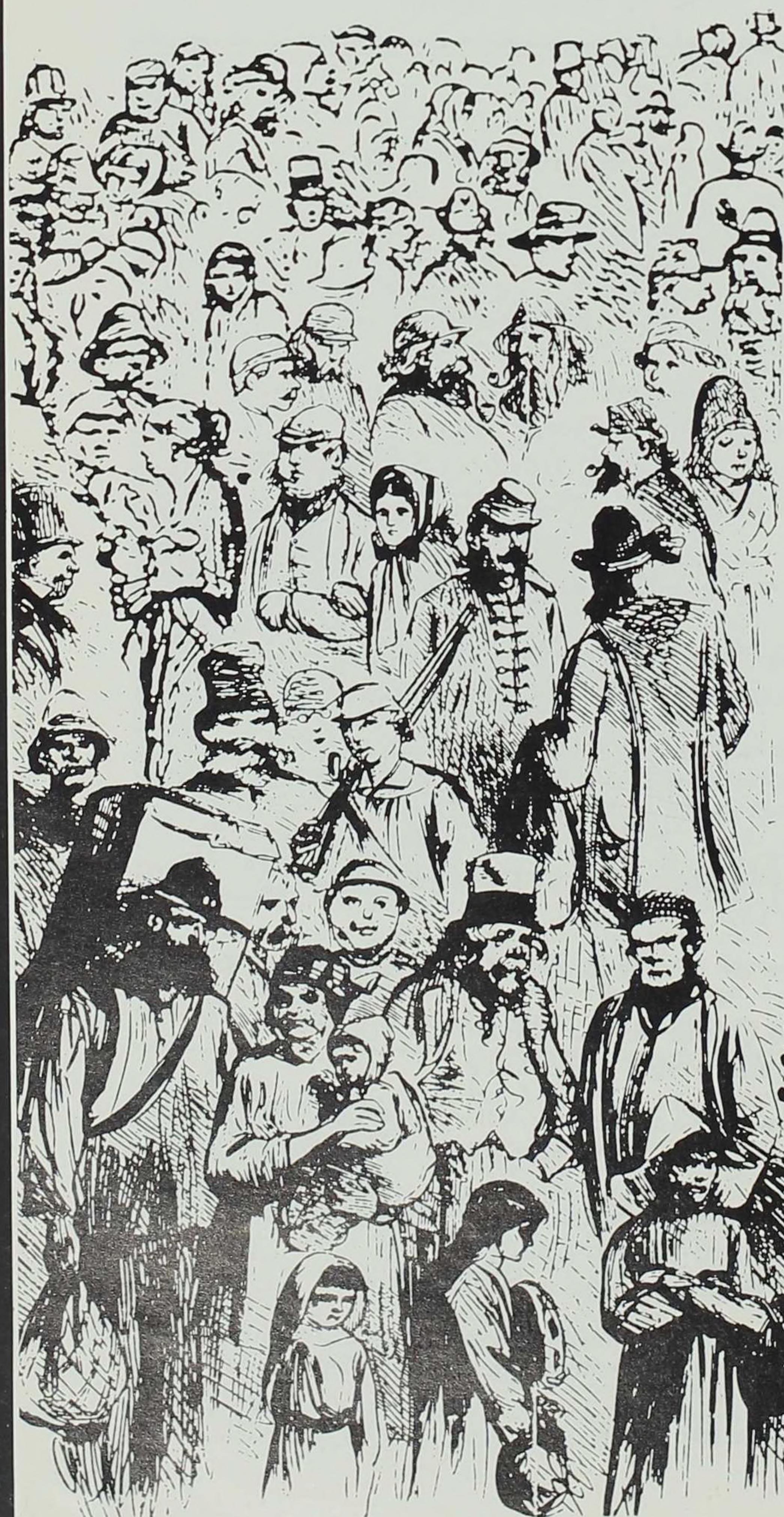


An Amish Mennonite Farmer Chooses Iowa

by William B. Graber



ON FEBRUARY 14, 1822, Daniel Conrad stepped ashore in the United States at New York Harbor. For the hardy twenty-five-year-old farmer, it was to be a fortuitous step. Prohibited from owning land in Europe for his religious beliefs, the landless farmer would eventually own over two and a half square miles of Iowa farmland. He would marry his sweetheart in America on the Fourth of July; teach their twelve surviving children the values of industry, frugality, and honesty; and blaze the trail to the Iowa frontier for members of his community.

Some fifty years before Daniel was born, his paternal grandfather had also been an immigrant, seeking a more secure life within the constantly changing European political scene of the eighteenth century. In the 1740s Hans Kunrad (as Conrad was then spelled) arrived in the town of Montbéliard, the capital of the small German territory of the same name. Hans Kunrad was one of thousands of Swiss Brethren (also known as Anabaptists or Amish Mennonites) who had fled Canton Bern in Switzerland, where the government persecuted them for their pacifist beliefs and con-



"NEWLY-ARRIVED EMIGRANTS AT CASTLE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY"/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

fiscated their lands to support the state church. Banished from even the harshest Alpine slopes of Switzerland, Hans Kunrad found nearby Montbéliard a comforting refuge where more established relatives and fellow Amish Mennonites eased the hardships for new refugees.

About the size of a county in Iowa, the territory of Montbéliard was nestled in the Jura Mountains between France and the Swiss Cantons. Officially property of the German Duke of Württemberg since 1397, Montbéliard had become a center of refuge for Amish Mennonites by about 1705 due to its uncommonly tolerant religious policies. Immigration to Montbéliard had increased after 1712 when King Louis XIV of France expelled Anabaptists from neighboring Alsace, which had long been a refuge for nonconformists. The Anabaptists, or Amish Mennonites, believed in literal obedience to the Scriptures. They rejected all secular oaths, including in the courts and military, and believed they ought not conform to an impure world.

Montbéliard continued to attract refugees throughout the first half of the 1700s; the Duke of Württemberg encouraged them to settle as tenant farmers on his empty Montbéliard estates. He found the Amish Mennonites to be honest, skillful, and competent in agriculture and animal husbandry; their high productivity thus enabled him to extract high rents from them.

Assimilation of the refugees into the Montbéliard society would occur slowly over several generations. Most of the Amish Mennonite refugees from Switzerland spoke German or were bilingual, whereas most of the Montbéliard natives spoke French. The inward-looking nature of the Amish Mennonite religion encouraged the retention of tradition, of which language, clothing, and religious customs were parts. Despite the benevolence of the German House of Württemberg in offering the Amish Mennonites a place to practice their religion, Hans Kunrad continued to consider himself Swiss, as did his son Martin (born in 1753), and as would his grandson Daniel, born on August 24, 1796.

Though Daniel was born in religiously tolerant Montbéliard, he grew up under the chaotic religious policies of France. Situated between

two powers — Switzerland and France — both with a state church, Montbéliard was in a precarious position. This refuge was separated from Württemberg in Germany by seventy miles, leaving the small territory exposed to the whims of France. Indeed, Montbéliard was occupied by France in 1796, freed briefly, then confirmed as French territory after the Napoleonic Wars.

These political shifts in Montbéliard led to confusion regarding citizenship and, as a result, military conscription. Soon after Switzerland became a French republic in 1798, Swiss citizenship was restored to banished nonconformists and their descendants. Though Daniel and his parents may never have returned to Switzerland, they appear to have been granted Swiss citizenship. In French Montbéliard after the Revolution, however, Daniel's status appears to have been ill-defined. Born in a region now incorporated into France, he could be considered a French citizen subject to military service, to which Amish Mennonites objected on moral grounds. Perhaps they began to consider "Mömpelgard" (as they called Montbéliard in their German dialect) only a temporary home and a place where they could be no more than tenants to a duke. In search of religious freedom, land-ownership, and political stability, many Amish Mennonite farmers chose to emigrate to Poland, Russia, Canada, and the United States. Daniel Conrad's family made this choice when he was twenty-five. For Daniel, America would largely hold up to the boasts made in emigrant guides, letters, and testimony of his relatives.

DANIEL'S IMMIGRATION to the United States was an example of the phenomenon of chain migration, in which immigrants encouraged relatives to join them and then helped sustain them after they had arrived. In 1822 Daniel was part of a wave of Europeans of various faiths and nationalities to emigrate following the Napoleonic Wars. Like most during this period, Daniel was poor but not destitute, and he held valuable skills — in his case, experience with dairy cattle and farming. His family had the resources (perhaps money sent from

relatives already in America) to pay his fare from Le Havre to New York, thus releasing him from the hardship of having to contract his labor to strangers for the cost of his passage.

The Conrads' kinship network greatly aided immigration and settlement. Daniel likely stayed with relatives in Pennsylvania (as did his eldest brother and parents who immigrated a few months later) before traveling by wagon to Amish Mennonite settlements in Wayne County, Ohio, in the spring of 1823. There he lived with his brother John or cousins until his other siblings and parents arrived in June or July. Daniel's eldest brother, Jacob, soon purchased 206 acres and, with the help of neighbors and family, constructed a large frame house and a gigantic, three-story Swiss barn. Daniel lived on Jacob's farm with his parents and siblings.

A few years later, in 1826, Daniel married Marie Klopfenstein, a young Amish Mennonite immigrant from Bourogne, Montbéliard. They married on the date of America's jubilee — July 4 — a wedding date one could view as symbolic of the couple's love for their new country. In America they could openly practice their religious beliefs, own land, and prosper. Here immigrants no longer needed to maintain foreign citizenship to exempt themselves from universal military conscription, which ran contrary to their peaceful religious convictions. In 1833 Daniel Conrad applied for citizenship; three years later he joined his first four Ohio-born children in becoming a citizen of the United States.

Daniel's naturalization, however, did not assume cultural assimilation. Buttressed by his Amish Mennonite peers and their German-language religious services, he retained his German dialect, distinctive style of dress, and religious tenets, as his grandparents had done earlier in Montbéliard. Although he learned some English, throughout his life he would speak German as his first language. In a land of Anglo-Americans, these cultural traits and religious values were the core of his self-identity.

By the mid-1820s Wayne County (like neighboring Holmes and Stark counties) had a thriving Amish Mennonite community. Census records show a thorough mixture of Ameri-

cans and Europeans. Completion of the Ohio Canal through Stark County in 1832 would further enhance settlement by linking Cleveland and the Ohio River. Immigrants could now travel from New York to Ohio exclusively by water. As waves of new settlers arrived, the population of Wayne County increased dramatically. Current residents added to the population pressure by continuing to enlarge their families through birth. Daniel and Marie did their share: Marie bore eleven of their thirteen children in Wayne County (one died). Many parents hoped that their children would eventually purchase local farms, but sale of remaining vacant sections of Wayne County and the rise in land values to \$10 per acre by 1830 precluded many of the larger and less affluent families from fulfilling their landowning dreams there. Daniel and Marie Conrad realized that for their children to become landowners, the family would need to move west. They had saved money in the 1820s and 1830s. Now it was time to find available land.

SOMETIME BEFORE 1837 a squatter named John Roberts set up housekeeping in a log cabin on the wooded promontory overlooking the confluence of Turkey Creek and Skunk River in what would soon be Lockridge Township, Jefferson County, Iowa Territory. Perhaps Roberts had moved to this edge of the frontier to work the old cornfields along the riverbank. These fields had been abandoned by the Mesquakie or Sauk a few years earlier when they had relinquished land included in the Black Hawk Purchase. A ceremonial wickiup still stood on the land, a reminder of the village that had been located there and proof of the land's suitability for settlement.

By September 1837 surveyor E. F. Lucas arrived in Lockridge Township and noted squatter Roberts's presence. He also noted the abundance of walnut, buckeye, elm, maple, hackberry, and oak trees. Despite this wealth of timber, valuable as lumber and fuel, squatter Roberts chose not to purchase the land when bids for the newly surveyed township were first opened in November 1838 in Bur-

lington. Evidently he preferred to take advantage of the free use of the land and to collect honey to sell in Burlington. By 1840 Roberts was once again chasing the frontier as it moved farther west.

Daniel Conrad, on the other hand, was probably pleased to find that federal land in newly surveyed Jefferson County was still available for sale. Having arrived from Wayne County, Ohio, in May 1839, Daniel bought what squatter Roberts had rejected — the heavily wooded land, part river bottom and part slope, just above "Cedar Ford." At \$1.25 per acre, Conrad paid \$222.94 cash for his first 178 1/3 acres of Iowa land.

Conrad's purchase was not a solitary action, however, but an event orchestrated by the Wayne County congregation. Six other Amish Mennonites also bought federal land in Jefferson County on May 16, 1839. They scouted the best lands and invested in large blocks so their children and other kin could live nearby. The purchases in Jefferson County appeared in two distinct clumps: John Graber, Sr. and John Hockstetter (or Hostetler) joined Daniel Conrad in Lockridge Township; and Joseph Roth, Nicholas Klopfenstein, John Graber, Jr., and Tobias Schrock bought tracts in Cedar Township. All members of the scouting party returned to Wayne County to recruit settlers.

After a second scouting party from Wayne County made further purchases in 1841, Roth and the younger Graber led the first band of Amish Mennonite settlers into Jefferson County in 1843. Other members of the 1839 scouting party settled there the following year, purchasing additional tracts of land from local speculators, albeit at higher prices because the area was quickly becoming more settled — spurred by the opening of the Fairfield Land Office on August 1, 1842, and the accompanying local economic boom. Still, the land was much cheaper than in densely populated Ohio, and the sale of high-priced properties in the East sometimes financed the purchase of such large tracts in the West.

Daniel Conrad traveled to Iowa three more times before he and his family moved there — fully a decade after he had first bought land. In 1844 he paid \$140 for another eighty wooded acres adjacent to the farm of John Graber, Sr.

in Lockridge Township. In 1847 he purchased 160 acres across the Skunk River in Henry County, just a mile and a half east of his original farm at Cedar Ford. Two years later he and his elder sons returned in the spring to complete the clearing of fifty acres of timber on the Henry County "Merrimac" farm and to plant crops. Still in Ohio, the Conrad family waited while the harshest aspects of the frontier passed.

IN THE LATE SUMMER of 1849 Daniel and Marie Conrad and their ten children (ages fifteen months to twenty-two years) prepared to move to Iowa. They gathered horses, cattle, sheep, grain, apple seeds, and supplies. They loaded the youngest of the children into a wagon, and the older children walked behind. With their wagon pulled by oxen, they surely traveled more slowly than settlers with horse-drawn vehicles. They followed the Scriptures by resting on Sundays. Upon reaching the Mississippi River opposite Burlington, they may have crossed by ferry rather than brave the ford used earlier by the scouting parties. Then they followed the route of the Plank Road to Mount Pleasant and dirt (or mud) roads northwest to Cedar Ford.

Their first home may have been a log cabin on the Cedar Ford farm (although by 1850 they would be living on their nearby 160-acre Merrimac farm in Henry County). Over the final months of 1849 they would be joined by friends and relatives from Wayne County, who would purchase nearby farms on either side of the Skunk River. The Conrads were more fortunate than most pioneers: thanks to Daniel's spring planting, they already had crops to harvest that fall. Those crops provided valuable sustenance during a difficult year. The Henry County corn crop, normally 50 bushels per acre, was down by one third, and the potato harvest, normally 150 bushels per acre, was "nearly totally rotted." That fall the Conrads harvested 300 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of oats, 50 bushels of barley, and 25 bushels of potatoes. Five tons of hay supplemented excess grain in feeding Daniel's 2 horses, 4 milch cows, 3 other cows, 5 sheep, and 18 swine through the winter. (Any produce

from his farm at Cedar Ford escaped enumeration.)

THE KINSHIP NETWORK was a prominent feature of the pioneer experience for Daniel and Marie Conrad. It had helped pay their voyage from Le Havre to New York, helped familiarize them to life in America during their brief stay in Pennsylvania, and guided them to friendly settlements in Ohio. The reliance on extended family allowed members to do together what could not be accomplished alone, such as building brother Jacob's large Swiss-style barn. Though many American pioneers aided each other on the frontier, the sense of community among the Amish Mennonite immigrants was particularly strong due to their shared religious values and centuries-old kinship ties. These ties had bound them to each other at each step in the migration from Switzerland to Iowa. It was no coincidence that many of their Graber, Roth, Klopfenstein, Rich, Wyse, and Liechty neighbors in Ohio and Iowa had also been fellow members of the old Montbéliard church structure.

Moreover, the line between kin and congregation was often indistinct. Over the generations members of the Amish Mennonite communities had married whom they considered the most eligible mates: other members of the congregation. The result was a congregation united by ancestry or marriage as well as by religion. In a typical local congregation of less than two dozen families — albeit often large families (Daniel Conrad, who was one of eleven children, fathered thirteen) — one's selection of a marriage partner was restricted by the predominance of blood kin if one remained in the faith.

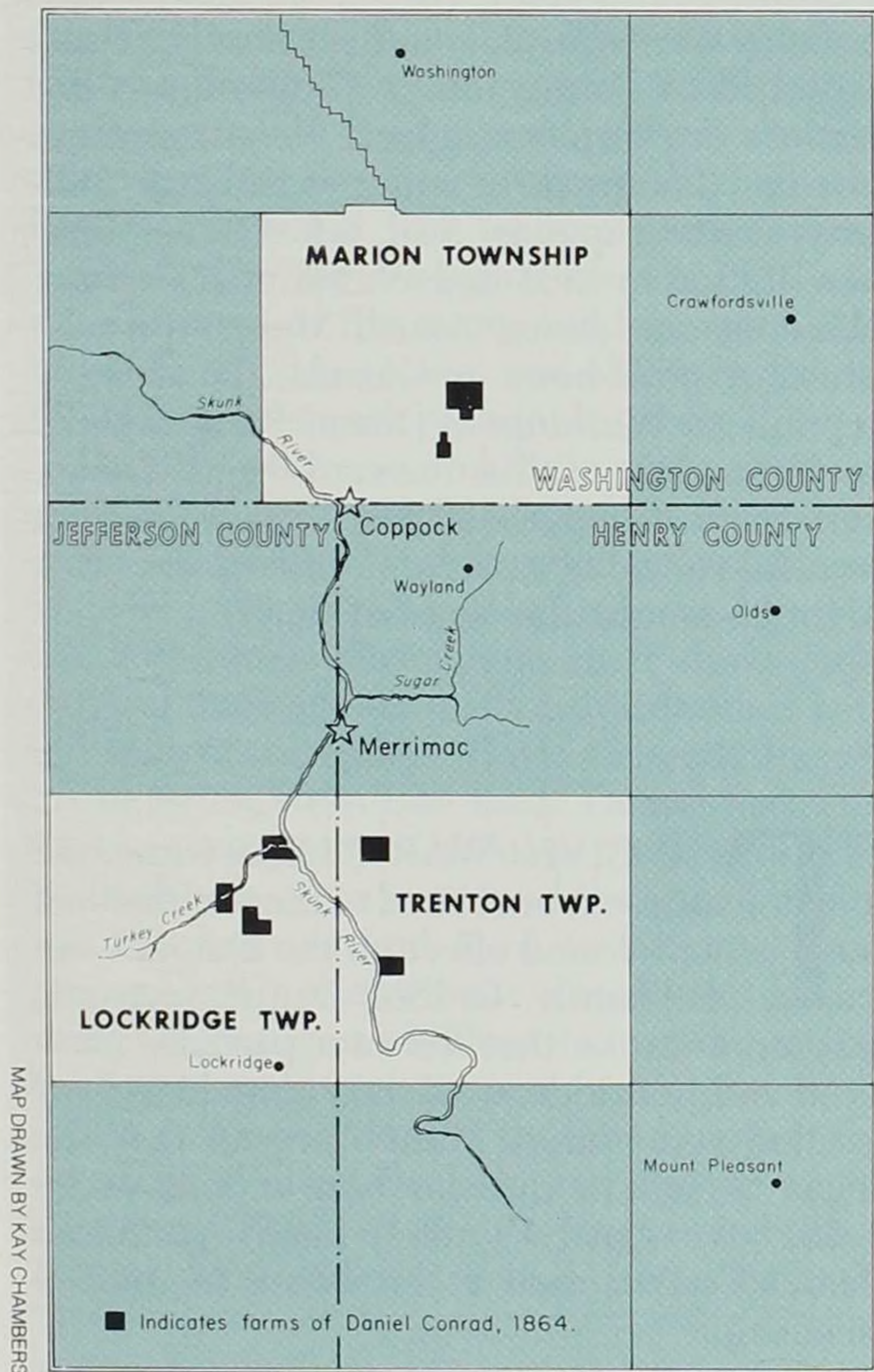
This phenomenon of marriage within a group was not unique to the Amish Mennonites. Such marriage practices can be found among other close-knit religious groups and the rural population at large. One's choice of marriage partner was typically limited by geographic distance (as affected by modes of transportation) and the frequency of public events (such as church services or barn raisings). An extensive kinship network had both benefits

and limitations, but the continuation of these communities over time and distance indicates that to most members the benefits clearly outweighed the drawbacks.

Distance, however, was affecting Daniel's faith community. It had spread from Cedar Creek in Jefferson County to Sugar Creek in Henry County, some twenty-five miles. Difficulties in transportation and communications precluded a unified Sunday meeting on a regular basis. For this reason the local preacher alternated services between different neighborhoods. In the absence of a church building, services were held in the members' homes or, in one case, in John Conrad's barn. The original faith community intended by the Amish Mennonite leaders who had purchased land in 1839 and 1841 had become too diffuse. Parents feared their children would not find Amish Mennonites to marry in areas where young Anglo-Americans abounded. The need for a close-knit sense of community, challenged by the distance between homes, increased the pressure for resettlement. Thus, in 1851 and 1852 part of the faith community in Jefferson and Henry counties decided to begin their own colony in Marion Township, Washington County — nine miles north of the Conrads' Merrimac farm. (This splinter group could probably buy land at lower prices in Washington County; the area was more isolated and railroads would bypass the township a few years later.) This desire for religious cohesion, and the abundance of cheap land for growing families, probably triggered Daniel Conrad's purchase of 240 acres in section 21 of Marion Township in April 1852. He negotiated the \$1600 purchase price through a mortgage with the seller (banks were still prohibited in Iowa, under the 1846 state constitution). Amish Mennonites were able to purchase land in contiguous blocks so that part of Marion Township became an almost unbroken chain of Amish Mennonite farms.

IN MARION TOWNSHIP the Conrad family prospered. The single most important factor appears to have been a windfall profit in 1856 of \$2000 from unspecified "general manufactures." (Most

By 1864 Daniel Conrad owned nearly two-and-a-half square miles of farmland (some shown in blocks below).



likely, Daniel sold logs for a dollar apiece to the local sawmills at Coppock and Merrimac, which provided lumber for frame houses and possibly ties for the approaching railroads. By 1860, in contrast, Daniel reported income of less than \$100 in the same category.) This boost in income allowed Daniel to pay \$700 cash for fifty acres in section 28 in September 1856; he had already paid \$400 cash for an adjoining forty in July 1855. His elder sons also made land purchases in the 1850s. This large family labor pool allowed the successful operation of the Conrad farms. In contrast to Daniel's early subsistence farming in 1849, by 1859 he was engaged in commercial agriculture. The family still produced most food for their dinner table, but they sold substantial surpluses as well. Fields on his 280-acre home farm in Marion Township alone yielded 1,000 bushels of corn, 300 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of oats,

150 bushels of Irish potatoes, 15 bushels each of barley and buckwheat, and 35 tons of hay. His sorghum fields yielded cane for 27 gallons of molasses, providing an alternative sweetener to the honey collected from his bee stands and hives in trees. In addition, the family picked apples valued at \$25 from his young orchard.

Although surplus grain was sold, the primary use of his crops was to feed his expanding livestock operation, the greater part of his commercial enterprise. Since 1849, Daniel had increased his livestock holdings. The swine herd was up a third, and the dairy herd had doubled. The beef herd had grown fourfold, and the sheep, sixfold. He had added seven more work horses and a team of oxen. Although many neighbors to the north shipped hogs to Chicago through John Stone, a stock dealer on the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad at Ainsworth, Daniel continued to drive his stock to Burlington. With the help of three grown sons and two farm hands (recent Amish Mennonite immigrants), Daniel must have found greater profit in the longer trip to Burlington, where barge traffic provided competition to the railroad and higher commodity prices for the farmers. He sold other produce such as butter in Washington and kept much of the wool for domestic use. A side effect of the livestock operation was the greater quantity and diversity of meats for the dinner table. Daniel's farm economy was a diversified grain-livestock enterprise large enough to sustain a growing family of in-laws, children, and grandchildren on several farms, with a surplus remaining for sale.

Part of Daniel's success can probably be attributed to his willingness to adopt new farming technology, a quality shared with his European ancestors. (In Montbéliard, the Amish Mennonites had been famous for their intense cultivation and skilled animal husbandry. Although they had sometimes been ostracized by neighbors for applying manure to the fields, the practice had gained them higher yields.) In Iowa, Daniel became a leader in acquiring farm implements and machinery. By the early 1860s he owned outright several steel plowshares, harrows, a clover huller, grain drill, reaper, fan mill, and cane mill, estimating their total value

at \$580. This was \$230 higher than the collection of his nearest technological rival in Marion Township, his cousin Christian Conrad. Daniel could justify his large investment in implements by the number of acres under diversified cultivation.

The investment also illustrates his economic progressiveness. The Amish Mennonites in general were exceptional farmers; in France, Marie's uncle had won a gold medal for his farming. Though Daniel probably believed the popular contemporary notion that the prairie lands were less fertile, as shown by his pattern of purchasing wooded land near rivers and streams, Daniel's diversified grain and livestock enterprise and his willingness to buy new farm equipment show his progressive outlook toward farm operation on the eve of the Civil War.

THE START OF THE WAR, and the possibility that his beloved land of opportunity would be torn apart, presented Daniel with a dilemma. On moral grounds his religion prohibited fighting in any form. Involuntary military service had been a primary reason for his earlier emigration from French-held land. Amish Mennonite leaders, however, strongly condemned slavery, and Daniel's friendship with William Scofield, a local Presbyterian farmer and Republican activist who harbored runaway slaves, points to Daniel's concurrence with that view. Some Amish Mennonites, such as drummerboy Daniel Eicher, volunteered as non-combatants. A few left the faith to become soldiers. Most tried to stay out of the conflict. Conrad's sons Martin, Daniel, and Peter were placed on county militia lists but were not called up. Internal conflict likely subsided after 1863 when federal law exempted members of religious societies opposing war (upon a \$300 payment, used for hospitals and disabled veterans).

The Civil War also brought changes in the relationship between the Amish Mennonites and the Anglo-Americans. Despite the appar-

ent Union loyalty and anti-slavery convictions of Daniel's sons, young Amish Mennonite men probably were conspicuous in an area generally depleted of young males. Fortunately for Daniel's draft-age sons, local voluntarism ran so strong that the three counties had little difficulty meeting quotas. Still, when seven local men drafted in 1864 fled Washington County, including one young Amish Mennonite who returned to his home in Canada, the ardently Republican *Washington [Iowa] Press* roundly condemned them all as "cowards" and "Democrats of the Copperhead kind." Tolerance for peaceful religious views and dissent was often forgotten amidst the chaos of war.

THE CIVIL WAR YEARS witnessed an event unrelated to the war that had a profound effect on the Daniel Conrad family. In 1862 Daniel, sixty-six, suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed and bedridden. As their granddaughter recalled years later, Marie "prayed that she might be left to care for him as long as he lived." On April 1, 1864, family patriarch Daniel Conrad died at his home in Marion Township.

Four years earlier Daniel had asked his nephew, lawyer Benjamin Eicher, to translate his will from a German dialect to English. The will left all his personal effects and at least 940 acres of Iowa land, appraised at \$8,436, to Marie. The will obligated Marie to assure that their minor children could buy land at the same low cost as had the elder children who were already farming their own land. Beyond that, she could do as she pleased with the substantial family assets. The toll of bearing thirteen children and caring for her invalid husband for two years, however, must have been difficult for her. On December 23, 1865, she died at age fifty-eight.

A large number of neighbors and members of the congregation turned out on February 6, 1866, for the estate sale of Daniel and Marie Conrad. Certainly the range of farm equipment for sale and Daniel's local reputation as a wealthy and successful farmer drew more than

the usual bidders. Some, most likely, came to pay their respects to the heirs by bidding up goods or buying a memento. That thirty-one of fifty-six purchasers were non-Amish Mennonites points to the apparent postwar conciliation between the two groups. Although the largest single bid was by local miller Thom Tucker (\$246 for a wagon, wheat, and "sundries"), most of the major bidders were relatives. Even after Daniel and Marie had died, the kinship network remained strong.

Daniel's will sums up his life experience and provides insight into his attitudes toward his wife and children. It shows that he considered his wife a relatively equal partner in life. For her faithfulness throughout their thirty-eight years of marriage he justly rewarded her with the bulk of the estate. Having already helped his elder children buy land, Daniel had worried how his younger children might prosper if he died before they attained the age of majority. He had worked hard to become prosperous, and in the twilight of his life he did not want his youngest children to lose the opportunity he could give them.

After Marie's death, the court appointed neighbor William Scofield as guardian to the four minor children. Only a year younger than Daniel, Scofield was a logical choice: he had a



COURTESY OF ERNA ROTH

Astride a fine black saddle mare, Marie Conrad rode to neighbors to birth babies and care for the sick. No known photo exists of husband Daniel. Below: A portion of his will reads, "Thirdly . . . care shall be taken, especially for those children who have not received any land yet, that they receive it as cheap as the first."

Thirdly it is my will, that care shall be taken, especially for those children who have not received any land yet, that they receive it as cheap as the first, and that after my death, my dear wife shall have the right, to issue and sign deeds and conveyances of real estate and that they shall be as valid, as if I had signed them myself

fine reputation, lived near the Conrad home, and had apparently been friends with Daniel even during the divisive Civil War years. As a Presbyterian, Scofield was not part of the Amish Mennonite kinship group, and probably was more likely to ease any long-term family conflict over the division of farms of widely varying quality. Scofield faithfully acted in the minors' best interest during the lengthy division of their parents' estate.

Two years after Marie's death, the estate was still not settled. To speed the process, eldest son Martin initiated a legal procedure to sell all real estate and equally distribute the proceeds. The court eventually concurred. Family members purchased some of the farms. Other siblings — such as John William Conrad, who had married the granddaughter of an Amish Mennonite bishop and was living near Pulaski in Davis County — used their share of the proceeds to purchase land in new areas.

Wedding portrait of Daniel's youngest son, John William Conrad, and Mary Ann Fordemwalt, 1866. With estate proceeds, they bought land in nearby Davis County.



COURTESY OF JOHN W. CONRAD

THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE Daniel Conrad had felt a strong sense of responsibility to his children, his kin, and his faith. He had grown up in the fields surrounding a remote French mountain community but had come to realize that no mountain could protect his beliefs as well as could the liberty of America. He followed relatives to Pennsylvania and Ohio, where members of his faith founded a religious community and where he married and began a family. In Ohio he and Marie taught their large family to read the Bible, to be thrifty and honest, and to remain close to the precious land. When population pressure and rocketing land values in Ohio revealed that their goals could not be met there, they sought abundant lands in the West.

In Iowa the family prospered as the children helped work the fields. Daniel brought in extra income by selling timber for frame houses and railroad ties in a booming county. He reinvested his profits in the land not as a speculator, but as a benevolent father assuring that his many children could experience the joy of working their own land. He served as a link in chain migration to bring more kin to the United States, where he fed them, sheltered them, and gave them work (if not loans) so they, too, could escape the pattern of tenant farming. The religious devotion that guided many of his everyday actions caused friction with his Anglo-American neighbors for a period, but later diminished as the Civil War ended. Daniel Conrad lived in Iowa for only fifteen years, but in those fifteen he laid the foundations for permanent Iowa homes for his descendants. □

NOTE ON SOURCES

Primary sources, including Montbéliard archives, Ohio naturalization records, and original surveyor's notes, are the foundation of this article. The 1856 Iowa Census was essential; in addition to name, age, and nativity, it detailed crops and livestock. Iowa censuses of agriculture and industry and Iowa Social Statistics (1850–1880) are valuable contemporary documents. Courthouses are a rich source of deed and probate records. The author also interviewed an Amish family who had moved to Iowa from the East. The most useful secondary sources were Dorothy Schwieder, ed., *Patterns and Perspectives in Iowa History* (Ames, 1973); Melvin Gingerich, *Mennonites in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1939); and county histories. For an excellent biography of one of Daniel and Marie's children, see Ann Bechler Zimmerman, *A Conrad Family History* (privately published, 1954).