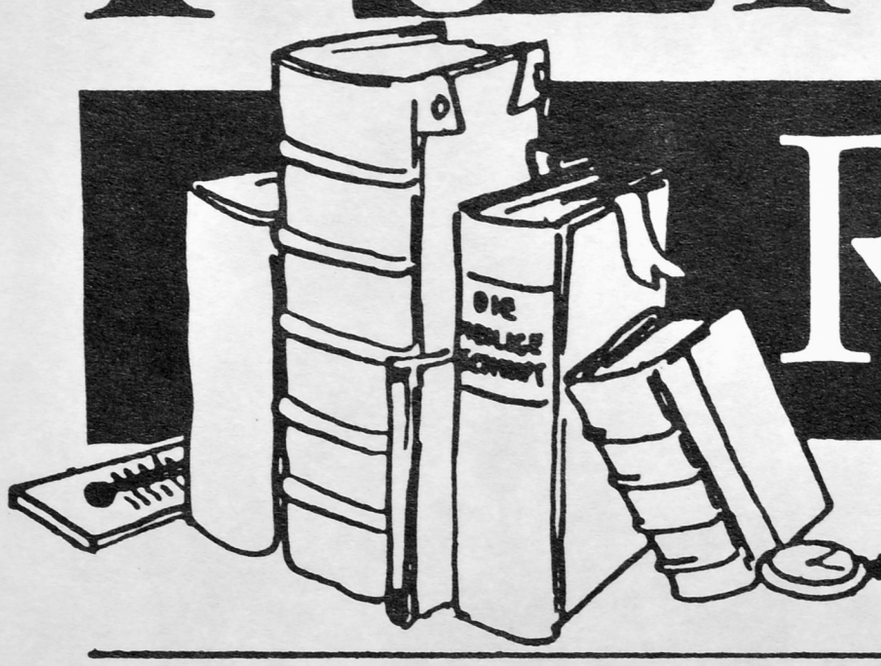
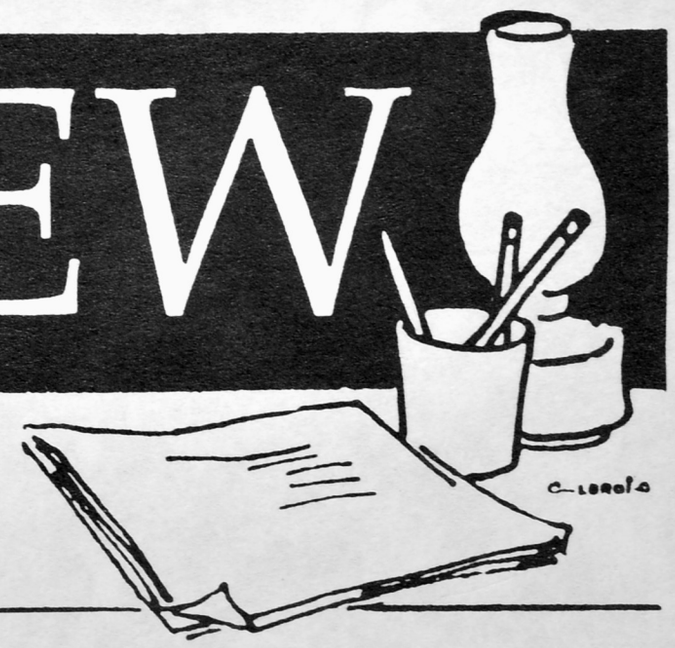
# HERITAGE REVIEW





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The Heritage Review is an annual publication of the Ohio Amish Library, 4292 SR 39 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. Memberships to the Ohio Amish Library are $20 annually. Single copies of The Heritage Review are available.

Book Preview

## Songs Of The *Ausbund*

### History and Translations

After over eight years of translating *Ausbund* songs and editing our work, the committee of Ohio Amish Library, Inc. has completed sixty-six songs, those which are sung in Amish worship services. At this time, the materials are being typeset for a book, to be called *Songs Of The Ausbund.*

In keeping with our goal of promoting a better understanding of the *Ausbund's* history as well as its songs, we have included numerous articles the book. Each song that is included in the book has a short introduction, usually only one paragraph in length, giving a short history of the song or its writer, and occasional comments on the song's contents. The German version of each stanza will be printed beside our translation, for comparison.

After the introduction, which speaks of the importance of singing in the Reformation, chapter one of *Songs Of The Ausbund* is entitled "History of the *Ausbund.*" This chapter is printed in this issue of Heritage Review as a preview of the material in the upcoming book. Chapter two is "Tunes in the *Ausbund.*" Then follows the bulk of the book, chapter three, which is the sixty-three song translations.

Chapter four will include historical information about the writers of the *Ausbund* songs. This chapter includes the articles "The Philippite Brethren and Passau," "Hans Büchel

and the Frankenthal Disputation," "Sebastian Franck," "Hans Betz," "Michael Sattler," "Leonard Clock," and "Rudolph Wolkan." The article "The Philippite Brethren and Passau" is also printed in this issue. Wolkan is not an *Ausbund* song writer, but was a professor from University of Vienna who, in 1903, completed a very comprehensive study of the *Ausbund.* His book, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* is unsurpassed in providing information about the songs and the *Ausbund* in general, and was the main source used in researching for *Songs Of The Ausbund.* The new book will be hardcover, in a seven by ten inch format, with approximately 250-300 pages. By mid-summer we hope to be able to offer *Songs Of The Ausbund* for sale. We encourage those interested to watch for press releases and advertisements in *The Budget* and other publications. Hopefully this book will stimulate interest and appreciation in a very important link to our Anabaptist background and philosophy, the *Ausbund.*

By Edward Kline

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## Recent Research in Amish Hymn Tunes [1]

From its founding in 1927 to the present time, *The Review* has been publishing Old Order Amish source materials and articles covering historical, theological, sociological, economic, and literary phases of their culture. ...Two books by Joseph Yoder of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania,[2] are the most complete and intimate studies yet produced on the American Amish. (Editors note: Many additional and more complete studies have been done since this article, which was written in 1950.)

A regrettable gap in these studies of Amish life and culture was research into the origin and development of the hymns in the *Ausbund* and of their orally transmitted tunes to which the Amish sing them. (Some research has been done),but certain questions remained unanswered: Could the text of the hymns in the *Ausbund* be related to sixteenth century secular prototypes? Do the Amish still sing hymns to the secular tunes suggested in the headnotes? Adequate materials for such a study did not exist until the appearance of Joseph W. Yoder's transcription of Amish tunes as the Amish in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, sing them.

Two comparatively recent studies by George Pullen Jackson of Vanderbilt University go a long way toward solving some of the mysteries surrounding the *Ausbund* and its tunes. [3] Jackson's training and interest fitted him peculiarly for making a contribution in this field. Up to this time Amish hymns have been approached on one side by the folklorist interested in their literary aspects and on the other side by the musician interested in the tunes. Jackson's studies combine the literary-cultural, folkloristic aspects with a study of the tunes. His method is to lay the text of the Amish hymn side by side with secular songs and ballads as presented by Ludwig Erk and Frank Magnus Böhme in 1925. He has found that some of the Amish hymns copy not only the meter and rhythm but is some cases the identical lines or parts of lines of secular songs will known in fifteenth and sixteenth century Germany. His study leads him to the conclusion that the hymns of the *Ausbund* draw "directly and deeply from the worldly ballad tradition" and that "some of them open with imitations of antecedent secular songs." He finds that the Amish hymns like the Luther hymns and tunes partake of the "lyric folk manner." Naturally the Amish hymns carry more marks of the "rural aspects."

After a series of experiments with the tunes, Jackson decided that each of the "measures" in Yoder's *Amische Lieder* represents a basic note. Following this line of study, he, as "tunelorist," discovered a tune. Then comparing this tune, the one suggested at the head of the hymn in the *Ausbund,* with the tune of the same name in the three volume edition of Erk and Böhme, he discovered that five of the tunes recorded by Yoder in *Amische Lieder* are identical with the original combination used in the sixteenth century.

1. John Umble, Reprinted from Mennonite Quarterly Review, XIV, (Jan. 1950), pp.91-93, part of larger article
2. *Rosanna of the Amish,* and *Rosanna's Boys,* (The Yoder Publishing Co. Huntingdon, Pa.) 1940,1948
3. "The Strange Music of the Old Order Amish", and "The American Amish Sing Medeval Folk Tunes Today"

# History Of The *Ausbund*

The history of the *Ausbund* holds many unanswered questions because it was a forbidden book in its beginning. A shroud of secrecy still covers its earliest origins and the compiler (or compilers). However, one can form a reasonable picture of its development by comparing known versions of the *Ausbund* and by the historical information contained in some if its songs.

That the *Ausbund* was a forbidden book has been clearly documented in various ways. The first two and fourth known editions of the *Ausbund* have a date of publication, the oldest being 1564, the second 1583, and the fourth 1622. But they contain no publisher's name or place of publication, so as to protect the publishers from the authorities. From then on, the various editions contain no dates or place of publication until in 1807 when the thirteenth edition appeared . From its beginning, for a period of 243 years, the *Ausbund* was considered a "heretical" book by the state authorities. In 1571, at the Frankenthal debate, Dathenus referred to a "dangerous songbook", the *Ausbund*.[1] Possession of an *Ausbund* was evidence that the owner was a "heretic" and it was confiscated if found. A captive Anabaptist from Urbach (Württemberg) surrendered two Anabaptist hymnbooks in 1598 a "written one and a printed one." H. Bender writes that "a hymnbook and Menno Simon's *Foundation Book* were the most common (and apparently the only or chief) books in possession of captured Anabaptists around the end of the 1500s in Württemberg." [2] As late as 1692 the government of Bern, Switzerland, placed the *Ausbund* on its list of banned books and ordered its confiscation if found.

We want to consider here the reasons why the Anabaptists felt compelled to write and sing songs and their meaning to them. The beginnings of the movement saw men of education and training providing the leadership and teaching of the new "Radical Reformation." [3] Men like Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, Balthasar Hubmaier, Pilgram Marpeck, and others preached and produced writings promoting their faith. After persecution flared, most of the learned men were martyred and the torch passed on to men of lesser training. The movement became rooted in the uneducated people and peasants. Later descriptions of the Anabaptists reveal that many were craftsmen. For example, Hans Büchel was a shoemaker, Michael Schneider and Hans Leopold were tailors, Philip Plener was a weaver, and Eucharius Binder was a "*Tischler*" or furniture maker. Others were farmers and vinedressers and sang their songs in the fields and vineyards. The crafts were plied in the homes and shops, and it was common for them to sing as they worked. When the first leaders were martyred, the fires that began to burn in the hearts of the common people who embraced their teachings, found expression in singing about these heroes of faith. Most of the songs in the *Ausbund* stem from craftsmen and farmers. Those first leaders set an example,an ideal, by going to their martyrdom cheerfully and expressing assurance that they had found the truth. A famous phrase of the martyred leader Balthasar Hubmaier was "*Die Wahrheit ist untödlich!*" (The truth can not be killed, or is immortal.)

It is significant that the first and oldest[4] songs were ballads or "Taglieder." These were "historic songs," songs of the day, martyr hymns, telling of events and people important to the writers. J. A. Ramaker says, "the excessive length [of the songs] justifies the inference that the writers had it in mind to produce religious prose for a circle of friends rather than a hymn for congregational use." [5] Now they began to sing, not about folk heroes such as Hildebrand, or "the maiden with the jug," but about their own heroes. A favorite expression in the songs is to refer to the

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1. See "Hans Büchel and the Frankenthal Disputation" in chapter 4 in the upcoming book, *Songs Of The Ausbund*.
2. *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II, "Hymnology of the Anabaptists," p. 869
3. Used in the sense of meaning far-reaching and through, not politically revolutionary, from the Lati *radix*, meaning root.
4. The Passau songs are often referred to "the oldest section" of the *Ausbund*. The Passau songs are the oldest compilation.
5. Mennonite Quarterly Review III, (1929) p. 10

martyrs as "*Ritter*," or knights. This expression conveys the idea of a strong, brave hero, a champion of the truth. Often they kept the old folk tunes and adapted new words to them. So the songs were ready to be sung as soon as they were written, the tune already being well-known.

The Anabaptists sang as a means to express their sorrow, as a means of encouraging each other in appreciation of the martyrs' messages, and as a means of winning others to their movement. Singing about the martyrs created a respect for their lives and doctrines. Among the Amish today one still finds the conviction that the martyrs are heroes and role models. It is frequently admonished in sermons to "consider the martyrs" about whom one can read in the *Martyrs' Mirror* and the *Ausbund.*

The Anabaptists likely followed a pattern used by Martin Luther. He wrote a martyr ballad in 1523, "*Ein Newes Lied wir heben an,*" about the martyrdom of two Augustinian monks at Brussels. Two more martyr hymns by followers of Luther appeared in 1524 and 1525. From then on the Anabaptists wrote the known martyr ballads, which seem to follow the pattern of Luther's song in their form. It is possible that the Anabaptists had known Luther's hymn, which was very popular, and this provided a framework for their songs.

kThe unknown compiler (or compilers) of the *Ausbund* of 1583 seem to have had a pattern for the order in which they arranged the songs. The first song gives the general principles of how to sing in a spiritual way, and for this they used a poem by a learned but uncommitted defender of Anabaptism, Sebastian Franck. The next song is a versification of a creed or statement of belief, reflecting creeds such as the Apostle's Creed and the Athanasian Creed. The third and fourth songs give lengthy accounts of persecution of like heroes of faith in earlier times. The intention of these songs seems to be to identify the movement with the faith and persecutions of the early church. Then follow songs five through eight,by the early leaders, which teach doctrine. They were written by George Blaurock (song five), Felix Mantz (song six), Michael Sattler (song seven), and Hans Hut (song eight). These are followed by a series of ballads or "*Tagelieder,*" songs nine to twenty-nine. Hans Büchel wrote songs nine and twenty-nine,[6] which Doerksen[7] refers to as "exotic or romantic" in nature. Afte this come the songs by the later Anabaptists. It is very interesting to see how the compilers of the *Ausbund* sought to defend and promote thier faith in this arrangement of songs. First they defend the practice of singing, then identify themselves with the early church, after which they present their beliefs as scriptural and not "heretical," and then give admonitions to be faithful and courageous.

As the number of Anabaptist songs increased, so did the efforts to compile them into song books. Wolkan, in his excellent study of Anabaptist songs, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (1903). gives the oldest songs and their compilation into song books according to the main groups of Anabaptists: the Swiss Brethren, the North German and Dutch Anabaptists, and the Hutterites. The *Ausbund* stems from the Swiss Brethren and most of its songs are from this group..It also contains eleven songs from the Dutch, eleven from the North Germans, five from the Bohemian Brethren, and several from the Hutterites. The Passau songs are considered to be of Swiss Brethren origin, although the Hutterites include a number of them in their songbooks. The Passau song writers were Swiss Brethren who had lived in Moravia. They are also called Philippites and were returning to Switzerland when they were captured at Passau.[8]

According to Wolkan, the oldest Anabaptist songs are from the Swiss Brethren. The oldest, song forty, is by Hans Koch and Leonhard Meister, who were probably Waldensians, appearing in 1524. The songs by Felix Mantz and George Wagner appeared in 1527. George Blaurock and Leonhard Scheimer's songs appeared in 1528. At least fourteen songs in the *Ausbund* were written by 1530. The largest collection of songs in the

6. Wolkan (pp. 142-3) suggests that Büchel may have been the compiler of the 1583 *Ausbund* for this reason.

7. Victor G. Doerksen, "The Anabaptist Martyr Ballad," MQR, 1977, pp. 5-21

8. See "The Philippite Brethren and Passau", in this issue of *Heritage Review.*

the *Ausbund,* written by the prisoners at Passau, were composed from 1535-1537. Those songs are the nucleus of the *Ausbund,* beginning with song 81 on page 435. A short version of the 1564 title page introduces this section and includes a quotation of Psalm 140: 6 and 7 from the Froschauer Bible. They are the earliest compilation of Swiss Brethren songs known, and appeared in 1564 as a song book of 53 songs.

The Dutch Anabaptists also wrote many songs. The first probably appeared after 1529. In 1562 the Dutch martyr book, *Het Offer des Heeren*, appeared. The first part of this book gives accounts of martyrs and the letters they wrote. The second part is a song book and contains twenty-five hymns, eleven of which found their way into the *Ausbund.* The eleven editions of this book were widely used by the Mennonites in that time. In 1560 and 1562 two other collections of Dutch Anabaptist songs appeared, containing 257 and 289 songs. All of these were in circulation before the *Ausbund* appeared.

In North Germany a compilation of Anabaptist songs appeared around 1565-1569.[9] It was called *Ein Schön Gesangbüchlein geistlicher Lieder...* It contained many mistakes and typographical errors, probably indicating it was printed hurriedly and in secret. It contained 122 songs, many of translated from the Dutch song books into German. A second edition appeared some time after 1569 and contaoned many corrections in the German translations. This edition contained a number of Passau songs. Wolkan (p. 96) thinks the *Ausbund* had not yet appeared at this time. It must be noted, however, that he did not know of the 1564 compilation of the Passau songs, which was discovered in 1928 He knew only of the larger 1583 compilation. A third edition of the German song book appeared around 1590 and contained 140 songs, including a number by Leonard Clock.

When the first known, complete edition of the *Ausbund* appeared in 1583, it contained the 1564 songs as the central part of the book. The part preceding that was a collection of Swiss Brethren, Dutch, a few Hutterite, and a few Bohemian Brethren songs. Many of the songs appeared for the first time in the *Ausbund.* It also borrowed about thirty songs from the above named song books which had appeared previously. The Dutch songs were taken from the versouns on the German song books. According to Wolkan, many of the songs taken from other song books were improved from their first version. It appears the compilers took the freedom to change some meanings to align the songs with the Swiss Brethren views on the incarnation, the bann, and communion.[10] The *Ausbund* is not the first Anbaptist song book, but it is probably the most important.

The 1583 edition of the *Ausbund* contained 131 songs. The edition of 1622 had 133 songs, dropping one and adding three. The sixth edition[11] had 137 songs, and the tenth had 140. While 137 songs was standard for the European editions, all the American editions contain 140 songs. The American editions also added an index of first lines, an index of songs sung to the same tune, the "Confessio" of Confession of Thomas von Imbroich, the "*Wahrhaftiger Bericht,*" which is a history of persecution in the Zurich area from 1535-1645, and a appendix of five (later six) songs, beginning with "*Tobias war ein frommer Mann.*"

Since a list of the editions of the *Ausbund* with their distinguishing features is given in *Four Hundred Years with the Ausbund,* (Herald Press, 1964) and in Wolkan's book, (pages 118-122) I will not list them here, but rather give a brief summary of them. The earliest known version of the *Ausbund* contains a printing date of 1564 but no place of publication. This edition, which contains fifty-three songs written in Passau, was discovered in 1928 by Harold Bender at a book dealer in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.[12] It does not use

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9. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* p. 90
10. Wolkan, p. 31
11. This includes the Passau collection of 1564 as the first edition.
12. MQR III, 1929, pp. 147-150

History Of The *Ausbund* (continued)

the term "*Ausbund*" in the title. This discovery shed light on a number of questions about the *Ausbund's* beginnings. It explains, for example, the references to the *Ausbund* prior to 1583. The next known edition, containing the first, larger collection of songs similar to today's version, had a date of 1583. This was long considered the earliestedition. The third known edition has the date 1622.

Then follows a series of editions having no place of publication. Wolkan[13] lists five such editions. Later research yielded an expanded list. Nelson P. Springer lists eight undated editions in *Four Hundred Years with the Ausbund*. This list was determined by comparing various editions found in the Menninite Historical Library found at Goshen College. It was not until in the nineteenth century that a date was again found in an European *Ausbund*. This edition was printed in 1809 at Basel by the von Mechel brothers. Two other European editions followed. One, printed in 1817, gives no place of publication and omits the title *"Ausbund."* The other is dated 1838 and was printed by the von Mechels. From this we can see that the *Ausbund*, especially the editions printed from 1622 to 1809, were printed and distributed secretly, and used at the risk of life and limb. The undated editions can be distinguished by the variations in contents, number of songs, type of print, and other details. There also exist many variations when people requested other materials to be bound with the *Ausbund*, creating a *"Sammelband."* These are not considered separate editions. Scholars generally agree that there are fourteen European and nineteen American editions.

The first American edition was printed in 1742 by Christopher Sauer, a Dunkard, in Germantown. It was the first German book printed in America for the Mennonites and the Amish. Additional printings by Sauer followed in 1751 and 1767. Liebert and Billmeyer printed an edition in 1785 and Joseph Ehrenfried printed one in 1815. Johann Bär (and later his sons) printed editions in 1843, 1846, 1856, 1868, 1880, 1908. Three editions were printed in Elkhart, Indiana by the *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung*, dated 1880, 1905, and 1913. One edition appeared from Kutztown, Pennsylvania, are dated 1935, 1941, 1949, and 1952. Additional reprints have been made from the 1952 edition by the Amish.

In the 1800s efforts were made by the Mennonites in Pennsylvania to compile new song books. In 1803 *Die Kleine Geistliche Harfe* appeared, and in 1804, *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch.* These song books contained some songs from the *Ausbund* and eventually took the place of the *Ausbund* among the Mennonites. The Amish remain the primary users of the *Ausbund* today.

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13. pp. 118-121

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"As far as the Anabaptists were concerned, their suffering was not accidental... here have been, so *The Martyrs Mirror* noted, "two different peoples, two different congregations and churches, the one from God and from heaven, the other of Satan and the earth." Wrote Hans Schlaffer: "The whole Scripture speaks only of suffering," and then again: "Whoever does not suffer with Christ will not share the inheritance." In this regard, too, Jesus became the exemplar to be followed. He "testified to us of a model with his life that we also should love and act as he." Anabaptist spirituality is thus a spirituality of suffering, of a quiet acceptance of the vicissitudes of life. The testimonies [in *The Martyrs Mirror]* had in common the notion that Christian commitment is unthinkable without suffering, indeed, that highest sacrifice of one's life. Aptly, the genius of Anabaptism has been identified as the vision of discipleship or the theology of martyrdom."

Quote from *EARLY ANABAPTIST SPIRITUALITY Selected Writings*, (Paulist Press, New York, 1994), translated and edited by Daniel Liechty, from the Preface by Hans J. Hillerbrand, pp. xxi-xxii

# The Philippite Brethren and Passau

The earliest known compilation of Swiss Brethren hymns is a collection of songs written in the prison at Passau in Bavaria, by a number of Anabaptists. These fifty-one songs form a major part of the *Ausbund*, beginning with song 81. The following account traces why these Swiss Brethren were captured there and the circumstances leading up to their imprisonment.

Sometime before 1527 Philip Plener (also called "*Blauärmel*" or "*Weber*," which names are used interchangeably by different writers) of Bruchsal was converted to Anabaptism in the South German area of Baden, near Heidelberg. He was active in winning coonverts to his new-found faith. By 1527 Plener moved to Augsburg because of persecution and from there to Rossitz, Moravia. Wolkan writes that *"Mähren war das gelobte Land der Wiedertäufer"* at this time. Blasius Kuhn was a loyal and effective co-worker with Plener in Bruchsal and continued as leader of the church there, which numbered five hundred people by 1530-31. In December 1527 the Margrave Philip of Baden commandeed his officials not to tolerate the Anabaptists any longer. The measures against the Anabaptists which followed resulted in five Anabaptists being martyred in 1531. So in 1531 many of the Philippites (as they were called), under the leadership of Blasius Kuhn, fled to Moravia to Philip Plener.

When Plener first came to Moravia he associated with the Anabaptist group that was there, called the Gabrielites, which was under the leasership of Gabriel Ascherham. When other Anabaptists from Bruchsal in Baden began coming to Moravia, Plener started a new settlement at Auspitz. So at this time there were three Anabaptist groups in Moravia, all living in *"Bruderhofs"* (communities), distinguished mainly by place of origin. They probably practiced community of goods as an economic necessity, since they had all fled their homed and were poor. This principle developed more fully after Jacob Hutter became leader in 1533.) The three groups were the Gabrielites, who were from Silesia, a region along the Oder River, (now parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia); the Philippite Brethren from South Germany; and the Tyroleans under Zaunring. In 1531 these three groups loosely united with Gabriel Ascherham as their Bishop. In the same year Jacob Hutter and Sigmund Schütinger came to Auspitz from Tyrol to investigate complaints against Georg Zaunring. They excommunicated him for being too lenient in punishing his wife's adultery. Schützinger was chosen as bishop of that group, which is the parent group of the Hutterite movement today.

In 1533 Jacob Hutter again came to Auspitz. Conflicts arose when Hutter considered the leaders of the churches to lenient and negligent, excommunicating Schützinger. A charismatic leader and organizer, Hutter conflicted with Ascherham and Plener over certain issues, and the unpleasant conflicts resulted in a split. The Hutterite *Chronicle* has much to say about these issues and naturally does not speak well of Plener and the Philippites. In 1535 persecution arose in Moravia, probably as a result of the tragic uprising which took place in Münster that year, and the Philippites were driven from their Bruderhof in Auspitz. Many Gabrielites returned to Silesia, but after the death of Ascherham, many returned and joined the Hutterites. The Philippites camped for a while in the open fields, under the open skies (*unter den blauen Himmel*) as Plener and Kuhn went about on horseback looking for a place to settle. Finding none, they told the 400 people camped there to disperse as they saw fit. The *Chronicle* calls them "false shepherds who allowed the sheep to be dispersed," but it appears that the people had varied ideas where to go and Plener recognized this. One of the last acts of Plener, before he disappears from the record, was to ordain Michael Schneider to be "Vorsteher" (leader) of a group that was to return to Bruchsal in Bavaria, where Schneider and the group was originally from. The presence of Philippites in West Germany in the 1540's suggests that Plener may have taken a group there. Other groups of Philippites are thought to have gone to northern Austria and the Palatinate.

The group of around sixty persons who left for Bruchsal under the leadership of Michael Schneider traveled along the Danube River. The authorities had been alerted all along the Danube to watch for and apprehend Anabaptists from Moravia, to keep the "sect" from spreading. Thus on August 15, 1535, the first group of fifteen people was apprehended at

Passau, which is at the junction of the Danube, Ilz and Inn Rivers. Rudolph Wolkan found court records in Munich called "*Die Passau Religionsakten*," which document the names of those listed as Anabaptists. In this group were Hans Hoffman, Hans Hultzhoder, Hans Haffner, his wife Katharina, a young boy Michel, Georg Lang and his wife Eva, Dietrich von Heilbronn and his wife Kunigunde, and another Hans and his wife Amelia and child Barbara. On September 14, 1535, another group of fourteen Philippites was apprehended. These included Berhard Schröter and his wife, Hans of Schlüchtern and wife Margreth, Michel Schwister, a Konrad, a fifteen-year-old boy called Georg von Ottnis, and a few women. On the same day another group of twenty Philippites was interrogated, having been apprehended earlier. These included Hans Peck, Michel Kaumbauf, Oswald von Augensberg, Hand Fuchs, Hans Stauben, a youth named Bernhard Schneider, Hans Rümmich, and Gertrud, wife of Michael Schneider. On September 25, 1535, five more Philippites were interrogated: Hans Betz, Peter Strumpheter, Matthias von Dorffaus, and several women. The list is obviously incomplete because Michael Schneider's name does not appear. But the record states that Hans Haffner, under torture, admitted that Michael Schneider was their "Vorsteher," and all of the second group also admitted this. Michael Schneider and Hans Betz are the two best known of the Passau Philippites. The *Ausbund* contains eleven songs by Schneider and twenty-four by Betz. This is an amazing number of songs, considering the short time they were imprisoned. Song number 101 was written jointly by Schneider and Betz.

While the Passau authorities imposed no death penalty, they did torture some and threw all of the Philippites into prison. Some died there some recanted and were set free, and a few were released after being inprisoned five years, but there is no certain record of fate of most of these Philippites. Most of what is known of them is found in the *Ausbund* songs written written in those dark dungeons. Some obviously were freed or escaped with these songs because we have their songs as the core of this book. One must wonder how much more devotional literature the imprisoned Anabaptists must have produced that has been lost. The relations between the group who followed Jacob Hutter after 1533 (the Tyroleans and remnants of the two other groups), now called Hutterites, and the scattered remnants of the Philippites was more congenial in later years. The *Chronicle* calls Hans Betz, who died in Passau in 1537, *"ein evangelischer Diener"* (an evangelical minister), and some of his songs are found in the Hutterite songbooks. Casper Braitmichel, a bishop of the Hutterites called the Philippites *"Glaubensgenossen"* (co-religionists), and speaks of them in a brotherly fashion. Later Peter Riedemann, also a Bishop, visited them often and wrote them several epistles full of fatherly concern, addressing them as *"Auserwählten und unsere herzlieben Brüder"* (our chosen and beloved Brethren).

Braitmichel had contact with the West German Philippites and writes that they "recoiled from grasping the more perfect (way of life), that is, community of goods." Although the Philippites had lived in Bruderhofs in Moravia, Robert Friedmann suggests that it was more as an "emergency economic measure" than as a doctrine or dogma to them. It was only after the split of 1533 that Jacob Hutter took over leadership if the Tyrolean Anabaptists and developed the dogma of community of goods that the Hutterites were later noted for. In *Ausbund* song 108, page 604, stanza 25, Betz refers to living in community. He writes,

*"O, wie fein ist in Jesu Christ,*
*Wo Brüder beysamm seyne,*
*Hie in der Zeit in Einigkeit,*
*All Ding haben gemeine."*

(O how fine it is in Jesus Christ,
Where brethren are together,
In unity in this time,
Having all things in common.)

The Philippites as such did not embrace Hutter's doctrine after 1533, although later some Philippites, including Hans Gentner, who later became a Hutterite *Vorsteher*, returned to Moravia and joined the Hutterites. Riedemann writes that the South German Philippites "balked at the principle of community."

As the scattered remnants of the Philippites found their way westward again, some were probably leaderless. These found their doctrines similar to the Swiss and South German Anabaptists (indeed, many were from

The Philippite Brethren and Passau,(continued)

those groups) and it is known that many rejoined them. So it is not surprising that their songs compose the core, the original and oldest collection of songs in the *Ausbund*, which is basically a "Swiss Brethren" songbook. e.k.

SOURCES: MQR XXXII, 1958, pp. 272-297, "The Philippite Brethren"; MQR V, 1931, pp. 87-99, "Concerning the True Soldier of Christ"; Wolkan, Rudolph, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer*; ME Vol.1, pp.192-19, "Auspitz, Austerlitz"; ME, Vol.1 pp. 205-208, "Baden"; ME, Vol. IV, pp. 192-193, "Plener, Philip"; ME, Vol. IV, p.470,"Schneider, Michael."

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# The Anabaptists and Creeds

By Edward Kline

The Anabaptist concept of the Christian life and religion in general has always been that it must be expressed and lived out in everyday experience in order to be genuine. This has been the genius of Anabaptism. A religion of professing, of words, of speech, or of creeds, has not been considered enough. Such a profession is evaluated by whether it results in right living, in holiness of life, in a set of values different from the world's. Therefore Anabaptism is not creedal, putting a lot of emphasis on creeds and systematic theological formulas. Rather it has been, as Robert Friedmann states,[1] an "existential" expression of Christianity, a realized and practical belief, putting emphasis on obedience to the commands of the Bible and right living.

As the mark of the Protestant reformers is embracing the correct theology, and the mark of Catholicism is partaking of the "right" sacraments, so the mark of the Anabaptists is a downplay of theology and sacraments, and emphasizing a life of personal discipleship and obedience to the Gospel.

The Anabaptists were extremely critical of the concept of the church and state being one, especially in that whoever belonged to the state was then also a member of the church. This criticism was justified because this arrangement inevitably brought about a separation of belief and life. That is, not all the people lived committed Christian lives, but still claimed to believe in justification by faith. The Anabaptist's rejection of oaths, of the sword, of infant baptism, and of trained clergy was, in addition to their understanding that those positions were scriptural, a repudiation of the Protestant and Catholic concepts of the church. This distinction was clearly made by an Anabaptist at the Frankenthal Debate of 1571.[2] After debating many issues, the Anabaptist was asked if he could agree to the state church's teaching. His reply was that even if they could agree to their doctrine, the wicked living of those who called themselves orthodox would not agree with them.

Although the early Anabaptists did not spend a lot of effort in promoting creeds, they did accept and use the Apostles' Creed, which is one of the early and basic creeds. In 1678, a Mennonite elder named Georg Hansen stated the Anabaptist position well when he said that although they do not make use of [the Apostles' Creed], they do not reject it but recognize its full value.[3] The Anabaptists were reluctant to formulate an explicit theology, fearing that "human wisdom" would explain away Bible truths, as they felt had been done when the church fell from its apostolic position at the hands of Constantine and his successors. And yet the Anabaptists were careful what they believed, knowing that errant beliefs would result in apostate living in a short course of time.

The "*Brüderliche Vereinigung*" of Schleitheim in 1527, as well as the later Dortrecht Confession of 1632 was written to define the true "theology" of the Bible according to the Anabaptists' understanding. Peter Riedemann, the prolific Hutterite elder, wrote his "*Rechenschaft des Glaubens*" as an interpretation of the Apostles' Creed. This as well as many other of the Anabaptists'

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1. *The Theology of Anabaptism*, (Herald Press, Scottdale, Pa, 1973) p.29

2 *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II, "Frankenthal Disputation", p. 373

3.Ibid., "Apostles' Creed", p.137

doctrinal writings was written to defend their beliefs to the authorities. Several other well-known writings of this nature were Balthasar Hubmaier's "*Artikel christlichen Glaubens*," Pilgram Marpeck's lengthy "*Glauben's Bekenntniß*," and Menno Simons' "*Fundament Buch*" (Foundation of Christian Doctrine). In all these writings there is a strong under-current of stressing that these beliefs are of saving nature only when they are followed and applied by those who embrace them.

In tracing the history of individual songs in the *Ausbund*, I discovered that *Ausbund* song two, page 5, is obviously a versification of a creed. The song, written by Peter Riedemann, has three lengthy stanzas, beginning with:

v.1 "*Wir glauben all an einen Gott,*
v.2 *"Wir glauben auch an Jesum Christ"* and
v.3 *"Wir glauben auch in Heil'gen Geist."*

It is interesting to notice that the compiler of the *Ausbund* selected a creedal song for the second song. Instead of including a creed as a doctrinal foundation for the song collection, he used a song by an Anabaptist leader which defines a creed.

There seems to be some difference of opinion which creed this song is based on. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I, "Apostles' Creed," page 137, says "Hymn number two of the *Ausbund* is an expansion of the Apostles' Creed." Robert Friedmann, in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I, "*Ausbund*," page 191, says song number two is a metrical version of the Athanasian Creed. Reading these two creeds is interesting because Riedemann probably was familiar with both and gave us a valuable song through the inspiration he received from them. Both creeds are given below in hopes they will increase our appreciation for "*Wir glauben all an einen Gott.*"

The Apostles' Creed is the earliest creed of Christendom and can be traced back to the middle of the second century through references made to the creed by early church writers. Additions made in the 4th and 7th centuries brought it to its present form. The early church at Rome required candidates for baptism to learn this creed and say it by heart before receiving baptism.

**The Apostles' Creed**
Symbolum Apostolicum

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only son, our Lord, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried: He descended into hell: the third day He rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven. And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic[4] Church: the Communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins: the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

The medieval opinion which ascribed the Athanasian Creed to Bishop Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria in the fourth century, was dropped by the seventeenth century. Part of it probably originated in Southern Gaul where reference was made to it in A.D. 670. The Athanasian Creed exists of two parts, the first dealing with the Trinity, and the second with the Incarnation, which are set off by the conditional clauses in 28 and 44. The combination of the two parts appeared around A.D. 870. It is considered a summary of the first four ecumenical Councils, and is artistically arranged, and rhythmatic. It is a musical creed and a psalm of dogmatic nature.[5]

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4. The term "Catholic" is used in these creeds to describe the universal aspect of the church.
5. E.H. Klotsche, *Christian Symbolics*, pp. 26-7

## The Athanasian Creed

Symbolum Quicunque

1. Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith:

2. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled; without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

3. And the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

4. Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.

5. For there is one Person of the Father: another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.

6. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal.

7. Such as the Father is: such is the Son; and such is the Holy Ghost.

8. The Father uncreated: the Son uncreated: the Holy Ghost uncreated.

9. The Father Incomprehensible [unlimited]: the Son incomprehensible [unlimited]: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible [unlimited].

10. The Father eternal: the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.

11. And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.

12. As also there are not three uncreated; nor three incomphehensibles [infinites]: but one uncreated: and one incomprehensible.

13. So likewise the Father is Almighty: the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

14. And yet there are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.

15. So the Father is God: the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.

16. And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

17. So likewise the Father is Lord: the Son Lord: and the Holy Ghost Lord.

18. And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

19. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord.

20. So are we forbidden by the Catholic religion : to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.

21. The Father is made of made of none: neither created, nor begotten.

22. The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created: but begotten.

23. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten: but proceeding.

24. So there is one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

25. And in this Trinity none is afore, or after another: none is greater, or less than another.

26. But the whole three Persons are coeternal, and coequal.

27. So that in all things, as aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshiped.

28. He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.

29. Furthermore it is necessary to everasting salvation: that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

30. For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

31. God, of the Substance of the Father; begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world.

32. Perfect God: and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.

33. Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood.

34. Who although he is God and Man; yet he is not two, but one Christ.

35. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking of the Manhood into God.

36. One altogether; not by confusion of Substance: but by unity of Person.

37. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ;

38. Who suffered for our salvation: descended into hell: rose again the third day from the dead.

39. He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father God Almighty.

40. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

41. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies;

42. And shall give account for their own works.

43. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.

44. This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

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## Hail, Gladdening Light

This, from the second century, is the earliest Christian hymn that has survived, apart from the biblical or apocryphal sources. This translation is by John Keble.

Hail, gladdening Light, of His pure glory pour'd
Who is the Immortal Father, Heavenly, Blest,
Holiest of Holies, Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Now we are come to the sun's hour of rest,
The lights of evening round us shine,
We hymn the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit Divine.

Worthiest art Thou at all times to be sung
With undefiled tongue, Son of our God, Giver of life, Alone!
Therefore in all the world Thy glories, Lord, they own.

## All Hail! Ye Infant Martyr Flowers

This poem is by Prudentius (348-?410), an early Christian. The translation is by John Neale.

All hail! ye infant martyr flowers,
Cut off in life's first dawning hours:
As rosebuds, snapped in tempest strife,
When Herod sought your Saviour's life.

You, tender flock of lambs, we sing,
First victim slain for Christ your King:
Beneath the Altar's heavenly ray,
With Martyr Psalms and Crowns ye play.

For their redemption glory be,
O Jesu, Virgin-born, to Thee!
With Father, and with Holy Ghost,
For ever from the Martyr Host.

# The Amish Community in the Holmes County, Ohio Area (1910-1914)

By Roy Weaver

In 1910 there were seven Amish church districts in the area encompassing Sugarcreek, Farmerstown, Charm, Berlin, Mt. Hope, Walnut Creek, and Winesburg. Following is a list of the districts and their presiding bishops:

1). Sugarcreek District, where Mose Coblentz was bishop. He was ordained minister in 1894, and bishop in 1901. He died in 1923.
2.) Walnut Creek District, where Noah Beachy was bishop. He was ordained minister in 1878, and bishop in 1895. He died in 1942.
3.) Charm District, where Joni Troyer was bishop. He was ordained minister in 1887, and bishop in 1892. He died in 1922.
4.) Doughty District, where Jacob Stutztman was ordained minister in 1899 and bishop in 1911. Andrew J. Miller, the previous bishop died in 1908. Therefore this district did not have its own bishop in 1910. This district divided around 1913 and the State Route 62 was the dividing line.
5.) Berlin East (Mascht Gmay), where Mose Mast was bishop.[1] He was ordained minis-ter in 1883, and bishop in 1888. He died in 1927.
6.) Bunker Hill District (Dafid Gmay), where David S. Miller was bishop. He was ordained minister in 1871, and bishop in 1892. He died in 1912.
7.) Mt. Hope-Winesburg District, where Sam Yoder was bishop. He was ordained minister in 1903, and bishop in 1904. He died in 1932. This district was divided soon after 1910, but before 1914, when Abe S. Yoder was ordained bishop in the new district, called the "Valley Church." The line dividing the two districts was what is now Salt Creek Township Road 606.

In 1912 a group of families, mainly from the area between Mt. Hope, Berlin, and Winesburg, began looking for a fellowship that was less restrictive in discipline and more ready for innovations.[2] They were helped by Bishop John Zook of Belleville, Pennsylvania. Phineas V. (Felty) Yoder was their main minister at the beginning, but he soon moved back to his former home in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. The group was soon referred to as the "P.V. Gmay," using the initials of P.V. Yoder. Later the congregation was named Pleasant View Conservative Church.

The following year, 1913, John Swartzentruber was ordained minister in this group. John's brother Jonas, who was ordained minister in the Bunker Hill District in 1903, was one of the leaders in the formation of the Sam Yoder-Swartzentruber group later in the decade.

There was a question in the O.O. Amish bishops' minds as to how their churches should respond to members who left them to form the new fellowship. It was requested that ordained men from other Amish communities come and help make a decision. Bishops Peter Wagler and Abraham Knepp from Daviess County, Indiana; and Bishops Andrew Mast and Joseph G. Schragg from Illinios came for this purpose. They had a meeting with the Holmes County bishops and many others of the ordained men.

The committee came to the following decision, and wrote this letter:

Millersburg, Ohio Mai 21,1913

Zum erstens wollen wir mitt dem Apostel Paulus sagen dennen die mitt uns eben denselben theuren Glauben überkommen haben in der gerechtigkeit, die unser Gott gibt durch unser heiland Jesus Christus, Gott gebe euch viel gnade und frieden, durch die erkenntnis Gottes und Jesu Christi unsers Herrn.

Hiemit bezeugen wir unterschreiber, das wir von den neun (9) Alt Amischen

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1. When Mose Mast was ordained minister by lot, it had been agreed that if preaching went well for him, he should be ordained Bishop. This was done by the counsel of the church, but without using the lot, by Moses (Glay Mose) Miller.
2. *Pleasant View Mennonite Church, 75th Anniversary, 1912-1987, p.5*

Gemeinden gefordtert waren, um ihnen mitt des Herrn helfe zu leisten um wider zur einerlei gesinheit zu Kommen, in bezug von ihren gemeinden zu den andern gemeinden anschlieszen, wo sie nicht mehr mit dienen, und doch noch für wehrlosze christlichen gemeinden halten.

Erstens: Wenn erfahren wird von den diener und der Gemeinde, das glieder sein wo von der Gemeinde, los wollen und sich zu den andern obengemeldeten gemeinden anschlieszen, so solte mitt das Herrn hilfe allen möglichen fleis angewand werden mitt brüderlicher anspruch und mitt dem wort Gottes hausgehalten werden.

Zweitens: Wann solches wahr genommen wird an ein solchen Glied und dennoch solchen wechsel macht so halten wir dafur das wir unser schuldigkeit gethan haben, und wollen jenner und solche Gemeinden und dem Herrn die sache überlassen.

Drittens: Wann aber ein glied durch ungehorsame, mitt dem wort Gottes und rat der Gemeinde in den Bann gethan werde, und von den obengemeldten Gemeinden nach einer evangelischen art aus dem Bann aufgenommen wird, so halten wir dafür das Bann und meidung solte aufgehoben werden gegen solche glieder.

Abschrift durch Joseph Shragg.

Das original war unterschrieben von;

Peter Wagler
Andrew Mast
Joseph G. Shragg
Abraham Knepp

All of the bishops gave their approval to this letter. It was also agreed to have church services in each district the following days, to present the decision to the lay members, and take counsel with the lay members, asking for their support. The visiting committee attended these services.

The Sugarcreek district was the first to hold these services, with the other districts following soon after. It appears that Sam Yoder had second thoughts about the conclusions, because early on the morning of the Sugarcreek service he had his deacon, Noah Petersheim, and a lay member go to Sugarcreek to ask the bishop there, Moses Coblentz, to cancel the service. Petersheim and his partner took a wrong turn along the way and when they arrived, many of the congregation had already arrived. Bishop Coblentz did not follow their request and the service went on as planned. The letter found agreement in this district and in all the other districts except the farthest north, which was Sam Yoder's.

In the early days, there was not much difference between the O.O. Amish and the so-called "P.V. Gmay." Many Old Order people would occasionally attend their services. Some of the early families in the new group went back to the Amish church when cars were first allowed in the early 1920s. By 1925 most of the families had automobiles, but only the Model T Fords, because gear shifts were not allowed.[3] The young people from the Pleasant View Church attended the O.O. Amish hymn singings for possibly the first twenty or twenty-five years.

One person still living who remembers the beginning of the Pleasant View Church is Mrs. Jonas J. (Susan B. Schrock) Beachy. She was born February 3, 1897, and is 101 years old. She lives at the Walnut Hills Nursing Home at the present time. She is the daughter of Benjamin C. and Lucinda (Schultz) Schrock (DBH 5323). Susan was baptized when she was eighteen years old, in the Pleasant View (P.V.) church. She was working as a hired girl in that area at the time. When she went back to her home district near Sugarcreek, there was very little that she needed to change from the "*ordnung*" at Pleasant View. She recalled to her daughters that that "*ordnung*" had been to not cross their capes, they were to wear their shawls square, and the aprons were to be shorter than the dresses, which was different from the Old Order dress "*ordnung*."[4]

Following are the names of some of the families that attended Pleasant View Church in

3. *Pleasant View Mennonite Church, 75th Anniversary*, 1912-1987, p.7
4. From a letter to the writer from Mrs. Roman Beachy, November, 1997

the early years. This list is not necessarily complete, and we welcome additions or corrections to the list.

1) John Swartzentruber, ordained minister in 1913.
2) Abner Swartzentruber, son of John
3) Mose Swartzentruber, son of John, ordained minister in 1931.
4) Eli Gingerich
5) Joe Gingerich, son of Eli
6) Levi D. (Berry Levi) Miller, son-in-law of Eli Gingerich. Levis moved to Hartville and attended the King church in the 30s.
7) Menno Gingerich
8) Jacob Nisley, who returned to the Amish church.
9) Joe Mast, married to Henry Hochstetler's daughter.
10) Dave Mast, also married to Henry Hochstetler's daughter.
11) Ben Mast, who remained single
12) Jonas Hochstetler
13) Eli Hochstetler
14) Henry Hochstetler
15) John Helmuth, married to Katie Hochstetler
16) John J. Hershberger, married to Tillie Hochstetler
17) Eli Hershberger, who later returned to the Amish church
18) Jonas Hershberger, son of Eli
19) Eli (Pill) Hershberger, son of Eli
20) Ben Hersbherger, son of Eli
21) Earl Hershberger, son of Eli
22) Joe Schlabaugh, who was ordained minister in 1916, and later bishop. In 1924 he willingly laid aside his bishop duties.[5]
23) Sol Hostetler, whose son Freeman was bishop of the congregation in later years.
24) John Hershberger, of Walnut Creek. He attended for a while, but returned to the Amish church. He is the grandfather of Bishop Raymond Hershberger of Mt. Hope (Ashery) area.
25) Ammon Mullet, and wife Anna
26) Dan Yoder, and wife Katie

5. *Pleasant View Mennonite Church, 75th Anniversary,* 1912-1987, p.7

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## Letter of Paulinus of Nola

This is a letter from one monk to another in 300-400 A.D., taken from *A Treasury of Early Christianity*, (Mentor Books, 1953), edited by Anne Fremantle. The young cook in the letter must have been an interesting character.

> ... I hear that all your cooks have given notice, because, I suspect, they disdained to minister to your unassuming commissariat, so I am sending you a lad from my own kitchen, able to cook the innocuous bean, to serve the modest beet-root dressed with vinegar and sauce, and to make the humble porridge palatable to hungry monks. He is innocent of the use of pepper, and of spices he knows nought; he is familiar with cummin, and is especially ready with the noisy mortar and pestle, to crush sweet herbs. He has one fault- he is no mean peril to all gardens; let him in, and he will cut down everything in reach, and for cutting mallows (herbs), he is insatiable. As for keeping himself in firewood, he won't swindle you, but he will burn everything he can get hold of, he will chop it up and will not even hesitate to lay hands on the roof, or the ancient timbers of the house.
>
> With these virtues and foibles, I trust he will be a son to you, rather than a servant, since you do not disdain to call the very humblest your children. I would have liked to serve you myself in his stead, but if the wish is on the way to the deed, remember me at your dinners and your cheerful suppers, for it is better to be a servant to you than a master to others. Farewell.

# Ohio Amish Churches Originated In the Sugarcreek Area[1]

By W. E. Farver

Jacob Miller, an Amish minister and his two sons, Henry and Jacob, Jr., of Somerset County, Pennsylvania, the earliest known immigrants to Ohio, settled about a mile northeast of Sugarcreek, in Tuscarawas County, during the spring of 1808. On March 22, 1813, he was granted a government deed for the northeast quarter of section 22, on which he had settled. Eighty two years later, *The Sugarcreek Budget*, the only newspaper in the United States catering to news of and by the Amish people, was established in 1890, by John C. Miller, within a mile of the first known Amish settlement in Ohio.

Late in the autumn of 1808, after helping his sons erect cabins and begin improvements, Jacob Miller returned to Somerset Co. to his home for the winter. Early in the spring of 1809, with his family he returned to their Tuscarawas County home to stay.

It was during the following 2 years that he preached the first sermon ever known to have been preached in present Holmes County. This presumably was shortly after the arrival on May 6, 1810, of four young Amish families who migrated here from Somerset Co. to southern Walnut Creek township, to join Jonas Stutzman, who settled here in the early spring of 1809, having migrated here with his aunt and uncle, the Jacob Millers.. These four families were among a number of Amish families who were planning to migrate to the west-Tuscarawas and east-Holmes area as a result of a trip made as early as 1803, to this region by a party of men (Amish) to look the country over, and decide upon a location to which the families which were contemplating migrating to Ohio might come later. Apparently, this group of men were so well pleased with the area they found here that entry claims were soon filed, for the deeds are said to have been issued as early as 1807, and were signed by President Thomas Jefferson. (Archive records do not tally with this last statement, but we'll not start an argument now.)

The four families who came in 1810, to join Jonas Stutzman, were Jonas Miller, and his wife who was Catherine Hershberger; Christian Yoder and wife, formerly Magdalena Hershberger, sister to Catherine; Joseph Mast and wife, formerly Sarah Miller, sister of Jonas Miller (above); and John Troyer and wife, formerly Magdalena Miller, also a sister of Jonas Miller.

Evidently these four families had set no definite time for migrating, likely because it was it new venture for members of the Amish sect-they would be of the first to migrate. But when Jacob Miller and his family, and Jonas Stutzman blazed the trail in 1808, the four families settled in the area south of Walnut Creek.

In 1811, John J. Miller, a son of Jacob MIller, who evidently, had located earlier in Maryland, adjoining Somerset County, also came and located on a tract in Walnut Creek township. He was the first in the community to use an inital in his name to distinguish himself from others having the same name. He had to bear much ridicule because of doing this, being very often called Jay Miller.

Among later settlers about the same time were Abraham Gerber, Jacob Mast, Charles Yoder, Jacob Stutzman, some Hostetlers and Weavers.

Jonas Stutzman, nephew of Mrs. Jacob Miller, early in 1809, established his residence on the northwest quarter of section 21, township 9, range 5, a half mile south of Walnut Creek village, on the tract where the present Mast Cheese Factory is located.

Ever since any pioneer settlement records of Holmes County have been kept, the first permanent settlement of Holmes County has been credited to Jonathan Grant and his son Parkinson Grant, who arrived at their Prairie township tract in July 1809.

Three years ago, 1960, while going through stacks of old records, comparing dates, and what-have-you, it dawned upon the writer that Jonas Stutzman settled himself upon Holmes County soil about three months earlier than did Jonathan Grant. So Jonas

1. Reprinted from *The Budget*, "From out of the Past," May 30,1960 , used by permission

Stutzman actually was the first permanent settler of Holmes County. For 150 years he was not given recognition for it.

But let's not attempt to take away from the Grants one iota of credit for their heroic experiences while setting up their pioneer home in Salt Creek Valley. Read the story of Jonathan Grants's coming to Prairie township; you will agree that Jonas Stutzman was fortunate that he did not meet up with illness to retard his efforts as had Jonathan Grant.

The first settlement in Walnut Creek township, was the forerunner of the present Walnut Creek Mennonite Church. It was in this same area, as near as can be determined from available records, and to the families arriving May 6, 1810, and others who may have arrived not long afterward that Jacob Miller preached the first sermon on Holmes County soil.

During the several decades following 1810, as more Amish settlers arrived, four Amish churches came into existence, as the settlement grew and gradually was subdivided; these four churches all were in and around the Walnut Creek vicinity.

One of the four was known as the Scrub Oak Ridge church. This brings to mind that very few today may ever have heard the reason for the area being known be this name; ten years ago the writer had never heard of it, either, until while checking records in the old Jacob Hochstetler family history, written by Harvey Hochstetler, and also in the history of the Walnut Creek Mennonite Church, written by Nettie Glick, we came upon references to Scrub Oak Ridge (sometimes referred to as Scrub Ridge). Later research paid off. Here is what was found: To the pioneer settlers who settled in German (now Clark) township, and nearby areas, the area lying on the upland sections, between the present villages of Farmerstown and Charm, south-westward towards New Bedford, and northward towards Walnut Creek and Limpytown was known as Scrub Oak Ridge, because when the pioneers arrived they found a considerable percentage of the higher ridges covered with a growth of scrubby oak, and in some places considerable growth of chestnut trees. The latter seeming thrive pretty well in the soil of the sandy ridges.

The pioneers of 140 year ago largely avoided these higher ridges, they having a common belief that the sandy soil where the scrubby oak and the chestnut trees grew was of little value as farming land. Those old Pennsylvania Dutch pioneers, (Amish and non-Amish), had a common saying among them, "Usht die douva bliva auf der sond ridga." "Only the wild pigeons stay on the sand ridges."

The writer examined the original deed record of German (Clark) township. The list was obtained from the Bureau of Land Management, Washington D.C. There is not a single 100-acre military in this township so the list is complete.

Checking the deed - issuance dates of the entire township it has learned that the tracts lying on the higher elevations, the sand ridges, were claimed by incoming immigrants considerably later than those lying a little lower in elevation and in adjoining areas. Today, 140 years later, these same higher ridges are in many instances of the best farming land, except that extreme dry weather will affect growing crops earlier than lower elevations.

These ridges were covered with growth of scrubby oak just high enough that when deer ran through the area, only a small part of their backs could be seen bounding through the leafy tops of the small trees. Deer were abundant locally, then; these scrubby oak areas provided good cover for them.

The "why" of these scrub oak growths as the pioneers found them has never been satisfactorily explained. Explanations have often been offered--none can be pinpointed as actually positive. The reader may think them over and choose.

However, first let us consider another similar area, just over the county line in Wayne County. There in the townships of Wooster, Chester, Plain, and Clinton, and likely extending over into the adjoining townships of Washington and Ripley, in Holmes County, (the topography of the entire area being similar), the pioneers found like conditions, almost barren areas, except for heavy covering of low, bushy oaks, three to four feet high, indication impoverished soil.

The pioneers avoided these plain-like areas and cleared off other heavy wooded areas, referring to the shrub oaks as "The Glades", without a doubt because of a similarity to the so-called "glades" in Pennsylvania, from whence many came; however, the word "glade" hardly expresses the exact description of these scrub oaks areas.

These Wayne County areas indicated that at some early period thay were entirely destitute of tree-growth, except a few scattered large oaks, preserved as if by design, for shade trees, or possibly for ceremonial use.

Some early writers were of the opinion that so-called "Glades" doubtless were the former cultivated fields of a pre-historic people, whose works of art were still quite evident as late as the last quarter of the 19th century, for instance the mounds, fortifications, and tumuli of Wooster and Plain townships. Tumuli largely applies to smaller mounds and is used to designate sepulchral mounds.

The foregoing Wayne County data is based on the records left by Ben F. Douglass, early Wayne County historian.

Whether a similar line of reasoning can rightly be applied to the Scrub Oak Ridge area in German (Clark) township will always remain an unanswered question. These sand ridges may possibly have been cultivated by an earlier people. Yet, we seriously question this belief because these areas only existed on the highest sand ridges--the areas first showing the effects of dry weather. Excessive lack of moisture might have helped cause the growth of scrubby oaks. If so, then what happened to the forests which earlier covered these ridges, assuming that at one time the entire region was covered with virgin forest. If it was not earlier covered with oak trees where did the acorns come from that provided the seed for the scrub oak?

We might include as illustration what dry weather conditions might do over a period of time by recalling the 1920-1940 period when we lost all our chestnut trees. Yes, the blight took them, but why so quickly?

First spotted in New York State in 1923, within several years it reached Ohio. We all know what happened to those hundreds of thousand of chestnut trees we remember so well. We oldsters, and a few younger ones, too, remember the full baskets of chestnuts we used to carry home. I wonder, how much of the effects of that chestnut tree blight might have been caused by the continual recurring droughts of the years during which the blight did its damage. It was also during this same period that the waterlevel in some sections dropped as much as 60 feet, and less (but too much) in other sections. And to this day, the water level has not yet risen to a satisfactory height.

Whatever caused the appearance of the chestnut tree blight, surely helped perform its deadly work during the dry weather spells because the uplands where the chestnut trees grew in the sandy soils dried out more quickly.

We would like to hear from any who have any information relative to the reasons for the scrub oak, etc. Send direct to the writer. [Since the writer is deceased , send to OAL.]

Now back to the Amish congregation at Scrub Oak Ridge. Its name led us to side-track for the sake of explanation. This seems to not have been the first of the four churches. Rather, it is shown by the deed-dates that it must have been the last one, dating from about 1817. The area it covered extended from east and south of Farmerstown to the vicinity of present Charm, and north to Limpytown, practically all of the area included in the scrub oak ridges. Its early ministers were John Frey, Noah Miller, and David Miller, Levi Miller was Bishop.

Judging from the deed-dates, the church located in the area where Jonas Stutzman and the four families who came in 1810 settled just south of Walnut Creek was the first to come into existence, very likely as early as 1810. It must have been in this vicinity that Jacob Miller preached the first sermon in Holmes County. It is our belief that this was the first sermon preached to this new and surely the first Amish congregation in Holmes County. Deed dates bear this out. Early ministers were William Gerber, and Abraham Mast. David Beechy was deacon, and Moses Miller, widely known as "Grosz Mose", was bishop. While Jacob Miller seems to have

been instrumental in getting this congregation started, he was not its minister. This church was the forerunner of the present Walnut Creek Mennonite Church. What could have been the first of the four was near present Sugarcreek; here Jacob Miller must have been a first minister for it was in the immediate vicinity of his home, yet the records do not name him as such. Early ministers named were Moses Wengerd and Stephen Yoder. The bishop was Jacob Coblentz.

The third of the four congregations was located in the Pleasant Valley area of Walnut Creek township. Its early ministers were Moses H. Miller, Christian Yoder, and Solomon Miller. Moses I. Miller, known as "Little Mose" was bishop.

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# Geauga County Amish Settlement Has 80th Birthday [1]

By W. E. Farver

The local Amish settlement (the counties of Holmes, Wayne, Tuscarawas, Coshocton, Stark) is the direct outgrowth of the original Amish settlement in southeastern Pennyslvania shortly after 1700, by Amish immigrants from the Palatinate areas of Germany and Switzerland's Rhine River Valley.

From the area including the counties of Berks, Lancaster, and others, there drifted a considerable sprinkling of Amish settlers westward across the Allegheny Mountains to the area where Somerset County and adjoining counties were situated during the following five or six decades. After the Revolutionary War was over, there was a continual influx to these counties, and by the end of the first decade of the 1800s, the local Amish settlement was begun in the Sugarcreek and Walnut Creek valleys.

From this local settlement there sprang (during the latter decades of the 1800's, and earlier decades of the 1900's) Amish settlements in these Ohio counties: Geauga, Madison, Hardin, Medina, Ashland, and others, as well as in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and other states, all stemming directly or indirectly from the original settlements made in 1808, by Jacob Miller and sons a mile northeast of Sugarcreek, and by Jonas Stutzman, in 1809, a half mile south of Walnut Creek, both coming from Somerset County, Pennsylvania.

Frequently, during recent years, the question has been raised regarding the origin of the settlements in Geauga and Madison counties, the next two in size in Ohio, larger than our local settlement. After somewhat lengthy efforts some data has been obtained and will appear in this and a later issue .

## Geauga County Settlement

Eighty years ago, Geauga County's first Amish settlers arrived in Parkman township, Geauga County.

Just a few preliminary facts about the early history of Geauga County, the site of Ohio's second-oldest Amish settlement are pertinent here.

Records show that Moses Cleveland, acting as agent of the Connecticut Land Company, closed negotiations with the Indian Chief, Red Jacket, who represented the Six Nations, (the Iroquois), for the tract of land lying between the Pennsylvania-Ohio line and the mouth of the Cuyahoga Rver, a tract comprising approximately 3,000,000 acres, the purchase price calling for five thousand pounds in New York currency (amounting to $24,000 in present U.S. money). This amount was to be paid in goods such as could be used by the western Indians, and two beef cattle and 100 gallons of whiskey to be paid to the eastern Indians, besides gifts and provisions for all of them. This transaction was made June 23, 1796.

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1. Reprinted from *The Budget*, "From Out of the Past," November 10,1966, used by permission

Of interest is a huge walnut tree which stands on what is known as the Halford Farm in Hunting Valley, on Ohio 87. On the tree is a sign which reads:

> "Black Walnut Nigra. This is the Moses Cleveland Tree, as it was standing here as a part of the original forest when he (Moses Cleveland) landed at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, July 22, 1796. Let us preserve it as a living memorial of the first settlers of the Western Reserve."

Today this memorable tree had grown to a large size, and is still standing. [ in 1966]

The first settlement on these 3,000,000 acres was at present Cleveland, in the autumn of 1796, and consisted of Job V. Stiles and family and a man named Edward Paine. They remained during the winter of 1796-1797, but the surveyors who came on July 4th, 1796, returned east when winter set in.

The first county in the three million acre tract was Trumbull, organized in 1800, and included the entire tract. From it the remaining counties of the Western Reserve were formed. Geauga County was the next one formed in 1805,with Cuyahoga County in 1807.

The first settlement in Geauga County by whites was in the vicinity of present Burton, in 1798, by three families from the state of Connecticut, the site then being deep in the backwoods of the Western Reserve.

When Chief Red Jacket conveyed the title to this vast area to the Connecticut Company, he actually created the Western Reserve, an area which played such an important part in Ohio's history. Its original settlers were largely New Englanders, a large percentage from Connecticut.

Hardships were a common lot. By 1800 there were one or two crude mills where meal might be ground, but the few settlers in what became Geauga had to rely on the primitive "sweat-mill," a small hand-mill which required the hard labor of two hours to produce sufficient meal for a day for one person.

Geauga County pioneer history is filled with thrilling and interesting incidents, two of which are crowded into this story.

In 1820, wild pigeons were so abundant that in many instances large trees were crushed beneath their enormous weight. Many smaller trees were so severely bent over that during future years they never stood straight again. In Troy Township there was a place known as "Pigeon Roost," where millions of wild pigeons gathered to roost, especially during their migragoty flights. Here pigeon hunters captured wagon loads of the birds with only poles as weapons. Years later when this area was cleared off and converted to farming land, it proved to be of Geauga's most fertile land.

During the "Great Drought of 1845," forty-one years before the first Amish settler migrated to Geauga County, this area was one of the counties which were most affected by the drought. The area thus affected extended some 100 miles east and west, and about 50 to 60 miles north and south, in some areas entirely to Lake Erie. There was no rain from the last of March until the 10th of June when a little fell during the day. Then no more until July 2nd, when half-inch fell making the roads a little muddy. Then no more until in early September when the fall rains began to break the drought. See volume 1, page 683, *Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio*, for extensive description of the 1845 drought, its damage to crops, and the resulting water shortage.

Amish settlers eventually were attracted to the Geauga area because of its productive soil, and its rolling surface which affords good drainage, with hardly any erosion. It also is situated in that part of Ohio which receives its share of the annual deepest snows of Ohio, which helps its increase the annal rainfall.

In early 1886, Samuel Weaver with his family migrated from Eastern Holmes County to Parkman Township, Geauga County, settling on a farm on the main Parkman-Middlefield road.

They were the first Amish settlers ever to migrate into the Geauga area. They were alone in an entirely non-Amish area, but only for a year, for early in 1887 more Amish families began to occupy farms in what to them held the promise of being the land of milk, cheese, and maple syrup.

# Madison County's Amish Settlement Has 70th Birthday [1]

By W. E. Farver

Like its sister Amish settlement, in Geauga County, Ohio, which during the past summer (1966) celebrated its 80th birthday, the Madison County Amish settlement also celebrated its 70th birthday.

In 1896, the first Amish settlers migrated to Madsion County. Geauga County's first Amish settlers moved there from Holmes Co. Likewise, Madison County's first Amish settlers also came from Holmes County. They were John J. Miller, Moses S. Schlabach, Dan J. Miller, David Farmwald, Moses M. Kauffman, Eli J. Miller, and Albert Spezinger.

Madison County was first settled permanently in 1796, by Benjamin Springer, on the west bank of Big Darby Creek, the county's largest stream. He chose his site about a mile north of Amity, and two miles south of present Plain City. Springer came from Kentucky in the fall of 1795, selected his site, cleared a spot for a cabin,and built the cabin, bringing his family in the spring of 1796.

However, Springer was the first permanent white settler, but the second white man to live there. Jonathan Adler, who in 1781 was taken captive by the Indians, had lived here with the Indians. As the records indicate, before Springer arrived, Alder had taken an Indian wife and was living in a cabin on the east side of Big Darby Creek. Springer became Alder's near neighbor, and proceeded to teach Alder to speak English. Alder was eight years old when he was captured, and in fifteen years had forgotten all his English.

It was about this time or shortly later when Johathan Alder, after 15 years with the Indians, learned of the whereabouts of his family, back in Virginia. A separation and settlement, Indian-fashion, from his Indian wife was arranged, after which he headed back east where he finally located his mother and brothers in the vicinity of Wythe County in Virigina. The story of Johathan Alder is of more than passing interest. Readers having access to *Henry Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio*, should turn to page 173, vol. 2, for the entire story how he found his family after fifteen years with the Indians. Before this he had accumulated some livestock, sold some milk, butter and supplies to the Indians, and after finding his mother and brothers, he still seemed to have his roots in Madison County, and later returned to spend his life there, for his name is mentioned in Madison County history in 1800, in 1812, and at his death in 1849. He was buried in the Foster Chapel Cemetery, four miles north of West Jefferson, where sixty years ago, his grave was marked with a slab marker, 4½ feet by 2 feet in size, bearing the following inscription:

Jonathan Adler
born
Sept. 17, 1773
Taken by the Indians, 1781
Returned to his Mother in 1805
died
Jan. 30, 1849
aged
About 70 years

In 1797, more settlers followed Benjamin Springer to the Big Darby section. With the gradual influx of immigrants, by March, 1810, Madison County was organized.

Deer Creek, in Madison County, was so named by the Indians because of the great numbers of deer that frequented the area during pre-pioneer days, to eat the moss that grew in abundance upon the banks by the stream. By the Indians of Central Ohio, the Deer Creek area was considered the best deer hunting ground in most of present Ohio.

Madison County rightly claims the distinction of being the seat of the first and oldest community livestock auction in Ohio. It was established in 1856, and in 1966, 110 years later, is still going strong. During the first 30 years of the London, Ohio Livestock Auction, only one similar livestock auction had sprung into existance. It was held at Paris, Kentucky. Today, few areas exist that do not have a community auction.

Through the help of a number of local

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1. Reprinted from *The Budget*, "From Out of the Past," Dec. 15, 1966, used by permission

persons who referred me to several Madison County residents, I have collected some data of the first Amish settlers to migrate to that area. Among those for whose help I am grateful, are locally: Ervin Gingerich, John A. Raber and son Benj., Roy L. Schlabach, and Roman S. Yoder. And in Madison County, Jonas E. Beachy, and Abe B. Yoder.

Of the Amish settlers and their families first to migrate to Madison County were the seven whose names appear in an earlier paragraph, all moving from the more hilly areas of Holmes County, in the spring of 1896.

According to the information given me, the seven families became located and settled in Madison County as follows:

John J. Miller, known throughout the settlement as "John Johnny," bought 100 acres a mile south of the village of Gillivan, about midway between Plain City and London along present U. S. 42 area. He also rented another 150-acre tract, the Taylor farm, nearby, which he farmed in addition to his own farm.

Dan J. Miller and Albert Spezinger also became renters upon migrating to Madison County, renting a farm of 120 acres, which they farmed jointly for three years, south of Plumwood. They then parted company. Of Spezinger there is no more record, but Miller rented another farm, 174 acres, a mile north of Plain City, paying $4.22 cash rent per acre. He stayed on this farm two years. After renting several farms over the next three years, Eli purchased the former Andy Scheiderer farm of 60 acres for $5900. Nine years later he sold it for $130 an acre, and bought what was known as the Zack Taylor farm, moving there on March 4, 1913. Here Eli and Veronica, his wife, lived the rest of their lives.

David F. Farmwald rented a farm northwest of Plumwood, where he began his farming operations in Madison County. Further information is lacking about the Farmwalds.

Moses M. Kauffman moved in with the David Farmwalds, and he evidently spent his first year there as a day laborer. The second year he rented a farm and began farming. Moses J. Schlabach bought a fifty-acre farm for $50 an acre, and began farming upon arrival in Madison County.