

HISTORICO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES IN IOWA

ANTHROPOLOGY AS A SCIENCE

Anthropology is history. It is history at its beginnings. It is a chapter in the new book of Genesis. The languages from which it gleans its facts and laws are not all written in phonetic characters. Its early chapters are recorded in the leaves of the earth's upper strata. It goes for information to Tertiary and Quaternary Geology. It draws upon the resources of Archæology. Ethnology from all parts of the world brings its loads of facts and laws. It shall finally include comparisons of all languages, customs, institutions, traditions, and mythologies. The science itself is not any of these nor a combination of them all. Its central interest is the problem of human evolution. It is the science which studies the origin of the human being and the origin of his capacities. It applies the law of evolution to human nature and human faculty. It may be defined as the study of human origins and evolutions. It deals somewhat in the materials and facts of every human science. It is an effort to consider man generically in the same matter-of-fact manner that science advises regarding other regions of phenomena. It would reach an evolutionary survey of the nature of man and of the expressions of man's nature. When the day comes for its establishment as a completed science, it

will be substantially an evolutionary synopsis of man on scientific principles.

Its conception as a science has been somewhat vague. Its limits have been indefinite. It has had lack of clearness because of bulkiness. Men for half a century have been feeling their way toward its better determination. The conception of it as a genetic science will aid to the clearer definition of its scope and limits. For this end the writer proposes the following nomenclature and divisions.

DIVISIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

These divisions are named from the points of view of the genesis of their facts. Man's origin in time and space is chronologically first; then the problem of his body or material organization, then his mind, then races, then society (including morals), and then religion. We may designate these divisions as: (1) Anthropogeny (Palæontological Anthropology); (2) Somatogeny (Biological Anthropology); (3) Psychogeny (Mental Anthropology); (4) Ethnogeny (Comparative Anthropology); (5) Sociogeny (Gregarious or Manward Anthropology); and (6) Religiogeny (Cosmic or Godward Anthropology). It is hoped that this division and nomenclature may be found natural, and that it will bring a vast and previously unhandleable body of facts into determinate limits. Every time and every clime offers its contribution. Every people past or present lends its experience toward the making of this last great science. Although the world is so old and man's experience on it so long, yet the science of man in any comprehensive sense is only in its pioneer stages.

This paper has for its object not an exposition of Anthropology nor a completed investigation into what the territory occupied by the State of Iowa can contribute. It is rather a recommendation. It is of the nature of a suggestion for the scientific treatment of a most important realm of facts. It has the simple aim of helping to get a keener realization of these facts. It hopes to make more definite the belief that history and politics have wider scope and deeper roots than is ordinarily supposed. The subject-matter will belong under several of the above named divisions.

GEOLOGICAL PREPARATION IN IOWA

As a possible human habitat Iowa is very old. The evidence is not yet all in as to whether man was here before the last Glacial Epoch or before other preceding ice periods. In recent geological history Iowa stands in the front rank of interest. It has been under the sea; it has been under the ice; it has supported many varieties of flora and fauna. Its uppermost surface formations are geologically the latest. Moreover, they are unusually complete; and the record of what has been called the later Tertiary, and of its successor the Quaternary Period, has been quite clearly read in Iowa and neighboring States. Professor Samuel Calvin says that "In no part of the world are certain chapters of the Pleistocene record clearer or fraught with greater interest, than in our own fair Iowa."

It does not belong to Anthropology to answer the later geological problems or to account for their wonderful phenomena; but Anthropology is greatly interested in these problems. It has a vital interest in their answers. In

many portions of the world the remains of early man are found in more than one of the layers of the upper strata. Hence the geologist's later problems are looked upon as having closest relationship to Anthropology.

What made the Pleistocene? What changed Iowa from the beautiful Pliocene of the Tertiary Epoch, or from the Neocene as it is now called by some geologists? Iowa then had a Florida climate with all its accompaniments in the way of vegetable and animal life. Why the change to the frigidity of the early Pleistocene? Was it elevation of the surface by internal upheavals? Was it changes in oceanic currents which blew frost and storm and cold where previously balmy breezes prevailed? Was it change in the nature or quality of the earth's atmosphere? Was it change in the earth's axis or in the earth's orbit? Whatever the cause the result was a big snow storm which lasted thousands of years and eventually piled up mountains of ice.

Before this life was gay. By its coming life was blighted and much of it was driven away or entirely wiped out. The glaciated region extended (with slight exceptions) from Vancouver to Massachusetts. But it probably came on so gradually that the change was unconscious, and, to a considerable extent, life adapted itself to the slowly modifying conditions. This vast country of which Iowa forms a part was low. The Gulf of Mexico in those days reached almost to St. Louis. From the North there came the snows and the resulting ice and filled up the streams and the bogs. Even the Mississippi was blocked, and after the long, long storm was over, it found in many places a new channel as it thawed out again. And so of all the rivers of the old times. Their gorges were plugged.

All this is strange, but the newer Geology has a still stranger tale to tell. It says that the like has occurred several times. The investigators within Iowa territory tell us of several glaciations. Nowhere in the world have Nature's stratified leaves been so carefully turned and so thoroughly coned as here on this once broad prairie lying between the great rivers. We are assured that there occurred glaciations which left a Pre-Kansan, a Kansan, an Illinois, an Iowan, and a Wisconsin drift. It is less than a generation since this wonderful investigation began. The work has been carried on chiefly by White, McGee, Calvin, Bain, Leverett, Udden, Chamberlin, Salisbury, Macbride, and Shimek. In the *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, in the *Reports of State Geological Surveys*, and in various other places will be found the details of the labor of these several individuals in reading the great enigma. In its totality this work will require the re-writing of some chapters in Geology. It would take us beyond our province to state even a few of the interesting results from this long investigation.

In these strata are found the remains of several great mammals. Here and there, wide apart, are the bones of the last mastodon and several varieties of the horse and other grazing animals long ago extinct. And toward the end comes man. How many "men" or races, what was their origin, whence did they come, what was their career, and what their destiny? Here, on these vast stretches of noble land, race after race has struggled for the possession, and in their struggles they have laid down their bones and their implements of offence and defence. In these characters (new

as documentary sources) we are slowly reading their history. The forces of storm, glaciation, and inundation made the richest of soils and created a territory most desirable as an abode for man.

THE APPROACH OF THE WHITE MAN

The career of the White dates from but yesterday. It is all history—history in the ordinary sense. It is easily read and traced. It was nigh two hundred years after Columbus anchored off the eastern coast before explorers penetrated so far as to visit the prairies of Iowa and the sister regions beyond the great "Father of Waters." Generations of white pioneers settled along the Atlantic coast and lived and built and tilled and died without knowing how much grander land lay toward the setting sun. Here the various Indian races roamed unknown. Here they hunted and here they clashed and fought with each other for ascendancy—they, too, all blissfully ignorant of the new type of man who was gradually moving westward toward their region, and who would one day claim their hunting grounds for other uses.

The discoveries of Columbus, Cortez, De Soto and others had excited man's imagination as to the bigness of the world to the west; and the rulers of Europe were anxious to get claims over as much of it as possible. The Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English all figured in the great scramble to preëempt a new world whose rivers flowed over gold. Their several fortunes in this undertaking have been well studied and beautifully narrated in our American histories.

The greater Louisiana, which under La Salle's claim vaguely extended from the Alleghanies to the Rockies and

which belonged to the French and then to the Spanish and then to the French, and was finally bought from Napoleon's bargain counter by the United States in 1803 for some \$15,000,000, was the greatest land sale in history and probably the best real estate bargain ever recorded. It reflected as much credit on the sagacity of President Jefferson as it did discredit on the oversight of Napoleon and his ministers. Settlement after settlement took place. Up the Mississippi northward, but chiefly from the eastern States westward, came the on-flowing white emigrants. The Louisiana of today became a State in 1812; and there followed Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Missouri in 1821. Boundaries were indefinite in those days. Land was taken in the large. There was plenty of it. A county was often as big as a State is now. The term Iowa (Ioway, a beautiful and permanent reminder of our Indian precursors) was first applied to several of the rivers which flow through the trans-Mississippi country. In 1836 Lieutenant Albert M. Lea used it to designate that part of the Territory of Wisconsin which lay west of the Mississippi. In 1834 the territorial legislature of Michigan had divided this whole "Iowa District" into two counties—Dubuque and Demoine.

In 1836 Congress formed a Wisconsin Territory. It was taken from the Territory of Michigan. It included the present Wisconsin, Minnesota, much of the Dakotas, and Iowa. Then there was an eastern and a western Wisconsin, divided by the great Mississippi. The capital of this region in 1836 was at Belmont, Iowa County, Wisconsin. The next year it was moved to Flint Hills (afterwards named Burlington). The growth that followed was unparalleled,

and in 1838 western Wisconsin, or the Iowa District, asked for a territorial government. It covered Iowa, Minnesota, and that part of the Dakotas east of the White Earth and Missouri rivers. The white population was reported in a census then taken as 22,860.

Eight years more and Iowa was again divided, and the present Iowa, with a population of 102,388, became a State in 1846. This population had squatted first at the trading points on the great rivers; while the interior was at this time the exiled home of many Indian tribes and remnants of tribes from the States farther east. In 1830 the United States had bought a strip of land in western Iowa for the purpose of sustaining more peaceable relations with the Sac and Fox Indians, the Omahas, the Otoes, and the Missouris. On this it was expected the Indians were to be left ultimately.

THE WHITE MAN'S FINAL POSSESSION

Before 1833 almost no Whites had entered the Iowa country. Indians were the sole possessors. After the war with Black Hawk in 1832, "The Black Hawk Purchase" (extending from the State of Missouri to the Upper Iowa river, a strip about fifty miles wide on the west bank of the Mississippi) let in the on-pressing emigrant stream, and very soon the six million acres opened up by that purchase were covered with white settlers.

But this was not enough. The covetous and money making White had his eye turned still westward. Iowa was too valuable for Indian hunting grounds. In 1838 the Iowas sold out to the government. In 1842 (in the saddest

council ever held) the Sacs and Foxes conveyed to the United States the "New Purchase," and in 1851 the Sioux did the same and transferred his hunting and scalping grounds to the irresistibly aggressive Aryan. Thus ended the events of a yet to be written history. Some time some one will gather up the main lines of the Red Man's career in this Iowa land and vicinity and do better justice to it by a true historical narrative. It is not our province to follow further the fortunes of this most interesting transfer of a great State by what was (according to the standards of the nations) the honorable means of purchase, treaty, reservation, and assignment. Yet in these political dealings of nation with nation or with tribes, these great transactions were far from ideal.

WHO WERE THE FIRST INHABITANTS

Anthropology asks: how many times has Iowa been inhabited before? How many waves of migration and conquest have swept over its vast green fields? How long have these fields themselves been habitable? Whence came these immigrating streams? What were the causes which impelled them in their conquering conflicts? These are problems yet to be cleared up. Geology and Archæology will lend their aid. The work has begun. A vast amount of material is ready. A great number of explorations have taken place.

It is believed by many that there are in Iowa evidences of the great antiquity of man. This evidence has not yet been systematized, and has not thus far been convincing to the conservative scientific mind. It is claimed that, at least,

man followed the glacier northward in its retreat. It is believed that this race was Eskimoid in type. What can we know of him? Who were his successors?

THE MOUND BUILDER PERIOD

It is supposed that this little Eskimoid man was followed by the famous Mound Builder, who finally spread his art and civilization up and down the Mississippi Valley and east and west for great distances. His characteristic works are found in Ohio and in Iowa, in Louisiana and in Wisconsin. He has left a vast amount of evidence as to his physical characteristics and the material stage of his civilization; but he is withal a great mystery. His mounds, so numerous, constitute together the most baffling problem in Archæology. What are they, what were they for? Some of them are doubtless the remains of his dwelling places, but many are not. Some have religious significance; some may have been for defence. Doubtless in many of them is buried the owner of the lodge which once existed thereon or thereby. Probably with his bones are to be found his implements of peace and war, and oft-times, too, the bones of his slaves and his wives, who were sacrificed to accompany his spirit on the long voyage to the land of the Great Spirit. Some of these mounds were perhaps the sites for beacon fires to convey news across wide stretches of country or to guide marching tribes or bands of hunters. Some of them, indeed, seem to have been constructed for ceremonial, social, or religious purposes of which we can only vaguely guess the nature.

In them, here, there, and everywhere, are the plentiful

objects from which Archæology must some day reconstruct history. Skeletons, weapons, utensils, pottery, hieroglyphs, attempts at sculpture and engraving are exhumed. Many other intimations there are of the sort of people who lived in these regions for considerable times. We must believe that they had a vast social organization and that they did not possess their lands in undisputed peace. The Iroquois chiefly to the north, the Algonquins chiefly to the east, the Sioux and Dakotas to the west and northwest, and perhaps the Pueblos and Cliff Dwellers to the southwest all wanted the best territory, if they knew where it was. What were the lines of their migrations? what their careers? and what their dooms? are most interesting stories yet to be interpreted, yet to be read. This can be done. More difficult things have been read. No longer do we expect to find all human history on pages copied from spoken language. The so-called "historical period" of man's career is an insignificant stretch of time. Some one has figured that it would represent comparatively but the last three months' diary of a man seventy years old. The Polynesian migrations and race relations have been largely made out by evidence of less variety and less definiteness than exists for the solution of these American anthropological problems.

WHAT BECAME OF THE MOUND BUILDERS

The territory of the long settled Mound Builders seems finally to have become the coveted hunting ground of oncoming and growing races in the East and the West. Another problem to be settled is: what became of them? Were they really a separate race? Were they utterly annihilated by

the savage hordes attacking from various quarters? Did they become extinct from plague or disease before these savage hordes approached? Did they mingle and blend with the oncoming tribes toward the close of the period of their racial decline? Did they flee away to the North and become degenerate? Did they flee away to the South and reestablish themselves? Have we perhaps found their remnants blended in the Pueblos of Colorado and Arizona or in the Cliff Dwellers of New Mexico? Did they go still further? Can we look for some intermingling of their type and work in the Pre-European peoples of Mexico, Yucatan, or Honduras? Or did they never go away, and do their relics simply represent a previously higher stage of later found peoples? Was there a protracted struggle, either against nature or against invaders, or against both? In their prime and for a long time, whoever they were, the Mound Builders were a great people. They seem not to have prospered further to the north than Iowa and Wisconsin. Perhaps their greatest prosperity was farther south and eastward. But on Iowa soil they apparently lived for a great while, and here they have left a great record.

WHO SUCCEEDED THEM

After them came others. Were these others their immediate conquerors or their degenerate descendants? Were these others the Indian tribes which were later displaced by Whites? Were they the Sacs and Foxes, the Sioux and Missouris? Who knows? How can we know? Who has portions of the record? How shall these records be collected? Who will help read them when collected? Splendid

beginnings have been made. When the White Man came, the Sioux in the West was then the mortal enemy of the Sacs and Foxes in the East. The Sacs and Foxes seem to be descendants of Algonquin stems from the East and Southeast, and the Sioux seem to be the posterity of the Dakotas from the West. From their earliest meetings these two were enemies. This was from time immemorial. But how long is that? Besides the Sacs and Foxes, apparently before them in their region, were the Illini (Illinois), the Mas-Coutins (Muscatine) and the Iowas (Ayouas, Ayouways, Ayoas, Aiouex). These latter were nearly exterminated by the Sacs and Foxes who came from Wisconsin, and of the Sacs and Foxes only a handful remain on the reservation in Tama County of this State.

THE RED MEN—"SAVAGE" OR CIVILIZED

It is easy to call our enemies "savages." It is hard for men of one race to see greatness in those of another. It is especially hard to do this if that other belongs to a widely different type of civilization or mode of living. The Aryans, and Europeans in particular, have been accustomed to style themselves the "enlightened" and all others as "half civilized," "barbarous," or "savage." They have seldom taken the pains to learn the attitude toward them of men of other races or the value of others' opinions. Anthropological study reveals this as a widely human trait. No firmer nor intenser illustration of this fact have I met than in the attitude of a Fiji Islander toward the people of the United States and Great Britain. To him, although we excelled on the material side of civilization, morally we were a barbarous

people. He hesitatingly pronounced us a nation of hypocrites. Instances of this sort should give us pause and make us reëstimate the other races.

To nearly all Americans the Red Men, whom they dispossessed, were merely "savages." More careful study of these people does away with this popular judgment. Among the copper-colored tribes, formerly inhabiting the now broad United States, were some great characters and many good and true men and women. We are able to estimate them at this distance of time with more likelihood of justice. Greatness is a term with more variety of content than the average man has yet realized.¹

BLACK HAWK

Every tribe and every people have men relatively great among themselves. But some of them are also relatively great when compared with their assumed superiors. Among these was Black Hawk, the dauntless leader of the Sacs and Foxes in the twenties and thirties of the last century. He was a man of keener moral sense than most of those who

¹ Since this section was finished the *New York Sun* (of Oct. 27), in an editorial on "The Thirteenth International Congress of Americanists," says: "It appears that we have commonly put too low an estimate on the Indian, using the term Indian as inclusive of all the aboriginal inhabitants of this hemisphere. The Indian, these learned men find, was a more intellectual being than has been generally supposed. He was religious, with high sentiments and keen emotions, and he was advanced politically far beyond the degree in savagery where he is usually placed, his political development being measurably influenced by his religion....."

"There was an American civilization as definite as the European civilization. Really, there has been a series of civilizations, one overcoming the other and the higher form usually dominating. We

dealt with his people as representatives of the United States government. His sense of justice and his opposition to the fraudulent land trade in 1804 are admirable. In the name of these tribes some drunken Indians at St. Louis sold all their territory east of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Missouri, for the despicable sum of \$2,234.50 in goods and \$1,000 a year (in goods also) for an indefinite while! This bargain Black Hawk resented, repudiated, and asked to have reconsidered. His claim was just, but to our shame it was refused. His people were forcibly moved across the Mississippi. Their deepest hatred was cultivated and the Black Hawk War was the result.

Black Hawk's intellectual acumen was shown in his famous hunting, his fighting, and his sagacity in the government of his people. His high moral character and his social qualities are seen in his rigid temperance, in his domestic virtues, and in his sense of right in general. Even beyond this he displayed that love of nature which characterizes all high

were not the first invaders. We were not the first exterminators. America has seen races come, rule, and be swept away in their turn. Where savagery triumphed, as in the case of one race of Mound Builders, when a mild and stationary people were overborne by a more vigorous and restless stock, as in Europe, it usually followed that the conquering race was influenced in time by the culture of the conquered. This has been found written in monuments and tombs. Sometimes there can be traced the evidence of a conquering race's recognition of the superior attainments of the people it has overthrown, and when the different investigators compare notes the history of an ancient invasion is completed.

"In art the pre-Columbian Americans were advanced beyond the stage of development to which they have been assigned. So say the Americanist students."

and noble spirits. Together and separately, these various qualities place him among the great characters and make his name forever eminent in Iowa history, even though he wore "copper-colored skin, shaved the sides of his head and put feathers in the knotted tuft at the top." Such criticism simply shows our lack of humor. The anthropologist is unable at times to decide whether Sacs or Whites are the more grotesque. White generals, lodge officers and others wear the feathers and trinkets, according to their taste; and white men instead of shaving so as to leave a tuft on the top of the head, leave it across the middle of the face, or on the chin, and give it some foreign name, under the common assumption that vanity always seems wisdom when expressed in a foreign tongue.

KEOKUK

Another former ruler upon Iowa grounds deserving of the White Man's attention was Chief Keokuk. He was both war- and peace-maker. He belonged to the same race as Black Hawk. They were rival chiefs among the Sacs and Foxes. Keokuk had some qualities which Black Hawk had not. On the other hand, he lacked some of Black Hawk's virtues. He was an orator, and his counsel prevailed with a large part of the people. He advised peaceable submission to the demands of the United States government. He saw the inevitable, and thought it best for his people, on the whole, to peaceably submit and obey the order to go beyond the great river. In speaking to his nation upon this subject his famous saying is worthy of wide quotation. Referring to possible war with the Whites,

he says, I will lead you on condition "that we first put our wives and children and old men gently to sleep in that slumber that knows no wakening this side of the spirit-land, for we go upon the long trail which has no turn." The literary critic or the Anthropologist will find in these words many an intimation of breadth of character. His life in various respects did not reach the high moral quality of Black Hawk's, but both were "great" when measured by true and generous standards.

MA-TAU-E-QUA

As before remarked the Tama Reservation of some three thousand acres, owned individually by Indians of the Sac and Fox tribes, is the last foothold of the once wide roaming copper-toned man in Iowa. Probably the last of their war chiefs who had followed the "bloody trail" was Matau-e-qua. He died in Tama on October 4, 1897, at the advanced age of 87. His was a wonderful Indian life—indeed, a wonderful human life from the point of view of the variety of its experiences. He was twenty-one years of age when the Black Hawk War broke out in 1832, and he experienced the hardships, the excitements, the early enthusiasms, and the later defeats of his illustrious tribes. He lived in his early years the purely Indian life of nomadic hunting and fierce internecine conflict. He was 47 years of age when the first expedition of his people returned from Kansas to seek fitting homes for the conquered Sacs and Foxes in their old beloved Iowa. He was one of the five who first bought land in Tama County in 1857. For forty more years he was the sage and counsellor of the Mus-

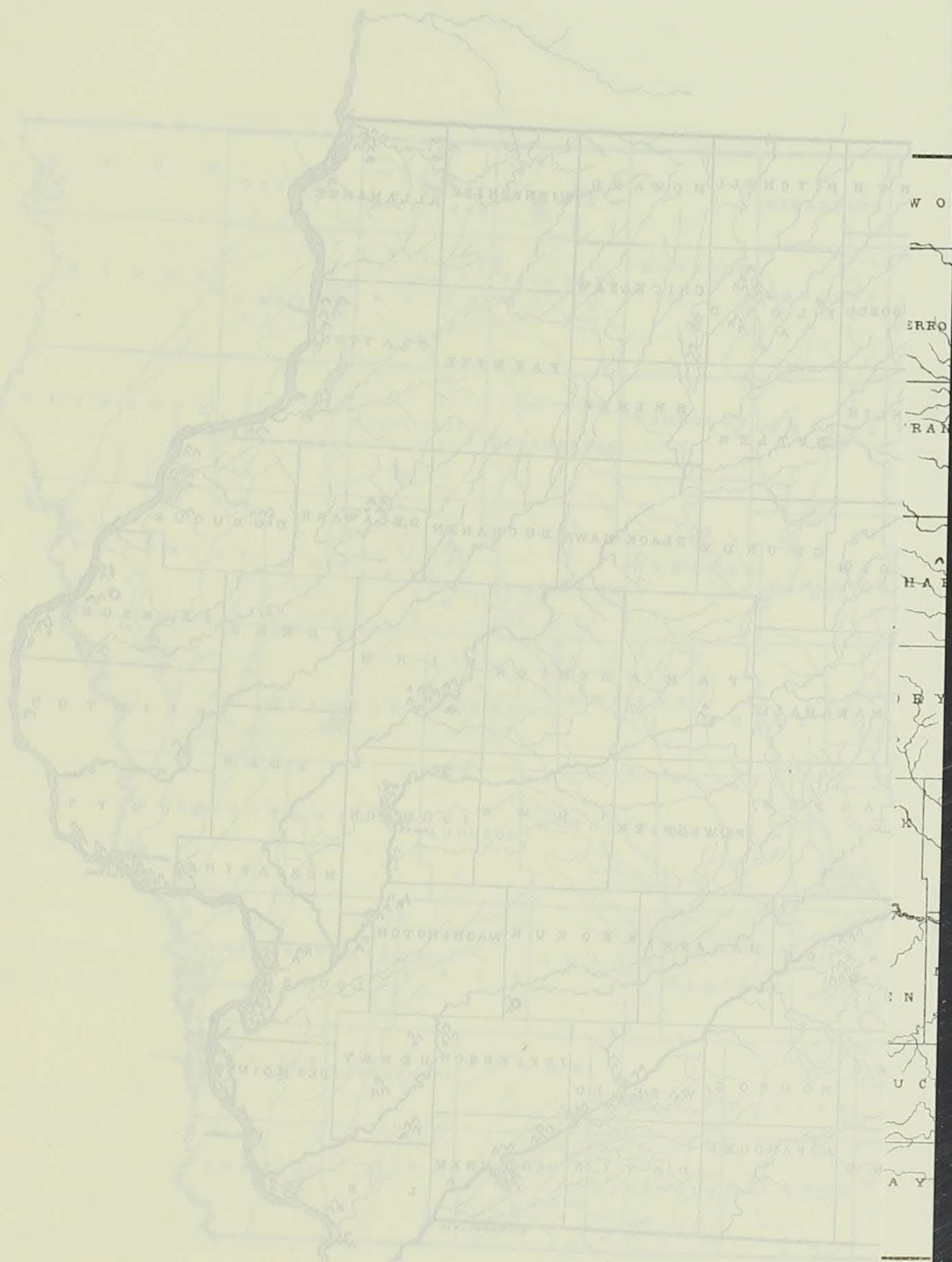
quakies, and he tried to keep them true to the old traditions. He was an Indian, a North American Indian through and through, even though he had settled on a farm in an Iowa county. He was a great character. He was a man of sterling principle. He possessed a stolid, stoical nature coupled with much insight; and who shall blame him if he did love to the last the war paint and the legends? The White Man's taunt of Indian treachery is simply a misunderstanding of problems and conditions. It was the White Man himself who made the proverb that "all things are fair in love and war." The Indian did no worse, perhaps no better, than the White Man does under similar circumstances. He simply tried to save his country to the best of his ability and understanding. By far the larger bunch of perfidy is found on the White Man's side.

If the "savage Indians" from whom we bought and wrested our territory produced men of such manly stature as these, how much greater men may have been in the councils of their ancestors or predecessors in the more palmy days of the Mound Builder.

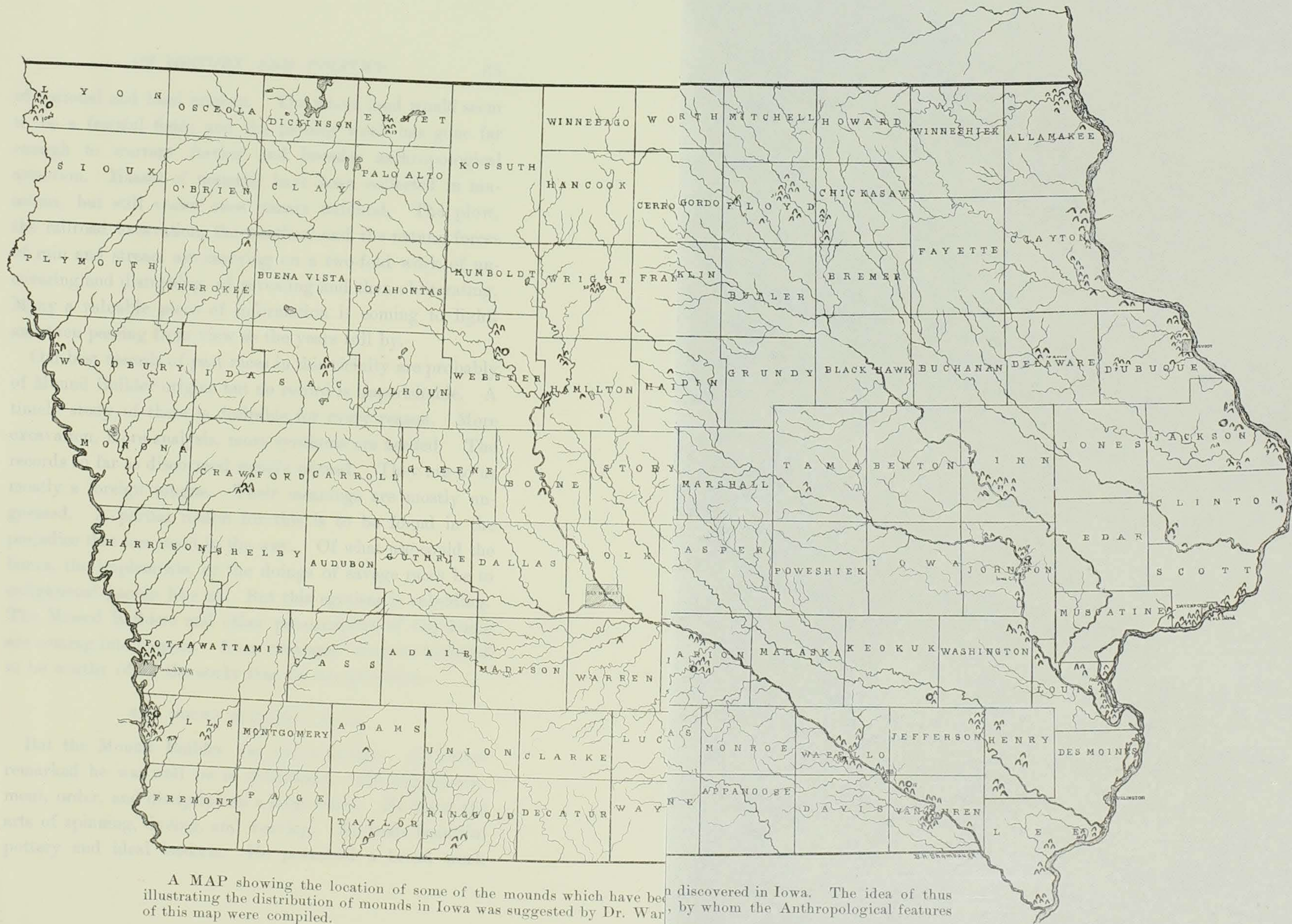
THE MOUNDS OF IOWA¹

Few subjects are receiving a better quality of attention than that called American Ethnology and Archæology. Few subjects are vaster than this. Few subjects have so few workers in proportion to intrinsic value. Too much attention could not be paid to this great field, either by governmental, institutional, or individual enterprise for many years to come. It should be one of the great centers

¹See Map.



discovered in Iowa. The idea of this
 by whom the Anthropological features
 have been
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A MAP showing the location of some of the mounds which have been discovered in Iowa. The idea of thus illustrating the distribution of mounds in Iowa was suggested by Dr. Warren, by whom the Anthropological features of this map were compiled.

of national and local interest. The whole land would seem to be a fruitful field; and the pioneer work has gone far enough to warrant further and broader anthropological attention. Masses of material have been collected in museums, but still vaster ones remain unfound. The plow, the railroad excavation, the weather, and the natural forces of rain and stream are carrying on a two-fold work of uncovering and disturbing, of revealing and then obliterating. Many a valuable piece of information is coming to light, and then passing from view as the years roll by.

Our best records of past races in this vicinity are probably of Mound Builder origin, but no record is imperishable. A timely study of these is desirable for every reason. More excavation, more analysis, more synthesis are needed. The records so far as discovered remain unread. They are to us mostly a foreign tongue. Their meanings are mostly unguessed. A partial reason for this is to be found in the prejudice that has stood in the way. Of what use could the bones, the implements, or the doings of savage races be to enlightened people like us! But this egotism is subsiding. The Mound Builders and other pre-occupiers of our home are coming into respect. Even "savages" are now believed to be worthy of all the study that we can give them.

THE MOUND BUILDER'S PLAIN

But the Mound Builder was not a savage. As before remarked he was well on in civilization. He had government, order, and discipline on a large scale. He knew the arts of spinning, dyeing, and weaving. He made beautiful pottery and ideal baskets. He possessed a broad work

bench covered with tools made of stone, wood, and copper. His implements were not the nineteenth century type, but they were very effective in the chase, and even the White Man's steel would have found them difficult to overreach.

The evidences are that he had many superstitions, but the White Man of today forgets that his pioneer fathers of two or three centuries ago had heads no less full of unreasoned mysteries. His medicine was queer, but we have near relatives and neighbors who rivalled him also in this. He, like our fathers in the Middle Ages, believed in the doctrine of "divine signatures." Deer's eye in lotion was good for sore eyes. "The little burrs which adhere to our clothes as we pass through the woods, commonly called beggar lice, were boiled and the tea used to strengthen the memory, upon the theory that it would make things stick in the mind; probably a primitive conception of the 'similia similibus curantur;' and the man who desired to become a good singer drank a tea made from crickets!"¹

But these primitive notions generally had a nobler side. Their religion often reached to monotheism. They believed in the Great Spirit. Their future life was materialistic; and if they did not get out titles for our "mansions of the blessed," they preëmpted the "happy hunting grounds." Both were figurative, poetical conceptions of human aspirations.

Their homes were like those of men in such conditions in other parts of the world. They were better than the "dug

¹C. H. Robinson's *Primitive Man in Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, 3d series, vol. III, p. 167.

out" of the later white homesteader, and they had patterns and styles original to themselves. The larger houses were round, made by digging out a circular pit. This "cellar" was from twenty to sixty feet in diameter. The side walls made by the excavated soil were from eight to ten feet high. They were covered with poles, and these with brush, and these again with earth and grass thatched thereon.

Around these homes were raised corn and other cereals, pumpkins, squashes, and other vegetables. They ground their corn into meal and baked the meal into cakes. They added to these the fruits of various trees, especially nuts, plums, etc.; while rice is also found among the ruins. They laid in a winter stock of pemmican made from the meat of buffalo, deer, elk, and bear. The rivers contributed their share of the living in the way of fish, at the spearing and catching of which they were expert.

Their home industry was most praiseworthy. Robinson again says: "Those soft skins of the fawn and these with the down of the swan, the loving mother has reserved for the clothing of her babe which hangs by its swinging cradle to another peg, and its garments will be ornamented with feathers and quills dyed in the brightest colors the pigments and barks of the locality will furnish. By her skillful hands too will be made the clothing of the older children and most of that of her lord, as well as his gorgeous war-bonnet and the feather-trimmed robes with which he so proudly decks himself on state occasions. Her thread is a moistened tendon, her needle a sharpened bone used as an awl—thimble, she has none—and she cuts the garments out by guess with a flint knife shaped very much like the

round knife of our harness maker, or the hash knife so familiar in the kitchen."¹

They possessed the high art of making fire at will in a moment of time. This they did with a skill that few white men are able to attain. Fire to them was sacred, and their myths concerning it are worthy rivals of those of the Greeks, Hebrews, and Hindus.

Their pottery is, next to their weapons, their best transmitted account of themselves. It was both varied, useful, and artistic. It was probably almost wholly the work of the women. Several excellent monographs have been written about it. I must refer especially to articles in the *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, to articles by W. H. Holmes and Frederick Starr, to Smithsonian Institute Reports, and to other writings referred to in Professor Starr's *Bibliography of Iowa Antiquities*.

Their tools and weapons were limited as to the material, but included much variety of forms and uses. It is not known that they were acquainted with iron. Wood, bone, stone, flint, and bronze are the stuffs from which they made with great skill a great variety of implements. Large pieces of granite, smoothed and shaped for convenience, formed the anvil. Near by was a fire for the easier shaping of various raw materials and for the seasoning of woods for spears, bows and arrows. Hammers, axes, and hatchets of ingenious shapes and of varied material served various purposes. Flints were used perhaps for fire production, but more often for spear and arrow heads, knives, drills, etc. Bones were made into awls and handles. Handles were

¹Robinson, *Annals of Iowa*, 3d Series, vol. III, p. 170.

fastened on tools by perforations, sometimes in the tools and sometimes in the handle, and often by the further use of thongs and leather strips. They made whetstones on which to sharpen their stone edged tools, and those made of bone and buffalo and deer horn. To accomplish all this required great industry. The Mound Builder was far from the lazy idler which some none too industrious White Men conceive him to have been. "It took a whole day to make a good arrow and many days to make an adze or hatchet." "When we recollect too that to make a canoe, he must first burn down a tree, then burn it off the right length, and then alternately burning with live coals and scraping and pecking off the charred parts with stone tools, he must form the cavity; and when we consider also the time he must employ in killing game for the support of his family and to lay up for winter, we will certainly modify our previous opinion that the life of the primitive Iowan was one of either dignified ease or savage laziness."¹

There is the amplest evidence that the earlier man of Iowa led an industrious and valuable life; and when we think of the number of things he made, the quality of his work, the difficulties of his clime, and yet withal the high stage he reached, our admiration must grow and our reverence for that life and civilization must increase.

INDIAN NAMES AS REMINDERS

In still another way these predecessors have left with us a permanent reminder. The very name of the State, our fancy has borrowed from their musical tongue. A score of

¹Robinson, *Annals of Iowa*, 3d series, vol. III, p. 176.

our counties, a dozen of our creeks, more than a dozen of our rivers, many of our lakes, hills, and choicest nature regions bear the imprint of the Red Man's discernment. And so all over our broad nation, as Mrs. Sigourney says in her poetic tribute, their names are on our waters, their memory lives on our hills, and their baptism on our shores.

THE DAVENPORT ACADEMY

The best continued series of work in the direction of Anthropology in Iowa has doubtless been done by and under the auspices of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. Its record is that of a rare devotion on the part of a self-made institution. It was founded in 1867 through the scientific interest of four business men of that town. The interest spread because of the untiring effort and high ability of the men who were at its head. In a few years it became known in scientific circles all over the world. The names of Sheldon, Parry, Barris, Farquharson, the Putnams, Pratt, Preston, Harrison, and Starr have become well known through the publications of the *Proceedings* of this Academy. A notable account of its rise and chief workers was published by Professor Frederick Starr in the *Popular Science Monthly* for May, 1897. Through the appreciation and memorial devotion of Mrs. M. L. D. Putnam the Academy has finally gotten well housed. There, in commodious buildings, are its splendid museum containing many thousands of valuable specimens, and its library of some forty thousand volumes. It is a great source and center of scientific information and inspiration. It has now a memorial publication fund, and has put forth some seven or eight volumes of *Proceedings*.

In these are many articles and monographs of the first order of merit. Perhaps the major part of the collections and of the Academy's interest is anthropological in character.

PROFESSOR STARR'S WORK

As a member of the Davenport Academy, Professor Frederick Starr, (now of Chicago University) has done much in the direction which this paper urges. About 1887 he undertook the assembling of a *Bibliography of Iowa Antiquities*. This was revised and extended in 1892 and published as part of the *Proceedings* in Vol. VI. It covers 205 titles of articles, references, pamphlets, monographs, and more extended works, while in itself it is the evidence of large industry and archæological interest.

In February 1895, Professor Starr issued in the same volume of *Proceedings* a *Summary of the Archæology of Iowa*. In the prefatory note he says:

It is now several years since I planned the work of which this is a part. As a student, in Iowa, of Iowa archæology, I believed that a systematic work carefully outlined might be carried out with profit. As the plan shaped itself it comprised five separate pieces of work:

(a) Preparation of a *bibliography*, that workers might know where to look for the literature.

(b) Publication of a *summary*, that those interested, who do not have access to libraries, may know what has been done.

(c) Organization of exploration in every part of the State; collection of data, diagrams, plans; making of a working-map, showing the location of mounds, shell-heaps, trails, village sites, etc.—in other words, *field-work*.

(d) *Publication* of a final report of the work done under such

organization, and a separate publication of the map worked out by the exploration.

(e) Preparation of a pamphlet of illustrations of "Iowa types" of archaeological specimens, and of a series of plaster copies and models of remarkable specimens, mounds and the like, for distribution to universities, high schools, colleges, and scientific and historical societies within the State. This *educational* work is the most important and significant part of the whole plan, and can only be done well after the other parts have been performed.

How far this plan is to be realized remains to be seen. The Bibliography has been printed; the Summary is here presented. By a wide distribution of this through the State it is hoped that a body of helpers and co-workers may be raised up to work under direction toward definite ends. Persons interested are urged to write to the Academy for advice and for fuller statement of plans.

In this summary he gives a carefully detailed account of the "finds" concerning pre-historic men in various parts of the State. It is arranged alphabetically by counties and gives location and authorities. This is a piece of splendid work of the greatest value as a guide to further study and investigation of these important subjects. It is perhaps the main purpose of the present paper to re-emphasize the plea made by Professor Starr in his introductory note to the "Summary." Already half a dozen years have passed, and little heed to these words has been taken by the higher educational institutions or by State instigation. Individuals here and there are as diligent as ever in their pursuit of information and their collection of materials. Articles of brief character are appearing at intervals in periodicals and in other works. With no attempt to mention all, reference may be made to the *Annals of Iowa*, the various volumes

of documentary materials, compiled and edited by Professor Shambaugh, the *Iowa Historical Lectures* of 1892 and 1894, the *Iowa Historical Record*, the volumes of the *Iowa Academy of Sciences*, (annual volume since 1893), the history of numerous counties, Sabin's *The Making of Iowa*, the *American Naturalist*, (articles by Clement L. Webster and others), the before mentioned *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences*, and the *Reports of Geological Surveys*, of the Bureau of Ethnology and of the Smithsonian Institution, etc. Doubtless there are many others that would deserve a place in any list that pretended to completeness. The intelligent and comprehensive work of the State Historical Society, at Iowa City, in collecting, classifying, and publishing early historical documents is worthy of special mention. In another way Sabin's *Making of Iowa* is one of the few readable compendiums.

THE SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL ARGUMENT

From the scholar's point of view the study of early man in Iowa (and in all America, of course) is incalculably desirable. On the broader knowledge of man in general now depends the progress of the present and coming man in particular. Progress has become the one great end of life. To understand how to go ahead we must learn how we arrived where we are. The law of evolution is today the central interest in science and education. History has been most imperfectly kept. Man has only lately become a bookkeeper. Thinking of his career as a whole, we can say, he has only recently taken on the habit of keeping a diary. Printed and written records go back but a short

time. These we are accustomed to call "history." From these we can learn but a small part of the great lesson needed. But there are other kinds of history. For a century past we have been searching other records. From them sometimes we learn more valuable and more accurate facts than from the old sources. We have been reading from buried remains the ancient story of the men of far off ages, and it has helped us to fill up gaps with knowledge. We are studying the more primitive men who are still extant and taking note of their physical, mental, and moral stages. They tell us much that is true of the men of yesterday, and thus they help us make out the story of our own natural history. Reading this story we perceive the laws of our lives. Such anthropological study is necessary before we can solve the nearer problems that beset us. We have arrived at the stage in which we make great effort to grow "on purpose," by intention; but our purpose is fruitless unless we know the laws of growth. Speculation, opinion, dissension, contradiction, prejudice, dogmatism—these go but a little way toward real understanding. For thousands of years men have tried these, and in these thousands of years they have made little progress aside from what was forced upon them by natural selection and the ordinary evolutionary forces. Their views and their ways are useful, but useful mostly as warnings.

Too much will scarcely be said upon this matter of rational purposive undertaking. Only thus do we discover truth. Only thus do we displace ignorance. Only thus do we correct speculation. Only thus shall we get entirely out of the woods of superstition. Only thus shall we be able

to increase in ourselves and create in others that more general human interest so needed to make the method and results of science universal.

THE MORAL ARGUMENT

A proper magnanimity on the part of the conqueror endeavors to do justice to the conquered. The present always owes it to the past to write its history. The men who have literary power must be the scribes for those who went before but had it not. The historian, the scientist, the anthropologist, the archæologist, and the geologist must do justice to the men of all former times. There rests upon them the stringent moral obligation to pick up every possible letter and line of human career from the great book of Nature, and with these to write history and make a science of man. He is a most ungracious victor who would not deliver the funeral address for him whom he has slain. The least that we who are in possession of these fair Iowan acres can do, is to pay the fullest and justest tribute by way of record and estimate to those who have previously occupied this soil. To us has come the heritage without struggle and without loss of blood or treasure. This hardship our pioneer forefathers endured. This wrong of forcible possession (if wrong it was) they perpetrated. For our peaceable abode we are neither to be credited nor blamed. To us is the blessing, and upon us is the responsibility. As sons of the victors we owe to the conquered a tribute which is fast becoming tardy. We owe it as the survivors in a conflict to pay what only is due to those once dispossessed. We owe it as the only small return possible for our incalcul-

able gift. We owe it as the least we can do to correct in our own and in posterity's minds the one-sided influence and prejudices against the vanquished. We owe it as lovers of literature, of truth, and of justice to pass on to posterity a magnanimous account of the races whose further development our race cut off.

DUREN J. H. WARD

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