Reflections on an Amish Curriculum in Ontario: Language Arts with Moral Purpose

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Introduction

The Amish stress social responsibility in the education of their children. Social cohesiveness rather than intellectual creativity or critical analysis is the goal of Amish schooling. ¹

Although the trend to develop alternative forms of public schooling in North America is of relatively recent origin, the Amish of Ontario have succeeded in achieving this goal. ² Moreover, they have also developed and produced a uniquely designed curriculum that meets the need in those schools. Until the 1970s North American Amish schools utilized educational materials produced by public sources in the 1940s and 1950s, but eventually they fulfilled what they perceived to be a growing need to manufacture a more locally relevant curriculum. The enthusiasm of some Amish parents for mainstream education quickly waned upon the arrival of sex education, television, video, drug busts, and the teaching of evolution in public schools.³ An Amish-produced and published curriculum for use in Amish schools has been available for the last two decades.
Amish parochial schools in the United States were legally recognized by US Supreme court decision in 1972. Since then the Amish have organized privately run schools in all of the more than twenty states in which they live. In Ontario, Amish schools are categorized as private schools and receive no public funding of any kind. These schools serve an Amish constituency which numbers about 3,000. When Amish leaders decided that traditionally-published school materials were missing the mark in terms of their rationalized objectives, they launched a language arts curriculum designed exclusively for their own schools. The language arts are considered primary subject matter although arithmetic is also taught in Amish schools. Social studies and science are generally avoided. As Hostetler and Huntington note: “There is a right and wrong . . . In order to decide what is morally right, one looks to the Bible, the Ordnung, and the elders—to the wisdom of the ages rather than to the pronouncement of modern science.”

The materials under examination in this project pertains specifically to the language arts curriculum, grades one through six. Documents examined include children’s readers, workbooks, and teacher’s manuals. With one or two exceptions, writers of the curriculum are not identified, making it difficult to identify quotations with any brevity. This makes it necessary occasionally to cite full references to books in the text. Most of the materials appear to have been produced in the late 1970s and reprinted two decades later.

Basically the Amish curriculum features two distinguishing characteristics, the first being that instructions to teachers are clear, forthright and specific. Little is taken for granted since few if any of the teachers will have had formal teacher training. Many of the teachers are also young and inexperienced and therefore instructions to them apparently need to be clear and plain. No effort is made to explain the underlying rationale for advocating any specific technique; teachers are expected to employ the methodology—no questions asked. It is not their responsibility to worry about whether or not the technique can be justified on valid grounds or if it will work. Note the following for example: “This story has a lesson, and the teacher must help the children get the lesson by discussing the story thoroughly. The children should be led to understand that Rachel could not do as much as she thought she could.” (Teacher’s Manual for Before We Read..., 1994, 61).

The second feature has to do with revered values and beliefs which are often implied in the text or specifically spelled out. Seldom are references to valued ideas or behaviours vague or indefinite. For example, note the following instructions to teachers: “Gently, but firmly, have them do it right” (Learning Through Sounds, Teacher’s Edition, 1990, 19).

Theoretical Base

In 1961 sociologist Robin Williams stated that “to speak of value systems is to imply that values are not simply distributed at random, but are instead interdependent, arranged in a pattern, and subject to reciprocal or mutual variation.”
“patterns” of value systems have been variously categorized and annotated by theorists, representing a myriad of disciplinary backgrounds as, for example, anthropology, child development, education, psychology, and sociology. A point of agreement among the framers of these paradigms has been to delineate the major value orientations on this continent. Following Otto Dahlke’s 1958 analysis the representative value schemes are: religious or Puritan, nativist or state-oriented, market value (commercial), common man (oriented to the working man) and humanist, implying man as the measure of all things. George Spindler differentiates between traditional and emergent values, the former being replaced by newer values such as sociability, relativism, conformity and a degree of hedonistic present-time orientation.

Williams explains that values provide the criteria for selecting behaviour; they have cognitive, affective and directional qualities. Through socialization, individuals inculcate the core of what later become their key beliefs which provide the parameters for decision-making. These beliefs incorporate several very significant components—moral, spiritual, social, economic, political, etc. To the individual, basic values are largely ends in themselves; they make life worthwhile and are pursued by the individual almost to the extent that they are viewed as absolutes. The more conservative or traditional the social milieu, i.e. Amish society, the more values are regarded as absolutes.

The historical record shows that the Amish in North America have been involved in at least fourteen legal confrontations with the state over schooling. In most states where they live, Amish have been arrested and charged with criminal negligence for not continuing to send their children to school under the required age. The first such recorded school conflict occurred in 1914 in Geauga County, Ohio, when three Amish fathers were fined because they refused to send their children to high school. The children, all under the age of sixteen, had completed the eighth grade. The dispute was not settled until 1926 when country officials and local Amish bishops agreed that Amish children would faithfully be sent to school until they reached the age of sixteen. The only reason why they might justifiably fail to attend would be due to ill health. The Amish did not object to the law pertaining to compulsory schooling; rather, they were concerned about the worldly way of life that the school represented. In 1972 the USA Supreme Court ruled that one-room Amish schools did not threaten the American way of life in any way and they were reclassified as legal institutions. Apparently the vision of America that the judge held was that the country’s future would not be threatened by the alternative form of education fostered by the Amish.

The Amish have steadfastly refused to enter the mainstream of the American melting pot, insisting that progress itself is not a good thing. While they have many times been accused of clinging to a seventeenth century culture, in essence there have been many changes towards modernization in their culture. One Amish man described his stance on traditionalism in terms of preferring to be at least one or two generations behind the trends in dominant society. Amish schools, in fact, in both design and methodology, are replicas of the nation’s one-room country
schools of only a half century ago. Until recently, when the Amish began to publish their own school materials, they utilized publicly-manufactured books and manuals. Permission to use these materials was obtained by Amish school officials in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, from large publishing houses such as Houghton-Mifflin. If schooling in that time frame can properly be labelled traditional or conservative in comparison with more recent developments, this would place Amish-produced school curricula squarely in that camp.

Amish schools today basically reflect the operations of North American rural schools a half century ago. Like the schools of yesteryear, the purpose of the Amish curriculum is to emphasize the importance of the traditional 3 r’s—reading, writing and ‘rithmetic. The Amish argue that this form of education is sufficient for their needs, and indeed when the academic success rate of Amish children has been compared with that of other American children, Amish students have been found to score higher on standardized tests in spelling, word usage and arithmetic.

In 1964 the Amish community began the long process of preparing curriculum materials for use in their schools. They began with a series of readers for the primary grades. The stories in the readers reflect the various dimensions of Amish lifestyle, each volume including a series of useful exercises in language arts that require a great deal of practice. A grade by grade examination of the curriculum, including the publications pertaining to each grade substantiates this claim. Quotations provided refer to the particular publication under analysis. Although this curriculum was originated under the auspices of Pathway Publishers in Alymer, Ontario, materials are also available from its US partner, Pathway Publishers of LaGrange, Indiana.

Analysis

Grades One to Three

Learning to read, in Amish education, is a double-barrelled undertaking, promoting both skill attainment and value formation. This perspective falls directly in line with the traditional philosophy of idealism promulgated by such thinkers as Plato, Descartes, Hegel, Hegel, Fichte, and Berkeley. Broadly defined, idealism is any theoretical or practical view emphasizing mind (soul, spirit, life) or what is characteristically of pre-eminent value or significance to it. Idealism stresses the supra- or nonspatial, nonpictorial, incorporeal, suprasensous, normative or valuational, and teleological. Applied to education, proponents of idealism assert that education must exist as an institution of human society because of spiritual necessity and not because of natural necessity alone. One reason for the existence of the school is so that in a fuller and more representative sense, embracing as far back as possible the breadth of humanity’s contemporary life, and the backward reach of its history, individual children may be given cultural birth as adults. In this formation it is hoped that the fullest possible range and depth of humanness will make the formation exceedingly rich. That humanness includes the spiritual domain as the ultimate component of the learning experience. As the early Canadian educa-
tor, Bishop John Strachan put it, "Knowledge, if not founded on religion is a positive evil." I believe the Amish would agree.

Idealism in education posits that all of the various components of the learning process—skill formation, spiritual qualities, social adjustment and cognitive attainments—are very much intertwined. Thus, when pupils learn something, gain new insights, or take actual steps forward in a refining and maturing way, a whole process of subtle change is going on. To the casual observer watching the overt behaviour of the pupils, this is not much different from the pragmatist doctrine that the learning is in the response of the learner. This means that it is what students do in reaction to what is done to them that constitutes the core of education. But students are more than responding organisms or social units that have a strong bent towards interaction. They are souls who are capable of a genuine initiative, and their responses are the struggles of that initiative germinating and growing into full maturity. Thus the task of the teacher is to nurture the growth of students towards spiritual maturity combined with relevant skill achievement.

The learning of a skill, however, must not be viewed in isolation from character development. Following Immanuel Kant's lead on the importance of moral instruction, Ligon (1965) states that the key to strong character is to outline for youth what is appropriate behaviour and challenge them to build moral and spiritual strength with a positive approach. Teaching youth what is right or wrong is not enough, however, because society is such a complex entity that character education must emphasize the specifics of right and wrong. This requires skill as well as the will to do right and so character education must aim at teaching young people how to do the right thing even after they know what it is. Teachers must attempt to provide opportunities for students to gain essential skills as well as develop the will to engage in moral conduct.

It was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) who adapted German idealism to American life and thought. He believed that all subjects in the school should be taught to give insight into the symbolic character of life, for education is a communication of a spiritual attitude or way of looking at life rather than a communication of knowledge. Facts, therefore, should be subordinated to values, all knowledge should be applied, and correct habits should be formed as the basis for genuine freedom. The chief duty of the teacher is to direct children toward the Eternal Truth, to which all individuals aspire, provide them with a standard of moral judgment, and strengthen their will power towards good. Teachers should have high standards and try to relate all school work to community living out the Divine plan of the universe. The themes of the beginner books used in Amish schools, in grades one to three, reflect this idealistic stance.

**Grade Four**

Grades four through six are generally categorized as the upper level of elementary schooling, and the relevant methodology takes on a different tack. Now children can read for themselves, and concept formation becomes important and is therefore emphasized. Public schools generally introduce such concepts as proc-
ness skills (using and interpreting various forms of presented information), communication skills (learning how to present information in written or oral form), and participation skills (observing group rules and participating cooperatively in interactive work). The Amish curriculum differs little in structure from the public format at this level, albeit the list of concepts to be introduced are decidedly locally based and highly normative in tone. By contrast, and indicative of educational objectives to be prized by antithetical state systems, Fantini (1986) stresses the necessity for students to attain technological literacy, media and telecommunications literacy, multinational/multicultural literacy, civic literacy, aesthetic literacy and career literacy.23

Writing from the perspective of the philosophy of idealism, Butler (1966) describes the attainment of self-realization (a process of spiritual becoming) on the part of the student as the ultimate aim of education. In the surge of growth that students at this age experience, the active self is continually achieving new insights, assimilating its various fractional selves into the whole self as a unit, eventually coming to a full understanding of its own essential nature.24 Such an expanded and fully realized self, eventually achieved, is the ultimate value in education as well as in life itself because it reflects the ultimately real Spirit of which the individual self is a part. Another idealist educator, Herman Harrell Horne (1942), was more specific, articulating the objectives to be realized by the educated individual to include worship (as bringing the individual into conscious relation to the infinite Spirit of the universe), production and enjoyment of the beautiful in revealing the infinite perfection, knowledge of the structure and workings of the universe, attainment of essential skills, and good health.25 The criteria by which content should be included in school curricula would be: (i) the abilities and need of the learner; (ii) the requirements of society; and, (iii) the nature of the universe in which we live.26

The three criteria for curricular inclusion outlined by Horne are closely adhered to by Amish curriculum designers. The needs of students are envisaged as fitting them into the traditional Amish way of life, nothing more. No one worries much about possible changes to their culture, each of which will be debated and ruled upon by the Ordnung as it comes along. The irony is that in a society that prides itself on simplicity, tradition and religiosity, changes are often tolerated if there is a dollar sign attached. To quote Hostetler, “Innovations that are accompanied by economic rewards will have a greater chance of being accepted than do changes that are non-economic in character”.27 Changes affecting hair or clothing styles are often frowned upon, but families must make a living. Therefore, if a change to a more modern form of technology is required in order for them to do so, such behaviour is usually permitted.

The fundamental premise for Amish schooling is that it should be basic, and in complete harmony with the teachings of the church and home.28 Schooling should be only one part of a more complete education which includes developing work and vocational skills on the farm or in the family business. Learning how to live with one’s family, church and community is the primary focus of life, and all institutional influences, such as the school, should work in harmony towards the attainment of that goal.29 As may be concluded from what follows, the Amish curriculum has
been designed to fulfill every detail of that objective.

Amish curriculum contains little information about the nature of the outside world or the universe in which we live. This omission is deliberate since it is the view of the Amish that the world consists of two divisions—Amish and non-Amish or “English.” The Mennonites seem to occupy a sort of indistinguishable third category. A great deal of discussion about values revolves around the “outside world” which is perceived as a non-desirable place, the antithesis of Christian living. Some Anabaptist groups, like the Old Order Mennonites, may be tolerated, especially since the Amish share school facilities with them in Lancaster County. Dominant society is a dangerous place with menacing temptations, and outside of understanding how to do business with the world, little knowledge of its workings appears necessary. Paradoxically, the Amish have become dependent upon the outside world for their economic survival even as they have increasingly diverged from mainstream modern culture. In alignment with this philosophy, curriculum stories that involve the outside world in some form tend to be unrealistic or superficial. The rationale for this is simple; if one understands only enough of the world to be able to reject it selectively, and still conduct business, schooling will have been successful. This will enable the Amish to survive as a distinct community within twentieth century society.

Grade Five

The following textbooks serve to illustrate the Amish curriculum. The book, *Living Together*, contains six units totalling 48 stories under these headings: “Living Together, Learning From Others, The World of Nature, Getting Along, Meeting New Friends,” and “Doing Our Best.” As students mature it becomes evident that everything they read in school is morally instructive. Following are some story titles and the corresponding lessons to be learned by the students: 1) The Picture (be honest); The Bookworm (the value of reading); Thomas the Tyrant (cruelty to animals is wrong); The Same Mistake (your sin will find you out); Wilbur’s Will to Work (the value of work); The Biggest and the Bossiest (the value of sharing); the poem, A Land Unknown (laziness is wrong); the poem, The Country Child (country living is best); T-R-I-X-Y (avoid bad company); The Secret Code (respect school rules); Joseph and His Giant (do not grumble or complain); Freeman’s Friends (make friends by being one); Not Like Nellie (be reliable, consistent); Bert the Bragger (bragging is inappropriate); the poem, Log Cabins (appreciate historical lessons); the poem, An Important Person (fathers are to be respected); Tilly, the Painted Turtle (respect wildlife); the poem, Rain (be thankful for rain); The Farmer’s Enemy (even locusts can teach us); A South American Dessert (be grateful for food); The Turkey Fight (avoid arguing); Wide Enough for Two (learn to share); That’s what They Said (avoid exaggerating); Raymond’s Ropes (develop good table manners); A Poor Excuse (do not be led astray by others); The Tell-tale Peas (be sure Your sin will find you out); Truth is My Friend (be truthful); One Stray Lamb (always look on the bright side); The Greener Grass (be content with what you have); The Talking Tree (be obedient; obey the rules); The Best Talent (everyone has a talent to
develop); A Good Sport (be a good sport); The Chicken Thief (be obedient to your parents); To The Rescue (help others in need); Greedy Gertie (do not be greedy); The Stealers (do not prejudge people); The Slow Miracle (be patient).

Grade Six

The book, *Step By Step*, by Joseph Stoll, David Luthy and Elmo Stoll, is the first reader in which editors of the books are identified. These editors were apparently responsible for producing readers for the fifth through eighth grades. This reader comprises nine units and contains a total of eighty-four stories and poems. Many of the essays included in the book are from sources standard to school readers used in public systems and include writings by such authors as Emily Dickenson, Elizabeth Browning, Harding Gaylord, Christina G. Rossetti, Edna Jacques, Barbara Smucker, etc. Eighteen essays are cited as “author unknown”. At the end of each story is a series of questions to be pondered by students under the rubric, “Thinking It Over.” The final page lists acknowledgements for materials reprinted from other sources.

The book has the following nine units: 1) *We Live and Learn*, containing such moral lessons as, love opens the tallest gate, appreciate the seasons; God is a treasure, be a friend, God is the engineer of the world, be responsible, do not whine, do not seek revenge, help others in need, make your life count, and be faithful to others; 2) *Step by Step*, with lessons such as, do not cheat others, help one another, forget self and remember others, use your talents, share with others, be pleasant and smile, make every moment count, use the skill you have, be courageous, God answers prayer, obey your parents, be grateful for bread, do not give up when tested; 3) *Out of the Past*, with lessons from Bible Stories, including such morals as, forgive those who do you wrong, faith will change you well, discipleship, do not limit kindness, be kind to outsiders as well, God’s love changes us; 4) *Life on the Farm*, with lessons that include, sharing brings personal joy, God takes away our cares, avoid being thoughtless, be considerate of farm animals, little deeds of kindness count too, do not misjudge others, let God’s light shine through us, appreciate God’s love for us, appreciate life’s basics, be grateful to God; 5) *Our Forefathers*, with admonitions to trust God in times of danger, and appreciate Anabaptist history; 6) *Moments in History*, with such lessons as persevere like Columbus, persevere like the Pilgrims, appreciate motherhood like Abraham Lincoln did, recognize the evil of slavery as Booker T. Washington did, have faith like the Quakers, have sympathy as the folks did during the San Francisco earthquake, share the love of Jesus; 7) *We Love Our Homes*, with lessons that include showing the love of Jesus to others, praying for others, recognizing that in God’s eyes we are all equal, praising God even in difficulty, befriending even foreigners, appreciating home, appreciating motherhood; 8) *Lessons at School*, with such lessons as, accept praise modestly, avoid being opinionated, practice safety, being cheerful is cost-free, don’t stretch the truth, hurting others can hurt self, do your best, appreciate motherhood, spend time wisely; 9) *Nature’s Paths*, with such admonitions as think before you act, appreciate God at work in nature, work hard like Johnny
Appleseed, appreciate food, appreciate God at work in nature, listen to God’s voice, and praise the Lord at all times.

A second book used in Grade Five includes *Workbook for Step By Step*, a book prepared “. . . by a teacher [Velina Hoover], with quite a few years of experience, and then tested in both her classroom and by another teacher.” (inside cover) Users of the workbook are cautioned not to skip exercises even though they may appear difficult. “The practice of skipping lessons because they are too difficult will create problems, rather than solve them.” (inside cover) The workbook covers all nine units in the text with review tests at the end of each work section. The exercises require a thorough reading of the textbook because students are asked to answer short essay questions on each story, find certain words that appear in the text, underline correct endings to selected sentences, and number sentences that show the sequence of events in a particular story.

**Conclusion**

One of the problematic areas concerning schooling identified by educators in recent decades is that school curricula should reflect local themes and be locally-relevant. This preference on the part of educators has also encouraged the proliferation of alternative schools. There are many examples of communities to which traditional forms of curricula have been shown to be irrelevant and even intrusive. For the greater part of this century, Canadian school materials have been urban-centred and middle-class-based; yet for decades these were the only curricula approved for instruction across the nation. In northern communities, where hunting, trapping, and fishing were the mainstay of life, no reference was made to these enterprises in what the children read. Students in northern communities have had to read about life in southern urban areas, about lifestyles that seemed to them to be remote and unrealistic. In First Nations communities the situation was even worse. Not only were Native children forced to learn about atypical lifestyles, they were informed that their own culture, particularly its spiritual elements, were based on erroneous assumptions and were therefore to be condemned and eradicated. Even rural Canadian communities found the traditional curriculum to be somewhat inapplicable to their own way of life but moved passively along until significant revisions were eventually undertaken.

While great strides have been made in redesigning school curricula to meet local needs in recent years, some subcultures, like the Amish, have struggled to adapt dominant culture-oriented materials to fit their own needs. For a long time attempts were made to utilize materials originated by other conservative or even evangelical sources, but eventually Amish leaders encouraged the production of their own curriculum for grades one through eight. Today those students involved in education beyond the eighth grade are subjected to a variety of materials emanating from conservative religious sectors.
As this analysis has shown, Amish-produced materials certainly reflect Amish culture. Every published work up to the sixth grade contains stories of Amish life, e.g., doing chores such as cooking, baking, milking, haying, harvesting or cleaning the barn, or dealing with a cow that is a "hard milker" or one that is "bossy." No Amish student can read these stories or complete the related exercises without feeling quite at home with the materials. At the sixth grade level, and in isolated instances before that, Amish children are gently introduced to the "outside world" through stories about other countries. For example, there is a story about St. Bernard dogs in Switzerland, the land of the origin of the Amish. In addition, there are three stories about Anabaptist heroes, obviously intended to encourage Amish readers to appreciate their cultural roots. A third grade reader contains a slightly unrealistic story about a magazine account citing "millions of people starving to death in India." Sadly, awareness of this fact only motivates the family to be extra grateful for their own food supply. No attempt is made to reach out to the "starving millions" in any way.

On the more critical side, it is somewhat difficult to appreciate the rather paternalistic behaviours and continually wise counsel of Amish parents as portrayed in these publications. They never seem to do anything wrong; they are always patient, aware, and supportive even when they punish their children for doing something wrong. Equally unrealistic, and somewhat unfair, are descriptions of the actions of very exemplary Amish teachers who are always identified with female pronouns (she, her, hers), yet some of the stories include male teachers. These shortcomings aside, the Amish are to be commended for having responded positively to the challenge to make schooling relevant to the needs of their community. They have also revealed a consistent bias towards a revered traditional form of schooling, exemplary of the Christian idealist educational aim—"ultimate union with God." As public schooling continues to dismantle in Canada in the coming decades, undoubtedly, the example of the Amish will be followed by other conservative constituents as well.

Notes

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2 Ronald C. Doll, Curriculum Improvement: Decision Making and Process, 7th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1989) and Robert R. O'Reilly and Stefan Sikora, eds. Becoming a Canadian Teacher (Calgary: The University of Calgary, Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Studies, 1994).
7 Dahlke, Values in Culture and Classroom, 1958.
14 Kraybill, The Riddle of Amish Culture, 1990
23 Mario D. Fantini, Regaining Excellence in Education (Columbus: Merrill Publishing Company, 1986).


29 John W. Friesen, *Schools with a Purpose* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1983).


