from 21 to 82; more than half of the total are between 40 and 59 years old. (See Table 2) The youngest informant was a male parochial teacher, married with two children; the oldest was a widow with an Rh-factor handicapped son. The average age of the group is 47.1 years with the bishops averaging the oldest, and the teachers averaging the youngest (See Appendix F, Table 7). Seventy-three per cent of the informants are male and 27 per cent are female (See Appendix F, Table 8). Ninety-one per cent of the informants were born and grew up in the Holmes County area. Of this percentage 75 were born in Holmes County proper (See Appendix F, Table 9). The total number of brothers and sisters (living and deceased) is 285 (See Table 3). As the average ages would imply, the bishops, being the oldest, have the highest number of children; and the teachers, being the youngest, have the least number of children.

Ninety-two per cent of the informants have at one time or other, attended public schools. Eighty-two per cent have completed eight years of academic schooling in either public or parochial schools, but only four per cent have
### TABLE 2

**AGE OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3

**TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS BY GROUPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group*</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following abbreviations and their meanings will be used throughout the presentation in table form: Ps of HC (parents of handicapped children), Ps of non-HC (parents of non-handicapped children), D and M (deacons and ministers).
completed all their schooling in parochial schools (See Table 4). This high percentage of informants attending public schools is due to the average age of the groups; for this percentage there were no parochial schools in existence at the time they were in school. As has been noted before, the parochial schools are only of a very recent time.

TABLE 4
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school by correspondence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th grade, public</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th grade, public</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th grade, public</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th grade, public</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th grade, public</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than half of the informants (fifty-six per cent) prefer to send their children to the public schools rather than the parochial (See Table 5). This percentage is again as high as it is because many informants have grown children who are already out of school. Another factor that may have influenced the high percentage is the inclusion of the parents
of handicapped children. Eight of them prefer the public schools over the parochial because of the facilities and programs that are available for their handicapped children. For preferences by group, see Appendix F, Table 11.

**TABLE 5**

**EDUCATIONAL PREFERENCE FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parochial</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parochial and Public</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Respondents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of farmers and housewives is probably somewhat less than in an average Amish community where more than three fourths of the males would be employed as full time farmers. The remaining occupations (those that work out) are those individuals who are very well acquainted with the immediate surrounding non-Amish world. The six per cent working out are in a saw mill, a brick yard, and a chicken processing plant. The nineteen per cent showing teacher as an occupation is, of course, accountable to the 11 individuals included in the group breakdown.
TABLE 6

OCCUPATIONS OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farmer or farmers housewife or widow</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brick yard worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken processing worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saw mill worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harness maker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the 52 informants have an average age of 47.1 years, are predominantly male, were born and grew up in the locale of the study, have a total number of 344 brothers and sisters, and a total of 265 children,\(^{251}\) have completed an eighth grade public school education, prefer to send their children to the public schools, and hold to the traditional occupational patterns of their culture.

\(^{251}\)No double counting of the informants took place of either brothers and sisters or children. In the interviewing of both mothers and fathers, especially the parents of handicapped children, the numbers were taken from the spouse who contributed most to the interview.
Of particular interest to the investigation are the parents of handicapped children. In interviewing the parents, comments were taken from both and combined as one entry. The husband tended to dominate the answering of the items, while most of the wives only offered comments when it seemed as if their spouses had not fully contributed to the explanations. The twenty-two parents (husband and wife counted in the data as one family unit) are all from the Holmes County area. Six of them send their handicapped children to one of the two county supported (Holmes and Wayne) schools for retarded children. Six of the family units were either housewives or farmers, one was a carpenter, two worked out, and one was a widow who lived with her daughter and ran a dry goods store. Three of the 53 children of these parents were adopted.

The parents had a total of sixteen handicapped children of whom four were deceased. There were six males and 11 females handicapped by the following conditions: frequent epileptic attacks, (1); phenylketonuria or phenylketonuria related conditions, (7); mental retardation, (8); and hydrocephalus, (1). A further clarification of these conditions can be seen as:

- a teenage daughter with weekly epilepsy attacks;

---

252 The conditions were all diagnosed by family physicians, and the terms used by the physicians to classify these children were reportedly done so by their parents.
a pre-teenage daughter with phenylketonuria with a speech and hearing defect, and a crippling condition, and a young son, also with phenylketonuria but on a special diet with no physical or mental defects;

a pre-teenage daughter with untreated phenylketonuria, severely retarded and in a small nursing home;

two sons and two daughters with a phenylketonuria-related condition or disease, now all deceased;

a mentally retarded daughter with cerebral palsy, nonambulatory;

a mentally retarded ambulatory teenage daughter;

a severely retarded son born with the Rh-factor condition;

a mentally retarded pre-teenage son with no physical abnormalities;

a mentally retarded teenage daughter, ambulatory;

a severely retarded teenage son, partly bedridden, and a mentally retarded teenage daughter, ambulatory;

a hydrocephalic nonambulatory daughter. 253

Five of the above 16 children were at home at all times. One of the five, the daughter with frequent epileptic attacks, had received three grades of parochial school

253 The extremely high incidence of phenylketonuria among the sixteen children is due in large part to the methods used in obtaining informants. The three mothers of the seven children, all in the Holmes County, Ohio, area have all published articles in Family Life, and were chosen for interview because of their articles. See pages 137, 138, 139.
education, and was removed because of her condition. The other four had no academic school training. Two of the children were attending the Ida Sue School at Wooster, Wayne County, and four were attending the Happy Hill School at Bunker Hill, Holmes County. All of the handicapped children were the parents' natural born children except one, the mentally retarded daughter with cerebral palsy, who had been adopted while an infant without the parents' knowledge of the abnormality. Only one child was institutionalized.\textsuperscript{254}

As has been remarked, nine of the parents of non-handicapped children are mothers who live in the Winesburg, Ohio area. The two males in this group were both farmers, one with 7 normal children and the other with 6 normal children. The former is the chiropractor "doctor" and treats a large number of Amish and non-Amish individuals who come to his home daily.\textsuperscript{255}

The deacons and ministers represent approximately the same church districts as the bishops who were interviewed. One of the ministers (a member of one of the splinter Youth Fellowship churches) had a brother and sister living with his family who were bedridden with a slow degenerative

\textsuperscript{254}While at the time of the interview this daughter was at home and was kept in a room to herself. During the interview she was brought down into the living room but could not maintain herself. At the end of the summer of 1969 she was again placed in a small nursing home in northwestern Ohio.

\textsuperscript{255}See above, p. 147.
disease. Another sister was ambulatory and was showing the same symptoms.

The bishops are representative of 10 different Old Order Amish churches, two are from the Youth Fellowship churches, one from the Swartzentruber group, four from Holmes County proper, one from the Aylmer church, one from Plain City, and one from the southernmost district in the Holmes County area, which is located in the northern part of Coshocton County. None of the bishops had handicapped children, but one had no natural children of his own and had adopted two daughters, whose natural parents had belonged to the Old Colony (Mennonite) of Mexico.

Eight of the teachers are male and two female, one of each sex being still single. Four of the 10 teachers are vocational-agricultural "Ninth Grade Amish" teachers with other full-time occupations, usually farming or carpentry. Nine of the teachers live within Holmes County proper while the tenth lives and teaches in Wayne County, Ohio. One of the Holmes County teachers is hemophiliac.

Five of the 52 informants (one bishop, two teachers, and two ministers) come from the two Canadian settlements of Norwich and Aylmer, Ontario. The Norwich settlement has two church districts with one bishop. They are a withdrawn church, having come from the Maysville-Calmoutier (Wayne County, Ohio) area eleven years ago. They are presently in the midst of the Ontario tobacco country with further Amish immigration at a
standstill (See Map I). The Norwich church does not fellowship with the Aylmer group which came to Ontario, indirectly, from Piketon, Ohio, at least a decade ago. The Aylmer group publish the Pathway Publications, and to some Amish, represent a revival in Amish spiritual beliefs and culture. To some, they instead represent modernization.

The items in the interview schedule did not pose any problem for the Canadian Amish. Several items were changed slightly to fit the locale. On other items in which local institutions were mentioned in the questions, changes did not have to be made since both groups were familiar with these institutions, such as Appolecreek State Institute.
MAP 1—The Norwich and Aylmer Amish Area Settlements
CHAPTER VI

THE FIELD STUDY INVESTIGATION

The variety of concepts involved in successive items of the interview schedule and the multiplicity of free responses made by informants preclude an analysis of results which would be based on an interpretation of each completed interview taken as a unit or whole. The units for analysis must be, in the first place, the individual item or question. Fortunately, as has been shown, the items are planned to cluster in several groups or categories. Hence the presentation of data will become most meaningful if responses are grouped in the classifications given above and interrelationships among the items are thus developed.

Responses to some items are merely "yes" or "no" and can be clearly shown in tables. In many items, choice of an answer was not forced and it is necessary to seek to comprehend divergent expressions. Sometimes tables are helpful in interpreting these results, but often the words of many informants must be reproduced if an accurate conception is to be gained. It has seemed advisable to identify the informants who are quoted, by indicating merely the category to which the informant belongs.
These considerations have dictated that the pattern of analysis in this chapter will be: (1) one or more tables which use appropriate classifications of responses according to types of informants; (2) in some instances, a number of direct quotations from informants which will add flesh to the skeleton of the tables; (3) interpretive comment, especially such as will elucidate relationships among the responses given to several associated items.

Amish Religious Beliefs Relating to Mental Retardation

There are no long discourses found in Anabaptist literature or Biblical scripture which deal explicitly with mental retardation. The understanding of the present day phenomenon is due to our advances in medical and educational treatments and rehabilitation of the retarded. The awareness of retarded individuals within a predominantly Amish-Mennonite agrarian culture has never posed a problem. Within large, self-contained families the retardate was cared for by the immediate family without any serious difficulty. The Mennonite Confession of Faith adopted at Dort, Holland in 1632 reminds those faithful, especially the ordained brethren of the church, that it is their duty to assist in and care for the unfortunate among them:

Also that honorable old widows should be chosen as servants, who, besides, the almoners, are to visit, comfort, and take care of the poor, the weak, the afflicted, and the needy, as also to visit, comfort, and take care of widows and orphans, and
further to assist in taking care of any matters in the church that properly come within their sphere, according to their best ability.256

The article is, of course, based on the scripture taken from I Timothy 5:9 and it sets the pace for a comprehensive view of the humanitarian outlook of the Amish-Mennonite churches toward all afflictions existing within their own groups.

In order to inquire into traditional religious beliefs of the Amish informants two biblical scriptures were reproduced and questions pertaining to these passages were asked. The item incorporating the Old Testament passage (Exodus 20:5) asks if it is possible that afflicting conditions in children could be the result of God's punishment, and the item regarding the New Testament scripture (John 9:1) asks if afflicting conditions (blindness and children who are not "quite right") are part of God's works. The questions were asked in reverse order and were widely separated (Items 20 and 37) in the expectation that the answers received would not be interdependent.

Item 37 deals with a scripture taken from the Old Testament. The scripture pertains to the worshiping of graven images but folklore among conservative Christians and some of our established fundamental churches and sects take this verse as a connection for the births of certain defective

children. The phrases "children who are born with something wrong with them" and "crippled children" were inserted into the question by the investigator to associate it with the scripture and the religious inquiry dealing with the above fundamentalist belief.

The replies of the Amish informants are scattered as Table 17 shows. Less than half of the informants replied that God does not send handicapped children as a punishment, whereas 50 per cent of them avoided answering the question directly and replied "yes and no" or "undecided" or they gave no reply. For 50 per cent of these individuals there is an uncertainty as to whether God could possibly send defective or crippled children into the world. Those individuals who emphatically respond "no" gave further comments on the item.

A parent of a non-handicapped child said:

God put these children here to see what we will do with them.

A bishop replied:

Children are never born on account of a curse. Each person will carry his own sins. We reap what we sow. The verse does not refer to children, but to graven images.

A minister replied:

Children are simply born cripple and sin has nothing to do with it.

A parent of a handicapped child responded:

These children are the way they are because their health was not what it should have been.
In the Bible we find the following:

> Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. 257

Do you think children who are born with "something wrong with them," or let's say, crippled children, are the result of God's punishment sent to the fathers of those that hate him?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided or no reply</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 52 100

257 Ex. 20:5
Finally, a teacher gave her opinion as:

Jesus said otherwise.

For those individuals who would not answer the question either affirmatively or negatively, their volunteered comments usually followed this line of thinking:

It might be, then it might not,
I will not judge,
It is possible but not probable,
and
I would never believe it could happen to me, but it could possibly be.

It is part of Anabaptist thinking, that the New Covenant sets aside the old; thus, the above scriptural verse would be set aside by the New Testament verse used in Item 20 of the interview schedule. When asked whether God sends handicapped children to this world as a punishment for sins committed, the 52 Amish informants do not give a unified answer. The scattering of their replies is possibly due to the fact that the scripture quoted does not pertain directly to handicapped children. The answers of the eleven parents of handicapped children included in the sample dramatically illustrate the uncertainty of present-day Amish ideas on the matter. For these parents the question may have been personally interpreted in that they probably had already read the verse many times before and thought of their own experiences. From the replies, it then can be said that no agreement exists among the informants as to whether these types of children are sent from God as a punishment.
In the passage, Jesus is asked whether a man was born blind due to his sin or to that of his parents. His disciples based their question on the meaning of Exodus 20:5, and Jesus pointedly reinterpreted the meaning of the Old Testament doctrine. In asking the Amish informants if it is possible that blind children, or children that do not "have it all there" are born as a result of God's will, the Plattdeutsch phrase see simn nat gahns recht is added to the original reference to blindness so that the scripture can be connected to the basic inquiry of the study.

For 79 per cent of the informants, as Table 18 shows, there does not seem to be any doubt that blind or retarded children are born so that the works of God can be made manifest. This high percentage religiously accepts the scripture as the authoritative word of God. If Jesus replied that "the works of God should be made manifest in him," then to the Amish, the same applies today.

The one negative response to the item came from a minister who gave the following reason:

I say no because how can we explain the births of all the disabled children when born; for instance, how do we account for instrument babies. Is that God's works?

Four of the deacons or ministers answered the question "yes and no," "not necessarily," or "not quite all that way." Of the various groups, the comments of these four in response to Item 21 stand out as highly interesting:
In the Bible we find the following:

And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered. Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.258

Are children who are born blind or see sinn nat gahns recht sent to us so that God's works are made manifest in him?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Minister</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes and No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I do not know, or no comment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

258John 9:1
Not all children are born so that the works of God are made manifest. Some are and some are not.

The passage in the Bible pertains to that time and to that particular blind man. Sometimes a child born this way can be a lesson to us, not only to the parents but to all of us. As to the purpose of what is behind God sending a handicapped child to the parents, it is difficult to say, because it is different in each parent.

It is possible that some children are sent so that God's work be made manifest; other children are born as a result of some hereditary causes. It is possible but not always probable.

Not all children are sent so that God's works are made manifest. Some children are the result of conditions found in inheritance and nature. Some handicaps are due to inheritance, some are sent from God so that his works are made manifest.

The explanations given by the 37 informants who answered "yes" tend to group around three important concepts, as can be seen in Table 19. It may be said that over three-fourths of the individuals interviewed believe dogmatically that children who are born blind or who do not "have it all there" are among us because it is part of God's works. Seventeen per cent, in some form, express doubt concerning this dogmatic affirmative reply.

The written material included in Item 44 is a selection from an article by an Amish woman, published in Family Life, concerning her views of "defects" appearing among the Amish. It is included to investigate further Amish thinking in the area of religious interpretation of handicapping
TABLE 19
ANALYSIS OF AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES TO ITEM 20

Can you explain why you believe the way you do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are sent to us to show us what God can do.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is God's word, the Bible says so.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are sent to see if we care for them.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number refers to those individuals answering affirmatively in Item 20 minus four informants who gave no reason for their reply.*

conditions, the acceptance of folklore, and the acceptance or nonacceptance of viewpoints on the topic expressed by a member of the Amish faith.

The selection included in the item presents three statements as to why doctors may believe there are more "defects" among the Amish **freundschaft**. They are: (1) The Amish have more children and spend more time with them than do non-plain-people. (2) More is required of those that believe firmly in God's mysterious ways and if one departs from God's teachings a defective child can be sent as a punishment. (3) Defective children are sent from God so that his works
can be made manifest, not as the result of sin committed by the child's parents. Although statements two and three are conflicting, they were left as they were in order to determine whether the Amish informants would recognize the conflict in reasoning.

Three-fourths of the Amish informants agreed with what the woman had written; whereas only 11 per cent would not agree. Seven of the individuals replied "yes or no," or desired not to make a comment. The responses given to Item 37 support the conclusion that the percentage agreeing with the statements is high because the informants agreed with the first and the third comments wholeheartedly but possibly did not entirely accept the second comment. Instead of getting into a long discussion on the item, they may have responded "yes." The high percentage of the informants agreeing with the statements are therefore to be taken with caution. The affirmative responses in accepting the scriptural passage "the works of God made manifest" in Item 20 and 75 per cent in agreement in Item 44.

Items 33 and 34 are designed to obtain, whenever the informant so reasons, a religious response as to whether it is moral to remove one's own kind from the community environment to be placed in an institution or a hospital for

---

259 See Table 17 above.
Much has been said about the Amish marrying within the *freundschaft*. In a recent article in *Family Life*, an Amish woman wrote this about second cousin marriages:

If doctors think there are more defects among the plain-people several reasons may account for it. First, they have more children, with many people today not wanting children to spend their time on. Secondly, if we are taught more of God's love and have more talents, then more is required of us to walk the straight and narrow way. If we sin or walk amiss of God's word, then such things can befall us to lessen our pride, and help us to stay on the right way. Thirdly, it may be like the man who was born blind, that the works of God be made manifest in him.260

Do you agree with what this woman has written?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment, no answer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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long-term care and treatment. The phrase "members who are not bright" is used to connect the inquiry with mental retardation. Seventy-eight per cent of the informants, as shown in Table 21, replied emphatically that they did not think it was right for the Amish to institutionalize one of their own faith.

Five of the informants (9 per cent) replied in the affirmative. They did so on the theory that the institution could possibly help the child or adult who would be committed. The informants who replied "yes or no" rarely made any other comments as to why they were undecided. It is possible that there may be several in this subgroup who have relatives who are mentally retarded or mentally ill already in institutions; therefore, they tend to shy away from specifically answering the question.

From the replies to Item 33 and the responses of the informants in Item 34, it cannot be said that the Amish never institutionalize their own kind. Twenty-two per cent of the total replied that they would institutionalize, or else they would not specifically answer the question. From this percentage reasons for institutionalizing a member of the family who is "not bright" is based on: if the individual cannot be handled, if he is too dangerous, if it is urgent, or if the individual is getting worse. A deacon, on being asked the question, thought for a few seconds and then replied:
TABLE 21
RESPONSES TO ITEM 33

Generally when some people have family members who are not bright they put them in institutions.

Do you think it is right for Amish people to do this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>D and M</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Yes and No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If it is necessary why should we not institutionalize? We are taxpayers, we pay for them!

In opposition to institutionalizing a family member, 78 per cent of the informants adhere to the traditional command of the Bible, to which a number alluded in answering:
But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.\textsuperscript{261}

As Table 22 exhibits, when asked to explain why it is not right to institutionalize, $43$ per cent of the informants who took this position replied, "We are to care for our own regardless."

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Analysis of Negative and Modified Negative Responses to Item 33}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Why do you not think that it is not right?} & \\
\hline
\textbf{Replies} & \textbf{Number} & \textbf{Per cent} \\
\hline
Justifications of Negative Reply & & \\
We are to care for our own regardless. & 17 & \\
It is too expensive. & 1 & \\
Modified Negative Reply & & \\
Only if they cannot be handled. & 21 & \\
Only if they become too dangerous. & 1 & \\
Only unless it is too urgent. & 1 & \\
Only if they get worse. & 1 & \\
\hline
\textbf{Total} & 42 & 100 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{*The total number refers to those individuals answering negatively in Item 33 minus ten informants who gave no reason for their reply.}

\textsuperscript{261} I Tim. 5:8.
Responses to these items support the judgment that the Amish will not institutionalize a retarded child unless he becomes so burdensome to the near or distant family as to make his care an impossibility. This is not an example of conflict in values, but solely one of necessity and expediency.

Although it is part of the Anabaptist Christian ethos to assume future responsibility for the unfortunate, there are other practical reasons which are influenced by our contemporary culture. One of these deals with economics. It is expensive for the Amish to place a retarded child in an institution. Although the Amish insurance fund, from the district in which the child comes, is used to help the family defray some of the cost, long-term care would be a burden to any Amish family. If institutionalization takes place, the Amish prefer a small private Mennonite-related home or hospital in lieu of a larger, less personalized state institution.

The private home, is, of course, the most expensive. This prospective economic burden may, in some cases, be a factor in holding the potentially dangerous defective in the care of the family.

It is highly significant that more than half (57 per cent) of the informants who propose institutionalization do in fact moderate their stand and reveal that they accept institutionalizing an Amish member in extreme
circumstances.

Before a direct question about institutionalization was asked three other items (26, 27, and 28) had already developed the inquiry into the significance of institutionalization of retardates among the Amish. In order not to approach the question in a direct manner, a selection from one of the Budget letters dealing with the institutionalization of an Amish man, was incorporated into the first question.

The Apple Creek State Institution, located in Apple Creek, Wayne County, has nine buildings, with a total population of over 2,000. The institution has historically served the mentally ill. In 1950, Apple Creek officially became a state hospital for the care of these types of patients from the surrounding five counties. In 1963, the hospital was converted into a reception, classification, and training center for the mentally retarded, and began receiving mentally retarded persons directly from a nine county area. 262

The Amish in the Holmes County area all know of the Apple Creek State Institution. They may never have visited nor have any relatives there, but the fact that such a large institution is located near their settlement makes awareness

262 Edward Kahn, General Information, The Apple Creek State Hospital, Apple Creek, Ohio, p. 3.
of it inevitable. The same can be said about the informants in Norwich and Aylmer, since they originally came from the area and are acquainted with the institution.

Item 26 specifically asks the informants if they know the reason for institutionalization of a Dan Hostetler. The response anticipated was "retarded" or "subnormal." Only 17 per cent of the informants replied, "He is retarded." Forty-four per cent replied, "He is mentally ill." Twenty-three per cent replied that they did not know.

The replies are confused, first, because many of the informants, in answering the question, attempted to concentrate on whether they knew Dan Hostetler or not, and, second, because many knew only the past purpose of the institution. Many of the Amish were not aware that the institution is now solely for the care, treatment, and training of mentally retarded children and adults.

When asked whether they know any Amish who are there, 33 per cent of the informants said they knew of Amish who were there. This is a small percentage of replies and emphasizes the traditional Anabaptist thinking in which institutionalization is frowned upon. But there are some Amish patients in the institution, as shown by the affirmative reply to Item 27, given in Table 24. In some cases the replies may be misleading because they actually refer to those Amish young men who are doing their 1-W service at the institution, and, of course, would not be patients.
In the *Budget* recently the following was written:

Dan Hostetler, son of Joseph Hostetler, formerly of Belleville, Pennsylvania, is in the Apple Creek Institution, and he is not feeling very well.\(^{263}\)

**What is Dan Hostetler doing in Apple Creek Institution?**  
Even without knowing who he is, do you know why he is there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Institutionalization</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He is mentally ill.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He is retarded.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He was too dangerous to stay at home.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He is there for &quot;treatments&quot;</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I do not know.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{263}\)The *Budget*, 1 May, 1969, p. 6.
TABLE 24
RESPONSES TO ITEM 27

Do you know any Amish who are there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HG</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HG</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The question, "What kind of people are there?" (Item 28, presented in Table 25) received answers consistent with earlier replies. More than half of the 52 informants again replied, "mentally ill," while only 35 per cent replied "retarded." The responses of individuals replying that the institution takes mentally ill (44 per cent in Item 26, and 65 per cent in Item 28) is not necessarily an indication of ignorance on the part of many Amish informants. It would not be part of the Amish thinking patterns to keep up with the changes in state institutions. Most of them would only be concerned with the administrative patterns of the institution if they had relatives working there or if there was the possibility of having a relative as a patient.
TABLE 25
RESPONSES TO ITEM 28

What kind of people are there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mentally ill</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retarded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Castle Nursing Homes of Millersburg, Ohio, consists of six separate building units. They have over 600 residents and are privately owned. According to one of the sons of the owner, "our nursing homes are the largest non-union privately run ones in the country." Some of the residents are retarded, senile, and in need of constant medical care; but the majority are elderly men and women who

264 For the informants in the Aylmer-Norwich settlements and the bishop at Plain City, "nursing homes" was substituted instead of the Castle Nursing Homes.

265 Conversation with Mr. Donald DeHass, teacher at Charm School, Charm (Holmes County), Ohio., 12 March, 1969.
are there to spend the rest of their lives. The homes, which are the largest employer in the Millersburg area, are licensed by the Ohio Department of Health. 266

The Amish, in the Holmes County area, generally do not look upon the Castle Nursing Homes with favor. Several situations and experiences pertaining to Amish girls employed there, have placed the homes in disfavor. Stories dealing with the Amish girls being led astray by male attendants, not only in smoking habits, but also in close friendships, were mentioned by the informants. There is also the story that much "dope" is used freely in the homes. Furthermore, the Amish informants believe the homes are dealing with human beings on a profit basis. These objections have reached the various Old Order Amish and Beachy-Amish religious leaders. They, in turn, have forbidden young Amish males and females to work there in any occupational category.

It is not surprising that 79 per cent of the informants as shown in Table 26 had never visited the Homes. They would have no cause to be there unless they were visiting for a charitable or a business reason. The Amish young people (and in some cases the elders) will visit for singings or to take cakes to the patients. Some of the 21 per cent who had visited had been there for these reasons. Two teachers had

been personally acquainted with the homes. One had previously worked there, and the other is presently employed to mend clothes in her own home and to take the material to the Homes when completed. Two other informants had also previously worked in the Homes.

TABLE 26
RESPONSES TO ITEM 14

The Castle Nursing Homes of Millersburg, Ohio, care for elderly men and women by providing a place for them to stay.

Have you ever visited there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>79</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to questions concerning the Castle Nursing Homes could be expected to reflect Amish thought regarding institutionalization of dependent persons. Items 14, 15, and 16 were included very early in the interviews, so that replies would be perhaps less related to the replies given
with respect to institutionalization of retarded individuals.

Table 27 exhibits that the replies to Item 15 strengthen the previous replies from Item 14. Eighty-seven per cent of the informants, when asked if they would place a relative there, replied "No." Only six per cent of the informants could say positively that they would place a relative there.

TABLE 27
RESPONSES TO ITEM 15
Would you ever place a relative of yours there for care and treatment?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The informants who answered in the affirmative were one parent of a non-handicapped daughter, one deacon, and one parent of a handicapped daughter. Their explanations, in the order above, were: "I would if the relative is too difficult to care for," "I would, but it depends on the situation," and "I have already tried to put my daughter there but they would not take her."

Since thirteen per cent of the informants did not give an unqualified "no" in answer to the item, it can be said, that for the informants used in this study, the Anabaptist tradition of care and treatment for one's own relations, does not hold solidly. The item does show the entrance of modern thinking (institutional or hospital care) in dealing with the problem.

When the question is asked whether the Amish would object to an immediate member of their family working in the homes (Item 16, Table 28), the percentage of affirmative replies continues to rise as the informants show a more favorable attitude to the Homes. The percentage of negative replies is still high, for sixty-two per cent would not want their son or daughter to work there. There is no way of telling how many of these replies are related to stories told about the Homes, for the stories may well have been an important reason for some of the negative response.
TABLE 28
RESPONSES TO ITEM 16

Would you want your son or daughter to work there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Yes** | 32 | 62 |
| **Indifferent** | 17 | 33 |

| Teacher | 1 |
| Bishop  | 2 |

**Total** | 52 | 100 |

But there is also the feeling--very strong among the Amish in Holmes County--that Amish young people should only work for the Amish.

It is interesting that affirmative responses, 33 per cent, are spread rather evenly throughout the groups of informants. Favorable comments usually ignored the unfavorable publicity the Homes have received: "The people there need help," "I would like to work there myself," and "If my daughter were capable, yes." Those individuals who answered negatively usually replied, "The Homes are not upbuilding to
the faith," "It is too far to come and go each day," and
"I would rather they work for the Amish." It should be
noted that when institutional care of retarded children is
viewed, a greater proportion show that in an extreme case
they would be able to permit institutionalization of a retar­
ded individual, even in the face of strong religious belief
opposed to it.

Amish Explanation of the Definition and the Etiology of
Mental Retardation

Several items presented to the informants which deal
specifically with mental retardation are directly put to them
in a form to elicit either a definition or a cause. Other
items that pertain to mental retardation deal with the possi­
bility of too close a marriage causing defects, whether the
informants would encourage close marriages, whether they can
describe a range of ability among mankind, and the use of
the Plattdeutsch in describing mental retardation and related
handicapping conditions.

The term "mentally retarded" is used directly to the
informants for the first time in Item 47. The item specifi­
cally asks what they think a mentally retarded child or adult
is. In Table 29 it will be seen that slightly more than 50
per cent of the informants replied that a retarded child or
adult was one "who was not normal." This category includes
such comments as "he is below average," "he has trouble learning,
walking, and talking," "they are behind in maturity," and "they do not respond like other children."

Nineteen per cent of the informants believed a retarded child or adult "had something wrong with his brain."

Descriptive comments in this category were: "they are net recht, their brain is ruined," "they have a sick brain, therefore they cannot think for themselves," "their mind is damaged and they cannot do what others can do," and "there is something wrong physically or with their brain mechanism, they function improperly and cannot compete with problems or spiritual truths."

Sixteen per cent of the responses were of a specific nature, usually without any further comments. An example of the statements in this category were: "they are net gahns recht and are born that way," "they are mongoloids," "they can be PKU children," and "they are slow learners and mental retardates, but there is no sharp distinct line between the two."

Eleven per cent of the informants gave scattering responses: "God's will," "a person different from the mentally ill," and "one who is possessed by a demon." (This comment came from a male parochial school teacher who believed that much of present-day retarded behavior was to be explained by the biblical reference to casting out devils and demons from the sick).
### TABLE 29

RESPONSES TO ITEM 47

What is a mentally retarded child, or adult?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A person who is &quot;not normal&quot;</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A person who has something wrong with his brain. It is ruined.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A specific category (PKU, severely retarded, net gahns recht, etc.)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is God's will.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A person who is different from the mentally ill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A person who is &quot;demon possessed&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the first two categories are taken together, 73 per cent of the informants see mental retardation as an intellectual or physical defect. It is a mental or physical condition that limits the individual in maturity, school learning, and in social, economic and religious participation in the community.
Many different causes for mental retardation were given by the informants in answer to Item 48, which permitted each individual to give more than one cause if he wished to do so. Table 30 lists the causes as stated by the informants. The majority of answers are found in categories dealing with the "use of poisons," "injury and accidents," and "birth defects." The informants' responses mentioning "poisons" reflects the Amish tradition of belief in folk medicine. To many of the Amish "poisons" are medicines, liquids, materials or pills taken into the body under the prescription of physicians or for non-medical reasons. These materials would include: tobacco in the form of smoking, alcohol in the form of drinking, pills of all kinds (especially birth control pills), narcotic drugs, and air and water pollution.

More direct causes related to the condition of mental retardation would be those comments which stressed injury and accidents and birth defects. In these categories were to be found the following comments: lack of thyroid gland, falls, injury at birth, defects, brain injury or damage, and negligence in the use of medical instruments. The other 36 comments represent a variety of replies, some having direct relationship to mental retardation and others representative of the Amish folklore.
## TABLE 30
RESPONSES TO ITEM 48

What causes mental retardation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The use of poisons (birth control pills, smoking, drinking, drugs, pollution of air and water)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury and accidents</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth defects, big heads, brain damage</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited and marriage within the 'freundschaft'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I do not know.&quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negligence of the doctor, use of instruments at birth</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases, sicknesses, fevers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shock, worry, being afraid</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is God's will.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific causes (Mongoloid, PKU, etc.)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad blood</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The age of the mother or the parents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punishment from God</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demon possession</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total represents the accumulated amount of responses given by all of the fifty-two informants.*
Directly following Item 44, which was based on the selection taken from *Family Life* pertaining to marriage within the *freundschaft*, two direct questions were presented to the informants dealing with possible causes of mental retardation. Item 45 asks whether it is possible that marriage within the blood *freundschaft* could cause defects in children. Seventy-three per cent of the informants, as demonstrated in Table 31 replied in the affirmative, with only eight per cent answering negatively. The latter group consisted of one parent of a non-handicapped child, one minister, one deacon, and one bishop. Eight of the individuals included in the survey would not answer or gave "no comment" to the question.

The high percentage replying that child defects could result from too close a marriage within the *freundschaft* is illustrative of the awareness of the negative results of "inbreeding" among a closed cultured group. However, while comments supporting the affirmative answer reveal acceptance of the principle, they also exhibit reluctance to accept it wholeheartedly:

> It could be. I don't know other than what I read. It could easily happen. One of my cousins has three children who are not bright. They are second cousins and only one of their children is really bright. You might think that it may be inherited but it is not for us to say. (a mother of a handicapped child)

---

267 See pp. 214-215 above, including Table 20.
If you get too close in livestock you get weak animals. The same is true of humans. (a father of non-handicapped children)

We are taught that defective children can come if the marriage is too close, but why this is so, I do not know. (a female schoolteacher)

It is possible. Parents used to say that it was. The Bible does not state it too plainly but the laws of the land do not want marriage too close by blood. (a bishop)

Asthma follows relation as most defects do. If both parents have defects the children will show up with these, but defects sometimes happen when there is no close relation involved. (a Canadian deacon)

The belief of some informants that defects are not caused by too close a marriage was supported by comments such as these:

I know of no defective child in close related marriages. (a parent of a non-handicapped child)

The Bible records many close marriages without having defective children. I can't believe that it is possible. (a deacon)

Informants whose answers were "I do not know" or were "yes and no" gave similarly ambivalent comments:

My wife and I are second cousins. Some people have retarded children who are related and others who are not related. (a minister)

If you get too close in marriage it is possible that you may have defective children, but I don't know.
TABLE 31
RESPONSES TO ITEM 45

Is it possible that marriage within the blood *freundschaft* could cause defects in children?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment or no answer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I just do not know. (a parent of a handicapped child)

It is possible but not probable. We should marry no closer than what the scripture states. (a deacon)

It cannot be entirely said that defects come solely from marriage within the *freundschaft*. (a minister)
Although a very large percentage of the informants seem to recognize the possibly adverse results of marriage between close relatives their extensive comments demonstrate an attempt to rationalize their continuing adherence to traditional marriage customs.

The second direct question concerning close marriages as they relate to the appearance of defective conditions (Item 46) is a more personal question than the previous one, in that it asks the informants if they would encourage marriage within the blood _freundschaft_. It was therefore expected, as Table 32 confirms, that the percentage would rise (87 percent negative over 73 percent affirmative in the previous question), simply because the Amish, like all peoples wish to take precautions, if possible, against the continuing appearance of defective children within a family situation.

All of the groups responded in a negative manner in high numbers except the teachers. Only 6 of the teachers answered "No." Examples of the reasoning of the 4 who would not commit themselves negatively is seen in these statements:

I do not know whether I would encourage it or not. If they want to I do not know what I would say. It is illegal here in Ontario for two cousins to marry. I do not know if I would or not. (a female teacher)

First cousin marriages would be close enough. My wife and I are second cousins. I could not say anything against it because I am involved in it. (a vocational-agricultural teacher)
TABLE 32
RESPONSES TO ITEM 46

Would you encourage marriage within the blood freundschaft?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are cases where the Lord will lead two people together so that marriage will take place regardless of relationship. (a single vocational-agricultural teacher)

Many of the Amish answering negatively to the item gave their reasons, but in doing so also drew a line to show where marriage would be acceptable and unacceptable:

I would not advise anyone to marry their first cousin but second cousins, I have no objection to this. (a deacon)

It is customary not to marry too close. My wife and I are second cousins but I would not encourage first cousin marriages. We
have a lot of second cousin marriages among the Amish. (a bishop)

If the relation is too close it is not good in the long run. (a mother of a non-handicapped child)

Others who answered "no" were more emphatic:

Second cousin marriages are too close for me. In actual cases we know of blood problems in babies in marriages of these kinds. We do not know if this is the reason. They have made studies showing some evidence of blood problems, we should take heed from this. (a minister)

There is too much close marriage already. There was a write-up about this in the Budget. Many of the people in the Big Valley (Pennsylvania) were involved in this inter-marriage. My dad comes from there and he stepped out of his church to get a wife. He did not marry his relatives. (a mother of a handicapped child)

We should not marry too close because most of the retarded children I know have parents that are somewhat related. (a parent of a handicapped child)

From the replies received on Items 45 and 46, it can be said that the Amish informants acknowledge that "defects" can result from marriages within blood relationship. Too close for the majority of the Amish would be between first and second, possibly even third cousins. The majority of them say that they do not desire to encourage close marriages.

A paradox exists in both items concerning the definition and the reaction to blood freundschaft. All living Amish today are related to each other in some way or other. The Amish informants were aware of this but took the item to be
a reference to close blood relation. Although the Amish know they are distantly related to each other, they still distinguish between this distance and their immediate families. It may further be said that the Amish are becoming more aware of existing conditions existing among themselves that seem to be unexplainable except through the study of genetics. This has recently come about by published studies. This awareness is more pertinent among the Amish of the Holmes County area due to the recent genetic studies conducted there by the Johns Hopkins University team under the direction of Dr. Harold Cross among all existing families having abnormal conditions.

To learn how the Amish express themselves in dealing with the topic of a wide range of abilities among individuals, Item 38 asks, "How do you recognize or how do you describe the range or level of ability among people?" The two highest responses given are associated with a religious interpretation (40 per cent) and on the basis of utility or practicality (31 per cent), as Table 33 shows.

Twenty-one of the informants, in answering the question, referred to the Parable of Talents, found in the book of Matthew. In this parable God gave three men 5, 2, and 1 talents according to their ability. The men departed. The one with five talents increased them to ten; the one with two increased them to four, and the last, in disgust, buried his
TABLE 33
RESPONSES TO ITEM 38

Some people have good talent and ability so that they can learn easily the carpentry, masonry, and buggy or harness trades. Some can simply do things better and quicker than others. You can easily see this in schools where children learn easily and others do not.

How do you recognize a range of ability among people? Describe the range or level among people to me as you understand it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptions</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The range, level or ability among men is God given.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can see the range, level or ability among men by the work or final product they do.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the range, ability or level is not what it should be, it is due to laziness.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The range, level or ability is a natural instinct.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

one talent. For the informants who replied to the item, using this parable, the reference is sufficient to explain the range of difference among mankind. Further, the range is given to men by God, and it is the responsibility of men to use their talents wisely and industriously.

An example of some of the replies closely connected with the parable above or with the range of differences being
a gift from God are seen as:

The range is God given. It is not all evenly divided. I am a carpenter. My boy is a preacher. I would find it hard to preach, whereas my boy could not do carpentry work as well as I can. There is no exact range. (parent of a non-handicapped child)

Some have talents and some do not. What talents we have we should enjoy. The talents among people today is still much like the 5-2-1 parable of talents. (parents of handicapped children)

Not all people have the same gifts. This is because God sets it so man has different ranges. (a teacher)

Gifts and talents are given to us by God. There is a gap between the ranges. Some of the ranges are up, some are down, and some are in the middle. In the middle you find the working man. (a bishop)

Our talents are God given. We are created this way with different talents. There are wonderful singers and writers, but these are in the minority. We need to encourage others to improve their talents because we are held accountable for our talents. Since our talents are God given we must also work on the improvement of them. (a deacon)

Even the 31 per cent of the informants who gave a more worldly description of the range of ability among mankind, based on work or achievement, frequently used the word "talents":

People have to see talents themselves. They do things that they like. They are smart in some things, and not smart in others. Learning does not stop in school. We should keep on learning. If we do we will improve our talents. (a parent of a non-handicapped child)
The range depends on the amount of knowledge a person has. Teachers should be brighter than their pupils. Some people can easily tear things apart, and some just like to go out and plow. (a teacher)

You can recognize the range of ability by seeing people in action. I can tell a successful mason the first day he comes to work. You can see the same thing in women's sewing. Their talents will show by the clothes they wear. (a parent of a handicapped child)

You can see people's talents by how they take hold of what they do and by their actions. (a bishop)

You can see talents in people. This is done by their reputation. If you want something done you go to the person who is known for that skill. (a minister)

Other comments (totaling 29 per cent) are arranged in categories of "if the range is not what it should be, it is due to laziness," and "the range is a natural instinct." The latter was included as a separate category because there was usually no religious interpretation added, and it possibly comes closest to describing "intelligence" as a factor in intellectual endowment.

To an outsider the replies of the Amish informants seem very vague, but to the Amish themselves, the categorical descriptions are sufficient to explain the range of ability among people in their agrarian culture. The Amish prize talents and gifted individuals. They say, "the more you have the better off you will be." Since they are a conservative religious people, the thinking pattern used to
explain the differences of intellectual competence, is closely related to the belief that talents, abilities, and instincts come from God.

The Amish place importance on the improvement of skills and talents. Those who have high ability in Amish settlements are the successful carpenters, the prosperous farmers, the talented preachers, and the individuals who have the skill for writing in the numerous Amish-Mennonite publications. These individuals are acknowledged by the Amish for their final product or for their particular accomplishment. In turn, the habit of boasting about one's successes is never condoned in Amish life, for to do so is to be full of pride. Further, everybody in Amish culture is on an equal level. There are no distinct social classes, and everyone is part of the Amish Brotherhood.

Finally, it is fair to say that the Amish, as most people, recognize individual differences among individuals. Their expressions for discussing this topic are somewhat general and vague, but this is probably due to the infrequent opportunity to discuss the subject with comparative strangers. It is also noted that many of the informants could possibly have expressed themselves much better if they could have used the German dialect.

In conversing with several Amish individuals not included as informants, it was observed that their use of the German dialect in describing several ranges was seen in
expressions like *Er ist shick* (He is apt), and *Er ist gashick*.
(He is very apt). Contrary to being very apt is *Er ist unhshickt* (He is very ill fitted). In order to distinguish between competency and incompetency in intelligence, some Amish will say *stump sinnig* (dull minded), and *Er ist shaft* (He is sharp).

The Amish use traditional Plattdeutsch phrases when speaking of or about retarded individuals. These are: *er hots net gahns wie andre leit* (he is not very bright), *see sinn net gahns recht* (he is not quite right), *sinn net gahns all dot* (he does not have it all there), *kind can net vait sehna and swetza* (he cannot see or talk very far). These phrases are still used in daily conversations but they are quickly being replaced by the English "retarded," or "handicapped," because the latter are easier to say and more acceptable. As one mother of a handicapped child put it, "the word retarded is being used more and more by the Amish because it is not as offensive as *net gahns recht*."

For Item 17, in order to see if the informants would use the English word "retarded" freely, the traditional phrases were typed on a card. While they looked at the phrases the question was asked. Eighty-one per cent of the informants (see Table 34) replied that the phrases were associated with "retarded," "retardation," or "retarded children." An additional eight per cent of the informants preferred to use the word handicapped. The fact that the
TABLE 34
RESPONSES TO ITEM 17

What do these German words mean in English? Can you think of a word or words that best tell what these German words are?

(1) er hots net gahns wie andre leit
(2) see sinn net gahns recht
(3) sinn net gahns all dot
(4) kind can net vait sehne and swetza 268

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Retarded&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Handicapped&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other answers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;their mentality,&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;not normal,&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dumb,&quot; and &quot;I do not know.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

268 These phrases were typed on a card which was handed to the informants while the question was being read to them.
interview was opened with a reference to the investigator's interest in handicapped children may have influenced some of these answers. But the word "retarded" was not used by the investigator until Item 47. The strength of the majority response to this item, which requires a forthright use of an English word borrowed from the surrounding culture in very recent years, is most striking.

To continue the exploration into the Plattdeutsch vocabulary, Item 49 was asked by presenting the informants with a card containing nine groups of English words descriptive of handicapping conditions. The informants were then asked to translate each word or phrase into the dialect. Table 35 is arranged to show the percentage of informants predominantly using the Plattdeutsch, or the English, or an evenly distributed amount of both Plattdeutsch and English. PKU (Phenylketonuria) was added to the list to see if the Amish individuals would recognize the term since it had appeared in several articles written by the Amish in the Pathway Publications. Three of the informants (parents of handicapped children) did recognize the letter. Twenty-three individual comments asserted that it could only be said in English, whereas 28 individual comments showed an unawareness of the letters or the meaning of the abbreviated form. Of more importance to the study than the percentages using the Plattdeutsch or the English, or an equally combined amount of both, are the expressions in the dialect themselves. The variety of
TABLE 35
RESPONSES TO ITEM 49

How many of these English words can you change over into the German?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informants more often used the German for the handicapped terms</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informants more often used the English for the handicapped terms</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informants used approximately half English and half German for the handicapped terms</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

expressions are illustrative of the widespread awareness of these conditions, and the terms themselves also show differences in the dialect itself within a large community settlement.

The term "slow learner" is used in the dialect except for a slight difference in pronunciation. The Amish tend to say slow lernah, and as in English, it means a person is slow in school learning. The translation of "brain damage" elicited a variety of responses. Hirn vadahva (brain spoiled),
vadahva in brain (spoiled in the brain), brain shada (brain damaged, iss net all dat (is not all there), mind iss net recht (mind is not right), and hirn shada (brain damage) are examples of the variety of terms used.

The words used in translating "birth defect" were: geburts fehla (birth mistake), defect is net recht (defect is not right), and again, hirn shada (brain damage). Numerous of the Amish consistently used hirn shada in referring to brain damage and birth defect. This usage would tend to illustrate that there would be little difference between the two English expressions when used by the Amish in their local conversations.

The condition of being "epileptic" in the Plattdeutsch was expressed by twenty-four individual comments as fallet grangket (the falling sickness). Other less common expressions were: fits, fall-sucht (epilepsy), and gichteaa (confulsions).

Nineteen individuals translated "hearing impaired" into the dialect expression as haht herra (hard of hearing). Several of them used another common expression kann schlecht herra (can hear bad). Six of the informants preferred to use this term over haht herra. Other dialect expressions elicited from the informants were: schlechtah herrah (bad hearer), dahp (deaf), and herryt schlecht (hears badly).

For twelve of the Amish informants "sight impaired" is schlecht sehna (to see poorly). Some of the Amish, as
in translating the previous condition (dahp), also do the same in this instance with blint, which, of course, refers to blindness. These individuals do not make any great distinction in the levels of total blindness or partial blindness. Simply, if one is "sight impaired" he is blint. Other less common dialect expressions dealing with "sight impaired" were: net gut sehna (doesn't see well), net recht sehna (doesn't see right), schlechte ahwwe (bad eyes), and sehna blint (sees blind).

As has already been seen, the nearest equivalent to "mentally retarded" in the Plattdeutsch is net gahns recht (not quite right). This Plattdeutsch expression was used by nineteen informants, whereas only six of them preferred to use "mentally retarded" instead of any of the dialect expressions. Others mentioned were: net recht (not right), sehna sehr steah (looks very staring or rigid), atlich farrupt (pretty crazy), and eppah so iss net gut (someone like that is not well). The dialect word gut refers to behavior.

The evident, direct assimilation into the dialect of English words (defect, fits, brain, cripple, slow learner) shown in the answers given to Item 49 and the ready use of "retarded" in the answers given to Item 34, argue that the use of English terminology for handicapping conditions will continue to grow and the traditional expressions in dialect will decline in popularity.
The Social and Economic Limitation of the Retardate in Amish Life

The items that pertain to the limitations of the Amish retardate are concerned with: whether they would be allowed to be married or baptized into the Amish gma (church), whether they could manage a farm on their own, whether they could hold an office within the gma, whether church brethren ever consider retardates to be a problem, whether retardates or other handicaps are ever acknowledged to be problems within an Amish community, what specific work retardates go into and what types of skills, chores, and work cannot enter, and what specific handicapping conditions are considered, by the Amish informants, to be severely and less severely handicapping.

From the responses of the 52 informants, as seen in Table 36, it may be said that the Amish do not oppose marriage for dull persons or individuals who are "not bright;" nor do they oppose baptising the same type of individual. There exists a degree of difference between the informants in their opinions regarding marriage and baptism of the individuals concerned. Fewer of the informants (55 per cent) endorse marriage, whereas many more (81 per cent) of them encourage marriage. Marriage is a more serious responsibility for an adult in Amish society than is baptism.

Baptism for the Amish is a ceremony which enables the individual to join the gma. It is also an outward sign of
TABLE 36
RESPONSES TO ITEM 42

Would people, who are "not bright," be married, baptized into the Amish gma, or be able to fully direct and run a farm?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marriage</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It depends on how far gone the person is.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment or no answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Baptism</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment or no answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fully directing a farm</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It depends on how far gone the person is.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment or no answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
confession of faith and intent to lead a Christian life through the tenets of Amish traditions and belief. Several ministers in the Amish gma, on discussing the item as it related to retarded children and adults, replied: "It is all right to baptize children that are not bright because it is the beginning of membership into the church; it is not the washing away of sins." Baptism for the Amish is also a ceremony that enables the individual to become accountable for his sins. Those that would be mentally retarded and baptized would, of course, not be accountable. Here the Amish make a concession. Baptized retardates are considered innocent and they are not placed in the same category with individuals who understand and who are accountable for their behavior.

This concession in baptizing retardates tends to break with the Anabaptist tradition, but within the Amish churches baptism is de-emphasized. As was seen above the ceremony purposely brings the individual into the gma. All adults within an Amish community are members of the gma; this includes the retardate. It is obvious that the Amish are very reluctant to set anyone aside or to leave him out. The theological question of guilt and innocence is less important than the social goal of acceptance. Therefore, retardates will usually be baptized.

In response to whether a person who is "not bright" would be able to run a farm the informants (76 per cent) recognize that it is impossible. This is to be expected, and it would be an unusual situation if there was a man among the
Amish who was below average in intelligence fully running and operating a 70, 80 or 90 acre farm.

In regard to holding a position within the gma, those individuals below normal functioning would be denied such positions, as shown in Table 37. As was seen in the previous discussion on Amish church traditions, individuals who hold church positions are chosen by lot. Nominations are submitted by members of the church and retardates or dull individuals are never placed in the lot for a position. Only the highly intelligent are ever chosen by the community to fill a church position. In reply to the question a Canadian minister said, "No, a person who is not bright can never hold a position. If it ever takes place then the church is beginning to decay."

From the percentage replying "No" it can easily be determined then that religious positions within the Amish gma are closed to those who are not of average or above average intelligence. The ministers and deacons, in turn, tend to be very intelligent, well-read, not only in the Bible but in commentaries, newspapers, and journals. The ministers and deacons are also looked upon as being social and spiritual leaders in their communities, and possible replacements for the position of bishop.

Items 35 and 36 were asked specifically of the Amish bishops included in the survey. Eighty per cent of them do not consider either bright or dull children to be problems, and 70 per cent of them state that a discussion of whether
TABLE 37
RESPONSES TO ITEM 43

Can a person, who is "not bright," become a deacon or a minister in the Amish gma?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other comments</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

bright or dull children could possibly become a problem has never come to their attention. (Tables 38 and 39)

The only specific problem mentioned by one of the bishops was the institutional situation of a retarded child, the daughter of a family within the bishop's district. The problem was one of finances, since the gma was presently helping the family to pay for the institutionalization of the child. Replying to the question, the bishop stated:

Yes, a dull child can become a problem. In this church we have a child that is severely retarded. Her parents have asked the church to help with finances. We are helping to pay.
for the child being in the institution. As a church we can afford it but the family cannot themselves. In some churches a problem could arise over something like this.

TABLE 38
RESPONSES TO ITEM 35

Do Amish bishops ever consider exceptional children, that is, the bright and the dull, to be a problem in an Amish community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reply</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total 10 100

*The total number of informants includes only the bishops.

From both items it can be concluded that the bishops themselves do not consider the bright or the dull to be a problem because of their intellectual endowments. The only problem that could arise would be that of finances for long term medical or hospital care. One of the bishops, though, would not reply to either item, and on Item 36 his statement was: "I would not rather answer that. Church problems should not be brought into the public."
TABLE 39
RESPONSES TO ITEM 36

Has it ever come to your attention that any bishops have ever discussed this problem with you, or among themselves?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reply</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will not answer the question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total 10 100

*The total number of informants includes only the bishops.

To see if the Amish informants would recognize that a handicapped child sometimes is a problem child, Item 7 was asked of all informants. Only eight per cent (5 comments) of the total replied that a handicapped child or a handicapping condition is recognized as a problem. Two comments, from parents of handicapped children directed toward their own children, were specific in relating handicapped to problem children: one involved the problem of epilepsy, the other, a serious nervous condition. The other three comments dealt with: "one who does not apply what he knows," "one who does not know right from wrong," and "one who cannot do what he is told to do." These comments, coming from a parent of
a handicapped child, a bishop, and a teacher could possibly refer to dullness or problems in interpersonal behavior in children or young people.\footnote{269}

From Table 40, it can be seen that 61 per cent of the informants believe a problem child to be one who is disobedient or spoiled, while 31 per cent believe a problem child to be one who is dissatisfied. Both of these types of children, would imply, are problems when they are prone to disobey the wishes and desires of their parents, and when they become rebellious due to dissatisfaction with themselves in Amish life.

According to the comments of the informants, a disobedient child is one who may buy an automobile and drive it for pleasure through the Amish community, or one who frequents bars, drinks, smokes, and uses foul language. A dissatisfied child is one who steals, destroys property, does not work, does not accept the tenets of Christianity, and eventually leaves the Amish community. He is rebellious and embarrasses his parents before the Amish and the non-Amish community.

If disobedience and dissatisfaction are taken as serious symptoms of problem conditions existing among Amish communities, intelligence would seem to have nothing to do

\footnote{269}The handicapping condition itself probably poses no great problem but, in the view of the five comments coming from the informants it becomes a problem to them when it limits their life activities in the home and in the community as well.
TABLE 40
RESPONSES TO ITEM 7

What is a problem child, not a child growing up in a city, but a child living in a normal way of life; I am referring to any community, like yours for instance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A problem child is one who is disobedient and spoiled.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A problem child is one who is dissatisfied.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A problem child is one who is handicapped in some way, and others.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number and per cent is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.*

with the situation. It is not the high level or low level of intelligence possessed by an Amish individual that will cause him not to join or to leave the Amish church. If he is intelligent, he can make substantial contributions to Amish life by contributing his talents to the culture. An intelligent person simply does not have to go out of the Amish community in order to be successful. Furthermore, handicapping conditions, either physical or mental, are not to be considered serious problems in the light of the above
comments. In the Amish settlements, the handicaps are cared for by the immediate family, and their conditions, as most parents see them, only become problems when parental activities are restricted.

When the Amish informants were asked (Item 41) what sort of work could be done by people who are *saint nat so vait or net gahns recht*, the largest percentage said "work with the family." In this context the individual would do basic chores around the house and farm that would be within his intellect and range of experiences. If the individual is not doing any of these basic farm chores he would possibly be involved in some of the family industries—making or helping in the repairs of buggy parts, making or aiding in the putting together of brooms, or aiding in the agricultural duties of the farm.

Another frequent answer was "work with others," which is really not a very different answer. To work for another person would consist of being a "hired boy or girl" on a day-to-day basis with pay being prorated for the work done. The "hired boys" would assist other Amish farmers in the form of fieldhands during harvesting or planting time; whereas the "hired girls" would assist in the cleaning, canning, washing, and caring for younger children in the home.

Four of the deacons and ministers replied that these individuals "would be supported by the church." This would
TABLE 41
RESPONSES TO ITEM 41

Some people say that in every group of people there is a group that is excluded from what others can do because they do not know as much, or do not know enough to get along by themselves, or to support a companion.

If there are people like this among the Amish, what then do they go into? Do you know any kind of work that people, who are saint nat so vait, or net gahns recht, have gone into?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work with the family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported by the church, companion or sponsor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make handicrafts or sell things</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other comments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I do not know,&quot; or &quot;do what they are able.&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
be expected for the deacons to reply since it is a duty of their office. Several other informants (3 teachers) mentioned the individual could "get along in the world" if he had a sponsor. A sponsor is usually another member of the family, or in a marriage, the husband or wife, which ever tends to be the brightest. Three of the bishops made this comment and referred to situations where a marriage has taken place and the wife has had to do the bookkeeping or the buying.

Sixteen per cent of the informants were less hopeful. Four of them said, "I do not know what these people could do," whereas one said, "do what they are able," another said, "nothing," and two made the comment "just let them pass the time away."

If "work with family," "work with others," and "make and sell handicrafts" are combined as examples of the type of work that dull individuals have the opportunity to enter in Amish life, then 65 per cent of the informants have specifically acknowledged that some type of work can be found for these individuals. The categories of "supported by the church," and "others," if combined (35 per cent), show no specific type of work that the less fortunate can go into. Probably these respondents were thinking of severe retardation. Furthermore if the 65 per cent is combined with the "supported by the church..." then 84 per cent of the
informants are aware of what can be done for those individuals who may not be able to compete on the same level as the rest of the community.

Item 24, like Item 41, inquires into the types of work, jobs, or duties available primarily for children in Amish culture who may be retarded or slightly defective. The previous item was directed toward adults "who did not know much." The English phrase used in Item 24 to denote dullness is children who are "not bright." This is sometimes used among the Amish when referring to mild mental retardation or slowness.

The greatest percentage of responses (see Table 42) for the kinds of work individuals can do who are "not bright" center around general farmwork for the boys, and general housekeeping duties for the girls. These are the basic work patterns for all Amish children and others living in predominantly rural areas. Working around animals follows, and with the three categories placed together, nearly 88 per cent of the total comments allow for a person who is "not bright" to do regular farm or household duties.

General housekeeping and farmwork take in many types of work, but in reality they are quite limited. The particular nature of the job that an individual "who is not bright" can do in these two areas, is also seen to be quite limited. Only ten per cent of the comments mention repair work, a job taking up much time on any Amish farm and requiring some dexterity and skill. If the individual cannot do general farmwork or
Many people wonder about the things that children, who are "not bright" cannot do. Many city people say they cannot do much because of the fast way and complex manner in which people live in the cities.

Can you think of some ways in which Amish children, who are "not bright," can, and do, do things here in the Holmes County area?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General farmwork</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working around animals</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing repair work</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It depends on how not bright the child is</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errand work</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get them to do anything</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number and per cent is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.

housework, or repair things, then he is left to do errand work. This is probably associated with getting the mail, bringing in laundry, carrying water and wood, and possibly carrying milk.

Six comments recommended "just get them to do anything,"

TABLE 42
RESPONSES TO ITEM 24
and twelve comments said in some way "it depends on how not bright they are." The 9 per cent of the informants who concentrated on "variation," and did not specifically mention any type of work, illustrate that part of the informants were aware that there are different levels of "not being bright."

Inquiry into the types of work opportunities available for Amish boys and girls who would tend not to be "bright," was continued in Item 25, by asking the question in a negative form, that is, what work can they not do? The individual total number of responses for both items seems to show that the Amish are more interested in what these children can do (129 responses) instead of what they cannot do (87 responses).

The three major limiting categories on the types of work these children cannot do (see Table 43) are: working around movable machinery, working and operating their own business or working in factories, and doing independently all of the duties associated with household work. Seven of the informants said that there is nothing that these children can do. This opinion, held by a minority, is probably associated with the six comments made in the previous item which said, "get them to do anything."

There are definite limitations placed on dull or retarded individual children or young adults in any Amish community. The Amish would never allow a retarded child to assume control over a horse and buggy while it was on the highway or on any of the gravel county roads. A teenager of normal intelligence
TABLE 43
RESPONSES TO ITEM 25

Can you think of some things that a child, let's say, who is *Net gahns recht* cannot do here in the Holmes County area?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work around movable machinery</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and operate own business or in factories</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work doing complete housework without supervision</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is nothing that they can do</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number and per cent is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.*

would be allowed to do so. Although the horse and buggy is by far not as expensive as an automobile there is still expense involved (up to $600.00 for the buggy and at least $300.00 to $400.00 for the horse). It is also very unlikely that a retarded child would work around the larger livestock (horses and cows) due to the danger of getting kicked or losing control of the animals while in the field or on the road, although in the previous item, 17 per cent of the respondents said that these children could work around animals. Reference is made here to smaller animals (chickens, goats, turkeys, etc.) who
can be fed and their quarters cleaned by retarded young people.

A retarded child could never do complicated work in a factory or be a storekeeper. There are less complicated factory jobs (stocking and simple assembly line work) that the Amish believe certain retardates, with training, could do, but the majority of the informants believe that it would be a struggle for a slow or retarded individual to work out away from the Amish community.

The complete running of the household duties poses a tremendous burden to a slow or dull Amish girl. The Amish informants believe it takes intelligence to plan a meal for a large family, do the sewing, mending, milking the cows, feeding the smaller livestock, and making household repairs around the home, or correcting a faulty piece of machinery. Normal Amish parents and adults would never allow a person who is not bright to spend a lot of time baby-sitting, preparing meals, building fires (from wood or gasoline) for the meals, or for heating the home; or any type of painting around or inside the home. The women of the Amish farms "who have dull or retarded children attempt to teach them ways of doing what they can do in the homes, always under supervision. Types of work of this sort would be: setting the table, sweeping and mopping the floors, cleaning the furniture, doing simple errands around the house (going into the basement to bring up canned goods), and going out to the road to get the mail. These types of
simple jobs, set aside for the retarded by the Amish, closely resemble the same situations found in any rural home in the country. But fully maintaining the home is out of the question for Amish individuals who are retarded.

The limitations inherent in handicapping conditions were further explored in a pair of items (22, 23) which inquired particularly into the levels of difficulty imposed by various listed conditions, Net gahns recht was included to see if the Amish would rate it as a severely handicapping condition. Only 18 per cent of the informants (Table 44) see net gahns recht as being a serious handicap, but on the other hand only 3 comments made by the informants speak of the condition as being least difficult of those listed (Table 45). It would seem that to the Amish, mental retardation does not pose as serious a problem within the Amish farm or household, as other handicaps do.

It is generally accepted that in a highly industrialized culture, the following conditions would be considered highly detrimental, depending on severity: mental retardation, mental illness, and blindness. Furthermore, the industrialized culture would usually say the following are least handicapping, again depending on variation: deafness, epileptic, and cripple. It is probably safe to say that the Amish informants recognize mental retardation as posing a problem, not serious, nor yet to be considered lightly.
### TABLE 44

RESPONSES TO ITEM 22

Let us say that you are shortly going to retire from running this farm or running this household. Your only son or daughter is not able to take over this farm or house because he (she) is seriously handicapped. Which condition would make it almost impossible for him (her) to run this farm or house?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handicapped condition</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blindness</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental illness</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net gahns recht</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epileptic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number and per cent is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.*

The handicapping conditions considered most serious by the Amish are the same as listed for an industrialized culture, but the order of emphasis given is significantly different, since mental retardation is far behind mental illness and blindness and the latter is far, far ahead. It is also significant that a few of the informants even regarded mental retardation as the least handicapping of the conditions listed, even though many more recognized the less serious limitations imposed by deafness, hearing loss, epilepsy, and crippling conditions.
TABLE 45
RESPONSES TO ITEM 23
Which condition would make it least difficult or very easy for him (her) to run this farm or house?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handicapped condition</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deafness</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can net swetza</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net gons recht (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cripple (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epileptic (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number and per cent is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.

The Amish Support of Educational and Vocational Facilities for the Retardate

The Amish parochial school movement is widely known and in recent years there have appeared an increasing number of publications and studies presenting the parochial schools to a wider audience. There is, first of all the Pathway Publications the Blackboard Bulletin, and there are academic studies such as Buchanan's, besides articles in numerous publications with general circulation. What is not known about the parochial schools and the conflict which exists between the Amish and the local public school authorities is Amish reasoning with regard to
the education and training of exceptional children in either public or privately supported schools. The parochial schools, by their very structure, cannot assume total responsibility for educating all of the various exceptionalities found among Amish children in any settlement. Neither are Amish parochial school teachers specifically trained to teach the learning-disabled, the blind, the hearing-impaired, or the multi-handicapped child in a one-through-eight grade curriculum in one or two rooms, mixed in with normal children.

There has always existed great difficulty for parents of these handicapped children to find a proper place for them in schools. Because they cannot place the children in Amish parochial schools, they must look, when they can, to locally sponsored schools in or near their communities that have recently been established to provide for the multi-handicapped, moderately or severely retarded child. Previous to the formation of these county supported schools, the retardates in Amish communities had received little or no training at all. In Holmes County, the avid supporters of these schools have included Amish parents of these handicapped children.

One must not sweepingly generalize though and believe that no Amish supported schools exist for the handicapped. As has already been noted, there exists an Amish parochial school for the deaf in Missouri. Although the school only enrolls a handful of students, it is a beginning in Amish venture in educating the exceptional child in an academic environment. So
that inquiries can begin into the reasons behind Amish support of schools for handicapped children, the above school for deaf children was incorporated into a question which asks whether the Amish informants would support a school like this in their own settlements. Without question, it is the duty of the Amish to give aid, in whatever manner, to those who are less fortunate. It would therefore be expected that nearly all of the informants would reply positively when asked about a school for children deficient in hearing.

It was thought best to lead into the inquiry into Amish thought concerning support for general and vocational education of the retarded by first starting with deaf children and then moving quickly into whether the Amish informants would feel the same in supporting education and training for the dull or the retarded. Following this comparison the questions move toward reasoning associated with sending to school children who may have problems in learning due to their slowness or intellectual incapacities. Further items extend this investigation into seeking whether the Amish believe children who are not gahns recht should be taught any differently than normal children, or whether they should be taught in an academic setting at all. Since the Happy Hill School has recently been established in the Holmes County area, its comparative newness is sure to strike controversy among the Amish who are aware of its existence and its purpose. A variety of items, five in number, were asked the Amish informants concerning their
opinions on this school and its workshop which was just begin­ning at the Happy Hill School at the time of interviewing.

When the informants were asked whether they would support a parochial school for deaf or hard of hearing children in their own community, Table 46 shows that the expectation of a strongly favorable reply was justified. Only one individual, a bishop, replied "No." He said, "We should not go over the bridge and do something like this until we fully understand it."

The reasons given by the informants (see Table 47) for their statements of support are not simply based on religious concerns (although nearly half of the informants who gave a justification gave a religious reason) but reveal also a conviction about the need for special education of the less fortunate. Although the school being discussed is for deaf children, it was assumed that the informants would have replied in much the same manner if the word "retarded" had been substituted for "deaf." Some of the answers given reflect personal concerns of the informants: A parent of a handicapped child said, "I would support a school like this because the children need it to get on in the world." A teacher replied, "I would support the school because it would please God." A parent of a non-handicapped child answered, "The Bible tells us to help the poor."

The item directed toward the feasibility of educating children "who cannot learn" was presented to the informants in the form, "Would there be any benefit in sending children of
TABLE 46
RESPONSES TO ITEM 12

In Missouri, there is an Amish School for the Deaf, or as some would say, the hearing impaired. There are six scholars attending. One of the teachers is Miss Mary Spitze, a convert to the Amish Church.

If there were a need for such a school as this in this community, for the Amish children, would you support it in your prayers and in your financial offering?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

this nature to school?" The replies (see Table 48) are slightly in favor of sending these types of children to school, but by far are not as favorable as the affirmative replies supporting a separate school for the education of deaf children.

Although there is no data presented in the research of Amish literature pertaining to attitudes of keeping children "who cannot learn in school" at home, it is assumed that the Amish, like rural populations in the past, kept these children away from school. A change in attitudes concerning the education of handicapped children, and the appearance of a school like Happy Hill, are probably important in explaining the 58
TABLE 47
RESPONSES TO ITEM 13
Why would you support a school like this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The school will help hold those children to the faith.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The school will be able to provide better methods for learning.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If there is a need for such a school then I would support it.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The deaf children need a school just as others for they learn as well.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reason given.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

per cent affirmative replies. It is also important to keep in mind the requirement of state laws insisting that all children, regardless of intellectual competencies, attend school up to a certain age. The Amish are no exception to this.

As was not to be expected, the percentage favoring educating a child who "could not learn" falls below those replying in the affirmative for deaf children (see Table 46). An explanation for this may center on the Amish awareness of deafness and hearing impairment as a less handicapping condition than mental retardation (see Table 45 which illustrates 82
per cent of the informants believing deafness and cannot swetza
to be least handicapping of a list of seven conditions). The
Amish as most other people do, believe that the deaf and the
hearing impaired have a better chance at learning and gaining
from the benefits of school experiences than do retardates,
but as Item 18 shows, slightly more than half of the informants
would not deny the opportunity of schooling to a child "that
could not learn" in school.

TABLE 48
RESPONSES TO ITEM 18

Do you think there would be any benefit in sending a child to
school who could not learn, or who would not have the ability
to learn?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The informants were then asked in Item 19 (Table 49) to explain their affirmative or negative replies.
### TABLE 49

**AN ANALYSIS OF AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES TO ITEM 19**

Why would you send (or not send) a child like this to school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The children should learn to cooperate with others.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child should be allowed to make some progress.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The children are not able to learn, their presence will only be a waste of time.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The children will only turn out to be a problem.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The table excludes the following replies which were not specifically directed toward answering the item: Place the children in a school for retarded children (three replies), Who says they cannot learn (one reply), Keep them at home (four replies), and replies that were 'yes and no' or 'no comment' (four replies).*

Those informants giving an affirmative answer for sending dull children to school explained by saying, "The children should learn to cooperate with others," and they should be allowed to make progress." Those informants explaining their original negative answer said, "The children are not able to learn and
as a result of this they will only be a waste of time to the teacher and the other students," and "the children will turn out to be problems." Clearly many informants limited their thinking to the possibility of placing dull children in schools for normal children.

A further inquiry into the Amish response through the Amish informants were asked in Item 39 to give their opinions on whether children who are net gahns recht should be taught any differently than normal children.

Ninety per cent of the informants answered "Yes." (Table 50) Those answering in the negative were two parents of non-handicapped children, one deacon, and two teachers, and their replies were directed at the inability of a child who is net gahns recht to gain from schooling.

| TABLE 50 |
| RESPONSES TO ITEM 39 |

Do you think that children who are net gahns recht should be taught any differently in school than the other children?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 52 100
If 90 per cent of the informants believe that children who are *net gahns recht* should be taught differently than normal children in a school situation, it then logically follows to inquire into their opinions and views concerning the different approaches and methods they believe appropriate in teaching this type of exceptional child. The replies are varied but the greatest number of comments are to be found in the specific suggestion of providing special learning and teaching techniques for these children. In this category were included several comments aimed at teaching with special equipment, the quality of patience characteristic of the teacher, the need to teach the child at his attention level, and the need to provide more time for each individual student (see Table 51). Other ways in which it was suggested that these children could be taught differently were: in a separate school, in the same school but emphasis on loving each other, and teaching more of the subject by getting the child to pay better attention.

From Items 39 and 40 it can be seen that the Amish informants believe children "who are not quite right" should be taught in school and also in a different manner than those who are normal or average in intellectual capacities, although from the replies, there does not seem to be a major agreement as to how these children should be taught. As is seen, the majority of the specific suggestions deal little with a pedagogic curriculum but stress the patience of the teacher, giving more time
TABLE 51
ANALYSIS OF AFFIRMATIVE REPLIES TO ITEM 39

How do you think children who are not gehn recht should be taught in school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Suggestions</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use special learning and teaching techniques.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(patience, teach to the child, give more time)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put the children in a separate school.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach the child in the same school to love and to get along with each other.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach more and more of the subject and teach for attention.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number refers to those individuals answering affirmatively in Item 39 minus three who answered "They should be taught but I do not know how they should be."

to the child, and teaching to him instead of possibly teaching subject matter to the whole class as one entity.

The following five items deal specifically with the informants' awareness of the Happy Hill School.270 Questions

270 See above pp. 154, 155, 156, for a complete discussion of the school.
pertaining to this school were asked to see if the Amish would express any judgment as to its purpose, the kinds of children and adults who attend, and the different kinds of individuals who would benefit from the school and its training programs.

As of February, 1970, the enrollment was approximately 46, 30 in classes and 16 in the workshop.271 Classes are held in a former public school building at Bunker Hill, Holmes County, and the workshop is held in a vacant office in Millersburg. The pupils attending are usually trainable retarded with a variety of other mental and physical handicapping conditions.

As noted in the previous discussion Happy Hill School and the other publicly supported schools for mentally retarded children, have received a great deal of publicity in the Amish and the surrounding non-Amish communities.

When the informants were asked if they knew any children in their neighborhood who attended a school for retarded children, 75 per cent answered "Yes." Many of these replying in the affirmative began listing and numbering the names of their neighbors who had handicapped children attending. The parents of handicapped children were especially cognizant of this:

TABLE 52
RESPONSES TO ITEM 8

Happy Hill School at Bunker Hill, Holmes County, is a school for children who have trouble learning.
Do you know any children in the neighborhood who go there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For the informants living in Wayne County, Ohio, Ida Sue School at Wooster was substituted, for the informants living in Ontario, the school for handicapped children sponsored by the Rotarians at Tillsonburg, Ontario, was substituted, and for the bishop at Plain City, Ohio, the school for handicapped children at London, Ohio, was substituted. The five items included in the interview are of such a nature that the above names could be substituted without destroying their primary purpose of inquiring into Amish awareness of these schools.

The children of I.S., A.T. and V.M. all go there.
H.A.'s, E.S.'s, and E.H.'s children go there.
N.A.Y.'s girl, J.T. at Farmerstown send their child there, as well as M.A.M.
R.A. used to go there and L.Y. still does.
I.M.'s daughter, H.Y.'s A.M. goes there, so does the boy of I.M. Our boy goes there, too.
As would be expected of the groups, the parents of handicapped children are the individuals who respond the greatest in number to the question (see Table 52). It is probable that they know of other children primarily because they have made many inquiries from these families concerning the lack of facilities in either the public or parochial schools for the education of handicapped children. They, through information gathered from other families, then turn to the county supported school for retarded children.

In Item 8 the school was introduced as a school for children having trouble learning. Immediately following this item was a question that directly related to Item 8. Of the informants, when they were asked what they thought the purpose of the school was, 71 per cent replied "retarded," 15 per cent replied "handicapped," and 8 per cent replied "special or slow learning children" (see Table 53).

Next the informants were asked, "Why would parents send their children to Happy Hill School?" Two thirds replied that the school provides the children attending it with special attention (Table 54). Special attention is provided, in the view of the informants, by special emphasis in different teaching techniques, small classes, the experience of learning to cooperate with other children, and the important factor of being with teachers who sympathize with the types of children attending. These replies are the reasons given by fifteen
TABLE 54
RESPONSES TO ITEM 10

Why would you think the parents of children going to Happy Hill School would select that school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Their children need special attention.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The parents know that their children are not wanted in the public schools.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was the only school available for these children.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

individuals, as shown in Table 49 for sending a child to school who could not learn.

Two other replies, when combined, make up 14 per cent of the comments: "Children are not wanted in other schools," and "It was the only school available." Four of the parents of handicapped children were concerned with the public schools' neglect of their children, or with the likelihood that normal children attending public schools would make fun of or would ridicule children. Nineteen per cent of the informants did not know why parents would send their children to any of the mentioned special schools. This percentage represents a scattering of individuals from bishops, deacons or ministers,
and a parent of a non-handicapped child, but no parents of handicapped children.

**TABLE 55**

**RESPONSES TO ITEM 11**

What kinds of children can profit from a school like this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retarded children</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicapped children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children who are not normal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow learning children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sixty per cent of the total informants responded with the words "retarded" or "retarded children." Instead of saying offensive, traditional words like "feebleminded," "not normal," "dumb," or "idiots," the majority of the informants simply used terms like "retarded children," "handicapped children," or "slow learning children." Only six of the individuals had no idea of what kinds of children attended the special schools, but five others replied that the schools serve children "who are not normal." The words used by the Amish informants in describing the type of children who attend
a school such as Happy Hill reinforce our analysis of previous replies (see Table 55).

The sheltered workshop at the Happy Hill School had just begun its operations at the time of the study, therefore the Amish informants of Holmes County were not fully acquainted with the program or the potential growth of the workshop.\textsuperscript{272} It is even highly possible that some of the informants were not familiar with the meaning of the term "workshop." Those informants who showed a great interest in the item, did so by further mentioning the national program of the Goodwill Industries where furniture is collected, repaired or redecorated and sold in Goodwill stores.

The workshop has received some local publicity in the county newspaper. Several pictures have appeared showing children with articles they had made (bird cages, scouring pads, and wastepaper cans).\textsuperscript{273} At the end of the summer of 1969, the workshop was moved to a vacant office complex in Millersburg, and training was instituted in assembly line and piece

\textsuperscript{272} For the six informants living outside the Holmes County area settlements the same question was asked but schools for retardates were substituted instead of Happy Hill School. Further introductory questions were asked these informants to see if they were aware of the meaning of a workshop: Do you know what a sheltered workshop is? Does the school (in Tillsonburg, Ontario, or London, Ohio) have anything like a sheltered workshop? For those informants living in Wayne County, Ohio, the Ida Sue School of Wooster, was substituted. They have a modified workshop there.

\textsuperscript{273} "Gifts Made by the Children of Happy Hill School," \textit{The Holmes County Farmer-Hub}, 1 May, 1969, p. 10.
work, with the hope of eventually gaining contracts for work from the industries in the surrounding area.

Since the workshop method of training is an example of outside influence entering Amish life, a general statement was written introducing the purpose of the workshop, followed by a direct question asking the Amish informants what they thought the value of the workshop would be in relation to their own community. Forty per cent of the replies were not specific, but many expressed ideas highly important to their view of the workshop as a place where "retardates can be taught," "where retardates will have a place to go," "where they can be taught how to get along with others," and "where they can be trained if the training is started early." Other non-specific answers included ten which were basically "I do not know," and four which meant "I see no value in it" (see Table 56).

The most important value of the workshop according to the informants is to be seen in "repairing things," on a level slightly above simple work (25 per cent of the replies). The repairing of things in this area consist of the repair of shoes, furniture, and possibly cabinets. The category also includes semi-skilled training, possibly as an assistant for any individual involved in these repairs. None of the workshops were involved in this type of training at the time of the study. Twenty per cent of the comments of the informants saw value in the workshop if it taught the retardates to make
handicrafts and to do simple work. The Happy Hill School workshop was doing this type of sheltered training as was the Ida Sue School. Two other categories, training related to farmwork and training aimed at a specific trade, if combined with the "repair of things," total 40 per cent of the comments. These three come closest to training retardates for work and eventual employment in an Amish community, although it may be somewhat difficult to train a multi-handicapped retardate of low intellectual capacity to learn a specific trade (carpenter, mechanic, or related factory work). None of these were being taught in the workshop (especially Happy Hill School) at the time the interview was held, although it is possible that some of the needs of "factory work" were going to be met when the workshop moved to Millersburg and began assembly line training.

From the replies it can be deduced that the Amish informants accept the workshop and see much value in what it can do for the handicapped and the retardate attending. Of the total 76 responses given by the five different groups, it is not surprising that the parents of handicapped children offered the greatest number. The following shows how the individual groups responded to the item:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents of Handicapped Children</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deacons and Ministers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents of non-handicapped Children</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 56
RESPONSES TO ITEM 32

Happy Hill School has recently started what they call a "sheltered workshop for adults." In this workshop children and adults will receive work experience in jobs that they can be trained to do. If they are trained, they can be taught to do better work than a machine can. They can become an asset to the community by becoming employed instead of unemployed. They can become useful to the community if they can be taught a job or trade.

How will something like this be of use to the Amish community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-specific replies (I do not know, I see no value, Train them to do anything, teach them to get along with others)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach them to repair things (shoes, furniture, etc.)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach them handicrafts and simple work (the making of wastebaskets, birdcages, novelties, leather products, sewing, knitting, mending, etc.)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training that is related to farm-work</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training that will provide a specific trade or skill (mechanic, factory work, carpentry)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sources from Which the Amish Gain Knowledge Concerning the Exceptional Child

An area of interest not yet discussed in the investigation concerns ways in which the Amish gain information dealing with exceptional children. Two areas are obvious: reading material published by the Amish and the non-Amish presses, and the reliance on Amish traditional folklore. Including the reading material published by the Amish at Aylmer, one finds a wealth of information (as already noted in the review of the Amish literature) in what the Amish read and what they pass on by word of mouth. Although much information is gained from physicians, both local and those found in clinics in nearby cities, this method of obtaining information was not directly inquired into since the investigation is an effort to deal specifically with the Amish in their own culture. Four items were presented to learn which periodicals are commonly read by the informants, to judge their response to the "Pennsylvania Doctor," and to find out whether there would be any acknowledgement of home remedies that may be used to treat mentally retarded children.

Concerning knowledge associated with handicapped children in any community, it is to be assumed that religious leaders, teachers, and parents of these children would be well read. The Amish are no exception to this. As seen in Table 57, all of the Amish informants subscribe to the listed publications in high numbers except the Herold Der Wahrheit. The
TABLE 57
RESPONSES TO ITEM 5
Which of the following publications do you subscribe to?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent of subscribers*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Budget</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Life</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackboard Bulletin</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador of Peace</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herold Der Wahrheit</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A daily newspaper</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The number and per cent is based on the total of individuals who subscribe to each publication.

most popular of course is the Budget, followed by Family Life. The rate of subscription to a daily newspaper is 56 per cent, a surprisingly high percentage when one stereotypes the Amish as being totally separated from the world not only in religious affairs but also in the daily happenings of the dominant culture. More than half of the informants subscribe to the Blackboard Bulletin. This high percentage
(58 per cent) is not totally due to the ten teachers included in the survey, but shows an overall Amish interest in the parochial school movement.

The "Pennsylvania Doctor" has his office in a small town in the northeastern part of Pennsylvania, near the Ohio border. He is becoming popular with the Holmes County Amish, especially the Swartzentruber, and the groups that tend to be more conservative in belief and more withdrawn in living habits. He at one time attempted to set up office in Millersburg, Ohio but was forced to leave through the opposition of the local medical association. Some of the Amish say he will "tell you what is wrong by using a machine." The Amish tend to cater to non-medical individuals and unscientific treatments, as seen in the discussion of this area in Chapter Four.

When the question was asked whether the Holmes County Amish informants had ever visited the "doctor," 67 per cent emphatically replied that they had not. Again the group make-up of the informants bears on this, in that bishops, teachers and ministers would usually not be the individuals within Amish communities who would patronize non-medical individuals. It is somewhat surprising that only two of the parents of handicapped children had ever visited the "doctor." On the makeup of the included groups it naturally follows that parents of handicapped children, in an effort to seek a cure or information concerning the condition, would be the individuals
There is a "doctor" in Pennsylvania who is presently drawing a lot of Amish in this area. He is supposed to treat illnesses and conditions by a machine.

Have you ever been to the "Pennsylvania doctor?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total only refers to the 46 informants living in the Holmes County area.

most likely to seek this type of treatment or advice. Furthermore, the stereotype of the Amish as traditionally seeking help from persons does not hold with the sample in this investigation.

The question directly following Item 29 builds upon the responses elicited and asks if the informants know of a
child who has been taken, or have themselves taken a child for
treatment for the condition. The negative replies continue to

TABLE 59
RESPONSES TO ITEM 30

Have you ever taken a child there who is "not bright" to be
treated, or do you know of anyone who has taken a child there
to be treated; not for a head cold or a backache, but for the
reason that he is "not bright"?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total only refers to the 46 informants living in the Holmes County area.*

rise with 74 per cent of the informants stating that they have
not known of a child who may be retarded being taken to the
"doctor" for advice or treatment (see Table 59). Of the
groups who answered affirmatively the parents of handicapped
children know of more individuals who have taken retarded children to the "doctor", but as Table 58 shows, only two of them have been to Cambridge Springs.

Because it is so commonly assumed that the Amish generally use folk remedies for many illnesses and disabilities, the informants were all asked whether they knew of any home remedies for children who are not bright. It is surprising that practically none of them could mention or illustrate any home remedy connected with Amish folk medicine which might possibly cure mental retardation, but perhaps the fact that the question followed immediately after the items concerning the "Pennsylvania doctor" caused the informants to hold back.

The two affirmative replies (see Table 60) came from a parent of a non-handicapped child who stated, "roots of a certain plant," and from a minister in Ontario, who talked somewhat extensively of the Doman-Delcotto method without knowing the exact name of the controversial technique. His source of information was an extensive article on the learning technique that was recently published in the local Canadian newspaper; as he said, "There are exercises that these children can do. Sometimes it cures them of their condition. You put them on the floor and let them do all kinds of things with their bodies."
TABLE 60
RESPONSES TO ITEM 31

Can you think of any home remedies you have heard of that have been used to treat children who are "not bright," not for common sicknesses, but for the reason that they are "not bright?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Limitations of the Field Investigation

The specific purpose of the entire investigation has been to determine Amish awareness and understanding of some of the characteristics of mental retardation as they may be related to influences within and outside the immediate Amish community. For the field study, fifty-two Old Order Amish adults were chosen as a stratified sample coming predominantly from the Holmes County, Ohio Amish settlements. Responses to the interview schedule, as presented in sixty tables, together with interpretive comments have provided a beginning toward understanding the variety of opinions among the Amish in their approach to handicapping conditions.
An exploration of this kind, dealing with the Amish as a religious closed subculture has specific limitations. As this study was conducted, the following limitations are most evident:

(1) The interview schedule was given to the informants in the English language and replies were necessarily in same language. All of the informants spoke the German dialect quite fluently, and were representative of Amish individuals who would cling to its use. A closer understanding of many of the items requiring traditional or religious replies could have been more deeply understood and more effectively interpreted if the investigator had known the Plattdeutsch.

(2) The sample included in the investigation is biased and does not represent a complete cross-section of Amish culture and traditions even in Holmes County. The individuals who serve as informants are generally those who would cooperate with a stranger desiring to do a study of this nature. It is highly possible that another sample of shy or withdrawn Amish adults would respond in quite a different way than did the present sample. On the other hand, the positions of respect held by many of the informants would make it likely that they can speak with a degree of authority for many in the community.

(3) By the investigator's method of grouping the Amish informants into the five groups, other important factors in individuality were excluded. The original grouping does not include any handicapped adults, any conscientious objectors or volunteer service workers in hospitals or institutions, or any group of full-time workers in a non-Amish industry outside the immediate boundary of the Amish settlement. Although the informants used are not a withdrawn group, they are predominantly rural in their orientation.
The predominant findings of the interview schedule represent the comments of Amish adults living throughout a large Amish settlement. It is again highly possible that many of the replies might have been entirely different than what was recorded for the present sample if the interviewing had been done in two entirely different locales or subgroups and then compared. The replies in the investigation are thus not to be compared with what might have been found if a single group or district had been studied, nor was any provision made for difference due to local grouping or religious dissensions.

The major concern in arranging and recording the questionnaire was to allow the Amish to reply to items close to their thinking and their culture. This may have been defeated in items which tended to elicit a wide variety of responses. Even if the sample were to be extended, the same type of variety would more than likely be registered due to the format and the manner in which the questions were presented and the replies recorded. In some items, the spread of responses does not permit a clear analysis.

It may finally be said that the replies of the fifty-two Amish adult men and women are in many ways, no different from a comparable rural sample who may be said to be conservative in their Christian beliefs and their way of life, who may have the same educational and occupational standards, and who are at the same time experiencing local changes in thinking and facilities for the care and treatment of the retarded individual in their respective communities.

Summary of Findings from the Field Investigation

Recognizing the above limitations the field study led to the following conclusions:
The majority of the Amish informants adhere to these traditional Anabaptist and conservative Christian beliefs:

A. the presence of an abnormal child is part of God's will and it is possible that some of these children are sent as a punishment from God,

B. it is improper to institutionalize handicapped children but there is an increasing awareness of the appropriateness of institutionalizing a severe retardate in either a state institution, nursing home, or a Mennonite sponsored home, with the latter being preferred.

The majority of the Amish informants believe that differences in ability and intellect are gifts from God and an individual's talent is revealed in his final product or his outstanding contribution made to the community and not in school or societal classifications of competency or incompetency.

The majority of the Amish informants believe the major causes of retarded behavior to be: the intake of poisons into the body, injury and accidents of both the mother and the child, or birth defects and brain damage. A retarded adult or child is one "who is not normal;" his condition results from a defect in the brain or in intellect, with the condition being irremediable.

A retarded individual is not considered a problem by most of the Amish informants. Problem children are those who are dissatisfied or disobedient and intellectual ability or disability have little or anything to do with the causes associated with problems of young people in an Amish community. Retardation does deny the individual any position in the church or the
opportunity to run and operate a farm. Although intellectual incapacity is seen as a serious handicap, blindness and mental illness are far more serious.

(5) Most of the informants believe that some kinds of mental retardation can be transmitted through consanguineous marriages and such unions are not to be encouraged because of this, but when it is discussed whether retardates should be baptized or married in the church, more than half the informants report that these individuals are sometimes married by the church.

(6) The majority of the Amish informants are well read and are surprisingly aware of many concepts relative to mental retardation and associated conditions. This high degree of awareness may arise in part from their subscriptions to and reading both Amish and non-Amish published materials. Their awareness is demonstrated by their ignoring and not patronizing a distant non-medical "doctor" for treatment and advice concerning children who may be retarded, and by their being unable to offer suggestions on folk medicine or home remedy treatments concerning the possible cure for retarded behavior.

(7) In the opinion of most of the Amish informants, the possibilities for work and training for the retardate are limited. Most of the retardates, depending on the variation of their mentality, work as hired hands in general farmwork or assist with household duties. If the individual is severely retarded, he is under the care of a sponsor or is supported by the Amish Brotherhood.

(8) The majority of the Amish informants believe there is a possibility of parochial education for handicapped children, especially the deaf, in an Amish community; but there is less agreement among them for providing such an education for the
retarded. Of Amish beliefs concerning the education and training of retarded children the following statements are generally true:

A. all children should go to school, including those "who cannot learn." The children who are below average in intellectual capacities should be taught differently, but the informants place little emphasis on segregated educational facilities,

B. local publicly supported schools, primarily for the severely multi-handicapped retarded child, should be utilized and supported by the Amish community. The Amish acknowledge the usefulness of schools of this nature because they meet the needs for special attention of "retarded" and "handicapped" children,

C. local publicly supported workshops for retarded children and young adults are worthwhile because it provides a service that is not met by the Amish districts within a large settlement. The benefit of a workshop is held strongly, not to any specific skill or trade that it may be able to impart to the Amish children, but by its very existence since it provides a facility available for the types of children suited to attend.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The intent of this study was to develop insight into the significance and comprehension of mental retardation among a closed cultural group on the North American continent, the Old Order Amish Brotherhood. Within the necessary theoretical framework derived from relevant research, primarily anthropological and psychological, it was possible to conceptualize two approaches to the problem, the first through an analysis of contemporary literature written by the Amish themselves, and second, through extensive interviews of a stratified sample of members of the Amish Brotherhood, selected primarily from communities in Holmes County, Ohio which constitute the largest concentration of Amish in America.

Recent writings of the Amish, widely circulated throughout all their communities, treat many topics of interest to all. Therefore, it was not to be expected that extensive writing about mental retardation would be found. But there is a good deal of published material about handicapped persons and handicapping conditions which can provide a general understanding. The most significant element is the recurrent theme of God's will being worked.
out in men's life and fate. There is the patient accept-
ance and courage characteristic of the old Anabaptist tra-
dition. With regard to "handicaps" in general, and the
retarded in particular, the writings stress the strength of
family love and of communal ties. The retarded are part of
the community in all ways and join in its fellowship as they
can.

A growing awareness of the etiology of retardation is
found in Amish writings. Genetic factors, in view of the
frequent consanguineous marriages, are often and logically
discussed, although in many instances, writers will revert
to accepting God's will as an explanation of all problems.
There are many indications of close cooperation with medical
clinics in the study of medical problems, especially in in-
dividual cases of abnormal conditions. However, there is an
obvious residual belief in the folk medicine so long prac-
ticed among these rural people.

With the aid of the Amish literature, and personal in-
sights gained while working and living among the Amish for
eight months, it was possible to plan a field study in which
it might be expected that Amish informants could respond
freely to questions about mental retardation and related
matters and do so in the pattern of their own beliefs.

The role of the retardate in the Amish society is not
severely restricted as it is among their more modern
neighbors. Retardation is a handicap, but less severe than blindness or mental illness. It is not viewed as a major problem. Although no really significant function can be assigned to a retarded individual, he can, in most instances, do something useful and can always be assured of acceptance and affection. To the outsider, love and even the ability to do some useful chores cannot suffice even in an Amish agrarian culture which is inescapably experiencing constant pressure from the outside world. The Amish informants in this study show a tentative willingness to turn to social agencies for assistance in educating the retarded among their families. It is highly significant that the Amish interviewed are more aware of the many complexities of the phenomenon than the investigator at first thought. The Amish will more than likely continue to increase their awareness of the condition, but their beliefs in folk medicine will hold many of them back from some of the scientific and medical advances that have recently been accomplished.

This study has demonstrated the possibility for further cooperation among the Amish and public administrators involved in social, welfare, and educational policy making. The beneficiaries of this cooperation will be the Amish handicapped children. The historical enigma of educational conflict between the Amish and local school authorities has long been present. The Amish informants in this presentation
have shown a high level of cooperation and interest in a publicly supported school for multi-handicapped retarded children. They have illustrated their interest in a public school situation more than they would for normal children receiving general education at public expense. The time is appropriate for a high level of cooperative spirit for the development of programs for the handicapped in Amish settlements. Furthermore, the Amish parochial school movement, by its very existence cannot educate with excellence all of the variety of handicaps that beset any community, and at the same time undertake to educate fully the normal child.

Before any public program dealing with Amish handicapped children can be constructive, it must meet the needs of Amish society. This requires an education and a training program in areas closely related to what the retardate and other handicaps can do within an Amish community. The purpose of such a program should be the general improvement of the potential of these individuals so that they may be able to contribute further to their own livelihood and to the prosperity of their communities. Before any cooperative, constructive program can be a success, the religious and family traditions of the Amish will have to be respected.

The main concern of the Amish in releasing their handicapped children to present and possibly future programs
supported through public monies, is found in what they think will be proper and useful for the children to learn and experience. Most of the Amish are not concerned with institutionalization because the retarded child who is of no danger to himself or others will never be abandoned by his family. There will always be someone to care for him. The Amish are thus not bothered with the thought, "who will take care of him when I am gone," which sometimes poses serious family problems among groups of people living in our dominant culture.

Of secondary purpose in Amish thinking of the overall education and care of the retardate is that he be happy and content in his family situation. The Amish will do as much for this individual as possible, but here public officials can again direct this thinking into worthwhile channels by providing the appropriate training in a public facility near the Amish settlement. It is altogether possible that retardates live longer among the Amish than among outsiders. If this is true, this is another factor of importance in stressing further cooperation between the Amish and public authorities in providing adequate opportunities for education for the handicapped. In large Amish settlements there would be a distinct need for these services. Unfortunately, it will not be possible to offer a unified program in scattered or moderately small Amish settlements. The migration and
dispersal of present-day Amish communities, which has been predicted by other writers but has not been studied in this investigation, could, it is sad to say, remove all basis for extensive programs of special education.

Some of the Amish themselves and many public officials would be of the opinion that the Amish will care for their own handicapped in a parochial school setting, but it is almost impossible to have such a school as this in either a large settlement or in a small one. In smaller settlements, there would probably not be enough retardates or children with related handicapping conditions to organize a school, and in larger settlements, the problem of transportation would be insurmountable.

It may finally be said that the Amish, when dealing with mental retardation and related handicapping conditions, tend to be like most rural and urban Americans, in that they are worried, concerned, and are involved in seeking appropriate solutions to the causes of these conditions and extending their understanding so as to find further ways in which public and private facilities can best be used. The Amish themselves have been caught up in the recent national attack on the phenomenon but not quite in the same way as have many of our urban groups. They have taken much of the recent knowledge concerning the exceptional child and applied it to their own separatist communities. This is another example of the continuing penetration into their culture of new
ideas and changes.

This exploratory study has shown how the Amish have taken from the surrounding culture some of the thought patterns as they relate to exceptional children and have applied them in their own culture. It has further illustrated how highly aware the Amish are of the causes of retardation and of the methods that can be used in teaching and training the retardate, and how some of the Amish are most anxious to cooperate in providing programs and facilities for training. Although change for many of the conservative Amish is painful, the movement for better care of retardates, for a more scientific understanding and remediation for some of the causes of retarded behavior, and for a proper pedagogical method including vocational training ought to be accepted among the Amish. Programs shaped for these ends should not be offensive to the Amish, since their own handicaps will be the ones who will benefit directly.
SECOND THOUGHT ON SECOND COUSIN MARRIAGES

I don't want to encourage second-cousin marriages, but I would like to ask, is this really the reason for the birth defects among the Amish?

Could it be the lack of certain vitamins in foods, since we do buy many things out of the stores? Or maybe it's because the children are not prayed into the home? Children seem to be unwanted, even among some Amish people. I believe we should pray daily before our child is born that God will send us a healthy child and help us to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Of course we should also pray, "Thy will be done."

We all know of many second-cousin marriages where the children are all perfectly normal. Also of parents who are not related, who have children with birth defects.

I wouldn't want to say that second-cousin marriages might not help to increase the rate of birth defects because I really don't know. Maybe God sends us such children for a certain reason.

- Mrs. L. H., Indiana

I do not agree at all with the article, "Second Cousin Marriages" in the February issue for I happen to be one of those and surely do think the Lord has brought us together. He has also blessed us with three healthy children. Let us remember there is a higher power above us who has control of our bodies. I think if the Lord will ever bless us with a retarded child, then it will be His will and not because of our marriage.

- Mrs. S.

A researcher one time made the statement that he does not believe there are more retarded children among the plain people, but it looks like it because they are grouped together. A researcher can go from place to place and find out about still others, whereas among the non-Amish the people do not like to admit having abnormal children. Many of them feel they can not take care of their children at home and put them in an institution. This more or less keeps them from the public. We do not want to put science ahead of our trust in God.

- K., Pa.
Whether or not birth defects come from second-cousin marriages, I do not know and am willing to leave that as it is. But would we want to say that second cousins who have married have made a mistake? Have they not followed the leading of the Lord on this matter?

If there are retarded children, then the Lord must have a purpose in it. — M. E. K., Pa.

After reading the article on second-cousin marriages, many questions have rolled through my mind. Is that the cause of abnormal children? If so, then God surely was not on hand when the angels brought me my babies. Out of five children, three were deformed. We are not second-cousins. It has caused us a lot of tears but still I am thankful for our children. They all have a special place in our hearts, every one of them.

Do we have to know why God gives us such children? It is hard at times to submit to His will, but I'm sure that is the way He wants our family to be or it wouldn't be that way. If He sees each sparrow fall, surely one little soul will not be made out of His sight.

I don't think we will ever find out the reason why, on this side of heaven. But if we are fortunate enough to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, such matters will seem very trifling. I think we would be ashamed to even ask why.

So if we as parents of such children do not know "why", I doubt if the rest of the people will be able to give us the answer. — R. F., Quarryville, Pa.

I am sending you a copy of an article which appeared in the Budget. I believe all the parents of the children affected by this rare blood disease around here are second-cousins except one couple and they are between second and third.

My wife and I are second-cousins too. One of our children was afflicted with this blood disease and had his spleen removed at Harrisburg. So we know the Dr. Bowman mentioned in the article.
Of course not all second-cousins have children such as this, as we can easily count dozens of such couples who have all healthy children. But second-cousin marriages are very common in this community.

As for my opinion on it, I think second-cousin marriages should be discouraged more. I wouldn't want to say it is wrong, or against God's will. According to the Dortrecht Confession, Article 12, marriage is something in which we pretty much have the free will to choose the one we love and feel happy with, as long as we marry in the Lord.

Just because not all our children were healthy doesn't say the Lord does not bless our marriage, for we can be richly blessed in many ways. But as we heed the doctor's advice on nutrition, cleanliness, and other daily habits, so we should also heed their advice and teach more against intermarriage.

- Pennsylvania

ANSWER - From the above letters we can see that there are many aspects to consider regarding this subject. Also it seems that no statistics are available to prove that the Amish actually have more retarded children than the average.

Another unresolved question is whether two unrelated persons, both of whom have retarded relatives, would be less likely to have retarded children than second cousins, both of whom have retarded relatives.

Several readers made mention of the children of Adam and Eve and the children of the early patriarchs marrying close relatives. We would like to point out that this was before the restrictions on close marriages were given through Moses, prohibiting marriage with close relatives.

But such restrictions do not include second-cousin marriages, and the New Testament seems to be silent on the question—only that the marriage be in the Lord.1

November 4th looms as a decisive day in the lives of the retarded of Holmes County. That day, you hold the future plans of their lives in your hands when you vote on Issues 25 and 26. Ballot 25, Proposal Tax Levy for an additional tax for the benefit of Holmes County for the purpose of Maintenance and Operation of schools, training centers, workshops, clinics and residential facilities for mentally retarded persons, at a rate not exceeding 1.65 mills for each one dollar of valuation, which amounts to 16½ cents for each one hundred dollars of valuation, will construct the proposed building, pictured here. The additional levy is for five years and when successfully passed will enable Holmes County to be the recipients of monies appropriated under State Issue No. 1, which the public pays into daily.

Ohio legislatures decided this past June, that the counties that were willing to recognize their role in helping the retarded of their counties could become eligible for funds that are accumulating daily as the citizens
pay their sales tax and the various hidden taxes attached to luxuries many enjoy.

The Holmes County Board of Mental Retardation has taken the necessary steps to GAIN this money for Holmes County. It is up to the voters to RETURN it to Holmes County.

This fall, twenty-two counties of Ohio are trying to become eligible. Let Holmes County succeed! Vote Yes on Ballot 25 and give the retarded an opportunity to become active citizens and employable adults.

Your continued support of the .5 mills, which amounts to five cents for each one hundred dollars of valuation, is requested also. The program is currently supported by this tax levy, and is placed before you for renewal at this time.

HAPPY HILL SCHOOL FULFILLS GREAT NEED TO HANDICAPPED

Happy Hill School, located at Bunker Hill in eastern Holmes County, serves the special child excluded from public school because of physical and mental handicap, that makes life too difficult for him to function at his best in this hurried world of today.

The school is under a seven man board, as established by the Act SB-169 of 1967 Ohio Legislation. Each county in Ohio is required by this law to provide for the mentally retarded of their county, a place for schooling and employment.

Presently Holmes County is bringing this to pass through the combined efforts of the Board of Mental Retardation and the Council for Aid to the Handicapped. The program grew this last year to include an Adult Activity Center, located on N. Washington Street in Millersburg. Here fourteen young adults are being prepared for employment and eventual payrolls! This day is not too far away for them, since a six months training period is required by the law, and the first of the year is soon to be here.

Budget, October 30, 1969, p. 2.
It is the desire of the Holmes County Board of Mental Retardation to serve ALL of the county. Because of the location of the school, one-half, or seven townships are not presently represented. The time of travel from the west, northwest, or southwest side of the county prohibits the bus making the long trip. ALL children and retarded adults must have the chance to attend school or work.

Your support of the five year 1.65 mills levy for building a school and workshop which would be centrally located is urged. Let Holmes County be numbered as one who cares for their Retarded. 2

---

HOME FOR RETARDED BEING CONSTRUCTED

A committee of three Plain City area men saw the need in Madison County for a home for mentally retarded children.

Sunnyhaven Children's Home now being constructed on Converse-Huff Road, three miles southwest of Plain City, will be the first such home in this part of Ohio.

Trustees of the project are Al Helmuth, Ora Gingerich and Alvin Beachy. John Henry Yoder and Noah Gingerich have been named successors to serve on the board in event one of the original three should be unable to function.

A non-voting advisory board of 13 persons of diversified professions has been appointed to help with advice.

According to one of the trustees, this is strictly a non-profit organization. "Only the children will be benefitting," remarked the spokesman for the project.

The 4½x136-foot building will comprise eight bedrooms, a dining room, lounge, storage room and walk-in cooler and freezer. There will be recreation rooms at each end of the building, a laundry, office, prayer room and matron's quarters. Both the main building and the staff house will be heated by electricity.

The administrator of the home will be living in the area and the 15 volunteer workers will live in the staff house adjacent to the home.

Facilities will be available to care for 30 children. One of the trustees explained, "Only children 17 years of age and under will be accepted. They must be ambulatory and have an intelligent quota of 15 to 50."

With this IQ rating, most of the children will be trainable and some may be teachable, to some degree. This home will be licensed by the State of Ohio.

This will be a year-around home and each child will be handled with TLC (tender, loving care). Worship service will be conducted each Sunday for the children and the staff workers.

Under the supervision of Ora Gingerich, contractor, the construction has largely been done by volunteer workmen. Within two days 28 men laid the blocks for this entire
building. The building is now under roof and the interior started.

Not to be overlooked was the improvised snack table where ladies served hot coffee, donuts, orange juice, etc.

The home and the staff dormitory are built on a four and one-cause. This home will be conducted as a faith project.

Although no door-to-door solicitations are being made, any financial help will be appreciated. Any personal gifts or donations presented to the home can be listed as tax deductible.

The trustees plan to have the building ready for occupancy by May 1, 1970.

"Any retarded child who meets the requirements, regardless of race, creed or color, will be accepted," pointed out one of the board of trustees.

Any family who has a child in need of a "home away from home" or knows of one is welcome to contact Sunnyhaven Children's Home, Rt. 2, Plain City, for further information.

--Plain City Advocate

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Budget, January 8, 1970, p. 16.
THE LOCALE OF THE STUDY

The largest Amish community in the world is the Holmes County, Ohio area settlement. In 1955 it had 43 congregations with 4,354 baptized members and approximately 1,600 families. Today Holmes County, and the immediate surrounding areas (Coshocton, Tuscarawas, and Wayne counties) total 63 church districts with more than 10,000 Amish church members (see Map 11). The increase in districts is not only due to a greater population, which must be organized into areas to be traversed by horse and buggy, but also to divisions and splinter groups, which tend to be more prevalent among the Amish today than in the past.

Bender sees the Holmes County settlement as being less conservative than Lancaster County, Pennsylvania but very similar in spiritual beliefs and cultural levels to the Elkhart-LaGrange, Indiana settlement. He points out that they adhere strongly to their beliefs and seldom change them very much:

The Holmes County Amish settlement is a typical close-knit Amish community, somewhat less tradition-bound than the more conservative Lancaster County settlement, and very similar in spiritual and cultural level to the Elkhart-LaGrange County settlement in northern Indiana. In recent years the Brunk Brothers' revival campaign and similar campaigns by other Mennonite evangelists held in the vicinity have had some influence although the most common result has been the transfer of awakened members to a Conservative (Mennonite) congregation or to an Ohio Mennonite congregation.

The area of Holmes County is looked upon, by some, as part of the "Northern Bible Belt" of the United States.

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2 Ibid., p. 794.
MAP 11—The Holmes County Area Amish Settlement

324
This usually extends across rural and mountainous Pennsylvania, through the Akron-Canton, Ohio area on all sides, across the state into northern Indiana, and into southern "Dutch" Michigan. It is due, in some ways, to this "Belt," that the Amish have been able to exist in a peaceful, protective, environment. The influence of this environment has also intruded upon the thinking of some Amish men and women. As noted by Bender, in 1956, revival movements were becoming very common. They continue today, but there are more gospel sings, missionary meetings, and area church councils. The revivals are popular with the older generation of other faiths, but the gospel sings are popular with some Amish young people, who attend regularly in small numbers.

Holmes County has over 53 traditional and established Christian churches. Two of these churches are Roman Catholic, the rest of Protestant or Anabaptist origin. There are numerous branches of the Mennonite church, as well as Lutherans, Methodists, Christian, Church of Christ, Baptists, Nazarene, Assembly of God, Seventh-day Adventist, Brethren, and Presbyterian.

The eastern part of the county has traditionally been known for its emphasis on farming. The farms, usually range from eighty to a hundred acres, and are predominantly owned by Amish families. Some of the area has experienced ruthless stripmining operations by the former Mullet Coal Company of Mt. Eaton, Ohio. There are numerous mines still open, and some of them are presently used as garbage dumping areas for Millersburg, Berlin, Walnut Creek, and Winesburg.

The area is hilly and forested with numerous pallet shops were low-grade timber is cut and made into pallets for industrial use. There is also light industry which has moved into the area within the last decade. Some of these concerns are: a clutch company (which was extensively damaged by fire in January, 1970), an aluminum storm-door and window company, an organic fertilizer plant, and a chicken processing plant. The Amish, of course, are employed within these concerns, in ever greater numbers. The region is also popular with tourists from the Cleveland-Akron area.

At the present time, the area is agriculturally-oriented, but is changing into light manufacturing and suburban living. It is further developing into a recreational area with man-made lakes and added picnic
facilities being built in the forested areas.

The economic potential of the area is seen in "The Hurley Report," released to county officials during May, 1969 by a private advisory group called in to study the area. The report recommends that the Holmes County area receive high priority in recreational and light industrial developments. It foresees the decline and break-up of large tracts of land, previously used for farming. In the future, the land will go for subdivision developments. Concerning the growth of commercialism and recreational facilities, the report states:

The rate of growth of commercial activity and the prosperity of local retailers will depend primarily upon development in the industrial, agricultural, and recreational areas. It is unlikely that Holmes County will become a major retail center for areas lying at any great distance.

It is further anticipated that the greatest growth in retail and commercial activity will take place in Millersburg and Hardy Township areas. Commercial activity associated with recreation could be very significant in the future.³

The Amish, living in the Holmes County area settlement are not, as some sentimental writers have traditionally believed, living a contented horse-and-buggy life. They are presently involved in a struggle with the effects of modern urbanized living that is quickly moving into the region in the form of light industrial facilities, recreational parks, centralization of educational districts, and the breakup of farms for suburban homes. From the point of view of continuity and stability of the Amish culture, a far more serious problem is the splintering of the frequent Amish church districts into subgroups because of disputes concerning modernization, Sunday School training for the children, and youth fellowship meetings for the young people. The fracturing of the Amish church, as the continual struggle with the dominant culture, is not a new phenomenon; it has always taken place, over such issues as the use of tobacco, nonconformity in clothing, the importance of shunning, and

the use of certain types of farm machinery. In the spring of 1968, the Amish church between Berlin and Millersburg split, and the Amish church between Mt. Hope and Bunker Hill split in the late summer of the same year. Both divisions followed disagreements over the Amish youth fellowship and Sunday School meetings.

Buchanan noticed the fracturing of the Amish church in Geauga County, Ohio, when he did his study of parochial schools there. He thought of the divisions as resembling the early Protestant ruptures:

This group (dissidents) was dissatisfied with the emphasis upon tradition among the Old Order Amish and the lack of what they felt was scriptural warrant for many Old Order Amish practices. The thing the Edgewood Amish are trying to avoid is the multiplicity of personal interpretations which has fractured historic Protestantism since its inception. In view of their emphasis upon individual conscience, it is hard to see how they can avoid such fractures.4

Buchanan sensed the danger of increased ill feeling among the Amish groups, which is sometimes controlled by separation of the groups. He commented:

Paradoxically, those who claim more scriptural than traditional warrant for their practices are more likely to introduce modern conveniences such as tractors and other changes into the traditional pattern of life. Moving away from the older community is perhaps the only way in which such drastic changes can take place without disrupting the relationship between the church districts. However, although change is more difficult in the older communities, it is still possible and continues to occur at an almost imperceptible pace, especially under the impact of modern industrialization.5

The most intractable problem which the Amish of Holmes County are experiencing, as the world about them

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4 Buchanan, op. cit., p. 148. Buchanan is using fictitious names in his report.
5 Ibid., p. 165.
changes, centers in the schooling of their children. As early as 1945, the Amish, disturbed by the disruptive effect of public school education and unable to work out with the public authorities even an uneasy compromise arrangement such as the Hutterian Brethren have achieved in Canada, began to establish their own separate parochial schools. In Holmes County ten years later there were ten parochial schools with a total enrollment of 344. Today there are at least 52 parochial schools in the county, and enrollment exceeds one thousand. These constitute a considerable percentage of the 75 Amish schools in Ohio, which are themselves nearly a third of the 269 Amish schools now operating in the United States and Canada.

6 Bender, op. cit., p. 793.
APPENDIX E
### TABLE 12

**RESPONSES TO ITEM 1**

Do you think that people in general today are more religiously inclined than they were; say, ten years ago?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I do not know.&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 13
RESPONSES TO ITEM 2
Which is best for you and your family spiritually; generalized or specialized farming?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generalized farming</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized farming</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 14
RESPONSES TO ITEM 3

In Holmes County, there are at least 1,107 children enrolled in 30 parochial schools. At least one parochial school is added to the list each year.1

Why are the public schools failing the Amish in the education and training of the children?

| Comments that deal with instruction (Television, radio, modern subjects, science, music, dancing, etc.) | 59 | 45 |
| Comments dealing with religion and environment (Godless, leads children away from faith, no Bible, deceptive teaching, dress, shots, bad influence, trashy talk, etc.) | 37 | 29 |
| Comments dealing with athletics and entertainment (Gym, sports, leisure, baths) | 18 | 14 |
| Comments dealing with consolidation (high school, busing, expensive buildings, etc.) | 16 | 12 |

*Total 130 100

1The total number and percentage is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant and not on one reply per informant.

1Budget, 19 September, 1968, p. 1.
TABLE 15
RESPONSES TO ITEM 4
What kinds of people worry you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comments dealing with religious overtones (the unsaved, those that lack spiritual life, hypocrites)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments dealing with disobedience (rowdy people, drunks, thieves, those who use profanity)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments dealing with specific individuals or groups of people (I-W boys, Negroes, Communists, strangers, hippies, etc.)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments that tend to stress the informant was not worried by any kinds of people</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments dealing with handicapping conditions or sicknesses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number and percentage is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.*
TABLE 16
RESPONSES TO ITEM 6

What do you think are some good qualities and points of a preacher in the Amish gma?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replies</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He leads an upright life.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(preaches, sober, respects faith, considerate, gets along well)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He preaches salvation.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(against hypocrisy, talks of the last days, explains sin, emphasizes whole Bible, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He speaks to youth.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other comments</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer. He is not better than others.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total 74 100

*The total number and percentage is based on an accumulated number of replies per informant, and not on one reply per informant.
PRELIMINARY PERSONAL DATA REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER FIVE

TABLE 7
AGE OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS BY GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 8
SEX OF THE AMISH INFORMANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holmes County</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuscarawas County</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stark County</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison County</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Ohio (Michigan, Indiana, Iowa)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>344</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 11

EDUCATIONAL PREFERENCE FOR AMISH CHILDREN
BY GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pu.</th>
<th>Pa.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>Unm.*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ps of HC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps of non-HC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pu. (Public), Pa. (Parochial), B. (Both), Unm. (Unmarried).
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

I am interested in doing a scholarly study on the ways in which Old Order Amish people think and understand handicapped children. I am especially interested in how these handicapped children and adults are cared for and how they are educated.

I have some questions that I would like to ask you. Some of the questions come from the Bible, and others have to do with what you think about handicapped children. I would like you to express your opinion on these questions.

I will not use your name. When I am finished asking these questions, to a number of Old Order Amish people, your answers will be put with theirs, and no names will be used.

At first the questions will have very little to do with handicapped children, but as I continue to ask you more questions, they will get closer to the topic. You do not have to answer all the questions unless you want to. If there are some that you do not care to answer, that will be all right.

Before I ask you these questions, I would like to know something about you.

Personal Data

How old are you? ______ Where were you born? _______
How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____ How many children do you have? _____ What was the highest grade in school you completed? ______ Did you attend a public or a parochial school? ______ Do you prefer to send your children to either the public or parochial school? ______ What is your occupation? _______

1. Do you think that people in general today are more religiously inclined than they were; say, ten years ago?

2. Which is best for you and your family spiritually; generalized or specialized farming?
3. In Holmes County, there are at least 1,107 children enrolled in 30 parochial schools. At least one parochial school is added to the list each year.

Why are the public schools failing the Amish in the education and training of their children?

4. What kinds of people worry you?

5. Which of these publications do you subscribe to?

- The Budget
- Family Life
- Der Wahrheit
- Ambassador of Peace
- A daily newspaper

6. What do you think are some good qualities and points of a preacher in the Amish community?

7. What is a problem child, not a child growing up in a city, but a child living in a normal way of life; I am referring to any community, like yours for instance?

8. Happy Hill School, at Bunker Hill, Holmes County is a school for children who have trouble learning.

Do you know any children in the neighborhood who go there?

9. Do you know what the purpose of Happy Hill School is?

10. Why would you think parents of children going to Happy Hill School would select that school?

11. What kinds of children can profit from a school like this?

12. In Missouri there is an Amish School for the Deaf, or as some would say, the hearing impaired. There are six scholars attending. One of the teachers is Miss Mary Spitze, a convert to the Amish church.

If there was a need for a school like this in this community, for the Amish children, would you support it in your prayers and in your financial offering?

13. Why would you support a school like this?
14. The Castle Nursing Homes of Millersburg, Ohio care for elderly men and women by providing a place for them to stay.

Have you ever visited there?

15. Would you ever place a relative of yours there for care and treatment?

16. Would you want your son or daughter to work there?

17. What do these German words mean in English? Can you think of a word or words that best tell what these German words are?

   er hots net gahns vie andre leit
   see sinn net gahns recht
   sinn net gahns all dot
   kind can net walt sehna and swetza

18. Do you think there would be any benefit in sending a child to school who could not learn, or who would not have the ability to learn?

19. Why would you send (or not send) a child like this to school?

20. In the Bible we find the following:

   And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered. Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him (John 9:1).

   Are children, who are born blind, or see sinn net gahns recht sent to us so that God's works are made manifest in him?

21. Can you explain why you believe the way you do?

22. Let us say that you are shortly going to retire from running this farm or this household. Your only son or
daughter is not able to take over this farm or household because he (she) is seriously handicapped.

Which condition would make it almost impossible for him (her) to run this farm or house?

deafness  net gahns recht  epileptic  blindness  cripple  can net swetza

23. Which condition would make it least difficult or very easy for him (her) to run this farm or house?

deaflness  net gahns recht  epileptic  blindness  cripple  can net swetza

24. Many people wonder about the things that children who are "not bright" cannot do. Many city people say they cannot do much because of the fast way and complex manner in which people live in cities.

Can you think of some ways in which Amish children, who are "not bright" can, and do, do things here in this community?

25. Can you think of some things that a child, let's say, who is net gahns recht cannot do here in this community?

26. In the Budget recently the following was written:

   Dan Hostetler, son of Joseph Hostetler, formerly of Belleville, Pennsylvania, is in the Apple Creek Institution, and is not feeling very well.

What is Dan Hostetler doing in Apple Creek Institution? Even without knowing who he is, do you know why he is there?

27. Do you know any Amish who are there?

28. What kind of people are there?

29. There is a "doctor" in Pennsylvania who is presently drawing a lot of Amish in this area. He is supposed to treat illnesses and conditions by a machine.

Have you ever been to the "Pennsylvania doctor?"
30. Have you ever taken a child there who is "not bright," or do you know of anyone, who has taken a child there to be treated; not for a headcold or a backache, but for the reason that he is "not bright"?

31. Can you think of any home remedies you have heard of that have been used to treat children who are "not bright," not for common sicknesses, but for the reason that they are "not bright"?

32. Happy Hill School has recently started what they call a sheltered workshop for adults. In this workshop they will receive work experience in jobs that they can be trained to do. If they are trained they can be taught to do better work than a machine. They can become an asset to the community by becoming employed instead of unemployed. They can become useful to the community if they can be taught a job or trade.

   How will something like this be of use to the Amish community?

33. Generally when some people have family members who are not bright they put them in institutions.

   Do you think it is right for Amish people to do this?

34. Why do you think that it is not right?

35. Do Amish bishops ever consider exceptional children, that is the bright and the dull, to be a problem in an Amish community?

36. Has it ever come to your attention that any bishops have ever discussed this problem with you, or among themselves?

37. In the Bible we find the following:

   Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me (Exodus 20:5).
Do you think children who are born with "something wrong with them," or let's say, cripple children, are the result of God's punishment, sent to the fathers of those that hate him?

38. Some people have good talent and ability so that they can learn easily the carpentry, masonry, and buggy or harness trades. Some can simply do things better and quicker than others. You can easily see this in schools were children learn easily and others do not.

How do you recognize a range of ability among people? Describe the range or level among people to me as you understand it?

39. Do you think that children who are not kann recht should be taught any differently in school than other children?

40. How do you think children who are not kann recht should be taught in school?

41. Some people say that in every group of people there is a group that is excluded from what others can do because they do not know as much, or do not know enough to get along by themselves, or to support a companion.

If there are people like this among the Amish, what then do they go into? Do you know any kind of work that people, who are saint nat so vait or not kann recht have gone into?

42. Would people, who are "not bright" be married, baptized into the Amish church, or be able to fully direct and run a farm?

43. Can a person, who is "not bright" become a deacon or a minister in the Amish gna?

44. Much has been said about the Amish marrying within the freundschaft. In a recent article in Family Life, an Amish woman wrote this about second cousin marriages:

If doctors think there are more defects among the plain-people several reasons may
account for it. First, they have more children, with many people today not wanting children to spend their time on. Secondly, if we are taught more of God's love and have more talents, then more is required of us to walk the straight and narrow way. If we sin or walk amiss of God's word, then such things can befall us to lesson our pride and help us to stay on the right way. Thirdly, it may be like the man who was born blind, that the works of God be made manifest in him.

Do you agree with what this woman has written?

45. Is it possible that marriage within the blood 
freundschaft could cause defects in children?

46. Would you encourage marriage within the blood 
freundschaft?

47. What is a mentally retarded child, or adult?

48. What causes mental retardation?

49. How many of these English words can you change over into the German?

slow learner brain damage birth defect
epileptic hearing impaired sight impaired
mentally retarded cripple PKU
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