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**The Amish and Their Portrayal
Provided by the film *Witness***

Bachelor's Diploma Thesis

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*I declare that I have worked on this thesis independently,
using only the primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography.*

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also taking photographs. However, several films, series and even a reality show with the Amish theme exist nowadays. The reasons why they are portrayed against their wills and where these portrayals can be found will be discussed in the following subchapters.

4.1 Cinema and television talk about the Amish

The first film featuring an Amish character, more precisely an Amish farmer, was *Violent Saturday* (1955) directed by Richard Fleischer. This film uses the typical theme – a peaceful Amish facing a violent modern society. However, it was not *Violent Saturday* which brought about the increase in popularity of the Amish. In the same year, the musical *Plain & Fancy* gained an enormous popularity which “helped spark the beginning of tourism in Lancaster County” (Igou 2007). The musical contrasts a big city couple and the simple Amish farmers. “Some of the situations are stretched beyond belief, but the musical makes fun of both the Amish and the city folk. [...] Shunning is treated in an entirely erroneous manner, arranged marriages are incorrectly part of the story, and there is much made about "hexes" when a barn burns down” (Igou 2007). Even though the musical *Plain & Fancy* raised public interest in the Amish, it was for a long time the last successful format featuring the Amish. The attention was not raised again till the film *Witness* in 1985 which will be discussed in detail in the following subchapter. Similar topic to the *Witness* was in another Hollywood movie called *Harvest of Fire* (1996) which dealt with a friendship among two women – an FBI agent and an Amish woman – and with a crime.

After the films with serious themes, two comedies with the Amish characters were released: the first one was *Kingpin* (1996), and the other *For Richer or Poorer* (1997) starring two popular comedies actors Tim Allen and Kirstie Alley. *For Richer or Poorer* deals with the differences between two rich New Yorkers who have to hide for

some time at an Amish farm, and the simple Amish. The comedy genre can not certainly be taken seriously as having any informative value about the Amish. By exaggerating the stereotyped pictures of the Amish, it largely helps to strengthen them.

Many more portrayals of the Amish have actually been in television than in movies. The first such TV product was a series “Aaron’s Way” on NBC in 1988, later “Picket Fences” (1992). Some mentions about the Amish could be found also in episodes of various serials, for example: “MacGyver” (episode called “The Outsiders”) and “Murder, She Wrote” (episode “Murder, Plain and Simple”). Another purely television piece was a TV movie called *A Stoning in Fulham County* (1988) which was based on a true story of murdering of an Amish infant. Brad Igou from Amish County News praises the film for being “a welcome exception among many misguided or totally ludicrous portrayals of the Amish” (Igou 2007).

Surprisingly, the Amish appeared on the TV screen also in a very controversial reality show called “The Amish in the City.” The show follows five people in their late teens or early twenties who grew up in Amish homes but were set up in a Hollywood house with six non-Amish young people. Even though the show gained popularity among the Americans, the Amish and the scientists are very critical of it. Donald B. Kraybill complained that “such an approach casts the participants as emerging from ‘a cultural medieval cave somewhere,’” (in Preheim 2004); and David Weaver-Zercher lamented “the overly simplistic ‘cultural chasm’ the show creates” (in Preheim 2004).

These portrayals are not mostly considered to be very valuable for learning about the Amish. However, many people have seen them, and created representation of the Amish way of life in their minds. Whether these images could be at least partly based on truth is a question. However, the movie which made the Amish most well-known was the film *Witness* (1985) which caused an ever increased interest in the Amish. But

as opposed to other above-mentioned films, the *Witness* was a box office success which was seen by millions of people all over the world. A detailed analysis of the film will be made in the following subchapter.

4.2 *Witness*: A case study

This subchapter contains a detailed analysis of the film *Witness*. The movie was released in 1985 and it immediately became a hit. The trailers and spots lured people to watch a very original story about an Amish boy who witnessed a murder of a policeman at the Philadelphia train station, and about love between two people of different cultural backgrounds. However, it was not the only film with a religious theme in the 1980s. In fact, many movies concerning religion were made, for example: *Chariots of Fire* (1981), *The Chosen* (1981), *The Mission* (1986), *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), and *Jesus of Montreal* (1989).

In the 1980s not only religion but also other to that time marginal themes, which could not be effectively depicted before, got their place on the screen. Audiences were most often offered movies related to race, age, family, addiction, abortion, violence, gender, class, fundamentalist Christianity, family values, or AIDS. The films with these topics were, according to Margaret R. Miles, the answers to pressing problems of that time (Miles 1996: 49). Movies are never created for any reason at all but quite the opposite – they are “deeply embedded in history, in a particular language and class structure, in specific modes of production, distribution, and consumption” (Miller in Miles 1996: 23). Movies thus respond to the events, trends, and general moods of the time of their creation.

It is also the case of the *Witness*. As suggested above, the films with religious themes were quite popular during the 1980s. The reasons may be found in political and social areas. There were several assassinations (of John Lennon, and Indira Gandhi), or

attempted assassinations (Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II), which deeply touched the public. Moreover, the Iran Contra Scandal, which started already in the late 1970s, continued during the 1980s. And other scandals occurred: the explosions of the space shuttle Challenger and of the Chernobyl reactor, twelve thousand new AIDS cases were diagnosed in the United States, and the first reports of homosexual men dying due to AIDS appeared. The analysts furthermore considered the increased religious interest to be caused by the baby-boomer generation which returned to the churches as they entered middle age, raised families, and started to pose questions about life, death, and meaning of life (Miles 1996: 49).

Apart from being a film depicting simply a religion, the *Witness* was also a movie about an enigmatic church which shuns many modern things and bans, apart from other things, taking photographs or filming. In a way, the Amish were thus still mysterious, and people wanted to find out more about them. Although they could visit Lancaster County or any other county where the Amish lived, they did not get the chance to look into their private lives. As tourists, they could only be mere observers of what they had already known before, which did not satisfy them and they demanded more. The trailers of the movie *Witness* promised to show them what the Amish were like in their private and the audiences were apparently curious to know.

There is one other significant reason for the popularity of the movie – the controversy which the film raised among the Amish. Soon after the film started to be shot in the early summer of 1984, the Amish began to protest for several reasons. They did not want to be portrayed in a medium they abhorred and the publicity, which they shunned, would spread their images all over the world. Moreover, Hollywood symbolized worldliness for them and they connected it with sex, violence and sin. Another reason was the tourist industry by which the Amish were increasingly

suffering. The tourism in Lancaster County began soon after the Great Depression. By 1965, 1,5 million tourists visited it. A decade later, they were already 4 million tourists annually. Naturally, it was not the Amish who profited from the tourist industry. Thus, they correctly felt that they served as a tool for luring tourists into their county and they did not want to be exploited commercially even more. They felt that a Hollywood film featuring the Amish characters would increase the flow of the tourists into the county even more and their assumption finally proved to be correct. The film caused that the tourism in Lancaster County increased by 13 percent within the first six weeks of its projection in cinemas (Kraybill 2001: 280-284).

The disagreement became even stronger after the Amish found out that Kelly McGillis, who was cast to play the main heroine Rachel, had spent several days in disguise in an Amish home. After she was revealed, she was asked to leave. This scandal contributed to the reasons given above and the Amish finally decided to bring their complaint to the local Lieutenant Governor, who promised to help them. Eventually, an agreement with the secretary of commerce and the director of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Motion Picture and TV Development which banned any further promoting of the Amish as subjects for films and television productions was negotiated. However, it later proved to be quite inefficient and the *Witness* was meanwhile slowly getting onto the screen (Kraybill 2001: 283).

All these reasons contributed in a greater or lesser extent to the immense success of the film. At the box office, it earned \$4,539,990 after the first weekend and \$65,532,576 totally (The Numbers: Box Office Data, Movie Stars, Idle Speculation). It was also praised by movie critics who acclaimed almost everything about the film: most often the acting, plot, direction and screenplay. Moreover, the film won several minor awards and eight Oscar nominations, two of which were finally awarded: for the best

original screenplay (which was done by Earl W. Wallace, William Kelley and Pamela Wallace) and the Best Film Editing (by Thom Noble).

Reviewers mostly called the film genre a blend combining the genres of thriller and love story and majority of them were charmed not by the thriller part but by the love story part. The great divide between the two worlds was a good theme for a film. It was so attractive that it fascinated not only the Australian director Peter Weir, who immediately accepted to make the film, but also Harrison Ford, who had already been a famous star at that time. Several directors before Weir refused to make *Witness* because they considered it to be just another cop movie. Weir saw in it a great opportunity because he had not worked in America before and *Witness* was a chance to try a new kind of work which was very different from what he had done before.

Indeed, the story is unusual. A policeman is murdered at the train station toilets in Philadelphia, which is witnessed by a small Amish boy Samuel Lapp, who is on the way to his aunt with his mother Rachel. After the murder at the train station, John Book, a Philadelphia policeman, protects the Amish boy and his mother, who are now in danger. They must even escape from the city and hide because Samuel identified a Book's fellow policeman to be the murderer, who is now trying to kill not only the boy, who could prove the policemen guilty of the murder, but also John Book because he revealed the corruption of some other policemen at the police department. Book finally manages to drive the Amish boy and his mum back to their farm, but is not able to continue and collapses because he has been injured in a gunfight. He is treated by the Amish and cared for by the recently widowed Rachel, and slowly recovers. Naturally, John and Rachel are attracted to each other and eventually fall in love. However, Rachel is an Amish and her religion forbids her to keep intimate contact with an Englishman. Finally, she trespasses the rules and makes love with John. In the end, there is a

gunfight on the farm after the corrupted policemen discover John's place of refuge. The movie ends in a half-happy ending after John with the help of some Amish men manages to defeat the policemen but he leaves Rachel because he understands that her belief is an insuperable obstacle for their love.

Critics most often considered the exploration of two distinct cultures – the Amish on the one hand and the non-Amish on the other – to be the main aim of the movie. By setting this aim, the director of the film was then bound to depict the Amish world precisely with all its aspects for the viewers who could not explore this closed culture on their own. The Amish culture should then be depicted as realistically as possible because the audiences (consciously or not) take the film pictures of the Amish as if they were real.

The question if the movie managed to fulfil the aim it was bound to, could be answered by considering several facts. The *Witness* undoubtedly treats religion explicitly. The Amish belief places a wall between Rachel and John, who does not belong to the Amish church. Each Amish woman is brought up in a very strict environment and the basic Amish beliefs are firmly inscribed into her mind. Rachel is therefore bound by the vow of baptism which she took freely and thus knowingly accepted all the rules of the church. Her motivations are therefore expected to be purely religious because belonging to the Amish church means that a member must keep all the rules without exception and live the belief in his or her everyday life, not only passively profess. The punishment for violation of these rules is very severe and Rachel knows that. However, she breaks the rules several times during the plot.

As suggested above, Rachel's motivation should be guided purely by her belief. However, it changes several times during the plot. Her religious motivation can be traced only at the beginning where she does not want to have anything in common with

the worldly policemen and only quite brusquely and rudely talks to them when John drives her and Samuel in his car to look at a suspect:

Rachel: Where are you taking us?

John: I'm sorry. We're looking for a suspect. We got reason to believe he's still in the neighborhood. I want the little boy to take a look at him.

Rachel: You have no right to keep us here.

John: Yes, I do. Your son is a material witness to a homicide.

Rachel: You don't understand. We want nothing to do with your laws.

John: Doesn't surprise me. A lot of people I meet are like that.¹

After this conversation, Samuel talks to his mother in the Dutch dialect and John wonders what he was saying:

John: What did he say?

Rachel: He asked who you are. Your name. I told him we didn't need to know anything about you.²

But when the main protagonists get back to the Amish farm, her behaviour and motivation dramatically change. Her look turns to be very provocative and seductive as if she had completely forgotten about her belief. The belief thus changes into a mere tool which keeps her back from the man she is in love with but it is not very important that she is an Amish. Rachel could be a wife with a husband and two or three children and it would not make any difference – the dilemma and motivation would be the same. At first, Rachel is attracted to the man even if she knows very well that her passion is forbidden but she cannot help herself. In this moment, she stops thinking as an Amish and her motivation changes to be exclusively instinctual. From her every look and every move, the viewer knows that she will finally violate the rules of *Ordnung* and surrender to John.³

Her father, Eli Lapp, warns her in an emotive scene where he reminds her of the rules of the church, and reveals that the church leaders have already talked about the

¹ All the references to quotes from the film *Witness* in the thesis comes from the following DVD version of the movie: *Witness*. Dir. Peter Weir. Perf. Harrison Ford, Kelly McGillis, Lukas Haas. 1985. Special collector's edition DVD. Paramount Pictures, 2006.

² Picture 1 in the Appendices shows Rachel's ignorance towards the policemen (p. 39).

³ Pictures 2 and 3 in the Appendices illustrate the change in Rachel's attitude to John (pp. 39-40).

possibility of her being shunned. This scene comes after he catches her and John dancing in the barn:⁴

Eli Lapp: Rachel! Rachel? Was machst du hier? Die musik? Die musik!

Rachel... What is it with you? Is this the *Ordnung*?

Rachel: I have done nothing against the rule of the *Ordnung*.

Eli Lapp: Nothing? You bring this man to our house with his gun of the hand. You bring fear to this house. Fear of English with guns coming after him –

Rachel: I've committed no sin.

Eli Lapp: Maybe. Maybe not yet. But, Rachel, it does not look... You know there has been talk. Talk about going to the Bishop and having you shunned.

Rachel: That is idle talk.

Eli Lapp: Do not take it lightly. Rachel! They can do it. They can do it just like that. You know what it means, shunning? I cannot sit at table with you. I cannot take a thing from your hand. I cannot go to worship with you. Child ... do not go so far.

Rachel: I am not a child.

Eli Lapp: But you are acting like one.

Rachel: I'll be the judge of that.

Eli Lapp: No. They will be the judge of that, and so will I. If you shame me....

Rachel: You shame yourself.

However, this scene belongs to only a small number of those which treat the Amish religion explicitly and try to provide the viewer with an explanation of something from the Amish life. The viewers who hoped to see a little more from the Amish private lives probably expected the film to reveal more.

In addition, the dilemma which Rachel has to face and must deal with is not revealed in full detail. The fact that she finally surrenders to her passion is not as important as the dilemma itself. The audiences, who do not have to know anything about the Amish, could be thus left in belief that it is the Amish people around her who want her to stay pure, but not herself. She never shows a sign of a constriction but only the will not to offend the Amish around. She is an Amish by her appearance but her motivation ceases to be religious soon after the beginning. This fact is supported by

⁴ See the picture number 4 in the Appendices for a photograph from the dancing scene (p. 40).

many other scenes in the movie which prove that her character behaves more in a non-Amish way than an Amish one.

The movie puts the belief and the attitudes towards it in a position which shows it as something which can be without much effort rejected for a moment, and later taken back. This fact is illustrated for example by the scene in which Rachel puts off her bonnet which symbolises her faith before she makes love with John. This can suggest that rejecting one's religious commitment is as easy as putting a piece of clothes off.

Moreover, Rachel is not punished for her misbehaviour, at least it is not the part of the film. The audiences are thus left to surmise. But Rachel's behaviour causes that the doctrines of the church are not shown as strict and uncompromising as in reality and leads to a supposition that such misbehaviour is easily forgiven by the church. For example, during the barn-raising, which both Rachel and John attend, an Amish woman informs Rachel about the rumours about her having an intimate relationship with John. However, she does not seem to be at least touched by it – but quite the opposite, she almost appears to be pleased – as if she was proud of being attractive enough for such a handsome non-Amish man. Even if she knows that everyone watches her and her behaviour to John, she serves John first at the table.⁵ It is in this moment when her resistance to the laws of *Ordnung* changes from silent to visible. She seems to be proud that she is courageous enough to violate the rules. Moreover, it is, with only a few exceptions, Rachel who tries to seduce John and not the other way round. She looks at him seductively, watches him when he does not know about her and finally offers her body to him while she is having a sponge bath which John watches.⁶ But despite the fact that he later accepts her offer, he seems to be more than Rachel aware of the

⁵ Picture 5 in the Appendices shows a photograph with Rachel proudly serving John first at the table (p. 41).

⁶ See picture 6 in the Appendices showing Rachel offering her body to John when she is having a sponge bath (p. 41).

impossibility of their intimate relationship due to Rachel's belief. Finally, the plot returns to the religious motivation of the main heroine at the end of the movie, where it is used to explain why John has to leave and she must stay in the church.

Love, desire and passion are pictured in the film as superior to belief. This can be often seen in Hollywood films – a romantic love overcomes all the constraints and the situation ends in a happy ending which the audiences await. These unwritten Hollywood conventions are applied here without exception, and a more easily possible development of the situation which could actually evolve in reality, and the problems which Rachel has to deal with (and the dilemma itself) are pushed into the background. Even though the love between Rachel and John in *Witness* destroys the basic rules of the Amish church, the religion must finally free the place for love and passion. Although sex scenes are not directly included in the film, the viewers can easily supply them from all the suggestions during the plot and mainly from the scene in which John and Rachel passionately kiss each other in a meadow behind the farm – the most erotic scene in the movie.⁷ Reviewers mostly praised the scene for not showing everything but saying enough to supply the rest. However, they did not consider the question of belief at all, they only took the triumph of passion and love into account. Even though the film does not end in a complete happy ending, because John understands that his place is somewhere else, the ending induces an atmosphere of peace and calmness as if the passionate night which preceded it satisfied all the needs of the main heroes.

To sum up the view of the film on love (in this case rather passion) and religion in *Witness*, Rachel's religious belief is presented to the viewers like a wall which stands between her and John. The wall was not built by Rachel herself, but by her parents, relatives and friends. Rachel tries to climb over the wall, she is a good climber, and

⁷ See pictures numbers 7 and 8 in the Appendices for photographs showing the most erotic scene in the movie (p. 42).

everyone knows that she will finally climb it. The question is, whether she will manage to do it sooner or later.

Another aspect underlies the motif of banned love when it is considered from the gender point of view – the film supports number of gender stereotypes. It is not accidental that the main hero is a man who is portrayed as strong, intrepid, experienced and honest, while it is a woman who is inexperienced, helpless and needs the man's protection. The relationship between them is not a problem for John, he is not subjected to the strict rules of the Amish church and he is not threatened by a punishment for his feelings toward Rachel. On the other hand, Rachel is portrayed as very weak and not able to resist the temptation. Moreover, as suggested above, it is mainly her who seduces the strong policeman, which further stresses her weakness and his strength. Rachel violates the rules of her church but is not able to leave it, and thus again shows her weakness. On the other hand, John is strong – he lets himself to be seduced but knows that he cannot stay with the Amish and thus leaves. Peter Weir is true in considering the end to be the weakest part of the film – it does not offer any further explanation with regard to the Amish: John leaves but he is seen only to drive away and he can as well get back; Rachel is not punished nor she leaves the church even if she committed one of the gravest offences against the rules of the church. Her weakness is not fully revealed to the audiences with the consequent punishment. The gender roles here are certainly influenced by the genre of the movie – but no women can be seen even at the Philadelphia police department. The film therefore supports the stereotype of women's weakness also by the fact that no policewomen play part in it. In fact, the only non-Amish woman who has a small part in the film is Book's sister, who accommodates the Amish family for a night.

The Amish lay a great emphasis on the community. It is probably the most important value of their church. Their districts are quite small and every member knows everything about his or her neighbours. They help each other in need. The film shows this sense of community by the raising of the barn for a newly-wed couple. Every member of the community plays part in it. Men build the barn together; women cook meals for them and when they are finished they collectively embroider a quilt. The ending of the movie also demonstrates the power of the community. The Lapp family is endangered because the three corrupted policemen got at the farm chasing after John and the whole Lapp family could thus be killed. Eli Lapp sends his grandson to ring the bell which will make the Amish working at the surrounding fields know that something is happening. Indeed, the Amish immediately come and stand against the head of the corrupted policemen, who holds a gun. He must kill them all, or give up. This sense of community is, however, put into a sharp contrast to the portrayal of the main heroine, who is pictured very independent. She does not care what the other members of the community or even her own father think about her. She seems to be fully concentrated on her and her son, and resists her own father when she speaks to him rudely and refuses his opinion and advice. Moreover, even if the church leaders come to inspect the injured policeman in order to be able to decide what to do about the situation, they let Rachel take care of him by herself. In reality, no Amish woman would be permitted to care for a man on her own but rather a group of women would be assigned by the church to take care of him. The church would take over the responsibility of the individual (of the Lapp family) to support an ill person in need. In this respect, the individuality serves the purpose of the film, which requires the opportunities for Rachel to meet John in private in order to develop the plot. But this contrast between the individual and community approaches to the characters causes that Rachel stands apart

from all other Amish and therefore does not seem to fit in the community. Her portrayal in the film is not based on religious premises but it rather provides a picture of an independent woman, mother and daughter. As a result, viewers may thus feel even more confused at the end because Rachel is a bit different from the other Amish women and there is no obvious reason why she should stay in the church.

Religion is certainly one of the main themes in *Witness* and at the same time it is central to the plot. Except for love, which was already discussed and which is similarly important, the movie also deals with honesty, friendship, betrayal, dilemma between parent's love and religious bound or violence.

Violence is set into a sharp contrast to the peaceful Amish, who believe in non-resistance and refuse to participate in any war. In the movie, the world around the Amish community is extremely violent. The film begins with a murder, moreover, it contains two violent shootings during which some people are injured and some other even killed. But the corrupted policemen are not the only source of violence in *Witness*. It also comes from the ordinary youths living in or visiting the village nearby the Amish settlements. In one of the scenes, a youth tries to ridicule the Amish men by smearing ice-cream on the face of one of them and by throwing down of his hat. The youths have fun of it because the Amish cannot defend themselves, and the youths consider it probably to be a kind of a game. This incident especially puts the Amish into a very positive light. They do not provoke fights, live peacefully and try to eliminate problems with outsiders as much as possible. They also refuse to be photographed by curious tourists who pursue them. This scene evokes the sensationalist paparazzi, who hunt for celebrities to catch the most scandal photos possible. These journalists are a part of the non-Amish world and contribute to the negative characteristics of this world presented in *Witness*. On the other hand, an Amish man, Daniel Hochleitner (played by Alexander

Godunov), has a good reason for hating John Book because he is in love with Rachel and wants to marry her. He knows that she is interested in Book and has many opportunities to insult or threaten him (which a non-Amish man would certainly do), but he only innocently smiles at him, speaks in a friendly manner to him, and shakes his hand before Book leaves.

Therefore, the portrayal of the Amish community is in the stark contrast with the extremely dangerous surrounding world where people die because of other people who intentionally kill them or at least harm them or hunt for them. The Amish world is portrayed very positively and the outside world extremely negatively – as if the Amish world did not have any mistakes and the outer world lacked positive aspects, as if the Amish were only positive and non-Amish only negative without exception. Why does then John Book return to the violent world and does not stay with the Amish instead? The only possible answer is that he is by nature violent like the rest of the non-Amish society, which is used to watching or directly participating in it. The Amish people are given here as an example of behavioural pattern which should be followed by other people. Their sense of community and peace, their diligence and fraternal love should guide the lives of all of us.

Despite the fact that *Witness* was a very successful movie, its producers and director did not avoid applying the Hollywood conventions on the movie which tried to portray the Amish as credibly as possible. Peter Weir admitted in an interview for the special collector's edition of *Witness* DVD (2006) that he was fascinated by the Amish and his feelings started to project into the screenplay and he began to change it. The picture of the Amish in the movie was thus becoming to approach the reality more. However, Edward Feldman, the producer, stopped him by reminding him that he was doing a Western. It resulted in deleting some scenes which tried to explain the Amish

beliefs more precisely. Their decision was guided by the Hollywood conventions which assure the box office success of movies. According to Miles (1996: 190), it is not only the box office which dictates these conventions, but it is also important to assure the largest racial, class, and sexual-preference group of Americans that their pleasure is paramount. It means, in case of *Witness*, that the character of Rachel is not a typical Amish woman but her character rather combines aspects of the American and Amish ways of lives. The American part is necessary for the audiences, who need to identify themselves with the main heroine and the Amish part serves the purpose of making the plot exceptional and uncommon and thus attractive.

The film *Witness* is finally a product which corresponds to the conceptions of its producer and director. But if they wanted to call the movie really Amish (as they did because they lured people to watch an Amish movie), the structure, the characters and probably also much of its plot should have been different – not one-sided in presenting the opposing views of the two worlds, or individualistic as for the portrayal of the Amish woman Rachel due to the need of having a main hero in the movie despite the fact that this need opposes the basic idea of the Amish community.

The film may be taken as an entertaining show with great actors like Harrison Ford or Danny Glover. The viewers who hope to get better knowledge about and insight in the Amish life will after seeing the film probably consider it to be quite a good source of information, but it only pretends to be one. In many respects, the *Witness* only strengthens the often stereotyped pictures and the key aspects of the Amish life are overshadowed by the Hollywood conventions.

Appendices

Picture 1: Rachel at first ignores the worldly policemen and only quite rudely answers their questions.



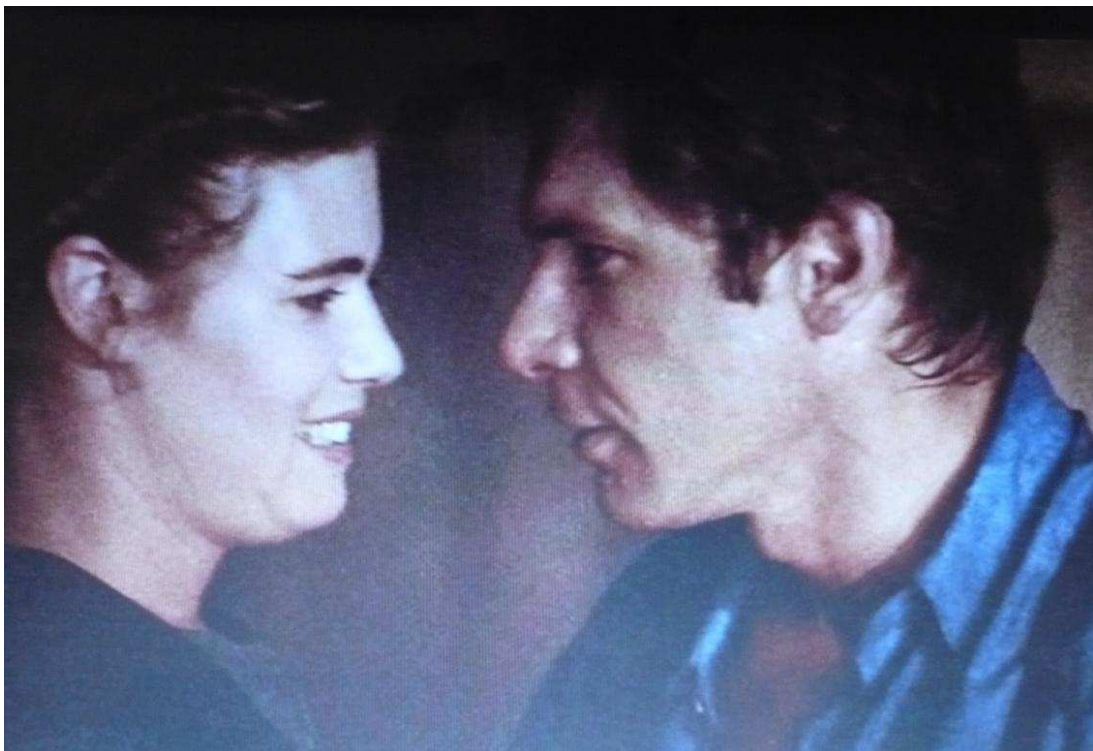
Picture 2: While Rachel dances with John in the barn, it is apparent that Rachel will finally violate the rules of her church and surrender to John.



Picture 3: Rachel often watches John and if he notices her, she smiles at him. The photograph below comes from the barn-raising scene.



Picture 4: Rachel finally violates the rules of the *Ordnung* when she dances with John in the barn. They behave very intimately.



Picture 5: Rachel seems pleased by the fact that she attracts such a brave and handsome man as John Book. She even serves him first at the table.



Picture 6: Rachel offers her body to John when she is having a sponge bath which John secretly watches.



Picture 7: Rachel and John kisses each other passionately in the meadow behind the farm. This is the most erotic scene in the movie.



Picture 8: Critics praised the most erotic scene in the movie for not showing everything but saying enough to supply the rest.

