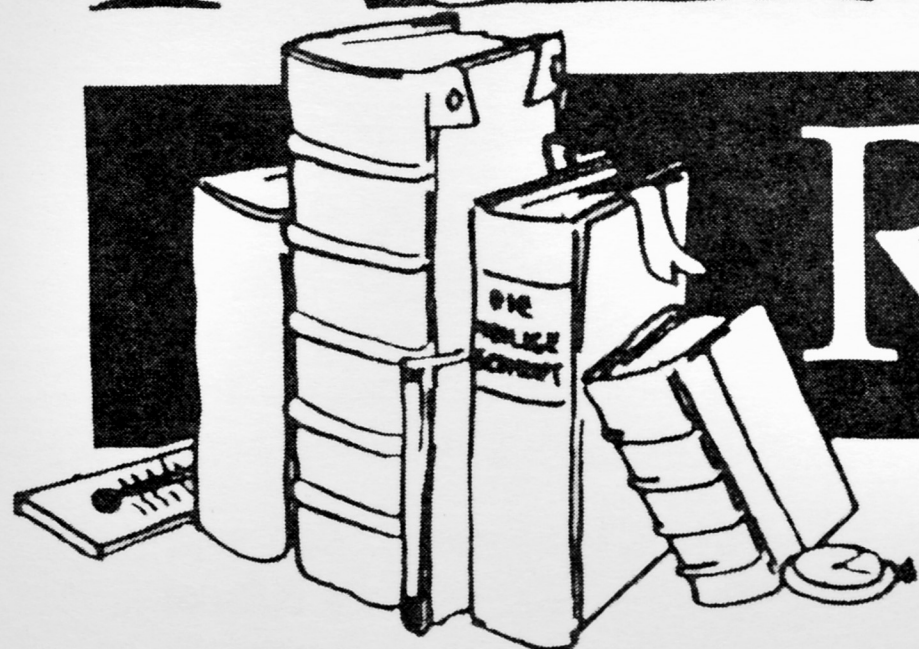


HERITAGE

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The Heritage Review is an annual publication of the Ohio Amish Library, 5798 CR 77 Millersburg, Ohio 44654. It is intended to provide information, past and present, about the Amish and Mennonites, especially in Ohio. We invite articles and information. Membership to the OAL are \$20 annually. Single copies of *the Heritage Review* are also available by contacting the Library staff.

“A Sixteenth Century Prayer” Menno Simons¹

O Lord, I am assured that neither life nor death, neither angels nor principalities, nor powers, neither things present nor things to come, neither height nor depth nor any other creature shall separate us from Thy love which is in Christ Jesus. Yet I know not myself; all my trust is in Thee. Though I have drunk a little of the cup of Thy suffering, yet I have not tasted it to the bottom. For when dungeon and bonds are suffered, when death by water, fire, and sword are threatened, then will the gold be separated from the wood, the silver from the straw, the pearls from stubble.

Then do not forsake me, gracious Lord; for I know that trees of deepest root may be torn up from the earth by violence of the storm, and the lofty, firm mountains are rent asunder by the force of the earthquake. Have not Jacob and Jeremiah, the true examples of endurance, stumbled in Thy way through weakness of the flesh? Therefore, I pray Thee, blessed Lord, according to Thy faithfulness and grace, suffer me not to be tempted above that I am able to bear, lest my soul be made ashamed in eternity.

I pray not for my flesh; I well know that it is subject to suffering and death. For this alone, forsake me not in time of trial, but make a way of escape in my hour of temptation; deliver me of all my need, for I put my trust in Thee. Amen

¹ This prayer that John Horsch printed in *Menno Simons, his Life, Labors, and Teachings* page 75 is from Menno's *Meditation to the 25th Psalm*. It is typical of the era where many leaders wrote and printed model prayers. It is most likely done in

1539 which is only three years after Menno became an Anabaptist. He also later produced other prayers that were printed.

The Ohio Amish Library

2016 marks thirty years since The Ohio Amish Library was organized (1986), for the purpose of collecting, preserving and archiving Anabaptist, Amish, and Mennonite related things such as histories, devotional books, genealogies, and articles. In addition, the collection has grown to include personal papers, letters, and other archival material.

It is fitting that this issue of *the Heritage Review* includes an article on the Anabaptist devotional book, *Güldene Aepfell in Silbernen Schalen*, since the first Ohio Amish Library Newsletter also included an article on the same book. The Library printed a small newsletter of four pages from 1990-2006 when it was combined with *the Heritage Review*. Volume 1 of *the Heritage Review* was also produced in December of 1990 and exists in the same format today.

In order to provide opportunity for people to become involved and assist in the Library's work, OAL began to offer memberships to the public. The annual fee was established at \$20.00, which is the current rate of membership! OAL is a non-profit organization so all donations are tax-deductible. We welcome donations of any size to assist in the work of the Library.

In keeping with its aim to encourage understanding and appreciation for our Anabaptist heritage the formational committee of the Library (see page 19) undertook the task of translating the songs of the *Ausbund* from German to English. This work developed into two books, *The Songs of the Ausbund*, Vol. I & II, which are still in print and available. In addition, the publishing arm of the Library worked with author and translator, James Lowry in the printing of three volumes of early Anabaptist literature. A complete listing of books published by the Library may be found inside the back cover of this edition.

In 2013, after being approached by representative of the Amish & Mennonite Heritage Center (Behalt), the OAL board decided to accept an offer for the two organizations to pool their resources to advance the work of both organizations. The Center undertook a fund drive and our local community took interest and a 2,400-square foot addition was built to house the Library. In addition to housing bookshelves and a common area, there is also classroom space, and a vault with display windows to house the more fragile and valuable items. The vault provides a temperature and humidity controlled area to keep these items from further damage.

The Library was completed and dedicated in April, 2016 with a special open house event. The Center staffs the library so that researchers, scholars, and the community can access these items that reflect our past. The Library is open to its members and the community, although appointments are preferred so that we can prepare any items for your use. In addition, the Center assists in the publication work and writing and public presentations in the Library.

By virtue of your membership in OAL, you will receive a complimentary two-year membership at the Amish and Mennonite Heritage Center, if you are not already a member. A separate letter will be sent to all OAL members acknowledging this. We believe that this partnership furthers the cause of both organizations and allows the Library to be staffed and work of the Library to continue forward.

May God bless you for your efforts, assistance, and gifts to further this important work.

Co-editors,

Marcus Yoder & Edward Kline

Tom Lyons: The Indian Among the Amish

By Wayne R. Miller*

When Native American Tom Lyons was well advanced in years, he was frequently seen in the Berlin, Ohio, area by the first Amish settlers. In appearance he was tall, lean, and very ugly looking.¹ By some accounts, he had high cheek bones, missing teeth, large protruding lips, and silver ornaments hanging from each ear and nose. He was also extremely dirty. His appearance alone would be a frightening shock at the cabin door of any of The Plain People.

When angered or mistreated, Lyons would retaliate by scaring Amish families with his stories of past exploits. In the first story, he would relate, with much grimacing and arm movement, how much pleasure he got from bursting into cabins to murder German woman and how the women in their fright and impending death would scream, "Herr Jessus! Herr Jessus!" (Lord Jesus) as they were tomahawked. In the second story, Lyons related how his band of warriors once burst into a white man's house and found a small baby in a cradle. The baby looked up and smiled at him, "Then Indian couldn't kill it. Indian kick cradle over, baby cry, then he could kill it."²

These stories angered some of the Amish settlers in Holmes³ and Tuscarawas counties during the years of 1810-1820. Most were descendants of Jacob Hochstetler in Pennsylvania who well remembered what had happened to their ancestor in 1757 during the French and Indian War. The fact that this very Tom Lyons⁴ was present in the Hochstetler attack, and now fifty some years later keeps showing up at the cabins of their descendants to beg for food to eat was a severe

test of the biblical admonition "to love your enemies." In the minds of many, had Lyons not lingered behind after the burning of the Hochstetler cabin, Jacob's wife and two children might well have survived the ordeal.

It is from these kinds of stories about the turbulent relations between Lyons, the Amish, and other German people that the legends and superstitions surrounding him continue to be told to subsequent generations. Can one separate fact from legend and superstition to know who was the real Tom Lyons? There are many questions to be answered, and I will try to answer some of them in this article.

Tom Lyons was born in New Jersey to the Native American people known as the "Lenni Lenape."^{5 6} They lived along the New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania border, an area drained by the watershed basin of the Delaware River system. The white people called them the Delaware Indians after the same named river.

To pin down the exact year of Lyons' birth is not possible as he himself apparently did not know. When pressed on the subject in 1810, he stated that he was 150 years old. Further questioning revealed that he considered the summer and winter to each be a year.⁷ This would have made him about 75 years old in 1810, placing his birth around 1735 and making him a young man of 22 when the Hochstetler family was attacked in 1757. In 1814, in another account, he claims to be 160 years old. A number of later writings about the Hochstetler attack estimate his age to have been 18 years old at the time.

There is some evidence that Lyons spent a considerable amount of his younger years in the

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¹ The term Native American and Indian is being used interchangeably to tell the story and is in no way meant to show any disrespect.

² Rev. Harvey Hostetler, D.D. Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler, the immigrant of 1738, copyright 1977 by Eli J Hostetler

³ I will use Holmes County in this narrative, although it was not formed until 1824, when it was carved out of parts of Coshocton, Tuscarawas, and Wayne counties.

⁴ His name has various spellings including Thomas Lyon, Tom Lyon, Lion, Lions. I have chosen the spelling used in the account of how he received his name.

⁵ Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, copyrighted in 1888 by Henry Howe, Vol. 1 Pg. 255

⁶ John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nation*, 1819, reprint 1991, pg.xxiv

⁷ <http://ashlandohiogenealogy.org/historyashland/historyashland4.html> Russ Shopbell

Lancaster, Pa., area. This evidence comes primarily from the recollections of Captain George Beckley whose pioneer father arrived in Marion County, Ohio, in 1821. Being fluent in German, Beckley soon received a visit from Lyons who also was fluent in German. The two became close friends. When their conversation went to common places they knew in Eastern Pennsylvania, Tom is quoted as saying,

*"Oh, me all over Pennsylvania—Susquehanna, Lavatana, Schuylkill, Lehigh, and Delaware Rivers." Beckley continues, Then my father mentioned he was formerly from Lebanon, formerly Lancaster County. Then our guest [Lyons] mentioned the names of several of the small villages, such as Reading, Cootstown, Harrisburg, and even the names of several of the early settlers of that locality with whom my father was well acquainted.*⁸

Lyons' Indian name was Kaschates,⁹ and he was known by that name among his Native American people and the Moravian missionaries who spoke fluent Delaware. However, because of the ever increasing number of white settlers who couldn't comprehend the Delaware language, it was common for a Native American to receive a white man's name or nickname. The same was true for Lyons who told George Beckley's father,

*"General Wayne asked what my name is; me say me got no white man name; then General Wayne says I give you a name; I call you Thomas Lyons; and that is how I got my name. General Wayne give me a coat—a nice coat; a General's coat—Oh, very good man, General Wayne, very good man, very good man!"*¹⁰

It is interesting to parallel the lives of Tom Lyons and General Anthony Wayne to see where the story of Lyons receiving his name might have happened. The General was about 10 years younger than Lyons. He was a private citizen until 1776 when he joined the Continental Army in the Revolutionary War. He rose through the ranks to Major General by his retirement at the war's end in 1783.

We know Tom Lyons was at the Battle of Wyoming (sometimes called the Massacre of Wyoming) on July 3, 1778, in Northeastern Pennsylvania. He apparently was among a small group of friendly Delaware who sided with the Americans against the British and their numerous Iroquois allies. When the battle turned into a massacre of American patriots and their families in the Wyoming Valley, Lyons is thought to have been among a group of Delaware who fled to safety to their Ohio brethren along the Tuscarawas River shortly after the battle. At the same time, General Wayne was in New Jersey at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28. If Lyon's father was actually a chief and sent his son with other Indians to meet with Wayne, it couldn't have happened at the time of the Battle of Wyoming Valley. Further Lyon's father would not have been alive anymore in 1792 when General Wayne was called out of private life a second time by President George Washington to defeat the Ohio Indians. The meeting of Lyons and General Wayne could have happened earlier in the 1776-1778 time frame, but let's consider an even more likely possibility.

After the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which Tom Lyons participated, a peace treaty was signed in 1795. The U.S. government handed out \$20,000¹¹ worth of goods to the Indians for signing. This drew large delegations of Indians for the ceremony. Most likely, this is where Lyons met General Wayne and, having no white man's name

⁸ books.google.com The History of Marion County, Ohio Pg. 17-19

⁹ Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware*, David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier, Kent State University Press, 1991, Pg. 263; Benjamin Mortimer was Zeisberger's assistant. He kept a diary 800 pages long on life at the Goshen Mission to the Delaware Indian nation near present day New Philadelphia, Ohio, from 1798 through the War of 1812. Olmsted draws from these Moravian

German files on life among the Christian Delaware Indians. This period overlaps the time the first Amish settlers came from Somerset County, Pa., through New Philadelphia to settle in western Tuscarawas and eastern Holmes counties.

¹⁰ books.google.com, *The History of Marion County, Ohio* Pg.17-19

¹¹ The \$20,000 in 1795 would be \$29,000,000 in today's dollars.

at almost 60 years of age, received the name of Tom Lyons and a coat as a present.

When the first settlers in Holmes and Ashland counties asked Lyons about General Anthony Wayne some 15-20 years later, he related two stories. How he got his name, related above, and what he thought of the General in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. To the latter, he recounted,

*“Him be great chief. He be one devil to fight. Me hear his dinner horn way over there go ‘toot, toot’, then way over here it go ‘toot’, toot’, then way over there other side ‘toot, toot’. Then his soldiers go forward, ‘shoot, shoot.’ Then run among logs and brush; Indians have to get out and run. Then come long knives with pistols to ‘shoot, shoot.’ Indians run, no stop. Old Tom see too much fight to be trap. He run into woods. He run like devil. He keep run till he clear out of danger. Wayne great fighter, brave white chief. He be one devil.”*¹²

Some accounts put “chief” in front of Lyons’ name. However, there is very little evidence that he was a chief,¹³ nor am I aware that Tom ever called himself a chief. At least one source flat out states he was never a chief.¹⁴ The fact that Lyons says his father was a Delaware chief may be where the confusion comes in. Chief, however, was a rather loose term and was sometimes applied to anyone who started a village or was in some way able to attain a following. History has recorded all the major and minor Indian chiefs who had any kind of interaction with the British, French, or American governments in negotiations on war, peace treaties, and land purchases. Tom Lyons or Kaschates was not one of them.

¹² As related by Ashland county pioneer Allen Oliver <http://ashlandohiogenealogy.org>

¹³ Christian Fast was captured by Delaware near the falls of the Ohio and adopted into the tribe at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, as a youth. Years later in 1815 upon moving to Ashland County, Ohio, he ran into Tom Lyons. He knew Lyons from his Indian days. His account calls Lyons a Chief and is recorded in *The History of Ashland County, Ohio Vol. 1*

¹⁴ <http://ashlandohiogenealogy/ashlandhistory/ashlandhistory4.html>. by Russ Shopbell

Lyons had been married at one time as he had at least one son, George Lyons, who was known by the early pioneers in the Holmes, Ashland, and Marion county areas.¹⁵ Some accounts state Lyons had at least another son who was killed. Daughters would not have been mentioned in later accounts as they may have married earlier, but I am merely speculating on this.

Mortimer’s diaries in April, 1805, has Lyons and his family at the Moravian Christian village at Goshen, near New Philadelphia, Ohio, during a rampage of drunkenness over the death of a well-known Native American convert. Lyons, who did not participate in the drunkenness, had to flee downriver with his family for safety when a drunken Indian threatened him with a tomahawk.¹⁶ Lyons and his family were frequent visitors at Goshen and lived there for short periods of time between 1800 and 1817. (Lyons was well liked by the missionaries¹⁷) That would mean Lyons was married until at least 1817. It would make sense that his wife in her later years chose not to travel with him, possibly staying with one of their children.¹⁸

One account states that Lyons was married to a beautiful Wyandot squaw of whom he was very proud. He kept her dressed in the finest Indian apparel of the day and didn't require her to do manual labor in the fields as was the Indian custom for women.¹⁹ This legend, however, does not sound like it would have come from the mouth of an Indian, but rather a fanciful adaptation of an “Indian Princess” story written by a white author.

I think it is safe to assume that Tom Lyons, who had fought with the losing American side in the

¹⁵ <http://books.google.com> *The History of Marion County, Ohio*, Leggett, Conaway, & Co. 1883, Pg.238

¹⁶ Earl P Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware*, Kent State University Press, 1991 Pg. 120

¹⁷ Ibid Pg. 263

¹⁸ Mortimer’s diaries that Earl P. Olmsted uses were written in German. I did not have access to the original German diaries. The German may bring clarification as to whether Lyons showed up at Goshen as late as 1817 with his family or just by himself.

¹⁹ <http://books.google.com> *The History of Marion County, Ohio*, Leggett, Conaway, & Co. 1863



This 1831 map of Ohio by cartographer David Burr on display at the Amish-Mennonite Heritage Center, Berlin, Ohio shows the native reservation in Crawford County, the native villages of Greentown, Christian Moravian Schoenbrunn, and Salem, though the villages existed in name only by 1831. The line shows Lyons travels between the villages going right through Holmes County and the Amish settlements.

Wyoming Massacre in 1778, feared for his life and had fled west to Ohio to be among his Indian brethren along the Tuscarawas River. The Christian Delaware lived at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten, and later at Goshen, the non-Christian village at Coshocton, and later at villages in the Mansfield area. Both groups were strongly influenced by Moravian Missionaries David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder to remain friendly to the Americans during the Revolutionary War.

Sometime prior to the 1781 forceful removal of the Christian Indian villages from the Tuscarawas area to Sandusky, Lyons is allied with the hostile group living at Helltown.²⁰ This village was located on the Clear Fork branch of the Mohican River in Ashland County, Ohio. The 1782 Gnadenhutten massacre of 96 Christian

Delaware Indians by American militia under Colonial Williamson infuriated Tom Lyons and others who abandoned Helltown and moved to Greentown, three miles north of present day Perrysville, Ohio. Subsequently, the American government sent two military expeditions to the Ohio Country to subdue the hostile groups. The two expeditions, the first one under William Crawford and second one under General Arthur St. Clair, were soundly defeated by the Northwest Ohio Indian forces. Lyons fought for the Indians in both of these battles. The third American expedition under General Wayne in 1794 was successful in defeating the Ohio Indians and opening the path for statehood in 1803. The final Indian scare in the Holmes and Tuscarawas County area was during the Tecumseh uprising and the War of 1812. While Tom Lyons was too old by this time to be an effective warrior

²⁰ "Hell" is a German word to mean clear, thus the town on the clear fork of the Mohican River

for the hostiles, he was involved in some cabin burnings and possibly with parties that killed settlers in the Mansfield, Ohio, area.

Five years before, in 1807, the Amish had sent a party of three men from Somerset County, Pennsylvania, to explore the Sugarcreek and Walnut Creek Valley areas. In 1809, Jacob "Yokkel" Miller, his wife, Jacob's two sons, their wives and three children, and Jonas "Der Weiss" Stutzman moved to Ohio. In 1810, the John Troyer, Christian Yoder, Jonas Miller, Joseph Mast, John Miller, and Abraham Hershberger families moved into the Walnut Creek Valley. In 1811, the Christian Hershberger, Christian Fry, David Troyer, and three John Miller families joined them. At least 15 additional Amish families showed up in 1812.²¹ Were they aware of the impending storm and scares they were about to encounter?

Around that time, Tecumseh was traveling up and down the Mississippi Valley trying to unite all the Indian tribes into one large confederacy to defeat the whites and reclaim their lost lands. It was during one of those far ranging trips in 1811 that he met with the Creek Indians near present day Montgomery, Alabama. When his attempts to get the Creeks to join his confederacy seemed to be failing, he made a bold prediction. He told them the Great Spirit had sent him and to prove it he would walk straight back to Detroit and once he got there, he would stomp his foot on the ground and shake down every house in their Alabama village. The Alabama Indians carefully kept track of time. About the time he should have arrived back in Detroit, a tremendous rumbling and shaking began. The Creeks ran from their houses as their homes all collapsed to the ground, however it wasn't Tecumseh that had destroyed their homes. It was the New Madrid earthquake, centered near present day Memphis, Tennessee.

The quake would come to be known as the second largest earthquake in modern history. It shook down chimneys as far away as Cincinnati and rang church bells in Boston. In Tuscarawas County, the

earthquake was felt on December 16, 1811, and also the aftershocks of January 23 and February 7, 1812.²² Did the Amish and other settlers of Tuscarawas and Holmes counties feel the shaking? The Moravian Missionary, Mortimer, records the following in his diary:

Dec. 16, 1811; Several shocks of an earthquake were experienced.

Jan. 23, 1812; There were several shocks felt here, and in particular one at ½ past 8 o'clock in the morning, more severe than any of those on the 16th. None of our [brethren and sisters] could recollect that they had ever till lately witnessed anything of the kind before, and in common with the rest of the inhabitants of the country were much alarmed at these unusual phenomena.

Feb. 7, 1812; At about ½ past 3 o'clock in the morning, there was a very severe shock of an earthquake here. The concussions lasted nearly half an hour. The morning was perfectly calm and the moon shone dimly. In the evening at about 8 ½ past 10 o'clock, there were two other pretty severe shocks, though not nearly equal to that in the morning. In general about this time slight earthquakes were very frequent and sometimes lasted for hours successively. In many persons they produced headaches and disordered state of the stomach resembling sea-sickness. We were told of instances in the neighborhood of children who after an earthquake were obliged to vomit. These concussions of the earth, the dreadful apprehensions that were at that time very generally entertained of an Indian war . . . and a variety of other occurrences, made many people in these parts suppose that the end of the world was near at hand!

When the war of 1812 broke out between Great Britain and the United States, about 2,000 white

²¹ Leroy Beachy, *Unser Leit...The Story of the Amish*, Goodly Heritage Books, 2011, Pg. 378-388

²² Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delawares*, Kent State University Press, 1991, Pg 150-151

people were living in Tuscarawas County.²³ They had settled along the county's rivers and streams. Many Indians still occupied their old hunting grounds and were living in peace among the settlers. When the war began, most of the non-Christian Indians left and headed to western Ohio and Indiana to join their brothers in the fight.

The biggest Indian threat to the Amish settlers started that August of 1812. A weak and inept American general, William Hull, after being surrounded by a smaller force of Indians and British soldiers, surrendered Fort Detroit without any resistance. Many of his militia soldiers were from the New Philadelphia area and south. Between August 27 and September 7, these captured soldiers were released by the Indians and British and staggered back south towards home. They were rough, mean, and hungry men and spread horrible stories and rumors at the settlers' houses where they stopped for food.²⁴

The Amish and other settlers in Holmes and Tuscarawas counties felt trapped by the rumored advancing hordes of Indians from the north at Detroit, the hostile village to the west at Greentown, and the Moravian Christian Indian villages to the southeast along the Tuscarawas River. The tension continued when the Indians at Mansfield were forced to move out with the promise that their property would be protected, but instead it was raided and looted shortly thereafter by neighboring whites and burned to the ground. Other settlers feared these Indians were about to retaliate. Reports of four whites killed near Greentown as retaliation didn't help. While Lyons was too old by this time to be an effective warrior for the hostiles, he was involved in some of these cabin burnings and knew the parties that killed the settlers in the Mansfield area.

These incidents, especially Hull's panicked retreating troops, created sheer panic among the settlers west of the Tuscarawas River along the

Sugarcreek. A Colonel Fred Hoff, with a company of soldiers, came south from Detroit, and lodged at the residences of Abraham Gerber and Jonas Miller at Walnut creek.²⁵ The Millers and Gerbers knew him from Somerset, Pa. A rumor was that the Indians who had peacefully lived among them would now return and surely kill them all. After all, didn't they know where everyone lived? Settlers, including the Amish, dropped what they were doing, the women grabbing a few household items and the men quickly hitching the wagons, and off they went for points east of the Tuscarawas River. The Jacob "Yokkel" Miller family, for example, fled back to Somerset County, Pennsylvania, and didn't return to Ohio until 1815. The Dover ferry was crowded all day and could scarcely handle all the panicked people trying to cross the Tuscarawas River.

At New Philadelphia, the residents formed a line of defense against the Indians. Men stood guard while others worked the fields with rifles within reach. When the Indians didn't show up after several weeks, settlers slowly began to return to their farms. Fully six weeks passed before things finally settled down in the Sugarcreek valley.

But the fear had divided the whites into two camps, those who wanted to move the peaceful Christian Indians out west and those who tried to protect their Christian Indian brothers.²⁶ Fights broke out in New Philadelphia and in the villages between the white settlers. In late September 1812, Benjamin Mortimer, head of the Indian missions along the Tuscarawas, began a traveling campaign to keep his poor persecuted Indian brethren from certain destruction at the hands of ever more fearful whites. He traveled west to the settlements along the Sugar Creek, visiting the Methodists, Lutherans, and Tunkers.²⁷ Mortimer saw these Christian German settlers as sympathetic. Did he also visit the Amish and group them as Tunkers in his diary? He invited all

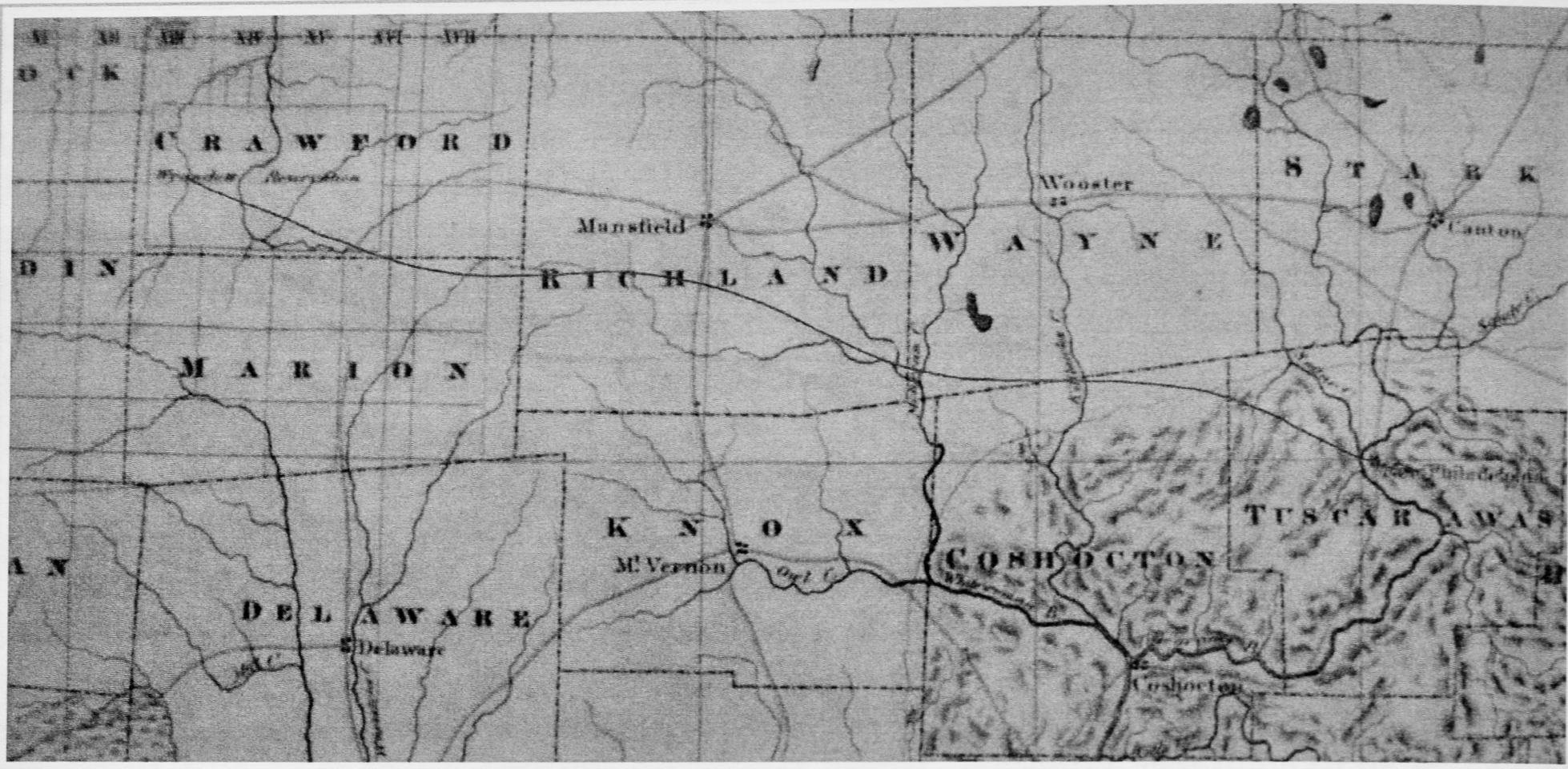
²³ Warner, Beers & Co., *The History of Tuscarawas County, Ohio* Pg. 406, Tuscarawas County in 1812 extended 2 miles further west into what is now Holmes County to present day Walnut Creek, Ohio.

²⁴ Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware*, Kent State University Press, 1991, Pg. 166-167

²⁵ letter from Benjamin Weaver to M.S. Steiner dated August 8, 1902. Copy at Ohio Amish Library, Berlin, Ohio

²⁶ During the panic, the Christian Indians who were used to traveling, hunting the valleys of the Sugarcreek, and other streams, were prohibited from leaving their village boundaries along the Tuscarawas for fear of being shot or causing unfounded panic.

²⁷ Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware*, Kent State University Press, 1991, Pg. 170



A rare 1820 Caleb Atwater Ohio Map. The drawn line shows Tom Lyons' main area of travel. Notice Holmes County was not formed yet, but would be carved out of Wayne, Tuscarawas, and Coshocton counties four years later. This original map is on display at the Amish Mennonite Heritage Center, Berlin, Ohio.

to visit the missions and see for themselves that the fear of the Christian Indians was largely unfounded as most were peaceful, loyal, non-resistant followers of Christ.

Two days later, a Judge Roth and a party of his friends from the Sugarcreek responded to Mortimer's campaign with a visit to the mission along the Tuscarawas. Did any Amish come along? Judge Roth's party strongly encouraged the Indian mission to stay in New Philadelphia. They returned four days later with a wagon load of bread, wheat, flour, potatoes, and pumpkins. A day later, another wagon came with eighty pounds of flour. Did the Amish contribute food for their Christian Indian brothers in need?

By October 1812, the panic was largely over. The rumors of Indian attacks had never materialized. Mortimer won the support of Christians in the area.

Where was Tom Lyons during all this? As usual, he was on the move, loyal to his native brothers in yet another conflict but too old to be of much help.

He traveled between his Christian Indian tribesman at Goshen and the hostile villages to the northwest at Mansfield and Upper Sandusky. Eventually Lyons and some others chose to stay in this geographical area and partially adapt to the white settlers.²⁸ This remnant of stragglers were destitute and forced at times to beg for food at the settlers' cabins to survive.

One of these Amish homes that Tom made regular stops at was the Christian H. Yoder home about 2 miles southwest of Walnut Creek.²⁹ The Yoders were kind people and Tom could usually count on some corn meal. Lyons and others Indians who stopped in tended to bring venison as trade. The problem with the meat many times was that it was spoiled and unfit to eat. Some told him not to bring meat while others like the Yoder's kindly accepted the meat only to bury it after he left. Tom had a mean temper and on one occasion when Mrs. Yoder had no corn meal, he stalked away angry remarking to a friend down the road that he was mad enough to kill her and get his 100th scalp. He used this tale a lot of having 99 scalps and needing one more for the 100th. By

²⁸ Some of Lyons frequent companions were Bill Dowdee, his son George, Solomon Johnny Cake, William Dondee, Billy Montour, Buckwheat, and John Armstrong.

²⁹ Paul Kaufman, *Indian Lore of the Muskingum Headwaters of Ohio*, 1973

most accounts, he had dried deer tongues in his possession and not scalps.

Mortimer's Moravian diaries find Lyons at Goshen in July 1812:

July 4, 1812; Kaschates came here from Greentown.

July 22; For some time past it has been circulated in our neighborhood that a number of Indians with red coats and British rifles were seen in different places near us; and the report occasioned much uneasiness among the settlers. Today we were seriously questioned from New Philadelphia on the subject, and we were glad that we could satisfactorily explain the origin of the whole alarm. It has risen from circumstance, that Kaschates, who is known by the name Thomas Lyons, some time since came here with a red coat on, and carrying -as it is said- a British rifle. This Indian speaks English, and used when he lived here formerly, to relate to the white people very circumstantially, what murders he had committed among them during the last war, and what excessive cruelties he either has - or pretends to have been - guilty of. His arrival at this time excited the greatest ill-will against him wherever he was known, as he was supposed to come as a British spy. We were glad when he went away of his own accord, as no Indian appears to be so generally disliked in this part of the country as he is.

August 14; Kaschates, of whom mentioned in our diary 22nd last month, came here again. We soon informed him of the suspicions entertained concerning him by the white people; and that we wished him on that account to go out of these parts. He answered that for the very reason he had heard this, he had come and would now remain here, and give account of himself to everyone who would ask him; he would not go away immediately as that would only strengthen the suspicions against him; and he was conscious that he was come here

for no bad or improper purpose, but merely to see his friends. This was doubtless to the real truth. On hearing this, Br. Mortimer, and the Indian brother John Henry took the first opportunity of the return of a considerable party of militia from the mustering ground, to inform them that Kaschates, the Indian of so much had been said, was now here, and had declared that whoever pleased might speak to him, and he could himself answer them in English.

Br. Mortimer first related to them the general history of his life, mentioning every circumstance that occurred to him in his favor, among the rest that the red coat which had occasioned so much alarm, had to his knowledge, been made here six years ago; and as for his speaking of warlike exploits which he had performed 30-40 years ago, it was precisely what almost every soldier among the white people did, and which no man was ever blamed for. He introduced the militia men, who while he was speaking, had increased to about 40, all on horseback, to Kaschates himself, who on being called, came directly out of the house. Br. Mortimer placing himself close to him as his friend.

Some of the militia murmured, and even threatened; but others immediately shook hands with him, expressing themselves at the same time handsomely in his favor. On this evil the disposed were overawed and silent. After some further conversation the greater part declared themselves to be quite satisfied; and all went away convinced that no bad design ought to be imputed to him. Kaschates when all was over, retired to his house again; but lay down in his clothes, kept his horse tied to a tree, and before the next morning, had gone of privately without saying a word to anyone.

Mortimer describes old Lyons very well, a crafty old man who had what we would call "street smarts." Lyons could speak both English and German. He relived his past exploits of murder

and war and couldn't keep his mouth closed, especially when angered or mistreated. Lyons' nomadic ways didn't allow for a permanent home, thus his temporary stays in his hunting camps of Ashland, Holmes,³⁰ Marion, and Wayne counties.

For food, Lyons hunted, visited both his Indian and white friends, and traded his handmade baskets and wooden ladles. William F. Hochstetler of Trail, Ohio, writes around 1910 of an Emanuel G Hershberger, also of Trail, who had a fairly well preserved basket his mother had as a girl. The basket is believed to have been given by Lyons in exchange for two loaves of bread.³¹



In 1820 This Indian basket was given to eight-year-old Amish girl Martha Weaver Hershberger for two loaves of bread. Family legend believes it was traded by Tom Lyons.

After the War of 1812 Lyons seems to be making less visits to the Moravian village at Goshen. His age, the decline of Goshen, and the ever increasing number of white people along the Tuscarawas River pushed Lyons out towards Ashland County and north to the Indian reservations at Upper Sandusky. He and the other remaining non-Christian Delaware are found visiting settlers in that area mainly to trade for food. Lyons' translating skills get him mentioned in some accounts.

³⁰ One such camp was on the east branch of the Doughty creek just north of Berlin, Ohio, today named after him as Lyon's [Lions] Run. These camps were used on hunting trips and also as spring Maple sugar camps.

³¹ Rev. Harvey Hostetler D.D. Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler, The immigrant of 1738, Copyright 1977 by Eli J. Hochstetler. The

In *Life Among the Indians*, Reverend James Finley³², a Methodist missionary to the Ohio Indians from 1796 to 1830, tells the story of a recently converted mulatto man named Stewart who showed up at the Delaware reservation on the Sandusky River in 1814. Finley writes,

"At this place Stewart stopped, and as the Indians were preparing a great dance, they paid little attention to the stranger. They proceeded with great mirth, which was all new to Stewart, and such was their vociferations and actions that they alarmed him, and he felt fear for a short time. After all was over, they became quiet and Stewart took out his hymn book and began to sing. He was one of the most melodious singers I ever heard. The company were charmed and awed into perfect silence. When he finished, Johnny-Cake said in broken English, 'Sing more.' He then asked if there was any person who could interpret for him; when old Lyons, who called himself one hundred sixty years old—for he counted summer a year and winter a year—came forward. Stewart gave them an exhortation, and then retired for the night."

This was the first Protestant Christian service ever conducted on the newly formed Wyandot/Delaware reservation and Tom Lyons acted as interpreter of the songs and the sermon! Johnny-Cake, a friend and travel companion of Lyons, was a baptized Moravian Indian who struggled at times as many did with falling back into their former nomadic lives of heathenism, witchcraft, and drunkenness. Stewart, along with Finley had a very successful Christian mission on the reservation with over 200 native converts by 1823.

In 1814, the United States government signed a treaty at Greenville with the Delaware and five other tribes. In 1817, a second treaty gave the

basket is at the Ohio Amish Library located at the Amish Mennonite Heritage Center, Berlin, Ohio.

³² Reverend James Finley, *Life Among the Indians*; or early Reminiscences, undated (ca.1890) early reprint of 1857 Pg. 237-238

Delaware a nine-mile square tract of land at Upper Sandusky, adjacent to the Wyandot reservation. An addendum to the treaty follows:

*The tract of three miles square for the Delaware Indians adjoining the track of twelve miles square upon the Sandusky river, is to be equally divided among the following persons, namely: Captain Pipe, Zeshauau or James Armstrong, Mahawtoo or John Armstrong, Sanowdoyeasquaw or Silas Armstrong, Teorow or Black Raccoon, Hawdorrowwatistie or Billy Montour, Buck Wheat, William Dondee, Thomas Lyons, Johnny Cake, Captain Wolf, Issac Hill, John Hill, Tishata-hoones or widow Armstrong, Ayenucere, Hoomaurow or John Ming, Youdorast.*³³

Many stories have been passed down as to Lyons' death.³⁴ William Hochstetler began to piece together the Tom Lyons stories in 1902 and wrote them in the historical introduction of the *Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler*. He received his information, much of it oral, from living Hochstetler descendants who had heard the stories from their parents or grandparents who would have either known of Lyons or met him personally. One who personally knew Lyons was William's own grandfather, Solomon Hochstetler. This is the same Solomon who was falsely accused of the little Susan Hochstetler child murder in 1810, in Somerset County, Pa. as related on page 63-65 of the *Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler* book.

One story claimed that Lyons was bullet-proof and could not be shot. Someone added to that story by claiming one could not even take aim at him. To try this out, William's grandfather Solomon once took aim at Lyons on the streets of Shanesville, Ohio (now Sugarcreek). Upon seeing Solomon aiming a gun at him, Lyons exclaimed, "Ah!

Mus'n't do that!" But Solomon had proven his point. Not only was he able to get an aim on Lyons, but he claims he could have shot Lyons like a buck!

Some of this legend about Lyons being bullet-proof may have come from an old Indian belief. After the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, Tecumseh settled near present Greenville, Ohio, at the home of his brother, Tenskatawa, better known as the Prophet. From about 1805 through the War of 1812, the Prophet taught an Indian religion that urged Native Americans to reject all the white man's ways and return to the traditional Indian way of life. One of his teachings was that white man's bullets would not harm an Indian. This was proven false at the Battle of Tippecanoe in late 1811.³⁵ But Tom Lyons, who doesn't seem to have practiced the religion,³⁶ may have boasted about the bullet proof part when insulted or intoxicated. This belief may also have been spread by returning veterans of the war.

A number of accounts tell of pioneers who got angry after hearing Lyons relate his murderous accounts mentioned at the beginning of this article and who shot Lyons as opportunity presented itself. One man named Olinger, who was a witch doctor, is said to have shot him with a silver bullet. However, William Hochstetler himself discounts this story, stating that he knew Olinger very well and had he done this, he couldn't have resisted the urge to brag about it.

Another man, Jacob Mizer of Ragersville, Ohio, in Tuscarawas County is said to have shot Lyons. The Jacob Mizer legend is interesting enough to explore further. Jacob and his brothers, John, George, and Frederick, may have arrived in Ohio as early as 1806.³⁷ Three of them settled in Tuscarawas County and Frederick in Holmes County. Jacob and John especially spent most of their time in the forests and earned their

³³ www.wyandotte-nation.org Treaty of 1817. As with Tom Lyons, some of these above named Indians almost certainly showed up at Amish cabins to trade.

³⁴ The different stories of his death as past down from the pioneers in Holmes, Tuscarawas, Wayne, Marion, Ashland, Coshocton, and neighboring counties, number at least a dozen, if not more.

³⁵ For more on the Prophet's teaching see, Edmunds, R David, *The Shawnee Prophet*, University of Nebraska Press, 1983

³⁶ Ibid, The religion required Indians to have very little contact with Whites and not to trade or sell anything to them. Tom Lyons spent these years doing the opposite.

³⁷ The History of Tuscarawas County, Ohio, 1884 Warner, Beers & Co.

livelihoods hunting. They were legendary hunters and many a tale is recorded of their encounters with bears, wildcats, and wolves. The State of Ohio paid a bounty for wolf scalps between 1808 and 1840. In Tuscarawas County, they paid bounty on 400 wolves and John Mizer easily led the list with 47 wolves.³⁸ They were also well respected citizens of the county and John served as township trustee. Could they have shot Tom in their hunting trips? Possibly, but only Hochstetler records that story and he calls it a tradition. It is more plausible that in the countless retelling of the Mizer brothers harrowing hunting encounters with wild bears and wolves, someone one upped the tale and added Tom Lyons to the brothers' kill list.

Apparently some people in Holmes County felt that the only way justice could be served for the Hochstetler attack was if a Hochstetler descendant killed Tom Lyons. William records another tradition,

that Elias Hochstetler and another man reaping in a wheat field heard the gobbling of a wild turkey in the nearby woods. Hochstetler was able to distinguish between an Indian and a wild turkey; his partner not, as Indians could imitate animals that it took an experienced ear to distinguish. He cautioned his partner, and they reaped around the hill, when Hochstetler slipped around, coming in from another side with his gun, shot Lyons, who was still gobbling and watching towards the wheat field. But Elias Hochstetler, the writer's father, was born in 1808 and only 12 years old when Lyons disappeared.³⁹

³⁸ Ragersville Auburn Township Ohio 1830-1980 *The Sesquicentennial Story of a Community* 1980, Berlin Printing

³⁹ Rev. Harvey Hostetler, D.D., *Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler the immigrant of 1738*, copyright 1977 by Eli J Hochstetler

⁴⁰ One version of this apparently true story originally came from Joshua Davis, a fellow scout with Wetzel who gave the account to Taneyhill. C.B. Allan records it in *Lewis Wetzel, The Life and Times of a Frontier Hero*, and Allan W. Eckert narrates it in *That Dark and Bloody River*.

⁴¹ William Hintzen, *The Border Wars of the Upper Ohio Valley*, (1769-1794) states two different gobble incidents happened. Lewis Wetzel's nephews related it to famed historian Lyman Draper. The Draper file is the shortest and probably the most accurate. The

This story is eerily similar to the Lewis Wetzel "Gobbler Indian" story as related in R.H. Taneyhill's *History of Belmont County, Ohio*.⁴⁰ Wetzel was well known in the Wheeling, West Virginia, area as a frontier scout, hunter, Indian hater, and murderer. He was tolerated for his zealotry because he was needed in the brutal Indian wars.

The story goes that for a time in 1788, the frontiersmen in Wheeling were plagued by an Indian who would station himself on the opposite side of the Ohio River among the large rocks on the steep hillside and call so much like a turkey that no one could tell the difference. Eckert claims several hunters went in pursuit of the turkey never to return.⁴¹ Lewis Wetzel, though, was not fooled by the call. Early one morning he slipped out of the settlement and began his steep climb up the backside of the hill. After a long and patient stalk, he determined that the Indian was calling from inside the entrance of a well-concealed cave.⁴² Wetzel was able, through his own turkey calling prowess, to lure the Indian out of his hiding spot and kill him. No doubt this feat by Wetzel was a great relief to the war-weary settlers of Wheeling, and the story was retold over the years by many people far and wide. That someone, 32-50 years, later would get the retelling confused and switch the Wheeling Indian to Tom Lyons in Holmes County and credit Elias Hochstetler or possibly even Jacob Mizer seems a reasonable assumption.

Hochstetler seems to believe the most plausible account of Lyons' death may be G.F. Newton's account in the *History of Holmes County*.⁴³ Newton states that a man named Ammon, who

other would have happened on Grave Creek, West Virginia, where William McIntosh was fooled by a call and shot in 1790.

⁴² The 2002 reprint of C.B. Allan's book, *Lewis Wetzel The life and Times of a Frontier Hero*, has a photo of the cave and rock, as it appears today, where Wetzel killed the turkey calling Indian.

⁴³ Hochstetler borrowed this account from Newton who got the story from Anson Wheaton, a friend of Ammon. The problem with a story like this is that it is being retold by memory 40-50 years after the event and one's memory can play tricks on the details over time. Diaries or books written shortly after an event tend to have less added legend. Newton's history of Holmes County, Ohio was prepared for July 4th, 1876 Centennial celebration in Millersburg. The entire story is recorded in, *Sesquicentennial History of the Berlin Community, 1816-1916*

resided near Benton in Holmes County, had somehow offended Lyons. Lyons came to Ammon's house several times claiming to have seen a bear and asking to borrow Ammon's gun to kill the bear. Ammon's wife was suspicious of this claim, and Ammon refused to lend him the gun. Believing his life to be in danger, Ammon supposedly killed Lyons. This event would have taken place around 1820.

So, putting all fanciful legends aside,⁴⁴ how did old Tom Lyons really die? A number of county histories confirm he was seen alive after 1820. He continued to hunt in various parts of Ashland County until about 1823.⁴⁵ John Butler of Franklin Township in Wayne County, Ohio, states the following:

*Alexander Bell of Holmesville informed Squire Butler that when he was a boy he went to old Lyon's camp, near the mouth of the Butler Spring Run, and found him in a sick condition in his hut. Lyon asked Bell to take his camp-kettle and bring him some fresh water, which he did, and Lyon asked him to look at his tongue. Bell told him how it looked, when the old chief said, "Me dead Indian." Bell said, "I will go and tell Jess Morgan, if you wish me to," to which old Lyon consented. Jess came, accompanied by Bell, and found the old chief very sick, whereupon he repaired to Sandusky and communicated the facts to his Indian friends, when several of them came along back with Jess. They took the old Indian upon one of their ponies, but in a few days the news was received of his death.*⁴⁶

Several county histories confirm Tom Lyons died on the Delaware Reservation at Pipetown. Hill's *History of Ashland County* says:

"Old Thomas Lyons is believed to have died on this reservation sometime in the winter or spring of 1824. It is now believed

that the stories of his assassinations by white hunters is destitute of foundation, and that the old warrior died a natural death.

Some might wonder about Tom Lyons' exposure to Christianity and its effect upon him in later years. While there is much that only God knows, this much we do know, Lyons stayed in the Moravian village at Goshen off and on for seventeen years with his family. The Moravian missionaries and their converted Indian brothers were fairly aggressive bearers of the gospel, at times traveling great distances to Native American villages with the message of Christ. It can be assumed, given the rules of conduct at Goshen, that if you stayed there frequently over seventeen years, you heard the gospel many times. Mortimer, in his Goshen diaries, calls Tom Lyons, "an unbaptized native Indian" who was well liked.⁴⁷

To the Amish families who opened their cabin door to see an old, very ugly, fierce looking Tom Lyons standing there was the ultimate meeting of two very different cultures. The Amish with their strong sense of community were never the first settlers in a new area. They tended to wait till the treaties were signed, the land was open to settlement, and they could move together. Thus interaction with the Indians was limited as that community had usually moved farther west to other land after each treaty.

In the end, the gaps in this understanding of each other's culture were filled by encounters at lonely cabin doors. The void in communication was filled by rumors and the subsequent embellishment in retelling the story by both cultures. In this case, the exploits of a bragging old warrior reliving his youth, were a stark contrast to a nonresistant community who couldn't fathom such a life, thus the legend continues.

⁴⁴ Many county history books were published in the 1880s period. Coshocton, Ashland, Wyandot, Marion, Seneca, Crawford, Wayne, Richland, and Morrow counties all mention Tom Lyons, and many name a local whom they say killed Lyons.

⁴⁵ George W. Hill, M.D. 1880 *History of Ashland County*, Pg.132

⁴⁶ Douglas, *History of Wayne County, Ohio*, 1878 Pg. 613

⁴⁷ Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware*, Kent State Press, 1991, Pg. 263

Golden Apples in Silver Bowls

by Edward Kline¹

Found occasionally in Amish and Mennonite homes in America is the Anabaptist devotional, *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen*. This unique volume is of Swiss Brethren origin and was first published in 1702 and again in 1742 in Basel, Switzerland. A third edition was printed in Ephrata, Pennsylvania in 1745 at the request of Mennonite bishop Henry Funk. In 1995 Michael Chrisman, then of Walnut Creek, Ohio, published a facsimile reprint of the 1745 edition. In 2014 Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society published an English translation of the German original (based on the 1702 edition): *Golden Apples in Silver Bowls*. The translation was done by Elizabeth Bender and Leonard Gross. Gross also edited and introduced the volume. This English translation is the reference source of most of this article.

The *Güldene Aepffel* probably originates with the "*Reist Leit*" in an effort to restore and regain the spirit of early Anabaptism. The effort to promote a living connection to the legacy of nonresistance through literature has been the burden of successive Anabaptist generations. In America, it prompted the 1742 printing of the *Ausbund*, the 1745 edition of *Güldene Aepffel*, and the 1748/49 translation and printing of the *Martyrs' Mirror*. Recently numerous new publications have been introduced by conservative Anabaptists with similar goals.

The *Güldene Aepffel* is a "*Sammelband*," that is, it contains previously published materials (each with its own introduction) in a new volume, with substantial modifications. It is unique in that it combines documents from two very different time periods and from two streams of Anabaptism. The first part (403 pages) contains writings from 16th century Anabaptists: 1) the writings of Michael Sattler and the account of his trial and death, 2) the popular confession of Thomas of Imbroich (d.1538), 3) an epistle from Soetken van den

Houte (d. 1569), 4) eleven epistles by Michael Servaes (d. 1565), and 5) two epistles by martyr Conrad Koch (d. 1565). The second part (94 pages) contains materials of much later Dutch origin: a revised reprint of the 1632 Dortrecht Confession of Faith and "Several Christian Prayers," both taken from T.T. van Sittert's 1664 manual of German translations of these Dutch documents. The prayers are mostly by Leonard Clock dating from 1625. There is also a directive on how to sing. The first part introduces major writings from the Swiss Brethren tradition. Only Soetken (Susanna von Holz) is Dutch Mennonite. While Sattler was Swiss / German, Thomas von Imbroich Servaes, and Koch were imprisoned in Cologne, Germany. (Anabaptism had died out in Cologne by 1600.) Soetken was imprisoned and died in the Gravensteen Castle in Ghent, Flanders.

The diversity of materials in *Güldene Aepffel* reveals something of the tensions felt among the Swiss Brethren in 1702. Coming less than a decade after the Swiss Brethren / Amish schism of 1693 / 94, the compiler probably hoped this reminder from their past would help promote healing and unity. The influence of Pietism was at its height at this time, weakening the resolve for suffering and obedience among the Brethren. While one of the main goals of *Güldene Aepffel* was to combat the influence of Pietism, the inclusion of prayers and guidelines for singing seems to be a concession to the "new piety." Another question was how to relate to the Dutch Mennonites and their extensive writings. Earlier doctrinal differences had alienated the two groups. But in recent decades the Dutch Mennonites had helped their Swiss brethren flee persecution and resettle in the Alsace and the Palatinate. The inclusion of Dutch writings seems to have been an attempt to foster greater unity and interaction with the Dutch.

Although never very popular, the *Güldene Aepffel* was more common in America than in Europe. Yet the Mennonite historian Christian Neff (1868-1946) writes that it was much used in

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the chair of the board, and co-editor of the *Heritage Review*. He has a longstanding interest in Anabaptist History.

southern Germany at one time.² In 1702, before the *Martyrs' Mirror* was available in German, it served as a small martyrology for the Swiss and Germans. When the *Martyrs' Mirror* was translated into German in 1748, the *Güldene Aepffel* lost some of its appeal. Likewise, most of its prayers were included in *Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* when it appeared in 1708. In 1822 the von Mechel printers in Basel were still advertising the 1742 edition, so it was not very popular there.

Although the compiler and editor of *Güldene Aepffel* remains unknown, Leonard Gross in "Golden Apples....," suggests Jacob Guth as a likely candidate. In 1661 Guth was a respected and gifted leader of the Swiss Brethren in the Kraichgau, Palatinate. In 1672 he is mentioned as distributing aid given by the Dutch Mennonites for refugees from Switzerland who had come to the Palatinate.³ There are two letters by Jacob Guth in the "Letters of the Amish Division" written against the Amish position. In the first he makes reference to the Dortrecht Confession, and cites the second epistle of Michael Servaes warning against the immoderate use of avoidance.⁴ Guth had extensive contact with Dutch Mennonites and was familiar with the Dortrecht Confession and the writings of Servaes, all of which are pertinent to *Güldene Aepffel*.

In the 1702 preface to the seven sections of *Güldene Aepffel*, the compiler promotes a revival of the old spirit of suffering and faithfulness in a time of spiritual decline. He writes, "...the cross and shame of Christ, which we are to bear outside the camp and city gate as he did, is the best medicine for all spiritual decline and decrease in faith, love and hope." He seeks to rally the reader to diligently "show others the way to the land of promise with the whole armor of God, that they may say, "Wait, we want to go with you." However, the book was probably read more for devotional edification than for a zeal to revive the old attitudes.

The first section is the oldest, the epistle of Michael Sattler to the congregation of Horb, written in 1527 while in the tower of Binsdorf in the Black Forest. Sattler courageously writes, "In this time of danger, I submitted myself completely to the Lord and his will and prepared myself for death for the sake of his testimony." He admonishes: "Be mindful of our meeting [at Schleithem] and what was decided there, and follow its precepts carefully." Then follows the account of Sattler's trial and his gruesome martyrdom at Rottenberg. After his tongue was cut out and his body torn seven times with red hot tongs, he was burned at stake. The section ends with *Ausbund* hymn 132, attributed here to Michael Sattler. Known among the Amish as the "third parting hymn," (*Muss es nun sein gescheiden...*), its author is not given in the *Ausbund*. These documents are thoroughly Swiss Brethren, selected by one who cherished their foundational values.

The second section is the very popular Confession of Thomas von Imbroich, followed by seven epistles written from prison in Cologne. Five are to his wife and two to his fellow believers. Thomas was born in 1533 in Central Germany, where he adopted the vocation of printer. In 1554 he moved to Cologne and joined the Anabaptist movement there. At this time the printers' guild in Cologne was an Anabaptist stronghold. Apprehended in December 1557 as an Anabaptist leader, he was beheaded on March 5, 1558, at only 25 years old.

The Confession is a defense of adult believer's baptism, addressed to the authorities of the city of Cologne. Thomas writes that "I am not writing this, my honorable Lords, in order to save my body, but as a warning to you; for it is difficult to answer before God the shedding of innocent blood." The depth and clear logic of the Confession made it a powerful weapon for the defense and promotion of Anabaptism. The authorities made special efforts to destroy it and curb its influence. Its popularity is attested to by

² *Mennonitisches Lexicon* Vol. II, 197.

³ James Lowry, *Documents of Brotherly Love*, Vol. I,

(Millersburg, OH, Ohio Amish Library, 2007), 416-417.

⁴ John Roth, *Letters of the Amish Division, A Sourcebook*, (Goshen, In., Mennonite Historical Society, 1993,2007), 51-54.

the fact that the *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1660 contains a partial reprint and when Christopher Saur printed the *Ausbund* in 1742, he included a condensed version, which is still found in today's *Ausbund*. Hymn 23 in the *Ausbund* tells the story of Thomas von Imbroich and his martyrdom.

The Confession expresses a deep understanding of the Word of God and a firm conviction of its truths. Thomas is willing to suffer for the sake of the Truth as a calling of Christ. He writes that the Great Commission is a command to teach and baptize, and that "I believe and confess that there is one Christian baptism, which must be experienced within through the Holy Spirit and fire, and from without with water." His great concern is that the fellow believers would be better instructed in the Word of God.

The corpus of the Confession is answers to objections raised by Thomas' interrogators, for example: "Why, if children are saved, should they not be baptized?" (There is no command from Christ to do so, and salvation is not dependent on baptism.) An opponent called Peter asks where and when infant baptism was introduced if it is not scriptural nor practiced by the Apostolic Church. Thomas answers that whatever is not taught by Christ or found in the Scriptures is a human institution. He then quotes Tertullian and other patristic writers who taught baptism upon repentance and confession. Thomas' answers are well grounded, thorough, and show familiarity with many sources.

Thomas' letters to his wife show great concern that she might remain faithful and of good courage. He is undaunted in pain and suffering and finds great comfort in the Scriptures, encouraging her to do the same. Later he is concerned that she has lost weight and has been discouraged at times. He encourages her to present him willingly to the Lord, as part of the cost of following Christ. We are to love Christ supremely, above our wife, husband, or children. He instructs her to teach and discipline their children well, keeping them away from evil company. He writes that sometimes he has a sincere desire to be led through the streets of the city, from one street to another, lashed, and finally be cast back into prison, so that the name

of Christ might be revealed and made known more abundantly.

The third section is a letter written by Susanna von Holtz to her three children; son David, and daughters Betken and Tanneken, written from her prison in the Gravensteen Castle in Ghent, Flanders. It was written during what Susanna believed to be her last meal, while shivering from the cold, before she was secretly beheaded on Nov. 15, 1560. Her husband had preceded her in a martyr's death. With great love, she writes to leave her children a memorial, not of silver or gold, but of instruction in the Truth from the Scriptures. She writes in tears that they should fear God and be open to instruction, recite Psalms and hymns, learn to earn their bread by working and to remember the poor, and to stay with God's people even in suffering. She encourages them, especially David, to learn to read and write so they might be wise in the Word of God. (This concern was unique to the Anabaptists, who wanted their people to read the Scriptures.) Her greatest desire is that they might follow her footsteps in faith. The letter is moving, as Susanna commends her children to God and bids them a final adieu. She writes that she has received much grace in deep rejection, and has deep joy in anticipating Heaven.

The next section contains 11 epistles of Matthias Servaes, and two from Konrad Koch. Matthias was born in 1536 near Koblenz, Germany. In 1565, while serving as an Anabaptist minister in Cologne, he and more than 50 other believers were captured in a meeting. They were taken to a prison tower in Cologne where the trial was directed against Matthias as leader. Matthias and two others were found guilty of holding secret meetings, heresy, and rebaptism; and after torture, given a martyr's death, before his 30th birthday. Matthias Servaes was probably successor to Thomas von Imbroich and wrote his epistles from prison he also wrote *Ausbund* hymn no. 41 while in prison, which spells out his first name in acrostics. *Ausbund* hymn no. 24 gives the account of Matthias' death.

The epistles of Servaes reveal an extraordinary strength of character and unflinching commitment to suffer for the honor of God. He writes a

cheerful confession of his biblical faith and in the peace of God admonishes his brethren to preserve unity, patience, and endurance. He repeatedly writes that he is well in body and soul, in spite of his circumstances. In a letter to his beloved brother "N" he writes of his great sorrow and travail for "N's" imprisonment at Niedeck. He was severely beaten and mocked, and chained with unbearable bonds in severe cold, causing him to lose his mind. Matthias rejoiced that his mind was restored through the prayers of the faithful and admonishes "N" to accept his suffering and discipline as an obedient child of the Father.

In two epistles Matthias addresses his dear wife, who is also in prison. They have several "orphan" children, whom he commits to the brethren to raise in godly discipline, teaching them to read and work. With great love and grief Matthias seeks to comfort his wife and encourages her to be of good cheer. He is grieved at having had to leave her and asks her to surrender him willingly into the hand of the Lord.

In an epistle to Heinrich Krufft, who is his close friend and fellow leader of the Anabaptists in Cologne, Matthias admonishes him to faithfully and diligently lead, feed, and discipline to flock of Christ. This should be done with humility and moderation, not being too severe or too lenient. He also writes: "Take heed also that you do not carry avoidance too far, lest it prove a stumbling-block to you, as it already has for others. For avoidance is certainly good if not abused; its purpose is solely to avoid offenses... see to it that we do not, while seeking to avoid small offenses, cause greater ones thereby. Take care...for some fellow believers have all of a sudden resorted to avoidance without the least discretion and sympathy for the fallen person."⁵ Jacob Guth quotes the above passage in a 1693 letter expressing his views on the Swiss Brethren division in its early stages.⁶ So obviously Guth was familiar with Servaes' writings and considered them important. For this reason he is considered as the possible compiler of *Güldene Aepffel*.

Section V introduces the second part: writings

from "distinguished Christians who are called Mennonites." These Dutch materials are from a much later date, the 1600s, and are an attempt to bridge the gap with the Dutch Mennonites. The Dortrecht Confession is reprinted here, although it is not identified as such. It was first translated into German in 1664 by Tieleman van Sittert and published again in 1686 and 1691, which editions were probably available to the editor of *Güldene Aepffel*. In this 1702 reprint, the Swiss Brethren added significant new materials and made changes to the original 1632 text, reflecting their own emphases.

The most notable addition is Article VI, on the Holy Spirit, all of which is missing in the original Dutch. Subsequently, this 1702 edition has 19 articles, instead of the 18 in the original. Since 1670 the Lutheran Pietists were faulting the Anabaptists for not believing in the Holy Spirit, as this was not emphasized in the original Dortrecht Confession, which by this time had been disseminated throughout Europe. The Swiss Brethren added this article to confirm their belief in the person and work of the Holy Spirit.

Article VIII, on Holy Baptism, adds a paragraph stressing baptism as the means of being incorporated into the visible body, the church. The Swiss Brethren put more emphasis on the brotherhood in expressing their faith and practice than did the Dutch. Baptism identifies one not only with Christ, but also with the suffering church.

A large section is added to Article IX, on The Church of God. This section emphasizes that the true church of God must be separated from the world and through obedience acknowledge Christ as the Head, Lord, and King of his church. It seems to stress a more literal Swiss Brethren expression of separation from the world.

The article on the Lord's Supper is here twice as long as in the original, omitting and adding material. The spiritual aspects (possibly Pietistic) of receiving blessings by partaking of the Lord's Supper, and thereby growing in unity with the

⁵ Leonard Gross, *Golden Apples...*, 192.

⁶ Roth, 51-54.

brotherhood, are expressed.

One addition to the article on Marriage spells out abuses in marriage such as separation, divorce, and remarrying while the original partner is still living. It is also added that marriage is acceptable to "anyone in the Lord, but not too closely related by blood." This sentiment is still heard in conservative Anabaptist circles. These changes show that although the Swiss Brethren accepted the Dortrecht Confession, they did so with some reservations. Yet it is notable that it was printed as a means of instruction and edification.

The next section is a collection of twenty prayers, eighteen of which were written by Leonard Clock. It is introduced as "Some Christian Prayers" and not as a formulary (a list of prescribed prayers for certain occasions), as Clock did when he first printed them in 1625. In a preface the compiler adds that "I do not wish to prescribe... nor to sanction a dependence on outward forms...my intention is simply to give a little help to those who lack practice." This was perhaps the first introduction of audible or written prayers among the Swiss Brethren instead of the older form of silent prayer. The Dutch had been using such prayers since the early 1600s.

Leonard Clock was ordained in Northern Germany and moved to Holland some time before 1589. He was instrumental in getting the Dutch and Swiss / German groups to unite. When audible prayers were introduced by the Dutch Waterlanders, Clock began writing prayers. Clock was also a prolific hymn writer. A compilation of 435 of his hymns was also printed in 1625. Four

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PROMOTES THE GOSPEL....**

-Thomas von Imbroich

of Clock's hymns are found in the *Ausbund*, including the *Loblied* (#131), and "*Lebt friedsam, sprach Christus der Herr*," (# 134). The other two are #135, page 789, and #137, page 793.

The prayer book *Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* was first printed in 1708, six years after the *Güldene Aepffel*, and is also probably of Swiss Brethren origin. Today's version of the *Christenpflicht* contains all of Clock's prayers in this collection except one. The prayers are morning and evening prayers, prayers for before and after sermons, and prayers for special services such as baptisms, communion, and weddings. There are also prayers for the sick, for at meal times, and general prayers. The Amish today regularly use three of Clock's hymns and quite a few of his prayers. Prayers XIX and XX are from a later period and are of a different genre. Prayer XX is a strange, fictitious account of the "unacceptable prayers of Cain, and the acceptable prayers of Abel," a very Pietistic admonition.

Section VII is an "Instruction on Singing, for Christians." It poses eleven questions and answers, and encourages singing as in accord with God's Word. The saints of all ages have always sung, and only those who are reconciled to God and have the Holy Spirit can sing acceptably before God. It describes the worship of the early Christians thus: "When they met, before daybreak, they read something, offered prayers, and in simplicity sang hymns in praise of Christ."

The *Güldene Aepffel* closes with a hymn by Johann Scheffler, a Catholic, written in 1668. It is an admonition to discipleship of Jesus Christ and a call to true godliness.

Güldene Aepffel still speaks to us today, affirming that the Church of Jesus Christ, even in suffering, remains faithful in maintaining nonresistance and love, both as a means and an end. Its message is that loving nonresistance is the very heart of Christian discipleship, resulting in a gathered brotherhood where peace and unity prevail.

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