The Effectiveness Of Teaching Methods In Traditional Amish Schoolhouses In Lawrence County, Tn

Ann Marie Paley

University of Mississippi

Follow this and additional works at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/etd

Part of the First and Second Language Acquisition Commons

Recommended Citation

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/etd/900

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.
THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TEACHING METHODS IN TRADITIONAL AMISH SCHOOLHOUSES

IN LAWRENCE COUNTY, TN

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Modern Languages
The University of Mississippi

by
ANN MARIE PALEY

May 2015
ABSTRACT

The Amish community at Ethridge in Lawrence County, Tennessee is one of a handful in Tennessee, and, with a population of 1,500 and more than ten church districts, is the largest in the South and one of the top 20 in the nation. This particular Amish community was colonized when three families led by Dan Yoder, Joe Yoder, and Joseph Gingerich moved to the area from Ohio in the mid-1940s due to problems with the establishment of their own schools. Swartzentruber Amish are a subgroup within Old Order Amish society and occupy a distinct place on the conservative end of the Amish spectrum. Amish Education – much like its nineteenth-century counterpart – is conducted in a traditional one-room schoolhouse with around 30 students and one teacher. Because of limited space in the schoolhouse itself, it is not uncommon for one Amish community to have several different schoolhouses, and therefore, several different teachers.

Current research has shown that, while Amish scholars only attend school from grades one through eight and do not learn or speak English until around age six, these scholars are just as successful when completing standardized tests as public school children of the same age range with English as their native language. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to research the existing teaching methods and their effectiveness in traditional Amish schools in Lawrence County, Tennessee. Through my research, I discovered the cultural conditions, teaching methods used by Amish teachers,
and other factors that may play a role in English Language Learning in a traditional one-
room schoolhouse environment without the use of technology.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. ii

List of Tables .......................................................................................................................... vi

List of Figures ........................................................................................................................ vii

CHAPTER I: Introduction ......................................................................................................... 1

CHAPTER II: Literature Review .............................................................................................. 6
  A. Bilingual Education ............................................................................................................ 6
  B. Heritage Language Education .......................................................................................... 9
  C. One-Room Schoolhouse Education ................................................................................ 15
  D. Amish Education ........................................................................................................... 19

CHAPTER III: Research Methods ............................................................................................ 23
  A. Methodology .................................................................................................................... 23
  B. Amish Education Context ............................................................................................... 25

CHAPTER IV: Data Analysis .................................................................................................... 31
  A. Goals of Amish Education ............................................................................................... 31
  B. Textbooks in Use ............................................................................................................. 33
  C. Teaching Methods .......................................................................................................... 49
  D. Language in Use ............................................................................................................. 56

CHAPTER V: Conclusion ......................................................................................................... 62

LIST OF REFERENCES ............................................................................................................ 65
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Bilingual Education Models.................................................................7
Table 2. Heritage Language Education vs. Foreign Language Education ..................10
Table 3. Comparison of heritage language and traditional language learners..............12
Table 4. Pedagogical needs of non-heritage versus heritage language learners.............13
Table 5. 19th Century School Day Recitation Groups.............................................16
Table 6. 20th Century School Day Schedule – Graded Cohorts ................................17
Table 7. 20th Century School Day Schedule – One-Room School............................18
Table 8. Amish One-Room School Schedule – Age-Graded Cohorts..........................22
Table 9. Swartzentruber Amish School day, Lawrence County, TN............................29
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Lesson 1 – McGuffey’s First Eclectic Reader .............................................35
Figure 2. Lesson 63 – McGuffey’s First Eclectic Reader ................................................36
Figure 3. Lesson 1 – McGuffey’s Second Eclectic Reader .............................................38
Figure 4. Lesson 71 – McGuffey’s Second Eclectic Reader .............................................38
Figure 5. Lesson 1 – McGuffey’s Third Eclectic Reader .................................................41
Figure 6. Lesson 79 – McGuffey’s Third Eclectic Reader .................................................42
Figure 7. Lesson 1 – McGuffey’s Fourth Eclectic Reader .................................................44
Figure 8. Lesson 90 – McGuffey’s Fourth Eclectic Reader .................................................45
Figure 9. Lesson 1 – McGuffey’s Fifth Eclectic Reader ..................................................47
Figure 10. Lesson 117 – McGuffey’s Fifth Eclectic Reader ..............................................48
Figure 11. Suggestions to Teachers – McGuffey’s First Eclectic Reader..........................52
Figure 12. Preface – McGuffey’s First Eclectic Reader ....................................................53
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Nestled deep in the foothills of southern-middle Tennessee are two small communities that usually go unnoticed by travelers and passers-by. There is nothing significant here; this is not the birthplace of anyone of any particular fame and fortune; in fact, for many, this is just home. However, if you chose to take a drive through the small towns of Lawrenceburg and Ethridge you would notice something out of the ordinary. Every convenience store and supermarket has tie-outs and water troughs for horses; every road has a shoulder almost wide enough for a car; and there are people commuting through town, going about their daily business in horse-drawn buggies. If you drove north of town and turned off the beaten path, you would notice plain white houses and red work buildings uniformly lining the red dirt roads. At every intersection you would see plain white signs with simple black writing – “Sorghum Molasses, Tack Shop, Peppers, Tomatoes...” At night you wouldn’t even know these houses existed due to the lack of electricity. The locals pay no extra attention to these people and treat them like everyone else who crosses their path – usually waving or stopping to chat for a few minutes. They go to these houses to buy produce, furniture, tack for horses and work animals and, sometimes, even just to sit and talk a spell. These people are their friends. These people are the Amish.
The Amish community at Ethridge in Lawrence County, Tennessee, is one of a handful in Tennessee, and, with a population of 1,500 and more than ten church districts¹, is the largest in the South and one of the top 20 in the nation (Smietana). This particular Amish community was colonized when three families led by Dan Yoder, Joe Yoder, and Joseph Gingerich moved to the area from Ohio² in the mid-1940s due to problems with the establishment of their own schools. Shortly after the arrival of the first families, Andy Yoder arrived in Lawrenceburg aboard the “Huckety Buck”³ bringing horses, buggies, farm machinery, and household furnishings. He was then followed by Emmanuel Gingerich and his family who then purchased the land that their family continues to cultivate today. By the fall of 1944, several other families had moved to the area from Wayne County, Ohio, and successfully purchased land in the vicinity of their fellow Amish. These newcomers were immediately called “Mennonites,” a term still used by many today (outsiders and locals alike), even though it is in error. They were, and still are, members of the Swartzentruber lineage of Amish, meaning low levels of technology, numerous farms, and horse-drawn buggies lacking the “Slow Moving Vehicle” triangle (Alford, The History of Lawrence County).

Swartzentruber Amish are a subgroup within the Old Order Amish society who occupy a distinct place on the conservative end of the Amish spectrum. The separation of the Swartzentruber Amish from the Old Order Amish occurred between the years of 1913 and 1917 in the Holmes County community in Ohio and is similar to the original Amish split

---

¹ Within each church district there are between two and four schools with around 30 scholars each.
² These families had originally moved to Mississippi from Ohio, but quickly discovered that the hot, steamy low-land the Delta had to offer was not at all what they were looking for.
³ The “Huckety Buck” is the local railroad that served the Lawrence County area during this time. It is no longer in service.
from the Mennonites in 1693. The groups officially split over the issue of shunning in 1917, leaving the conservative faction under the leadership of bishop Sam Yoder (Amish America). Swartzentruber Amish emphasize tradition and resist change more often than the majority of other Amish groups and, therefore, are among the most restrictive when it comes to the usage of technology. Automobile travel is not permitted except in the case of emergencies, they do not have in-home plumbing or hot water, and their shops do not use pneumatic or hydraulic power and are this limited to the use of diesel engines. The core values of the Amish are their religious beliefs and they find expression through worship and prayer. They do not have an official church building, but instead hold church services in different homes throughout the community. These services can last up to four hours and include prayer, a sermon, and hymns, followed by a meal shared by the entire congregation. Swartzentrubers are also more restrictive than other Amish when it comes to the types of reading materials allowed in the home and also follow a more basic school curriculum. Education is conducted in a traditional one-room schoolhouse with around 30 students and one teacher. Because of limited space in the schoolhouse itself, it is not uncommon for one Amish community to have several different schoolhouses.

Recent research has shown that, while Amish scholars\(^4\) only attend school from grades one through eight and do not learn or speak English until around age six, these scholars are just as successful when completing standardized tests as public school children of the same age range with English as their native language (Hornish, 2000). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to research ESL teaching methods and their effectiveness in traditional Amish schools in Lawrence County, Tennessee. Through my

---

\(^4\) Amish school children are referred to as ‘scholars’ both in and outside of the classroom so I will use this term throughout.
research I intended to discover the teaching methods used by Amish educators in addition to other factors that play a role in English Language learning in a traditional one-room schoolhouse environment without the use of technology. However, since I was not able to obtain permission from the Amish community to conduct classroom observations, I instead focused on the experience of Amish families to conduct interviews with previous students and teachers. In addition to the interviews, I conducted an in-depth curriculum review of their classroom materials. Research questions include:

- What is the mission of Amish education and how is it implemented in the community?
- What bilingual/ESL curricula are used and is there uniformity to them throughout all the schools within the Amish community?
- What accounts for the efficacy of the schools/teaching methods in the Amish community?
- How is Amish education and English language acquisition experienced by one Amish family with considerable access to native English speakers?

The main goal of my research was to identify and analyze the bilingual/ESL teaching methods used in traditional Amish schools and share them with current and future ESL/bilingual educators to further improve and enhance classroom instruction in the public school system. Some new information I gained from this research is the benefits of the traditional one-room schoolhouse as well as the benefits to teaching in a rural/limited technology classroom. In terms of contributions to the field of ESL/bilingual education, this research has highlighted different or unknown pros to using more traditional teaching materials, in addition to a lack of technology, specifically in the language classroom. This
research also benefitted the Amish community by showing them as an intelligent and thriving group in society.
A. Bilingual Education

Bilingual education is a complex phenomenon (Baker, 2011). Many different models of bilingual education exist; some promote the use of two (or more) languages in the classroom while other models follow more of a monolingual context in a second language. Table 1 on the following page details the different types of bilingual education models\(^5\). Within these types of bilingual education models three different categories exist – transitional models, maintenance models, and enrichment models. In a transitional model, students move from their first or native language to a second. These models often include language shift, cultural assimilation, and social incorporation. When a maintenance or enrichment model is applied in the bilingual classroom, a second language is added while maintaining and/or developing the first. In turn, these models promote language development and cultural pluralism.

While it may not seem like it on the surface, the manner in which Amish scholars learn English alongside their native language (Pennsylvania Dutch) can be classified as a bilingual education program. As discussed, there are several different models of bilingual education, but the Amish community in Lawrence County, Tennessee, is most comparable with the Sheltered English Immersion model (Genesee, 1999), which Krashen (1985)\(^\)

---

\(^5\) Genesse, 1999
Table 1. Bilingual Education Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Goals</th>
<th>Sheltered English Immersion</th>
<th>Newcomer Programs</th>
<th>Transitional Bilingual Education</th>
<th>Developmental Bilingual Education</th>
<th>SL/FL immersion</th>
<th>Two-Way Immersion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic Proficiency</td>
<td>L2 Proficiency</td>
<td>Transition to all L2 instruction</td>
<td>Bilingualism</td>
<td>Bilingualism</td>
<td>Bilingualism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Goals</td>
<td>Understanding of &amp; integration into mainstream culture</td>
<td>Understanding of &amp; integration into mainstream culture</td>
<td>Understanding of &amp; integration into mainstream culture</td>
<td>Integration into mainstream culture &amp; maintenance of home/heritage culture</td>
<td>Understandin/ appreciation of L2 culture &amp; maintenance of home/ mainstream culture</td>
<td>Maintenance/ integration into mainstream culture &amp; appreciation of other culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Goals</td>
<td>Same as district/ program goals</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Same as district/ program goals</td>
<td>Same as district/ program goals</td>
<td>Same as district/ program goals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Characteristics</td>
<td>Limited or no L2; some programs mix native &amp; non-native speakers</td>
<td>Limited or no L2; low-level literacy; recent arrival; variety of backgrounds</td>
<td>Limited or no L2; all students have same L1; variety of backgrounds</td>
<td>Limited or no L2; all students have same L1; variety of backgrounds</td>
<td>Speak majority language; may not be from majority culture</td>
<td>Native speakers &amp; students with limited or no L2; variety of backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades Served</td>
<td>All grades</td>
<td>K-12; most common in middle or high schools</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>K-8; preferably K-12</td>
<td>K-8; preferably K-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of Participation</td>
<td>1-3 years as needed</td>
<td>1-3 semesters</td>
<td>2-4 years</td>
<td>Usually 6 years + K, preferably 12 years + K</td>
<td>Usually 6 years + K, preferably 12 years + K</td>
<td>Usually 6 years + K, preferably 12 years + K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructional Materials</td>
<td>In L2 with adaptations; visuals; realia; culturally appropriate</td>
<td>In L1 or L2 with adaptations</td>
<td>In L1 &amp; L2; L2 materials adapted to students’ proficiency levels</td>
<td>In L1 &amp; L2; L2 materials adapted to students’ proficiency levels</td>
<td>In L2, with adaptations as needed, plus L1 tests where appropriate</td>
<td>In minority language &amp; L2 as required by curriculum of study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

describes as “immersion-style comprehensible subject-matter teaching.” The academic and cultural goals of learning English are academic and occupational proficiency as well as becoming an integral and contributing member to the Amish community as a whole. The
younger students have little to no English proficiency while the older students are more advanced in the language in both classroom and real-world situations. Because of the design of the schoolhouses, all students are taught in the same room and are not separated by age, grade or proficiency; therefore, students are consistently exposed to the English language at levels above, below, and equal to their own proficiencies. Another vital component to the Sheltered English Immersion model, as it is executed in Swartzentruber schools, is the fact that native English speakers are excluded from the classroom; therefore, the scholars are not intimidated by active participation in classroom activities because they are not in competition with native speakers. Through the creation of a low affective filter, a perfect condition for language acquisition emerges when the ethos of the classroom is one with reduced student anxiety and boosted student self-confidence, much like that of the Amish schoolhouse (Larsen-Freeman, 2011). Students participate in English Language Education throughout their entire career as scholars, which is about eight years. This information coincides with English language acquisition research which suggests that academic competency in a language takes five to seven years (Hahta et al., 2000). All instructional materials are in English, with the exception of German textbooks, and contain visuals and realia that are culturally appropriate. Additionally, the focus of schooling is on the subject matter itself and English is learned through content-based study with the material being more accessible due to the use of pictures, charts, graphs, etc. While being a Sheltered English Immersion program, the bilingual education in Amish schools also follows the Immersion Enrichment Model for German language instruction. Scholars begin learning English from day one but don’t actually begin studying High German, a variety of their native language (Pennsylvania Dutch), until they are in the fourth grade.
B. Heritage Language Education

Shin defines a heritage language (as it is used in the United States) as an “immigrant, indigenous, or ancestral language that a speaker has a personal relevance and desire to (re)connect with” (2013). It has also been used synonymously with community language, native language, and mother tongue to refer to a language other than English used by minority groups and possibly their children. Valdes (2001) defines a heritage language speaker as “someone who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language in the home and in English.” People may have one or several reasons for learning a heritage language – maintaining ties to a particular culture and/or community, coming from a family with mixed-heritage parents, transitional adoption, and/or religious purposes. Still, no matter what the reasoning may be for learning the heritage language, the process would come much easier for students who had significant support either from within the family or within the school community.

Today, a significant effort is put forth to teach native English speaking Americans foreign languages, languages to which they have no personal or family connections, due to a pressing need for citizens that can function in these languages. At the same time heritage language programs are continually marginalized in public schools. Thriving heritage language development programs almost always have a common thread – the initiative and ongoing support of members of the heritage communities in question. Heritage language learners tend to differ from foreign language learners in one important way – the impetus for learning the target language may be motivated and impacted by the construction of identity of the learner. Moreover, heritage learners may also wish to maintain relationships with family members in addition to forging new relationships with other
members of the language community. Amish scholars learning High German in school do so for religious purposes due to cultural ties the language has with the religion, identity, family, and community. Children have the benefit of full parental and community support while learning this language because it is the language of communication among community members as well as the backbone for their religion, which is at the center of their society.

In public school systems today, the role of foreign language programs is rarely questioned while programs designed to help minority groups maintain their languages are constantly under a linguistic microscope. In reality, these heritage language programs have proven to be most effective in producing functional bilinguals (Shin, 2013). See Table 2 below for a side-by-side comparison of Heritage Language and Foreign Language Education programs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heritage Language Education</th>
<th>Foreign Language Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geared for language minority students</td>
<td>Geared for language majority students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantly questioned and debated</td>
<td>Rarely questioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be highly effective in producing functional bilinguals</td>
<td>Has a low rate of success in producing functional bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learners have cultural knowledge</td>
<td>Learners have little or no cultural knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learners have family connections to the language</td>
<td>Learners have little or no family connections to the language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2. Heritage Language Education vs. Foreign Language Education*

Within the mainstream classroom, many minority students are actually discouraged from speaking their native language because it is seen as a hindrance to learning English as well

---

6 Shin, 2013
as other academic content subjects. Furthermore, in the state of Tennessee, students who use a language other than English in the home or who were born in a country where the official or dominant language is something other than English must be identified as Language Minority Students (LM). This classification has no relation whatsoever to the students’ proficiency in the English language, and LM students may not even participate in English Language Education. This classification is solely based on the students’ language background, which is determined via the Student Home Language Survey. As a result, many heritage speakers completely abandon their native languages during their formative years and are only given a chance to (re)learn it as a “foreign” language at the high school or college level. The most effective practice for language minority students would be to allow them to maintain their heritage/native languages rather than to lose it and attempt to learn it again later (Shin, 2013). Additionally, according to Kagan and Dillon (2008), “because of heritage learners’ prior and extensive exposure to language approaches that take their global knowledge into account are considered to be the most beneficial.” These approaches, known as macro-approaches, can be labeled as top-down models that build on the learners’ foundational abilities, speaking and listening, in the language. Teaching methodologies that address these macro-approaches include discourse-based, content-based, genre-based, task-based, and experiential methods. In contrast, micro-approaches, or bottom-up models, tend to focus on isolating the elements of a language and gradually increasing the complexity. Tables 3 and 4 on the following pages compare the abilities of heritage language learners with no schooling in the language to foreign language learners in addition to the pedagogical needs of non-heritage versus heritage language learners7.

---

7 Kagan and Dillon, 2008
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge and competencies</th>
<th>Typical heritage language learners</th>
<th>Traditional foreign language learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonology</strong></td>
<td>Pronunciation, stress, and intonation are close to native speaker level; may be dialect</td>
<td>Have acquired most of the phonological system of a standard dialect; pronunciation is accented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammar</strong></td>
<td>Use much of the grammatical system appropriately, not familiar with the rules</td>
<td>Familiar with grammatical rules, but cannot use them fluently nor comprehend them fully in real-life communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vocabulary</strong></td>
<td>Have acquired extensive vocabulary, but range is limited to home, community, and religious institutions; a large number of “borrowings” from the majority language are noted</td>
<td>Vocabulary is extremely limited, but consistent with the prestige dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociolinguistic rules</strong></td>
<td>Control registers relating to verbal interactions with family and community members; competence is limited by range of social interactions</td>
<td>Have very limited knowledge and control of sociolinguistic rules except for those appropriate to the classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literacy skills</strong></td>
<td>Have not developed literacy skills beyond elementary levels. However, are capable of developing such skills quickly, can learn to process lengthy texts early on acquiring literacy</td>
<td>Have a good to very good foundation for development of literacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3. Comparison of heritage language and traditional language learners.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Domains</th>
<th>Non-heritage Learners</th>
<th>Heritage Learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation and intonation</td>
<td>Instruction throughout course of study</td>
<td>Typically none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>Full range</td>
<td>Age appropriate/literary/academic/formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Micro-approach (e.g. case by case)</td>
<td>Macro-approach (i.e. by concept)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Small texts, gradually and slowly increasing in volume and complexity</td>
<td>Fairly large and complex texts almost from the very beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Sentence level, gradually advancing to paragraph level. The writing even at high levels of proficiency rarely approaches native ability.</td>
<td>High degree of internal grammar allows expansive writing assignments at early stages of construction. Macro-approach to writing: concentrate on the content and gradually improve spelling, grammar, and stylistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>Micro-approach: initially restricted to dialog, gradually progressing to monologue and discussion</td>
<td>Macro-approach: emphasis on monologue and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>Micro-approach: short simple texts, gradually increasing in volume and complexity</td>
<td>Macro-approach: full range of native language input, that is movies, documentaries, lectures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Micro-approach: initially isolated cultural terms</td>
<td>Macro-approach: full range of native language input, audio, visual, and print</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Pedagogical needs of non-heritage versus heritage language learners

So, while many immigrant and indigenous members in American society today are pressured to lose their linguistic and cultural knowledge to become more “American,” those in Amish society are unaffected by such scrutiny, because, while they do have interactions with the dominant society, they continue to remain separate and live as a self-governing community within the boundaries of mainstream American society. The Swartzentruber Amish have and continue to maintain German as a way to resist secular
authority, to remain separate from the dominant English speaking society they live in, and above all, to mark that they are Old Order. Patterns of language maintenance reveal how this particular Amish group and others like it have used their language to create and instill a group identity. This is done by the community through manipulating both language choice as well as the contexts of use to create a sense of self and community (Johnson-Weiner, 1998). The community does not totally reject the use of English, except in traditionally Pennsylvania Dutch and High German domains, such as religious and family contexts. “Useful as the English language is to us, we have to keep English speaking in its proper place. That place is not in our homes nor in our church services,” (Anonymous, 1986). While Old Order writings do insist on plain dress, separation, and the maintenance of German, Isaac Horst notes that, “Although we are not so naïve to believe that these customs are necessary for our salvation, we also realize that discarding these customs because we are ashamed of them could be a hindrance.” In linguistically homogeneous Old Order communities, much like the one in Lawrence County, Tennessee, English is inappropriate for interaction with other group members – the dialect, Pennsylvania Dutch, meets the community needs, marks the Old Order identity, and keeps English in its place. The use of English in interactions with those who are outside of the community boundaries accommodates the world to keep it at a safe distance. Old Order parents will continue to teach their children to speak two languages due to the necessity to interact with the English-speaking world around them for business purposes and also to maintain their religious and community ideologies (Johnson-Weiner, 1998).

The Amish community in Lawrence County, Tennessee is one of several heritage communities in the United States today that has a well-developed school system, which
offers language instruction in both English and High German. So, while these schools serve the purposes of the community as well as produce functioning bilinguals, they do suffer from lack of recognition in terms of quality of education by public education systems. The Amish schools are private institutions, not parochial institutions, which are funded by the parents of the children attending the schools and not by the church in the district. Each school year, as required by the Tennessee Department of Education, all private schools must be accounted for and offered funding; however, each year the Amish schools decline any federal funding and continue to govern themselves and maintain control of their education system.

C. One-Room Schoolhouse Education

The accepted method of instruction in nineteenth-century rural schoolhouses was to divide the students into recitation groups based on previous assessment and mastery of each subject. Due to irregular attendance and varied learning abilities of the students, one recitation group could include students of various ages. Throughout the school day, members of one recitation group would be assigned a passage to read and memorize while another group might be assigned something in arithmetic and another something in spelling. While the teacher was examining one group, the other two would study silently at their desks until called upon to come to the front of the room for examination (Cuban, 1984). The rotation would continue in this manner with students rotating between “study hall” and the “recitation bench” until all students had recited all subjects. So, a teacher who taught three subjects at four levels would have twelve recitation groups per day. When you think about this in terms of face time with the teacher, each recitation group would receive
about an hour and fifteen minutes of individualized attention and three hours and forty-five minutes of study hall in a six-hour school day. This schedule is illustrated in Table 5 below\(^8\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
<th>Lunch</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 1</strong></td>
<td>8:00 – 8:25</td>
<td>9:40 – 10:05</td>
<td></td>
<td>12:20 – 12:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 2</strong></td>
<td>8:25 – 8:50</td>
<td>10:00 – 10:30</td>
<td>11:20 – 12:20</td>
<td>12:45 – 1:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 3</strong></td>
<td>8:50 – 9:15</td>
<td>10:30 – 10:55</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:10 – 1:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 4</strong></td>
<td>9:15 – 9:40</td>
<td>10:55 – 11:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:35 – 2:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5. 19th Century School Day Recitation Groups*

In *Making the Grade*, Fischel (2009) argues that this method is very effective for teaching basic literacy and arithmetic to a highly mobile and widely dispersed population. If a child could only attend part time, he/she could simply join another recitation group upon returning to class to pick up where he/she left off. Because the grades were not defined by age, there was no need for a student to start over in the same grade and repeat skills previously mastered. By these criteria, a “common school education” was complete when the student had mastered all of the available textbook material. Furthermore, due to the mixed population of the classroom, potentially across the full age range of K-8 education, the teachers tended to be more flexible and directed each child individually paying special attention to what the child had already learned and when the child was

---

\(^8\) This model, as well as the subsequent models, includes a one-hour lunch/recess period. Therefore, there are only five hours of instruction in a six-hour school day.
ready to learn something new. In other words, students were exposed to topics when they were ready for them (Martin, 2008).

The major drawback to this type of schedule is that only a few subjects could be covered each day; therefore, limiting the amount of knowledge students were exposed to. Around the beginning of the twentieth-century, high school was on the rise and most urban schools transitioned to the now-standard age-graded method of schooling where students were expected to progress in synchrony with their peers, or “at grade level” (Goldin, 2008; Martin, 2008). This enabled a single teacher to cover twice as many subjects because he/she was only teaching to one grade and had their attention for the entire day. So, if the teacher taught five subjects, each subject would get one hour of attention in a six-hour school day. In this method, students would not have to participate in “study hall” unless an individual assignment was denoted as seatwork in the lesson plan. This schedule is illustrated in Table 6 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 1</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Lunch</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>8:00-9:00</td>
<td>9:00-10:00</td>
<td>10:00-11:00</td>
<td>11:00-12:00</td>
<td>12:00-1:00</td>
<td>1:00-2:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. 20th Century School Day Schedule – Graded Cohorts

While the age-graded method was very popular in more urban settings, it was less viable in the rural, one-room schools. A teacher with eight grades and five subjects to teach would have forty separate recitation periods in a six-hour school day meaning that each
subject would only get seven and a half minutes per recitation period. The daily schedule for an age-graded method in the one-room, rural school is illustrated in Table 7 below.\(^9\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 1</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Lunch</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 8:07</td>
<td>9:03 - 9:10</td>
<td>9:59 - 10:06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 2</td>
<td>8:07 - 8:14</td>
<td>9:10 - 9:17</td>
<td>10:06 - 10:13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>8:42 - 8:49</td>
<td>9:38 - 9:45</td>
<td>10:34 - 10:41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>8:49 - 8:56</td>
<td>9:45 - 9:52</td>
<td>10:41 - 10:48</td>
<td>12:23 - 12:30</td>
<td>1:19 - 1:26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. 20th Century School Day Schedule – One-Room School

For the typical student, this means only forty-five minutes of face-time with the teacher and four hours and fifteen minutes of study hall per day. Because of the limited time for recitation groups, few one-room schools that actually did try to cover more than just reading, writing, and arithmetic literally followed the strict seven and a half minute recitation group schedule (Fischel, 2012).

Another key ingredient to the one-room schoolhouse was the family involvement in the student’s education in addition to peer learning and support. “The idea of older people helping the younger was very prevalent in one-room schools...both profit from it, because to explain it, you have to understand it yourself,” (Jim Johnson, Pocius, 2003). This combination of parent involvement and peer learning provided each student with a very individualized learning environment within the schoolhouse itself. Additionally, the schoolhouse served as a center for rural town activities and a place for parents to gather

\(^9\) For ease of reading, time for recitation groups has been rounded to an even seven minutes. This accounts for the discrepancy in the ending time of the six-hour school day.
and hold meetings. ‘...They would come and have all sorts of events there – boxed lunches, socials,” (Jim Johnson, Pocious, 2003). A sense of belonging to the school community and feeling of ownership of the schoolhouse itself most likely provided the encouragement and incentive parents needed to play an active role in their children's educations.

D. Amish Education

“School is very simple – mostly just math, reading, and spelling. By the time scholars turn 14, they will finish school and are expected to keep up with the adults” (Miller, 2013). The Amish are distinguished for their approach to schooling. Some outsiders criticize their approach to education because they see it as a method in which to restrict the individual (Miller, 2013); however, the Amish root their belief in education for both religious and practical reasons. In terms of religion, the Amish believe that higher education can advocate ideas contrary to their traditional Christian values. Theories such as evolution are objectionable to the Amish because they take a literal view of the Bible as well as Creationism. By the same token, outright religious education is not allowed in Amish schools, but they do appreciate that prayer and religious songs are permitted. On a more practical level, since Amish trades are oriented around agriculture and craftsmanship, the Amish feel a formal education can only provide a scholar with a limited value of knowledge. Therefore, they maintain the opinion it is best to emphasize these trades through apprenticeships and hands-on learning, which takes place after scholars complete the eighth grade.

Overall, there is limited research available on the success of Amish education and no study has specifically looked at language education. Douglas Kachel (1989) thinks the
success of Amish education is due to an emphasis on connectedness and cooperation in the classroom. He notes that peer learning is an integral part of an Amish school and scholars are continually encouraged to help one another with assignments. This interdependency creates a more relaxed learning environment and prepares the scholars for integrating successfully with society upon graduation. The channel to this feeling of community lies, of course, in the teacher. Teachers, no matter what or where they teach, are seen as a role model for the scholars in their classroom.

In the Amish community, the teachers are held in even higher regard by being seen as an extension of the family and are usually individuals who are well integrated in the community (Hornish, 2000). The teachers are typically single Amish women in their late teens or early twenties who have not gone to high school, but are graduates of Amish schools themselves. Furthermore, the teachers are largely self-trained and are selected for their teaching abilities, their availability, and their embrace of core Amish values. Scholars are not just gaining an academic education from their teacher, but also, and probably most importantly, they are acquiring patterns of social interaction, self-discipline, obedience, and work ethic (Johnson-Weiner, 2007).

Despite the teacher’s responsibility to maintain order in a classroom of around 30 children of mixed levels, scholars receive a considerable amount of individual attention as well. Furthermore, unlike many public schools today, Amish parents are expected to play an active and engaged role in their children’s education. The teachers know the parents on a very personal level, mostly due to the size and connectedness within the community as a whole, which aids in knowledge of a scholar’s individual needs or special circumstances surrounding the family. Every six weeks, progress reports are sent home for the parents to
sign and the teachers make sure to notify parents of any learning or disciplinary problems in the classroom so that they may provide the proper guidance and/or discipline outside of the classroom (Betsy, personal communication, 2014). Parents also form the school board for each school and are responsible for making administrative decisions, janitorial work, construction, and general upkeep of the schoolhouse and grounds (Arnold, personal communication, 2014). This connection between teachers, parents, and community creates a positive learning environment, regardless of the language of communication and education in the classroom.

Modern Amish one-room schoolhouses have resolved the issue of spotty attendance that was seen in similar nineteenth-century education models by placing more of an emphasis on education and also by adjusting the school calendar according to planting and harvest schedules. However, there is still an issue with recitation time due to students being divided into eight grades. Teachers and school boards have responded to this issue by teaching fewer subjects. Since the Amish do not believe in the Theory of Evolution, they simply do not teach it. In fact, they teach very little science, if any at all. Furthermore, history, social studies, art, and music are given very little attention unless the information comes about through a reading exercise or class activity. Detailed accounts of Amish school days show that almost three-quarters (four and a half hours) of each school day is focused on the “three R’s” (Fisher, 1997). This model, as seen in Table 8 on the following page, is a derivation of the nineteenth-century model with students being separated into age-graded cohorts, but only studying three subjects\textsuperscript{10}. While each of the schedules provided in this section are examples of what would happen in the perfect one-room schoolhouse, this is

\textsuperscript{10} For ease of reading, the twelve and a half minute recitation group periods have been rounded down to twelve minutes, which accounts for the discrepancy in the ending time of the six-hour school day.
not what actually happens. The true schedule and methods of the one-room schoolhouse will be discussed in the following sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Lunch</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade 1</td>
<td>8:00 – 8:12</td>
<td>9:36 – 9:48</td>
<td></td>
<td>12:12 – 12:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 2</td>
<td>8:12 – 8:24</td>
<td>9:48 – 10:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>12:24 – 12:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3</td>
<td>8:24 – 8:36</td>
<td>10:00 – 10:12</td>
<td></td>
<td>12:36 – 12:48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 4</td>
<td>8:36 – 8:48</td>
<td>10:12 – 10:24</td>
<td>11:12 – 12:12</td>
<td>12:48 – 1:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 5</td>
<td>8:48 – 9:00</td>
<td>10:24 – 10:36</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:00 – 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>9:00 – 9:12</td>
<td>10:36 – 10:48</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:12 – 1:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>9:12 – 9:24</td>
<td>10:48 – 11:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:24 – 1:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 8</td>
<td>9:24 – 9:36</td>
<td>11:00 – 11:12</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:36 – 1:48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8. Amish One-Room School Schedule – Age-Graded Cohorts*
A. Methodology

I conducted qualitative research which included participant observation in the community as well as at the participants’ house, curriculum review including the evaluation of student assignments, in-depth personal interviews and written correspondence with past teachers and scholars. All of the interviews are from members of the same family, with which I already had a longstanding personal relationship. This family owns and runs a sawmill as well as a produce stand at their home. From the time the children in the family start school, they are helping run the produce stand while other family members are responsible for planting, harvesting, and tending to the crops that they sell. Because of the nature of Amish businesses in the area, there isn’t a “store” where the general public goes to buy produce. Instead, the businesses are run out of the home; therefore, exposing the family’s children to much more interaction and exposure with the general public than other Amish children and, by default, the English language. Even the children who haven’t started school yet are seen at the produce stand filling up bags or cleaning produce with instruction from the mother or older siblings in Pennsylvania Dutch.

While I remained highly optimistic about my research, it did not come without its challenges. Firstly, due to the traditional beliefs of this particular Amish community coupled with the fact that I am viewed as an outsider, I was not able to conduct the month-
long classroom observations as I had originally planned. Since I only have a very close relationship with one family, others in the community did not wish to open up to me for conversation, thus limiting my perspective from about 20 teachers to four or five. Along with this, other parents (those who are not teachers, but who serve on the school boards) did not want to talk to me as well since I was viewed as an outsider, thus limiting my parental perspective to only one family. Lastly, I was not able to complete as many interviews as I would have liked due to the family moving to Kentucky in January 2015. The family moved for personal and financial reasons saying that the area where they were currently living was becoming too crowded, so they would like to move to a newer settlement where the community would be much smaller. Since they do not believe in the use of technology, any interview questions I had after they left had to be answered via written correspondence, which is a very time consuming process.

I was able to complete around ten formal interviews with three family members in addition to several informal interviews with parents as well as children in the family. The formal interviews usually lasted between one and two hours and the informal interviews were about the same length; however, these interviews or casual conversations were discontinuous due to the parents and children working in the fields, at the vegetable stand, or completing household chores. During the informal interviews I was not recording the information or content of the conversation we were having, but instead I was observing and documenting the activities and behavior of other family members going about their daily routines. In addition to the interviews I was also able to obtain copies of the reading and arithmetic books the scholars use in school. The family only had one set they let me see to copy down the names and authors. This complete set of schoolbooks was passed
down from child to child until no one from the family was in school any longer. Betsy also shared with me her school report cards in addition to several of her school assignments, mostly writing and spelling, she had completed both in and outside of the classroom. Although she is my age and has been finished with school for several years now, she said it is important to keep these things to show that you have completed your schooling and to show how well or poorly you performed (Betsy, personal communication, 2014).

The last pieces of data I collected were in the form of personal letters written by the family members, Betsy, Fran, and Maggie, to my grandmother, who has been part of their lives for more than fifty years. Most of the letters came after the family had moved to Kentucky and are very sentimental, but do accurately show their written proficiency in conversational English. Because of the personal nature and the longstanding relationship my grandmother had with the family, we can assume the language used is their most accurate vernacular. Furthermore, due to their very limited access to technology and native English speakers, we can also assume that these letters have not been edited or informed in any way that would make the language use illegitimate. Examples and excerpts from these letters will be provided in the Data Analysis section of this paper.

B. Amish Education Context

Until the 1950s, the majority of Amish children attended regular schools, often small one-room institutions, alongside their non-Amish neighbors and the Amish parents were willing to let their children gain their schooling in the public schools provided these continued to be local institutions and the parents had considerable influence over them (Klimuska, 1990). Once authorities began to consolidate the local one-room schoolhouses
and enforce compulsory education laws, the Old Order parents began to resist. Kraybill (2001) suggests that the parents “intuitively grasped that modern schools would immerse their youth in mainstream culture” and “separate children from their parents, their traditions, and their values.” Today, approximately 40,000 Amish youth attend some 1,500 private one-room schoolhouses, much like their nineteenth-century predecessors, ending with the eighth grade.

The typical Swartzentruber Amish schoolhouse is an extremely one-room building with outhouses out back and a woodstove to provide heat in the winter. The walls are usually painted grey from the floor up to about four feet and then white to the ceiling. The doorframes, window frames, and floors are also grey. The desks and chairs may be cast-offs from public schools, but are often very old and made of wood and metal – they will not allow desk chairs made with plastic seats or backs. Swartzentrubers prefer the desk style with a lid that allows the scholars to put their books inside. These buildings are intended to be impermanent and are intended to serve only the families in the immediate area because the Swartzentrubers do not bus their children to school. There are anywhere between twenty and thirty students in grades one through eight, approximately three to four families of children\(^\text{11}\), and the teacher is typically an unmarried girl rarely over twenty-two years old. Once the families have no more children to send and if no new families have moved in, the school will close and the building will be repurposed\(^\text{12}\).

\(^{11}\) Due to the large family size of the Swartzentruber Amish, it is not unusual for a family to have at least one child in each grade at school.

\(^{12}\) Johnson-Weiner mentions this in *Train Up a Child*, but I also gathered the same information from personal interviews. One informant was actually living in an abandoned schoolhouse upon moving to Kentucky until she and her husband could obtain property to build their own house.
Before going to school, Amish children do not speak English with their families, but instead Pennsylvania Dutch, and are only exposed to English if they are allowed to have contact with English speaking people (Johnson-Weiner, 2007). Once starting school, Amish children learn English through content-based study in reading and arithmetic and study High German by reading the Bible and having a formal German lesson, which includes reading aloud virtues, life lessons, and the New Testament. The textbooks used and the materials available to the teacher are very limited – scholars use McGuffey’s Readers from the late 19th century for reading and vocabulary in English and use Strayer-Upton *Practical Arithmetic*, published during the Great Depression, for arithmetic. The teacher is only equipped with a blackboard and what he/she knows about the subject matter, and it is very probable the extent of this knowledge is what he/she learned in school. When one teacher was asked how she handled a scholar who didn’t understand the subject matter, she stated that she would just explain it again and again until the scholar understood or she realized that he/she just wasn’t going to get it (Betsy, personal communication, 2014). Unlike public schools, there probably aren’t any colorful posters hanging on the walls, but instead, simple charts and “diagraphs” showing the English and German alphabets in print and cursive and the signs for multiplication, addition, division, and subtraction.

The curriculum includes reading, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, penmanship, and occasionally some history and geography. While scholars study some of these subjects for the entirety of their schooling, other subjects receive less attention. For example, English is taught for a full eight years while German language education does not begin until third grade and arithmetic does not begin until second grade. Moreover, unlike their public school counterparts, Amish scholars are not educated in science and sex education, and
they also miss out on the more social facets of public school education – sports, dances, cafeterias, clubs, bands, choruses, technologies, etc. Scholars learn by doing tasks repeatedly, according to Karen Johnson-Weiner (2007), who completed an in depth ethnographic study of Old Order Amish schoolhouses in Ohio and New York. Children are in school “to learn things, things they have to learn [such as] how to work arithmetic, and how to write” (Johnson-Weiner, 2007). Furthermore, the communities expect that the schools will reinforce the teaching of parents and church.

The day typically starts with singing; usually church hymns in High German dating back to 1892, and is followed by a lesson in German spelling and reading for scholars in the fourth through eighth grade. One Amish school teacher from the Lawrence County community starts the reading lessons with the oldest scholars by having them read aloud the passage in their books, then moves backwards by grade levels. By doing this, he says it helps the younger scholars because they have the opportunity to hear what “good reading” sounds like first. While the older scholars are studying German, the younger scholars are to complete seatwork that was left unfinished the day before or, if they have finished with the seatwork, they are permitted to color. After German there is a short recess followed by arithmetic until lunch. This subject moves similarly to German with one grade level being taught at a time while the other scholars listen and/or work on assigned work or coloring at their desks. After lunch, the entire second half of the day is devoted to English reading and writing or printing followed by spelling and composition or sentence writing (Betsy,
A typical day in a Swartzentruber Amish school is illustrated in Table 9 below\textsuperscript{14}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Grades</td>
<td>German Singing</td>
<td>8:30 – 8:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} – 8\textsuperscript{th} Grade</td>
<td>German Reading and Spelling</td>
<td>8:45 – 10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} - 2\textsuperscript{nd} Grade</td>
<td>Coloring or Unfinished Work</td>
<td>8:45 – 10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Grades</td>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>10:00 – 10:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} – 8\textsuperscript{th} Grade</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>10:15 – 11:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Grade</td>
<td>English Alphabet and Numbers</td>
<td>10:15 – 11:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Grades</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>11:30 – 12:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Grades</td>
<td>English Reading and Writing/Printing\textsuperscript{15}</td>
<td>12:00 – 1:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Grades</td>
<td>English Spelling and Composition</td>
<td>1:30 – 3:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Table 9. Swartzentruber Amish School Day, Lawrence County, TN}

Testing in Amish schools takes place in the form of oral production as well as written exams. For math, teachers use the tests that come with the textbook and grade them according to the answer key. Scholars receive a percentage grade out of 100 on these tests. To practice for the math tests, scholars will participate in a math race. The teacher will put a problem on the board and two students race to solve it. For spelling they are given written tests each week for the vocabulary from the lesson, usually ten to twenty words. At the end of the school year, there is a spelling contest that consists of more than 100 words. To practice for the final spelling contest, the scholars participate in a spelling game each Friday. The teacher provides a word to start the match, and scholars will provide the words following. The rule of the game is that the following word must start

\textsuperscript{14} Betsy, Arnold, and Maggie, personal communications, 2014.

\textsuperscript{15} In this context, writing refers to the act of learning to write in cursive while printing refers to the act of learning to write in block letters. Scholars typically print in 1\textsuperscript{st}-2\textsuperscript{nd} grades and write in 3\textsuperscript{rd}-8\textsuperscript{th} grades.
with the final letter of the preceding word. This requires the scholars to both know the spellings of all the words and also pay attention to the word before them.

So, while the methods may seem out-of-date or lacking in terms of technology in the classroom, Amish scholars are still successful in contributing to society upon completion of their schooling after only eight years. Graduates of Amish schools with only eighth grade educations, Kraybill notes, are successful in managing businesses with more than one million dollars in annual sales (Zehr, 2006). Furthermore, when compared to rural public school students of the same age, Amish scholars consistently score equal to or slightly above the norms in the subject areas of spelling, word usage, and arithmetic on standardized tests (Kraybill and Olshan, 1994). So what contributes to their success?
A. Goals of Amish Education

Many people are of the opinion that the Swartzentruber Amish are different or “less modern” than the majority of English people\(^\text{16}\) in American society today; however, the two groups are actually very similar. Both English and Swartzentruber Amish groups believe that education is a vital component for leading a successful life; however, the difference surfaces when discussing the length and type of education deemed appropriate for success, and in turn, how each culture defines success (Klimuska, 1990). Therefore, going to school does not always indicate the same thing for Swartzentruber Amish communities as it does for English communities. Amish scholars only complete the schooling\(^\text{17}\) necessary to learn a trade and usually follow up this formal schooling with an apprenticeship lasting anywhere from three to six years. “By 14 you’ve pretty much learned all you need to in school but you can’t wait ‘til then to start learning what you need to live,” (Johnson-Weiner, 2007). While not completely in contrast, but slightly different, most jobs in English society require at least a high school diploma or GED, if not some college education in addition to experience. Parents in the mainstream American society today hope that public school entities will provide their children with the schooling they need to successfully gain

\(^{16}\) Those who are part of the dominant society in America today are referred to as “English” by the Amish, and I will continue to refer to them as such throughout this paper.

\(^{17}\) Schooling here refers to book learning while education refers to the inculcation of values.
employment, prepare them for post-secondary education, and/or help them become contributing citizens. Alternatively, Swartzentruber parents expect their schools to prepare children for the Swartzentruber world and to “live for others, to use [their] talents in service to God and Man, to live an upright and obedient life, and to prepare for the life to come” (Johnson-Weiner, 2008).

So, with success being defined as “the acquisition of appropriate behavior rather than mastery of a subject,” scholars are rarely required to repeat a grade. Cooperation between the different Swartzentruber communities has helped to standardize schools and curriculum to a higher degree than previously seen in other Old Order settlements. In the Swartzentruber one-room schoolhouses, scholars learn English, High German, and basic arithmetic in addition to the patterns of social interaction, work ethic, discipline, and obedience to authority that will make them respectable church members. The scholars aren’t challenged to think critically or to ask why something is the way it is. They are simply required to acquire the knowledge and master the skills they will need to provide for themselves and their families upon completion of schooling. Or, as Betsy put it in her interview, “The goal of schooling is for us to know how to make a living. Math is the most important part. You need to know to add and subtract quickly in your head so you know how much to charge the customers and how much change to give back” (Betsy, personal communication, 2014). Therefore, the choices about which subjects are taught, which texts are appropriate for classroom use, teacher selection, and what pedagogy is most effective are made with this broad goal in mind.
B. Textbooks in Use

The textbooks I examined in this analysis are the *McGuffey’s Eclectic Readers*, last copyrighted in 1920 by H. H. Vail, and currently in use for reading, phonics, and vocabulary in the Swartzentruber schoolhouses in Lawrence County, TN as well as schoolhouses in Ohio and New York. This series contains five books and advances the lessons from simple three word sentences accompanied by illustrations to longer works such as monologues from *Hamlet*, or poetry published in periodicals and newspapers pre-dating 1879 when the book series was originally published. By completing the full set of *McGuffey’s Eclectic Readers*, scholars will have knowledge of the English language in a variety of contexts, from recognizing and relating everyday items in the world around them to more poetic and fictional contexts that require the use of imagination and creativity to paint a mental picture.

The first reader begins with the alphabet in both print and script and is immediately followed by the lessons. The first few lessons are very short and simple and contain new words that will be introduced in the text, phonetic sounds in isolation, and an illustration of the text. There is also a phonic chart in the back of the reader; however, since this will be the scholars’ first lesson in English, it is up to the teacher to articulate the sounds and have the scholars mimic her. The suggested practice for teaching these sounds, according to the book, is for the teacher to teach the scholar to identify the characters in each lesson as the representatives of particular sounds followed by teaching the scholar to form, first, the words in the lesson and then other words following the same patterns. While the lessons present these sounds in isolation, the chart in the back of the book gives the learner an opportunity to produce the sound in context by giving examples of words with the target
phonemes; for example, “ä, as in ärm” and “â, as in câre” (McGuffey’s First Eclectic Reader, 1920). However, since there is no explanation to the meaning of the diacritical markings accompanying the letters, the teacher would have to have some previous knowledge of the sounds of English in order to correctly produce the sounds.

The items introduced in the lessons are things seen in everyday life, and most scholars will know what the items are without much, if any, explanation – dog, cat, man, pen, hen, rat, box, etc. The first four lessons are completely unrelated topics, but starting with Lesson 5, the lessons begin to have some feeling of continuity. Finally, Lesson 9 is a review of all the words learned in the previous lessons followed by a reading containing all the words and slate work. Lessons throughout the remainder of the book advance in a similar manner, blocks of lessons with new words and sounds followed by a one-lesson review, but with increasingly longer texts, fewer illustrations, and increasing slate work. While the final lesson in the reader does not yet begin to explore ideas outside of the scholars’ current worldview it does begin to explore true statements that directly relate to the scholars’ as well as introduce virtues for good behavior. An example of the first and last lessons from the first reader can be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2 on the following pages.
LESSON I.

The dog.

The dog ran.

Figure 1. Lesson 1 - McGuffey's First Eclectic Reader
The second reader is a “continuation and extension of that pursued in the First Reader” (McGuffey's Second Eclectic Reader, 1920) and notes that once a scholar masters the new words at the start of each lesson, the main difficulty remaining is that of expression. Furthermore, the text states that if the scholar is not familiar with the diacritical markings accompanying the letters, then he should be “carefully drilled...until the marked letter instantly suggests the correct sound” (McGuffey's Second Eclectic Reader, 1920) suggesting that repetition is key in learning accurate pronunciation and articulation. Following the Preface and Table of Contents, the second reader immediately exposes the scholar to the Table of Vocals followed by a Table of Substitutes and a small section on
Punctuation. The Table of Vocals is very similar to the Phonic Chart seen at the end of the first reader, but the Table of Substitutes is something new introducing the spelling variations for similar sounds in English; for example, “ï, for ē, as in polîçe” and “çh, for sh, as in çhâise” (*McGuffey’s Second Eclectic Reader*, 1920). The explanation of punctuation marks is abbreviated, but is probably not more than what the scholar is exposed to in the second reader, and introduces the period, interrogation mark, exclamation mark, comma, semicolon, colon, and hyphen. It is interesting to note that the comma, semicolon, and colon are grouped together and defined as being “used to separate the parts of a sentence” while the hyphen is said to be used to join parts of a compound word or when a word is divided between two lines of print or script (*McGuffey’s Second Eclectic Reader*, 1920).

Lessons in the second reader move in a similar block pattern to the lessons in the first reader and are presented with an illustration, vocabulary words in isolation, a title for the text, and finally the reading. Although the content of the lessons still relates very closely to background knowledge of the scholars, the topics are becoming more developed and are beginning to explore facts in the world around them, such as things about plants and animals, instead of just creative fiction stories about dogs and cats. Furthermore, in instances of creative fiction stories, the story usually ends with a moral, thus turning the story into a fable so the scholars are not only learning English, but they are learning appropriate behavior as well. In terms of form of the lessons, instead of writing each sentence to stand alone, sentences are grouped together into two or three sentences, numbered, and stand together to relate a complete thought or idea. An example of the first and last lessons from the second reader can be seen in Figures 3 and 4 on the following page.
2. Mr. Brown has done his day's work, and his children, Harry and Kate, have come home from school. They learned their lessons well to-day, and both feel happy.

3. Tea is over. Mrs. Brown has put the little sitting room in order. The fire burns brightly. One lamp gives light enough for all. On the stool is a basket of fine apples. They seem to say, "Won't you have one?"

4. Harry and Kate read a story in a new book. The father reads his newspaper, and the mother mends Harry's stockings.

5. By and by, they will tell one another what they have been reading about, and will have a chat over the events of the day.

6. Harry and Kate's bedtime will come first. I think I see them kiss their dear father and mother a sweet good night.

7. Do you not wish that every boy and girl could have a home like this?

---

**Figure 3. Lesson 1 - McGuffey's Second Eclectic Reader**

**Lesson LXXI.**

1. Sweet and low, sweet and low,
   Wind of the western sea,
   Low, low, breathe and blow,
   Wind of the western sea!
   Over the rolling waters go,
   Come from the dying moon, and blow,
   Blow him again to me;
   While my little one, while my pretty one
   sleeps.

2. Sleep and rest, sleep and rest,
   Father will come to thee soon:
   Rest, rest, on mother's breast,
   Father will come to thee soon:
   Father will come to his babe in the nest,
   Silver sails all out of the west,
   Under the silver moon:
   Sleep, my little one, sleep, my pretty one,
   sleep.

*Tennyson.*

---

**Figure 4. Lesson 71 - McGuffey's Second Eclectic Reader**
The third reader continues the spelling exercises for the first half and in the second half, introduces definitions. The Preface notes that while not every word is defined, “it is hoped that the teacher will extend this defining exercise to all the words of the lesson liable to be misunderstood” (McGuffey’s Third Eclectic Reader, 1920). The recommendation continues saying that the scholar should define the word in “his own language” to show that he has “mastery of the word in its use.” This reader will also continue to emphasize articulation and expression or emphasis with every lesson via exhibitions of the correct method from the teacher. This reader is much like the second and features the Table of Vocals as well as the Table of Substitutes in addition to a small section introducing emphasis, which is defined as speaking with greater force because “the meaning of what we say depends most upon these words” (McGuffey’s Second Eclectic Reader, 1920). The section on emphasis is followed by an expanded section on punctuation which provides examples of hyphen, comma, semicolon, and colon usage and introduces dash, quotation marks, and apostrophe.

The lessons in the third reader continue to progress in complexity and length and are beginning to move away from the scholars’ background knowledge and into the realm of more abstract thinking. While the main characters and ideas of the stories continue to be people, animals, and things common in everyday life, the underlying messages in the stories further iterates the virtues and morals one would commonly hear in a fable or from a Bible story at church. While there are still illustrations that accompany most of the lessons, they do not always reflect exactly what the lesson is saying which is moving away from the more literal translation of the first reader’s lessons from the picture to the text. The lesson form is similar to that of the second reader, with sentences grouped together to
relate a complete thought or idea in the reading passage. Beginning with Lesson 41, there are definitions for key words in the reading passages. Each definition is only a few words in length and directly pertains to the context in which it is currently being used. So, it stands to reason that a scholar might encounter the same word multiple times with multiple definitions. An example of the first lesson with definitions and the last lesson from the third reader can be seen in Figures 5 and 6 on the following pages.
LESSON I.

THE SHEPHERD BOY.

1. Little Roy led his sheep down to pasture,
   And his cows, by the side of the brook;

   But his cows never drank any water,
   And his sheep never needed a crook.

2. For the pasture was gay as a garden,
   And it glowed with a flowery red;
   But the meadows had never a grass blade,
   And the brooklet—its slept in its bed:

3. And it lay without sparkle or murmur,
   Nor reflected the blue of the skies,
   But the music was made by the shepherd,
   And the sparkle was all in his eyes.

4. Oh, he sang like a bird in the summer!
   And, if sometimes you fancied a bleat,
   That, too, was the voice of the shepherd,
   Not of the lambs at his feet.

5. And the glossy brown cows were so gentle
   That they moved at the touch of his hand
   O'er the wonderful, rosy-red meadow,
   And they stood at the word of command.

6. So he led all his sheep to the pasture,
   And his cows, by the side of the brook:
   Though it rained, yet the rain never pattered
   O'er the beautiful way that they took.

7. And it was n't in Fairyland either,
   But a house in the midst of the town,
   Where Roy, as he looked from the window,
   Saw the silvery drops trickle down.

8. For his pasture was only a table,
   With its cover so flowery fair,
   And hisbrooklet was just a green ribbon.
   That his sister had lost from her hair.

9. And his cows were but glossy horse-chestnuts,
   That had grown on his grandfather's tree;
   And his sheep only snowy-white pebbles,
   He had brought from the shore of the sea.

10. And at length when the shepherd was weary,
    And had taken his milk and his bread,
    And his mother had kissed him and tucked him,
    And had bid him "good night" in his bed;

11. Then there entered his big brother Walter,
    While the shepherd was soundly asleep,
    And he cut up the cows into baskets,
    And to jackstones turned all of the sheep.

Emily S. Oakey.

Figure 5. Lesson 1 - McGuffey’s Third Eclectic Reader
LESSON LXXIX.

GOOD NIGHT.

1. The sun is hidden from our sight,
   The birds are sleeping sound;
   'T is time to say to all, "Good night!"
   And give a kiss all round.

2. Good night, my father, mother, dear!
   Now kiss your little son;
   Good night, my friends, both far and near!
   Good night to every one.

3. Good night, ye merry, merry birds!
   Sleep well till morning light,
   Perhaps, if you could sing in words,
   You would have said, "Good night!"

4. To all my pretty flowers, good night!
   You blossom while I sleep;
   And all the stars, that shine so bright,
   With you their watches keep.

5. The moon is lighting up the skies,
   The stars are sparkling there;
   'T is time to shut our weary eyes,
   And say our evening prayer.

   Mrs. Follen.

Figure 6. Lesson 79 - McGuffey's Third Eclectic Reader

The fourth reader is largely composed of authored works and it is assumed that not all scholars have all the references on hand to properly prepare for each lesson. Therefore, any assistance (definitions, pronunciations, explanatory notes, author biographies) deemed necessary for the understanding of the reading has been given preceding each lesson (McGuffey's Fourth Eclectic Reader, 1920). By giving this external information in context, the scholars are able to place the reading and the expression it conveys into the appropriate sector of the culture. Following the Preface and the Table of Contents is an
exhaustive section on punctuation (introducing curves\textsuperscript{18}, brackets, dash, ellipsis, and brace), another large section on articulation, and two smaller sections on accent\textsuperscript{19} and inflection\textsuperscript{20}.

The lessons in the fourth reader, now multiple pages in length and further increasing in complexity, are enhanced with the addition of comprehension questions following the reading passages. The comprehension questions ask about the subject of the lesson, certain key facts from the story (direct quotes, identifying people, etc.), and finally question the scholars’ comprehension of the underlying message of the reading and how it relates to their personal beliefs. If the reading passage is an authored work, there is a short biography of the author preceding the passage indicating the author’s name, where the author is from, other works by this author, and finally birth and death years. This provides the scholars with even more contextual knowledge about the reading passages than before. By reading the short biography, the scholar will learn important facts about the author, but will also learn what type of literary work this reading might be (poetry, prose, children’s story, Bible verse, etc.) and can use this to decide on the style of expression deemed necessary by the teacher to read the story aloud. An example of the first and last lesson from the fourth reader can be seen in Figures 7 and 8 on the following pages.

\textsuperscript{18} The McGuffey Readers use this term to refer to parentheses.
\textsuperscript{19} Defined as “an increased force of voice upon one syllable of a word.”
\textsuperscript{20} Defined as “an upward or downward slide of the voice.”
I. PERSEVERANCE.

1. "Will you give me a little help?" asked my little nephew to his sister, after trying in vain to make it fly by dragging it along the ground. Lucy very kindly took it up and threw it into the air, but, her brother neglecting to run off at the same moment, the kite fell down again.

2. "Ah! now, how awkward you are!" said the little fellow. "It was your fault entirely," answered his sister. "Try again, children," said I.

3. Lucy once more took up the kite. But now John was in too great a hurry; he ran off so suddenly that he twitched the kite out of her hand, and it fell flat as before. "Well, who is to blame now?" asked Lucy. "Try again," said I.

4. They did; and with more care; but a side wind coming suddenly, as Lucy let go the kite, it was blown against some shrubs, and the tail became entangled in a moment, leaving the poor kite hanging with its head downward.

5. "There, there!" exclaimed John, "that comes of your throwing it all to one side." "As if I could make the wind blow straight," said Lucy. In the meantime, I went to the kite's assistance, and having disengaged the long tail, I rolled it up, saying, "Come, children, there are too many trees here; let us find a more open space, and then try again."

6. We presently found a nice grassplot, at one side of which I took my stand, and all things being prepared, I tossed the kite up just as little John ran off. It rose with all the dignity of a balloon, and promised a lofty flight; but John, delighted to find it pulling so hard at the string, stopped short to look upward and admire. The string slackened, the kite wavered, and, the wind not being very favorable, down came the kite to the grass. "O John, you should not have stopped," said I. "However, try again."

7. "I won't try any more," replied he, rather sullenly. "It is of no use, you see. The kite won't fly, and I don't want to be plagued with it any longer." "Oh, fie, my little man! would you give up the sport,

8. After the first sight as long as he pleased, little John proceeded to roll up the string slowly, and when the kite fell, he took it up with great glee, saying that it was not at all hurt, and that it had behaved very well. "Shall we come out tomorrow, aunt, after lessons, and try again?"

9. "I have no objection, my dear, if the weather is fine. And now, as we walk home, tell me what you have learned from your morning's sport." "I have learned to fly my kite properly." "You may thank aunt for it, brother," said Lucy, "for you would have given it up long ago, if she had not persuaded you to try again."

10. "Yes, dear children, I wish to teach you the value of perseverance, even when nothing more depends upon it than the flying of a kite. Whenever you fail in your attempts to do any good thing, let your motto be, -- try again."

DEFINITIONS.--In defining words, that meaning is given which is appropriate to them in the connection in which they are used.

EXERCISES.--What is the subject of this lesson? Why was John discouraged in his attempts to fly his kite? What did his aunt say to him? What may we learn from this? What should be our motto if we expect to be successful?
XC. A MOTHER'S GIFT—THE BIBLE.

1. Remember, love, who gave thee this,
   When other days shall come,
   When she who had thine earliest kiss,
   Sleeps in her narrow home.
   Remember! 'twas a mother gave
   The gift to one she'd die to save!

2. That mother sought a pledge of love,
   The holiest for her son,
   And from the gifts of God above,
   She chose a goodly one;
   She chose for her beloved boy,
   The source of light, and life, and joy.

3. She bade him keep the gift, that, when
   The parting hour should come,
   They might have hope to meet again
   In an eternal home.
   She said his faith in this would be
   Sweet incense to her memory.

4. And should the scoffer, in his pride,
   Laugh that fond faith to scorn,
   And bid him cast the pledge aside,
   That he from youth had borne,
   She bade him pause, and ask his breast
   If SHE or HE had loved him best.

5. A parent's blessing on her son
   Goes with this holy thing;
   The love that would retain the one,
   Must to the other cling.
   Remember! 'tis no idle toy;
   A mother's gift! remember, boy.

Definitions.—2. Pledge, proof, evidence. 3. In'cense, something offered in honor of anyone. Faith, belief. 4. Scoff'er, one who laughs at what is good.
The fifth and final reader in the series is a compilation of the most wide range of authors possible and presents “the best specimens of style” in order to guarantee interest in the subjects as well as to “impart valuable information and exert a decided and healthful moral influence” (*McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader*, 1920). The Preface also notes that a full understanding of the text is vital to the proper oral reading expression and states that the objective to be accomplished in reading aloud is to “convey to the hearer, fully and clearly, the ideas and feelings of the writer” (*McGuffey’s Fifth Eclectic Reader*, 1920). This implies that by the time scholars have reached the final book in the reader series, they have mastered enough of the speech patterns and cultural meanings of the language in order to interpret the emotion of the text as they see it in context. Following the Preface and Table of Contents, again, there are all-inclusive sections on articulation, inflection, accent, emphasis, modulation21, and poetic pauses.

The lessons in the fifth reader are of great length and complexity and tend to focus on historical figures, poetry, and fables that are longer in length with more developed morals and virtues. While each lesson is still accompanied by an author biography and definitions of more difficult words, there are no comprehension questions to accompany the texts. This may be partially due to the comment in the Preface that states a scholar should study the text carefully in order to grasp the thought and feeling of the writer and make these thoughts and sentiments his own before reading the passage aloud. An example of the first and last lessons from the fifth reader can be seen in Figures 9 and 10 below. Analysis of these five readers as they are used in the classroom is incorporated into the next section on teaching methods.

21 Defined as the variations of voice classified under the heads of pitch, compass, quality (expression), and quantity.
1. THE GOOD READER.

It is told of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, that, as he was seated one day in his private room, a written petition was brought to him with the request that it should be immediately read.

The King had just returned from hunting, and the glare of the sun, or some other cause, had so dazzled his eyes that he found it difficult to make out a single word of the writing.

2. His private secretary happened to be absent; and the soldier who brought the petition could not read. There was a page, or favorite boy servant, waiting in the hall, and upon him the King called. The page was a son of one of the noblemen of the court, but proved to be a very poor reader.

3. In the first place, he did not articulate distinctly. He stammered his words together in the utterance, as if they were syllables of one long word, which he must get through with as speedily as possible. His pronunciation was bad, and he did not modulate his voice so as to bring out the meaning of what he read. Every sentence was uttered with a dismal monotony of voice, as if it did not differ in any respect from that which preceded it.

4. "Stop!" said the King, impatiently. "Is it an auctioneer's list of goods to be sold that you are lazing over? Send your companion to me." Another page who stood at the door now entered, and to him the King gave the petition. The second page began by hemming and clearing his throat in such an affected manner that the King jokingly asked him whether he had not slept in the public garden, with the gate open, the night before.

5. The second page had a good share of self-conceit, however, and so was not greatly confounded by the King's jest. He determined that he would avoid the mistake which his comrade had made. So he commenced reading the petition slowly and with great formality, emphasizing every word, and prolonging the articulation of every syllable. But his manner was so tedious that the King cried out, "Stop! are you reciting a lesson in the elementary sounds? Out of the room! But no stay! Send me that little girl who is sitting there by the fountain."

6. The girl thus pointed out by the King was a daughter of one of the laborers employed by the royal gardener; and she had come to help her father weed the flower beds. It chanced that, like many of the poor people in Prussia, she had received a good education. She was somewhat alarmed when she found herself in the King's presence, but took courage when the King told her that he only wanted her to read for him, as his eyes were weak.

7. Now, Ernestine (for this was the name of the little girl) was fond of reading aloud, and often many of the neighbors would assemble at her father's house to hear her; those who could not read themselves would come to her, also, with their letters from distant friends or children, and she thus formed the habit of reading various sorts of handwriting promptly and well.

8. The King gave her the petition, and she rapidly glanced through the opening lines to get some idea of what it was about. As she read, her eyes began to glisten, and her breast to heave. "What is the matter?" asked the King. "Don't you know how to read?" "Oh, yes! sure," she replied, addressing him with the title usually applied to him: "I will now read it, if you please."

9. The King gave her the petition. It was from a poor widow, whose only son had been drafted to serve in the army, although his health was delicate and his pursuits had been such as to unfit him for military life. His father had been killed in battle, and the son had a strong desire to become a portrait painter.

10. The writer told her story in a simple, concise manner, that carried to the heart a belief of its truth; and Ernestine read it with so much feeling, and with an articulation so just, in tones so pure and distinct, that when she had finished, the King, into whose eyes the tears had started, exclaimed, "Oh! now I understand what it is all about; but I might never have known, certainly I never should have felt, its meaning had I trusted to these young gentlemen, whom I now dismiss from my service for one year, advising them to occupy their time in learning to read."

11. "As for you, my young lady," continued the King, "I know you will ask no better reward for your trouble than the pleasure of carrying to this poor widow my order for her son's immediate discharge. Let me see whether you can write as well as you can read. Take this pen, and write as I dictate." He then dictated an order, which Ernestine wrote; and he signed. Calling one of his guards, he bade him go with the girl and see that the order was obeyed.

12. How much happiness was Ernestine the means of bestowing through her good eloquence, united to the happy circumstance that brought it to the knowledge of the King! First, there were her poor neighbors, to whom she could give instruction and entertainment. Then, there was the poor widow who sent the petition, and who not only regained her son, but received through Ernestine an order for him to paint the King's likeness; so that the poor boy soon rose to great distinction, and had more orders than he could attend to. Words could not express his gratitude, and that of his mother, to the little girl.

13. And Ernestine had, moreover, the satisfaction of aiding her father to rise in the world, so that he became the King's chief gardener. The King did not forget her, but had her well educated at his own expense. As for the two pages, she was indirectly the means of doing them good, also; for, ashamed of their bad reading, they commenced studying in earnest, till they overcame the faults that had offended the King. Both finally rose to distinction, one as a lawyer, and the other as a statesman, and they owed their advancement in life chiefly to their good eloquence.

Definitions.—1. Petition, a formal request. 2. Articulate, to utter the elementary sounds. 3. Mislaid, to vary or injure. 4. Altered, untried and ugly.
CXVII. MY MOTHER'S BIBLE.

George P. Morris (b. 1802, d. 1864) was born in Philadelphia. In 1823 he became one of the editors of the "New York Mirror," a weekly literary paper. In 1846 Mr. Morris and N. P. Willis founded "The Home Journal." He was associate editor of this popular journal until a short time before his death.

1. This book is all that's left me now,—
   Tears will unbidden start,—
   With faltering lip and throbbing brow
   I press it to my heart.

   For many generations past
   Here is our family tree,
   My mother's hands this Bible clasped.
   She, dying, gave it me.

2. Ah! well do I remember those
   Whose names these records bear;
   Who round the hearthstone used to close,
   After the evening prayer,
   And speak of what these pages said
   In tones my heart would thrill!
   Though they are with the silent dead,
   Here are they living still!

3. My father read this holy book
   To brothers, sisters, dear;
   How calm was my poor mother's look,
   Who loved God's word to hear!
   Her angel face,—I see it yet!
   What thronging memories come!
   Again that little group is met
   Within the walls of home!

4. Thou truest friend man ever knew,
   Thy constancy I've tried;
   When all were false, I found thee true,
   My counselor and guide.
   The mines of earth no treasures give
   That could this volume buy;
   In teaching me the way to live,
   It taught me how to die.

Figure 10. Lesson 117 - McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader
C. Teaching Methods

The majority of Swartzentruber schools cover the same lessons in the same books at about the same time of day from year to year, and the fact that they are so standardized is very surprising. Each schoolhouse is governed by an independent school board composed of men, typically fathers or family members of the children in attendance at the particular schoolhouse, and is chosen each year in July. A term on the school board is three years and once this limit is reached, a man must take a one year break; however, there is no limit to how many times a man can serve on the school board (Arnold and Betsy, personal communication, 2014). While there is an individual school board for each schoolhouse, here is no centralized school board or planning committee that has power over all Swartzentruber schools in the United States. Teachers are selected by the school board each year, usually the end of July or beginning of August, in a somewhat discrete manner so the scholars will be surprised on the first day of classes. Teachers are selected in terms of good performance in the classroom and their knowledge of classroom management. Once selected, teachers will have less than one month to prepare for class and very seldom meet with one another or receive any sort of training. The teachers simply replicate the activities and lessons as they were taught the year before or how she might have experienced them while in school. Therefore, as scholars, the children are taking part in the same activities, studying the same lessons, and learning to obey the same rules as their parents and siblings did before them and will continue to do after them. When asked why the texts and lessons had not been changed or updated to more modern versions, a previous schoolteacher stated, “Because this is what works for us and we will continue to teach our children in this way until it does not work any longer.”
way I was taught because that’s how I learned them” (Maggie, personal communication, 2014).

While there are no formal books or training for the teachers in Swartzentruber Amish schoolhouses, this does not mean that the textbooks in use do not have some insight to offer, should the teachers choose to read and use the methods prescribed. In the beginning of the first reader, there is a page entitled “SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS,” which includes three methods and two tips that are suggested to use in the classroom – the Phonic Method, tips for spelling, the Word Method, the Word and Phonic Method Combined, and tips for teaching writing. Although the book states, “The First Reader may be used in teaching reading by any of the methods in common use...”, I think these five items have largely informed the pedagogies for teaching English in Swartzentruber schoolhouses. This is further evidenced through my personal interviews with past and present schoolteachers as well as classroom observations in Swartzentruber schools by Johnson-Weiner. Secondly, the Preface draws attention to certain key features of the *McGuffey’s First Reader*, such as the length and number of vocabulary words in each lesson, the gradation of the lessons, the introduction of script for reading and copying purposes\(^\text{22}\), and the style of type throughout the book. For the second through fifth readers, the SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS page is omitted, except in more specific instances such as articulation, and only the Preface remains as a guide for what is explored throughout these texts. Furthermore, the sections about the components that make up the subject of reading move from very general and overarching definitions to very complex and specific definitions accompanied by several examples and practice exercised for the scholars. A

\(^{22}\) This is described as “slate work” in Fig. 12.
copy of the first two pages of the first reader can be seen in Figure 11 and Figure 12 on the following pages.
SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS.

This First Reader may be used in teaching reading by any of the methods in common use; but it is especially adapted to the Phonic Method, the Word Method, or a combination of the two.

I. Phonic Method.--First teach the elementary sounds and their representative, the letters marked with diacriticals, as they occur in the lessons; then, the formation of words by the combination of these sounds. For instance, teach the pupil to identify the characters ⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨u⟩, ⟨r⟩, and ⟨th⟩, in Lesson I, as the representatives of certain elementary sounds; then teach him to form the words at the head of the lesson, then other words, as ⟨nag⟩, ⟨on⟩, ⟨and⟩, etc. Pursue a similar course in teaching the succeeding lessons. Having read a few lessons in this manner, begin to teach the names of the letters and the spelling of words, and require the groups, "a man," "the man," "a pen," to be read as a good reader would pronounce single words.

II. When one of the letters in the combinations ⟨ou⟩ or ⟨ow⟩, is marked in the words at the head of the reading exercises, the other is silent. If neither is marked, the two letters represent a diphthong. All other unmarked vowels in the vocabularies, when in combination, are silent letters. In slate or blackboard work, the silent letters may be canceled.

III. Word Method.--Teach the pupil to identify at sight the words placed at the head of the reading exercises, and to read these exercises without hesitation. Having read a few lessons, begin to teach the names of the letters and the spelling of words.

IV. Word Method and Phonic Method Combined.--Teach the pupil to identify words and read sentences, as above. Having read a few lessons in this manner, begin to use the Phonic Method, combining it with the Word Method, by first teaching the words in each lesson as words; then the elementary sounds, the names of the letters, and spelling.

V. Teach the pupil to use script letters in writing, when teaching the names of the letters and the spelling of words.

Copyright, 1879, by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.
Copyright, 1896, by American Book Company.
Copyright, 1907 and 1920, by H.H. Vail.

EP486

Figure 11. Suggestions to Teachers - McGuffey's First Eclectic Reader
Preface

In presenting McGuffey’s Revised First Reader to the public, attention is invited to the following features:

1. Words of only two or three letters are used in the first lessons. Longer and more difficult ones are gradually introduced as the pupil gains aptness in the mastery of words.

2. A proper gradation has been carefully preserved. All new words are placed at the head of each lesson, to be learned before the lesson is read. Their number in the early lessons is very small, thus making the first steps easy. All words in these vocabularies are used in the text immediately following.

3. Carefully engraved script exercises are introduced for a double purpose. These should be used to teach the reading of script; and may also serve as copies in slate work.

4. The illustrations have been designed and engraved specially for the lessons in which they occur. Many of the engravings will serve admirably as the basis for oral lessons in language.

5. The type is large, strong, and distinct.

The credit for this revision is almost wholly due to the friends of McGuffey’s Readers,— eminent teachers and scholars, who have contributed suggestions and criticisms gained from their daily work in the schoolroom.

Cincinnati, June, 1879.
While there is not explicit instruction directed toward the teachers throughout the rest of the readers, there are instructions for the scholars, which dictate what the teacher should or might be doing in the classroom so that the scholars can be learning correctly. While all of these descriptions vary in depth and breadth, they reinforce the importance in recitation, repetition, and teamwork. Firstly, in the second reader, in the section on articulation it states “thorough and frequent drills on the elementary sounds are useful in correcting vicious habits of pronunciation and in strengthening the vocal organs” (McGuffey’s Second Eclectic Reader, 1920). It also recommends that only one or two sounds are introduced and practiced per lesson and care should be taken to see that the scholars are observing and producing these sounds correctly in their reading. In the third reader, the section on articulation again expresses the importance of constant and careful practice of the elementary sounds. Furthermore, it recommends that when a word is “imperfectly enunciated,” the teacher should immediately call attention to the sounds which compose the word in question. If the scholar is still unable to produce the correct pronunciation, the teacher should ask the student to pay particular attention to the position of the organs of speech, and the lesson will not cease until each scholar has sounded each element correctly. The latter part statement evokes the ideology that the class or grade is only as smart as its weakest scholar. Through this mentality, accompanied with the lack of competition in the classroom, scholars would be more likely to work together to help a classmate who has fallen behind so that the entire grade could advance in the reading lessons.

The third reader also offers some insight as to what the scholars should have mastered in terms of emphasis and reading skills by this time. The reader states that if the scholar has received “proper oral instruction” then he should understand what he has read
and should also have “acquired the habit of emphasizing words” (McGuffey’s Third Eclectic Reader, 1920). This implies that, not only have the scholars been reciting and repeating the reading passages aloud, but that they have done so in a way that has emulated the speech patterns of the teacher and are therefore learning the speech patterns of the language as it is used in the community. The fourth reader becomes more descriptive in terms of articulation and provides guidance for the scholars on how to properly position their mouths when producing the speech sounds. Finally, the fifth reader denotes several rules that are important for the correct articulation of the language in addition to the introduction of modulation. All of these rules have previously been seen in context throughout the entirety of the reader series; however, no grammar or articulation rules were explicitly expressed until now. This follows the heritage language learner model, which suggests heritage learners will be able to appropriately utilize grammar concepts, but they will not be knowledgeable on specific grammar rules.

All of the aforementioned instructions reinforce the ideas of repetition, recitation, and emulation; this is how we learn our first languages, through repeating and practicing what we hear in our personal interactions with the world around us. When this line of thinking is applied to teaching methodologies and learning a second language it allows the learner to treat the foreign language as if it were a heritage language and gives way to more acquisition instead of just memorization. While they are mostly taught as non-heritage learners in the classroom, Swartzentruber Amish scholars demonstrate heritage learner capabilities in the English language. This is how the Swartzentruber Amish learn English in the one-room schoolhouse today, they are able to create a speech community and learn through interactions with others in addition to reading, listening, and recitation. Once the
scholars have completed their schooling, they are allowed to have more interactions with the larger native English speaking population and are really able to hone their abilities in the language due to authentic, real-life interactions.

So, while the Swartzentruber schools appear to be examples of education practices trapped in time, they are actually evidence of the community’s resistance to change in addition to the continued discipline of the church. Each element of Swartzentruber schooling links the children to their parents and grandparents, which reinforces the continuity of the present with the past and the future (Johnson-Weiner, 2007). This outward expression of connectivity – passing down textbooks for generations, learning the same material as your parents and grandparents, going to the same schoolhouse as your siblings – further demonstrates the connection with language and allows the foreign language to be treated as a heritage language, even though it is not.

D. Language in Use

Amish scholars have the knowledge and competencies in English that are consistent with heritage language learners, with the exception of an accented speech in English. This seems to indicate that the Amish are successful bilinguals who learn English in a vacuum and are able to maintain control of sociolinguistic registers. On the following pages are some excerpts from written personal communications between Betsy, Fran, and Maggie and my grandmother. Through these examples, it is evident that the Amish schooling as it is implemented today is effective in providing the scholars with a solid foundation in the English language, but continued practice in the language after schooling is complete is reliant on personal interactions with native speakers.
Excerpt 1: Maggie, written in script with the exception of the bolded type, which was printed

Hello --- !

Friendly Greetings from us way up here in the green Kentucky hills the sun shining nice this morn. fields and yards sure are greening up fast right now. It sure is a wonderfull time of the year to see how God renews everything so nice + fresh oh! so we can renew our lifes

So how are you doing by now? hopfully good. Would be sorry to hear different. We are all doing O.K. even tho. we have some colds + coughs we have many blessings to count. Fran came here Monday morn and stayed till Thur P.M. and her baby was sick that we took her to the Dr. on Tue she had an ear infection and Pneumonia. Poor Baby but they didn't put her in the hosp. she is on breathing treatments at home, and she is getting better

Yes we are now settled in our little cottage where we will be untill we get our house built. we have a nice living place and everyone seems happy so far we have a real nice neighbor lady that kinda fills in for you, tho quite different.

So Remember --- you will always be in our heart, it is so nice + the sun shining this morn maybe we can plant some onions + potatoes by to-morrow I got lettuce cabbage cauliflower + tomatoes and a few herbs coming up now so we will have a garden soon. Well it is time to get busy sewing So I will close with love + best wishes to you from your old neighbor

Arnold + Maggie and family
Excerpt 2: Betsy, written in print

Dear ---

Cheerful Greetings from --- & Betsy  How does this find you doing? I Hope Good. I am just getting over the flu. I Hope you don't think I Have forgotten you. I was going to write sooner, but just didn’t get to it. Me and Emily were gonna go up to Paul -N- Stephanies to-day, but we give it up because it is rainy again. are your Buttercups Blooming? I have seen quite A Few around Here, yes --- I got that bowl of goodies that you Brought up to Dads the day of the Auction Thank you very much, we enjoyed the snacks. our House is realy close to the road, and it is A very busy road. sometimes it sounds like the Big trucks are gonna drive right through the House. the first night that we were Here A Big 18 Wheeler Fliped over Miss Rover 😊 on the side on the other side of our drive way. Uh that was scary. no-body was Hurt. the people that were living Here, left this place chunky\textsuperscript{23} and dirty 😊 so you can expect I got plenty work to do. I clean’d the windows and Part of the yard. Sometimes I wonder if I will ever get done cleaning up around here 😊 Well My Parents probably Have also left TN now.

Maybe you will Have to go talk to Saul, if you get to lonely

I want to do laundry to-day I will probably just dry the cloth in-side

our House is Bigger, we even got enough Bedrooms that you could sleep in one “\textsuperscript{24} it would Be A nice Big surprise if you showed up at my door one of these days, it is

\textsuperscript{23} This spelling is consistent with the accented English of this community. The /j/ sound is pronounced as /ch/. The intended word is “junky.”

\textsuperscript{24} In the original letter, these quotations appear directly under “bedrooms” on the previous line. These ditto marks are seen in the McGuffey’s Reader Series frequently.
time to do something else, I wish you Happiness and sunny days. You will not Be forgotten

Sincerely A Friend MRS. Betsy

Excerpt 3: Fran, written in print

Dear ---

Sorry that I didn't write you sooner 😊! I have been very busy since we are at home and still need to do the ironing hope to get to it this P.M. we also had A funeral in the area since we are at home

So we where helping out there to

Yes we got ye the snack’s that you brough up to Mom’s house that was very (thoughtful) of you we did enjoy them and I thought of you when I eat them (Thank You)

sounds like Dad’s are going to move next week we have plan’s to go help them unload there truck on Wed.! Eric is leaving in A couple hour’s to go to oHio And Pa. hope he can come home on Saturday. then the last full week in March we have plan’s to go to Mississippi.

well I still have to pack Eric cloth for Eric Callie is not to happy this morning she was sick by the time we got home from TN. then me and Eric also got sick

I was wanting to get this in the mail to-day but the Mail man just went A bit ago 😊

Well I better get running as I still got A lot of work waiting on me

A friend Fran

you don't need to worry about that picture on that box as we can have it
Although there are some accidental misspellings of words, which are possible even if an individual is a native speaker of the language, most of the words that appear to be misspellings are actually antiquated spellings of words, which is consistent with the material they were taught in school. It is also interesting to note the different uses for punctuation that have been phased out over the years, but that the Amish have retained due to retention of older textbooks. For example, hyphen, quotation and apostrophe usage, as it is learned with the McGuffey’s Reader Series, is not quite the same as what is learned in public schools today. The Amish learn that the hyphen is used to join the parts of a compound word or to separate the syllables in a word, such as “to-day” and “to-morrow” or “good-by.” An apostrophe is used to denote that a letter or letters have been omitted and also to show ownership, such as “o’er” for “over” or “’t is” for “it is.” Quotations are used to indicate the speech of another and also as “ditto marks.” Furthermore, familiarity with conversational English, specifically the vernacular of Lawrence County, TN which is a variation of Southern English, accounts for the use of certain verb tenses in writing in the letters that are usually only spoken. Since interaction with the vernacular happens mostly after the completion of formal schooling and since vernaculars, as a general rule, are rarely written, the Amish rely on sounding out the words to generate the spelling in written forms.

While these excerpts may not include the most eloquent language available to an English speaker, they do show considerable conversational proficiency in the language. Furthermore, even though English is learned as a second language in school, the Amish have several skills in the language characteristic of heritage learners. For example, they have acquired extensive amounts of vocabulary, as evidenced both by the McGuffey's
Reader Series in addition to in class work from Betsy – a comprehensive list of the vocabulary given by the scholars from the spelling game in class (Betsy, personal communication, 2014). However, even though their knowledge of vocabulary is extensive, the range is limited to home, community, vocational, and religious contexts. Secondly, the Amish are also able to control their registers, in both English and Pennsylvania Dutch, in with relation to family and community members and the English population. These competencies in both registers are also limited by social interactions. If a child is allowed to participate in family business activities or listen in on conversations with English visitors, much like the family in my study, then the child may have a better understanding of the natural speech patterns and conversation styles in English.
The true test of Amish education is not the comparison to more advanced public schools in the area, but instead how prepared the scholars are to succeed in Amish society. Amish schools promote practical skills and vocational education instead of independent thinking and critical analysis. Using this standard, Amish scholars perform exceedingly well upon graduation and integration into the mainstream Amish society. Even though formal schooling ends in the eighth grade, the Amish foster countless means of informal learning from adolescence into adulthood. In fact, several Amish retain a hunger for learning after ending their formal education and substantiate the multiple avenues for continuing education in the Amish community (Amish America). Formerly, public schools were an exception to Amish education, and before World War II, most Amish scholars attended the same one-room schools as their English neighbors. Once Amish scholars completed the eighth grade, they would end their formal schooling and continue with some sort of home-based vocational education (Fischel, 2012). Through reading, apprenticeships and mentorships, Amish youth continue to acquire skills related to craftsmanship, business, and agriculture by watching older members of the community and then performing the tasks themselves. This hands-on approach has directly influenced Amish success in small business ventures as well as the acquired knowledge of agricultural skills (Amish America).
Through my research I learned valuable information about earlier teaching methods in addition to second language learning in a non-traditional classroom. Firstly, it is important to consider the culture of the school community when developing curriculum and lesson plans in order to generate maximum student success. By choosing culturally appropriate materials, students will have something personal to which they can relate the information, and that will give them an incentive to not only learn about it but also to retain it. Secondly, when learning a language, it is important to do so with realia that contains authentic instances of the target language in combination with real-life personal interactions. While the Amish scholars are learning English as a second language, the textbooks in use are not formatted for English language learners – they were designed with native speakers in mind. By providing the scholars with these materials, in addition to access to personal interactions, they will gain the confidence it takes to use the language in everyday situations. Thirdly, and possibly most importantly, throughout this study I was reintroduced to the idea that language is a group activity, and it is best acquired through social interactions. There is no “I” in language, and language cannot be learned singularly. By creating a group mentality in the classroom, Amish scholars are learning the importance of working together to reach a common goal.

Lastly, it is important to note the pedagogies that work in the classroom and those that do not. The Amish have retained their styles and materials for several years because it is what works for them, and it continues to produce functional members of society. Sure, the books are from the 1920s or earlier, but you do not necessarily need today’s facts and figures to learn how to properly complete a math problem. The symbols and functions will never change, and the numbers themselves are simply a variable that will continue to
change indefinitely. Similarly, the reading and spelling books contain sounds and letters in
the language that will continue to remain the same while the combination of such sounds
and the meanings they convey are virtually endless. Furthermore, especially in the
advanced readers, some of the selections are the very same ones we continue to read,
contemplate, and memorize today in public schools. Yet, in the public school system, these
are not viewed as “outdated” but instead as some of the greatest literary works of all time.
Since language is socially charged, it will constantly be in a state of flux with new slang
terms coming and going, but the core concepts will remain the same. In mainstream
society today we are sometimes too quick to abandon something older for something that
is shiny and new. In reality, we should not be so quick to move on to the next big idea,
because there are truly some things that will never change.
LIST OF REFERENCES


Fischel, W. A. (1 January 2012). Do Amish One-Room Schools Make the Grade? The Dubious Data of "Wisconsin v Yoder". The University of Chicago Law Review, 79, 1, 107-129.


VITAE

Ann Marie Paley

EDUCATION


- Summa Cum Laude
- Gamma Beta Phi Honor Society
- Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society
- Recognition for Outstanding Arabic Language Skills


- Cum Laude
- Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College
- Intensive Arabic Language Program
- Chancellor’s and Dean’s Honor Rolls

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

**Teaching Assistant – ESL**, University of Mississippi August 2014 – May 2015

**Teaching Assistant – Arabic**, University of Mississippi August 2013 – May 2015

**Community-Based ESL**, University of Mississippi August 2013 – May 2015

**Lesson Planning/Curriculum Development** August 2013 – May 2014