

THE RELATION OF HISTORIC INDIAN TRIBES
TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS
IN IOWA

Identification of archaeological manifestations with historic Indian tribes has always been earnestly desired by all archaeologists, but estimates of the value of such an identification have varied. Some archaeologists have believed that the *only* way to reconstruct the past was to interpret their archaeological findings in the light of their knowledge of the historic Indian tribes — by proceeding from the known to the unknown. Such identifications are, however, difficult to achieve and usually may be stated only tentatively. The use of false identifications has caused confusion several times.

Many archaeologists have, therefore, considered it sufficient, for the time being, to devote their efforts to ordering their finds on the basis of trait similarities in a temporarily indefinite past. After this has been done, if an identification is established between a historic tribe and an archaeological manifestation, then the whole inter-related pattern of pre-recorded cultures receives a new orientation and is linked to "history".

To make such a linking between pre-history and history is the purpose of this study.¹ Dr. Charles R. Keyes has

¹ This manuscript was prepared as a master's thesis in the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. A bound copy of the study, containing tables, an extensive bibliography, and photographs of early maps, not included in this publication, is in the library of that University. Grateful acknowledgment is made by the author to Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole, head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, to Dr. Charles R. Keyes, director of the Iowa Archaeological Survey, and to Dr. Thorne Deuel, chief of the Illinois State Museum, for their extensive and excellent help always so graciously given.

organized the archaeological material from the area now included in the State of Iowa into a number of groupings that are based on trait similarities; this study is an attempt to find connections between these manifestations and the historic Indian tribes in that area.

A study such as this not only helps explain the pre-historic or unrecorded period; it also leads to a more complete and understandable picture of the region in historic times. Once such a link is made, a mass of knowledge concerning the economy, the techniques, the ceremonial life, and the location of the people so identified merges with the written facts concerning them.

In recent years several careful attempts to connect historic Indian tribes with archaeological manifestations in the Middle West have met with varying degrees of success. Dr. William Duncan Strong in his *Introduction to Nebraska Archaeology* did a thorough study of this kind and suggested identifications for the Nebraska area. Glenn A. Black encountered greater difficulties and to date has had less success with his work in Indiana. In Illinois the historical research of Sara Jones Tucker promises identifications there. W. C. McKern has connected certain Wisconsin foci with historic tribes. Dr. Charles R. Keyes in 1927 suggested relationships between the Oneota aspect and the Chiwere Siouan tribes; and Dr. James B. Griffen recently reiterated this viewpoint in an article published in *American Antiquity*.²

But any detailed investigation has not heretofore been made for Iowa, either from the viewpoint of any certain tribe or of an area. Statements regarding the migratory movements of Indians in the region now called Iowa have been based for the most part on traditions related by the

² Keyes's *Prehistoric Man in Iowa* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. VIII, p. 224; Griffen's *The Archaeological Remains of the Chiwere Sioux* in *American Antiquity*, Vol. II, pp. 180, 181.

Indians, augmented by a few notes left by explorers. Such are the migration routes given by J. O. Dorsey, John R. Swanton, and Henry R. Schoolcraft.³ The data given by Dorsey and Cyrus Thomas in Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* under "Iowa" are mostly from written sources and are more critically chosen, hence more valuable. Strong consulted many maps and documents and recorded some of the information therefrom that pertained to Iowa Indians, but his interest in this area was primarily based upon its peripheral relation to Nebraska.

Most of the serious archaeological work in Iowa has been done by Dr. Charles R. Keyes, director of the Archaeological Survey of Iowa. He has excavated and assembled a vast amount of material and has recognized the existence of five distinct horizons in the area. He has not yet published a formal report.

Thus, in considering the quantity and type of data available for the solving of the problem under investigation, the proper procedure, in general terms, seemed to be as follows: (1) to make a survey of the recorded locations of Indian tribes in Iowa; (2) to make a descriptive and statistical examination of archaeological manifestations in Iowa and check the amount of white man's material found, the stratification of cultures, etc.; and, finally, (3) to determine if any tribal location or series of locations coincided with the geographical and temporal extent of any archaeological manifestation.

The spelling "Ioway" is used throughout to designate the tribe. Judging from the seventy or more spellings of the tribal name—most of them obviously an attempt to

³ Dorsey's *Omaha Sociology* in the *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 211-370; Swanton and Dixon's *Primitive American History* in the *American Anthropologist* (New Series), Vol. XVI, pp. 375-412; Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Vol. III.

reproduce it phonetically — it appears that pronunciation of the name was *áj u wej*. This assumption is strengthened by a letter written by Alanson Skinner in which he told of hearing that tribe named by many Indians in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska, and in their pronunciation the first syllable was always accented, the last pronounced as “ay” (as in Ojibway, etc.).⁴ In early historic times that pronunciation was used by everyone. The modern spelling of the name is used for the State.⁵ This variation makes clear at once the distinction between the State and the tribe.

I

INDIAN TRIBES IN THE IOWA AREA
IN HISTORIC TIMES

It was in the middle decades of the seventeenth century that prehistoric time merged into the historic in the Iowa region. The movement of the French and the English was, in general, southwestward. It began in what is now Quebec and northeastern United States and ultimately reached Lake Michigan. From Lake Michigan the Europeans followed down the Fox-Wisconsin River route or paddled down the Illinois River to the Mississippi. There they turned either up or down, fearful of ascending the rivers which flowed in from the west. All they learned of the population beyond the Mississippi was hearsay.

But there came a time when hardy men determined to find for themselves what was “beyond”. Probably some of those who early ventured west of the Mississippi River left no record of their journeys. Undoubtedly one of the

⁴ Mott's *The Pronunciation of the Word Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXIII, p. 353.

⁵ The word “Iowa” is used in this study to mean the area now included in the State of Iowa.

earliest to become acquainted with that region was Nicolas Perrot, a French trader. His admirable courage and intelligence in his dealings with the Indians made him an influential figure in the West. It was he who left the first definite statement concerning Indian tribes in Iowa. From the time of which he wrote (1656-1657) until the end of that century, there appear some scattered references to tribes in the area under discussion, but not many.

After 1700 more and more adventurous individuals began to ascend the rivers that came from the west, and the Mississippi River was no longer the dividing line between the known and the unknown. Few were, however, attracted to the rivers of Iowa; they were too small when the Missouri and Minnesota rivers could be explored. Moreover, the Indian tribes on them were few, relatively unimportant, and their membership was small. Hence for the latter half of the seventeenth century and in the early part of the eighteenth, the data on Indian tribes in Iowa are scanty. Historical reconstruction for that period must be based upon much less information than that for the later times, and the information itself is more indefinite. After 1750 historical reconstruction rests on surer ground.

The source material for this study consisted of journals and reports of travels written by Frenchmen, Englishmen, and later by Americans, of personal letters, of reports of government officials (French, Spanish, English, American), of traders' reports, and lastly, of maps.

Much of this source material, especially that up to the latter half of the eighteenth century, required careful analysis. It was first necessary to determine how authentic the information was. Did the writer usually report facts accurately or was he prone to enlarge upon his accomplishments, as did the egocentric Father Hennepin? Was the information obtained at firsthand or was it hearsay? Just

where had the person speaking, or quoted, traveled in the West? If the facts had been through a number of re-writings by various authors and editors, the effect that might have on the data had to be taken into consideration.

The exact location of a tribe was sometimes difficult to determine from the generalized or confusing statements made. Usually placement of a group was described in relation to some natural feature, often a river. But the rivers often had a succession of names. The Mississippi,⁶ for example, was for a while "la Rivière de la Conception", then in honor of the financial minister of France was "la Rivière Colbert", before it came to be called by its present name. Or perhaps the river on which the tribe resided was not named at all but was said to flow into the Mississippi from the west a little above the Wisconsin River. Thus each statement of location required an amassing of data that included geographical terms in use at the time, geographical relationship of other Indian villages, and topographical information for the general region, with the hope that by these means the location could be determined definitely enough to be of value in this study.

The date of occupation of the site was not always given nor was it always easily inferable from the other facts presented. Often it could be ascertained only by probing into the history of the general region and relating the specific fact to the picture as a whole.

Maps presented similar problems. Seldom had the cartographer himself been in North America, and unfortunately a map does not give its sources beyond a general statement that may appear in the legend. Placement as given on a map cannot be unquestioningly accepted as that meant by the original source. On the 1673 Marquette map,

⁶ For the names of the Mississippi River see Petersen's *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*, pp. 11, 12.

on Thevenot's version of the Marquette map, and on the Joliet map of 1674, the Moingwena and the Peoria are placed on the same river flowing from the west into the Mississippi above the Illinois and below the Wisconsin. One might assume that both tribes had then been on the Des Moines River since that river's name still bears witness to the early habitation of its banks by one of the groups, the Moingwena. Many early historians made this assumption. Marquette may have been told by the Peoria that the Moingwena lived farther west. Thereupon he must have concluded they lived on the same river and so placed them on his map. But the latitude for the Peoria village which he gives (correcting the one degree error that appears from the mouth of the Wisconsin down to the Arkansas River) puts it at the mouth of the Iowa River. Since the Illinois tribes were not likely to have had two villages in the short time they were in Iowa, since Franquelin on his map of 1684 placed the Peoria on a river above that of the Moingwena as did others after him, including Delisle, and since the Marquette information could as well be interpreted that way, is it not likely that the latter interpretation is correct?

Another complication was the censurable yet understandable practice of copying the features of a certain area in wholesale fashion from an earlier map. An excellent example of this occurs in many eighteenth century maps which are outright copies, especially for the Upper Mississippi Valley, of Guillaume Delisle's 1703 "Carte de Canada ou de la Nouvelle France" and his 1718 "Carte de la Louisiane". There were those who copied carefully. But also there were those who wanted to make a handsome map above all else or who simply copied thoughtlessly. The latter group bewilder and disconcert the student of specific areas.

In this manner each source presented unique problems that had to be solved before the information it gave could be properly comprehended or used. That the source material was of this type has to be understood before the reader proceeds to the following discussion of the actual location of Indian tribes in Iowa. It explains the fragmentary and sketchy quality of much of the reconstruction. It also explains why exact village sites are not known until the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Before that time only regions can be associated with the tribes. Such a situation is unsatisfactory, but it cannot be remedied.

Seventeen different Indian tribes lived in the area now Iowa between the middle of the seventeenth century and the cession of Indian lands to the United States government. Some of these tribes had sought brief refuge only, as did the tribes of the Illinois Confederation in the seventeenth century, and the Sauk and Fox from the early 1700's up to the turn of that century. Others maintained permanent residence in the area over a long period of years. Chief of these were the Ioway whose 150 years or more of habitation there gave the State its name. The Oto and the Omaha probably had villages in Iowa for at least 50 years.

THE IOWAY

Since the Ioway⁷ were in Iowa longer than any other historic Indian tribe, they merit discussion first. In historic times they probably were not a large tribe and usually had but one permanent village at a time. Their population is difficult to estimate with much certainty. Father Louis

⁷ On some seventeenth century maps the terms "Pahoutet", "Paoté", etc., occur which are thought to refer to the Ioway. Since the proof of this is flimsy and the occurrences relatively unimportant, discussion of their appearance is omitted.

André, writing from Green Bay, Wisconsin, in 1676, stated that members of a nation called "aiaoüa" had recently come to visit them. He described his callers as members of a tribe "very large but poor",⁸ a tantalizingly indefinite remark. Either the Indians had told him that or he had picked up the information elsewhere. In 1702 Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville (he who established the first colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River) estimated the combined adult male population of the Oto and the "Ayooüés" to be three hundred "good men".⁹ Again this is but secondhand knowledge. Other estimates range from eighty, given by Chauvignerie in an official report to the Governor of Canada in 1736,¹⁰ to 8000 given in 1762 by Lieutenant James Gorrell who was located at Green Bay.¹¹

The reports that seem more reliable, because of the character and experience of the writers, are those made by Francisco Cruzat and by Lewis and Clark. Cruzat, in his "Summary of the Indian tribes of the Misuri River" (1777) wrote of the "Hayuas": "This tribe is composed of two hundred and fifty warriors."¹² Lewis and Clark in the "Estimate of the Eastern Indians" which accompanied the main report of their journey gave as the "probable Number of Souls" eight hundred, with two hundred of these warriors.¹³ Moreover, Du Pratz in his *Histoire de*

⁸ Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LX, pp. 202, 203.

⁹ Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. IV, pp. 598, 601.

¹⁰ Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Vol. III, Appendix A.

¹¹ Lieut. James Gorrell's *Journal* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. I, p. 32.

¹² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 363.

¹³ Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VI, pp. 82, 91.

la Louisiane (1758), said that the "Aïouez", Oto, and Osage were the smallest tribes on the Missouri.¹⁴

If the tribe had been as large or even an eighth as large as Gorrell stated, it would probably have occupied a number of villages. There is no evidence that this was the case. Membré does state that the Ioway and Oto about 1680 had three villages, evidently close together. Perrot, however, in 1685 speaks of but one and he visited that. Later writers do not specify the number but the inference from their writings is that there was only one permanent village or if there were several they were not many miles apart. There may have been contemporaneous villages on Okoboji Lake and on the Big Sioux for a short period; there very likely were two contemporaneous villages in Illinois in the 1760's. But it can be said with more assurance that there was probably but one permanent village from the 1770's until the disintegration of the tribe due to the white man's intrusion in the early nineteenth century.

The problem of locating Ioway village sites is, therefore, confined to the tracing of one group which usually maintained a single village but which may have divided at times into two which were located near each other.

Nicolas Perrot in his informative *Mémoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale* told how the Ottawa and Huron tribes, pursued by the Iroquois, decided to go farther west. The Ottawa had been swept into the westward onrush of the depleted Huron and other groups after the destruction of the Erie by the advancing Iroquois. In 1656 the Ottawa and Huron Indians reached the Mississippi and ascended it about twelve leagues to a point "in the neighborhood of the Wisconsin [River]"¹⁵ where a river was found

¹⁴ Du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II, p. 251.

¹⁵ "Ils monterent ce fleuve a douze lieues ou environs d'Ouisconching, ou

which flowed from the west. Whether or not they entered the Mississippi by the Wisconsin is not stated. They ascended this western stream. Perrot, and probably the Ottawa originally, described it as a "river which is named for the Ioways". Since the Ottawa associated the stream with the Ioway, it seems logical to assume that the "nations" who were found at or near its source were these very Indians.

The possibilities for identification of the river so located are limited to the Yellow and the Upper Iowa rivers, the first two eastward flowing streams above the Wisconsin. The Yellow River, south of the Upper Iowa, is a small river which, at its narrowed mouth, does not give much promise of continuing far inland. The Upper Iowa is larger, longer, and would have appeared to extend westward a good distance. Its name has no value in the identification because the river was not called "Iowa" or "Upper Iowa" until the nineteenth century, nor is the term likely to be a throw-back to seventeenth century habitations there. Such meagre information prompts further probing into history.

Chronologically the next reference to the Ioway was made by Father Zenobius Membré, who accompanied La Salle to the Illinois country and lived at Fort Crèvecoeur in 1680-1681. He was interested in learning all he could of the region and its occupants from the Indians who visited the fort, and he recorded the information he acquired. Due to Le Clercq's re-editing of the manuscript, or perhaps to Membré's original writing, the material now extant is hopelessly confusing in places. Especially is it involved when the Indian tribes in Illinois and the Upper Mississippi country are named and located. This is partly be-

ils trouverent une autre riviere qui se nomme des Ayoës. Ils la suivirent jusqu'a sa source et y recontrerent des nations qui les receurent cordialement."—*Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 203.

cause Membré talked with both Algonquian and Siouan speaking Indians, thereby hearing different terms for a single tribe. In addition, most of the data were second-hand and Membré was not well acquainted with the geography of the area. In one of his less tangled statements he wrote: "the Anthoutantas [Oto] and Maskoutens, Nadouessions, [live] about one hundred and thirty leagues from the Illinois, in three great villages built near a river which empties into the river Colbert [Mississippi] on the west side, above that of the Illinois, almost opposite the mouth of the Miskoncing in the same river."¹⁶

The comma that intrudes between "Maskoutens" and "Nadouessions" is a mistake if the reference is to the Ioway and evidently such a term *was* applied to them. Father Louis André, when he wrote from Green Bay in 1676 and described their recent visit there, spoke of them as "aiaouïa ou mascouteins nadoessi".¹⁷ Father Tailhan, when editing Perrot's manuscript in the nineteenth century, explained in a footnote (unrelated to the André letter) that the Ioway were sometimes referred to by the Algonquian term of "Nadouessioux Maskoutens" or "Nadouessioux of the prairies".¹⁸ Membré's use of the term can then be explained because the Illinois tribes with which he and La Salle associated were Algonquian speaking.

The linking of the "Maskoutens, Nadouessions" with the Oto offers no hindrance to the assumption that the reference was to the Ioway. It was not a unique connection, because Le Sueur in 1700, Delisle in his 1703 and 1718 maps, and others speak of the two groups as if they lived

¹⁶ Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 150.

¹⁷ André's *Letter* in Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LX, p. 202.

¹⁸ Perrot's *Mémoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, footnote on p. 237.

near together. Moreover, the river on which the villages were located would seem to be the same which the Ottawa ascended.

In 1685 Perrot mentioned the Ioway again. In that year he himself visited them in their village. He had been appointed commandant in the northwest by Governor de la Barre in the spring of that year, and immediately set out with twenty men to make friendly alliances in the Sioux country. He established a fort about a mile north of the site of Trempeleau, Wisconsin, on the Mississippi. To this fort came some Ioway "who said that their village was nine leagues beyond on the bank of a river".¹⁹ The French then visited it and Perrot was honored by being seated on a buffalo robe, offered a calumet to smoke, and fed buffalo tongues out of an earthen pot. But no more detailed description of the village is given.

The lack of further information regarding the incident may be due to the fact that the description of it is taken, not from the Perrot manuscript, but from a secondary source — La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*. Unfortunately parts of the Perrot manuscripts disappeared, but La Potherie had incorporated much from them into his *Histoire*. He incorporated accurately and his history is obviously reliable, but he may not have copied fully.

Was this the same village the Ottawa found? The Ioway were still lying on a river, but again, what river? The "nine leagues" was, of course, but an estimate on the part of the Indians, but Perrot does not make a correction in the estimate after his visit there. That distance from the fort could reach beyond the mouth of the Root River in Minnesota and almost to the Upper Iowa, but the Yellow River is

¹⁹ To quote Perrot, "qui dit que leur village étoit à neuf lieues audessus, sur le bord du fleuve".— La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 183.

too far away. There is no evidence at any time to locate the tribe farther to the north, around the Minnesota River. It would seem more sensible perhaps not to be limited by the specific distance given but to consider possible locations that were "close", that is within a journey of a day or two. This enlarged area would include the entire lengths of the Root and the Upper Iowa rivers.

To the above quotation, La Potherie appended the following footnote "The 'Ayoës' live a considerable distance beyond the Mississippi, toward the 43rd degree of latitude."²⁰ This fact may have been gleaned from conversation with Perrot. Latitudes reported in the west in those days are questionable, so that part of the statement is not constructively helpful, but the knowledge that the Ioway lived some distance inland is of value.²¹

Was the river Perrot visited the Root or the Upper Iowa? The earlier references to the Ioway on a river near the Wisconsin could not have meant the Root River. Nor does it seem likely that the tribe would have moved the permanent village such a few miles. When they moved after 1700, they moved seventy-five to one hundred miles or more at a time. If then, a river is to be chosen that would fit the conditions described by Perrot in 1653 and 1685 and by Membré, the Upper Iowa would be the most reasonable choice.

Perrot did add that when the French arrived at the village the women were so frightened that they ran away. Some "gained the hills, and others rushed into the woods

²⁰ La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, footnote on p. 182.

²¹ To consider that they lived inland is in disagreement with a statement on a Delisle map (n. d.) which says that the Ioway at one time lived at the *mouth* of a river flowing into the Mississippi. But the map itself is confusing. It has been tampered with after 1703 and is consequently little more than a hodge podge. The statement has only its face value. On the other hand the Ioway may have lived at the river's mouth before they moved inland.

which extended along the river".²² This does not eliminate the choice of the Upper Iowa as the river of the Ioway. It is bordered by woods along most of its course, and hills, sheared by but one glacial advance, rise abruptly from the river's edge or just beyond a brief plain.

It is of interest to note that Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg in describing the meeting of the Ottawa and the Ioway added, "This branch of the Siouan family [the Ioway] was then in process of becoming plains Indians, with an economy dependent upon the buffalo."²³ The comment is a logical assumption based on the fact that the traditional movement of the tribe was from the Woodland region of eastern Wisconsin to the Plains beyond the Mississippi, and this region in western Iowa would have been transitional topographically. That the Ioway had adopted characteristic Plains area traits by 1676 is substantiated by a statement of Father Louis André, who talked with some of them at Green Bay in that year. He described them as "very large but poor; for their greatest Wealth consists of ox-hides and of Red Calumets."²⁴

After telling of Perrot's visit in 1685, La Potherie continued: "Their eagerness to obtain French merchandise induced them to go away to hunt beaver during the winter; and for this purpose they penetrated far inland."²⁵ "Far inland" probably meant westward toward the headwaters of the Des Moines and the Blue Earth, a southern tributary of the Minnesota River. That area was still associated with the Ioway fifteen years later when Pierre Le Sueur reached the Blue Earth in his search for possible mining sites in the southern Minnesota region.

²² La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 183.

²³ Kellogg's *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, p. 99.

²⁴ André's Letter in Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LX, pp. 202, 203.

²⁵ La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 184.

At the junction of the Blue Earth with the Minnesota, Le Sueur established a fort where he spent the winter of 1700-1701. He kept a journal of his trip and winter's experiences but it was lost. However, before it disappeared it was used as source material by Bernard de La Harpe for his *Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana* and by M. le Chevalier de Beaurain for his *Mémoire*. Neither copied the journal exactly, for both use the third person. La Harpe did not incorporate material as fully as did Beaurain, but the two records check each other almost perfectly on the data they both give.

According to both La Harpe and Beaurain, Le Sueur was visited at the Fort by some Sioux who told him that "this river [the Blue Earth] was the country of the Western Sioux, the Ioways, and the Otos, [and Beaurain adds] that the Ioways lived on the shore of a lake thirty leagues 'du costé de l'Ouest.'"²⁶ This last phrase may refer to the Missouri River although usually the term is translated "in the West". The "Western Sioux" were Dakota tribes.

The possibilities for a lake site in a generalized Blue Earth region are limited to Clear Lake and to the Okoboji-Spirit Lake area. If the village was described in relation to the Missouri River, then it was probably in the western part of Iowa and one of the lakes in Dickinson County would be indicated.

A second type of evidence bears out this assumption. Maps of the eighteenth century show the Ioway village on one of a series of lakes from which a river heads that flows from the east or the northeast into the Missouri. This por-

²⁶ The account reads in part as follows: "cette rivière estoit le pays des Sioux de l'Ouest, des Ayavois et des Otoctatas, qui les Ayavois habitoient sur le bord d'un lac, a trente lieues du costé de l'Ouest".—Beaurain's *Voyage de Le Sueur chez les Sioux* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissement des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. VI, p. 78. See also La Harpe in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Vol. I, p. 24.

trayal began with Delisle in his 1702 and 1703 maps and was continued by him, although other tribal locations and natural features changed, evidently according to changes in his information.

Delisle was an excellent cartographer from two standpoints: first, he tried to be an accurate draughtsman, and secondly, he was critical in his choice of information. He had access to documents in France, and he talked with the men from New France when they returned home for funds or further rights. His maps of Louisiana are a distinct improvement over all earlier ones. Where he procured the information that caused him to draw a river headed in lakes by which the Ioway lived is not stated on the map at all. It would seem that he had heard of Le Sueur's findings, either by talking to a member of the expedition who returned to France within the next two years or perhaps Delisle had access to the original Le Sueur manuscript within that time. Whatever the source, it evidently gave him the added data — not extant in manuscript — about the river flowing southwestward. It should be noted, however, that the Le Sueur spelling as we have it differs from that of Delisle.

The relation of this river to other geographical features, the direction of its course, and its connection with the lakes point emphatically to its identification with the Little Sioux River which heads in the Okoboji-Spirit Lake area. This river and one, two, or three lakes continued to be designated on maps after the Ioway were no longer placed near them, and by the nineteenth century (Lewis map of 1810 and others) the river was labelled "Little Sioux" and one of the lakes "Spirit Lake". The Ioway were usually placed by the lake which probably would be either West or East Okoboji.

Judging by maps alone, it would appear that the Ioway

lived on Lake Okoboji from the last of the seventeenth century to the late eighteenth. Actually by 1700 they had moved again.

Learning of the proximity of the Ioway, Le Sueur in 1700 sent two Canadians to invite the tribe to visit him, and, if they would, to settle near him, "because these Savages are industrious and used to cultivating the soil". After unsuccessful searching it was found that the tribe had moved to the banks of the Missouri in the neighborhood of the Omaha.²⁷ The move had evidently been sudden and recent since the Dakota, though nearby and friendly, had not yet heard of it.

A more specific location for this Missouri River village is given by Vermales in 1717 and by Delisle. On Delisle's 1718 map ("Map of Louisiana and of the Course of the Mississippi"), which incidentally shows decided improvement over that of 1703 in its delineation of the Missouri River, he located "Aiaouez" directly west of the lakes on the eastern side of a river that flowed in a southern direction into the Missouri where it makes its great bend westward and thus not far above the "Little Sioux". The river is labelled "R. du Rocher". The Omaha were located west of this river.

This location of the Ioway offers several puzzles if the usual question as to the identity of the river is considered. In the first place, if one looks at a modern map, two rivers are found immediately above the Little Sioux — the Floyd and the Big Sioux — both flowing into the Missouri with a distance of less than ten miles between. On eighteenth cen-

²⁷ Beaurain's *Mémoire* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. VI, p. 80. On page 82, we find the following: "Le 16, les deux Sioux s'on retournèrent à leur village, et l'on apprit que les Ayavois . . . estoient allez s'establir du costé de la rivière du Missouri, aux environs des Maha, nation qui habite dans ces quartiers."

tury maps, however, there is no such arrangement. Only the one river — the “R. du Rocher” — is shown. But if the Ioway had lived on the Big Sioux, the Floyd might not have been considered of enough importance to mention when a description of the region was made to the cartographer. Thus of these two rivers, the Big Sioux seems more likely to be the one portrayed.

But Delisle calls this river “R. du Rocher”. At present an eastern tributary (in Iowa) of the Big Sioux is called the “Rock River”. It may be that the village was on the Rock River, above its junction with the Big Sioux River and thus directly west of the lakes, but this assumption is probably not correct. It would mean that the upper Big Sioux proper had not been portrayed at all. It would mean that the name of a small western river had persisted over two hundred years. The Delisle location of the Ioway was, therefore, probably intended to be a short distance above the mouth of the Big Sioux in what is now Iowa, straight west of the lakes.

Delisle, in 1718, also placed the Ioway in a generalized location at the mouth of a river, about as much farther up the Missouri as was the “Big Sioux” above the “Little Sioux”. This would put them in what is now South Dakota. For some reason these two village sites do not appear on maps by other cartographers or on the Delisle maps printed later. It seems likely that the 1718 map did not have as large a circulation as did that of 1703. Cartographers and printers copied the 1703 map time and again, but seldom the map of 1718. Moreover, after 1718 Delisle did not publish any maps for the Upper Mississippi region that incorporated new material.

The omission of the Missouri River sites on later maps may be explained in another way. Perhaps the Ioway did not remain on the Missouri but returned instead to their

old village on Lake Okoboji. Did the map makers portray accordingly? If so, can written documents substantiate this viewpoint? In 1702 Pierre le Moynes, Sieur d'Iberville, on hearsay, spoke of the Ioway as neighbors of the Omaha and reported that they lived on a river which was farther up the Mississippi than the Ohio and came from the west.²⁸ This was obviously the Missouri. Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix wrote in his *Journal* for October 20, 1721:

I have just seen a Missourian woman who tells me . . . a little higher [up the Missouri] we find the Cansez, then the Octotatas [Oto] . . . afterwards the Aïouez . . . All these nations of whom I have been speaking, dwell upon the western bank of the Missouri, excepting the Aïouez who live on the eastern, and are neighbors to the Sioux and their allies.²⁹

In 1723 Charlevoix wrote to Comte de Toulouse regarding the western sea and mentioned the "Aïouez" "who are near the Missouri".³⁰ Such indefinite statements by people who had not been that far up the Missouri are not specifically helpful, but the Ioway evidently *did* live both on Lake Okoboji and on the Big Sioux in the first half of the eighteenth century.

There may even have been two contemporaneous Ioway villages in this period. The Delisle map of 1718 showing the Missouri River sites also retains the one on Lake Oko-

²⁸ "On [the Ioway and Oto] les peut faire descendre ou on voudra, qui seroient du costé du Ouest, dans une rivière qui est su delà l'Ouabache, du costé du Ouest".—Iberville's *Mémoire* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. IV, p. 598.

²⁹ Charlevoix's *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, Vol. II, p. 224. A "Missourian woman" refers to a member of the Missouri tribe whom Charlevoix met in her village on the Missouri River.

³⁰ Charlevoix's *Letter* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. VI, p. 534.

boji. And as previously pointed out, cartographers throughout the eighteenth century continued to place the tribe on the lake site.

Vermale in his "General Map of Louisiana or of the Mississippi", 1717, gave a similar "Big Sioux" location. He showed village symbols a short distance up from the mouth of a river that flowed southwest into the Missouri. To this village came a "Road which French travellers take". It connected at its eastern end with the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Delisle in his maps showed a similar route for French traders. In 1703 the trail went fairly straight across from the Wisconsin to the Missouri, crossing it at the junction a little way below the mouth of the Little Sioux, and continuing up the west bank of the Missouri indefinitely. In 1718 the route led directly to the Ioway village on Lake Okoboji, then on to the "R. du Rocher" (Big Sioux) site where it ceased. This makes it seem likely that Vermale had the Ioway in mind when he indicated the village to which the "road" came. Since there is essential agreement between these two individual portrayals of the Iowa village, they must represent in general what Le Sueur intended. However, Vermale does omit the lake. And they differ in the location of the Omaha village.

Still another Missouri River site appears in the literature of the region. M. Louis Antoine Bougainville, a soldier under Montcalm, wrote a memoir which contains Upper Mississippi Valley information, gleaned from Canadian officers who knew the region intimately. The data appearing therein should have been up to date as well as reliable. Bougainville wrote in 1757 that the "Ayoués" were fifty leagues above the site of Fort Leavenworth.³¹

³¹ Bougainville said, "a cinquante lieues au-dessus on trouve les Otoks et les ayoues".—Bougainville's *Mémoire* in Margry's *Relations et Mémoires Inédits*, p. 48.

In this instance the number of leagues may be regarded as fairly accurate, for by this time Europeans with competent means of measuring distance had visited the Missouri tribes. Even if the village had been twenty-five miles farther or nearer, however, it would still place the Ioway definitely in southern Iowa. Had they moved in part or as a group down the Missouri River? If so, where exactly were they located?

Immediately there comes to mind the "ancient village" of the Ioway noted by Lewis and Clark in their journey up the Missouri in 1804. The *Journal* for July 28, 1804, contains the record:

Island and Creek 15 yds. wide on the S. S. above this Bluff, as this Creek has no name call it Indian Knob Creek below this High Land on the S. S. the Aiauway Indians formerly lived.³²

Lewis in his "Summary View of Rivers and Creeks, Etc.", probably written at Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804-1805, more precisely designated the location by placing "Indian Creek" twenty miles above "Musquetoe Creek" and three miles above the old Ioway village.³³ To sum up, then, the Ioway village was on the east side of the Missouri River, about seventeen miles above the mouth of Mosquito River and three miles below the present day Indian Creek, just south of a high bluff. This would be just south of the city of Council Bluffs below a bluff that stood out noticeably. H. M. Brackenridge, who journeyed up the Missouri in 1811, also mentioned in his *Journal* the site of the "Ancient village of the Ayuwas" and placed it between latitudes 41° 4' and 41° 17'.³⁴ The Lewis and

³² Mott's *The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Its Relation to Iowa History and Geography* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIII, p. 170.

³³ Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VI, p. 42.

³⁴ Brackenridge's *Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri* in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. VI, p. 165.

Clark site would come well within these limits. Such a location could have been the "fifty leagues" village of Bougainville. Whether this was a main or a subsidiary village of the tribe is unknown.

It is likely that when the tribe was located on or near the Missouri it acquired horses and immediately began to take advantage of its increased ability to hunt over an extensive area. In fact, the Ioway ranged over the whole region between the Missouri and the Mississippi.

They were encountered in eastern Iowa at least twice before 1760. Pierre Boucher described the progress of the expedition he led against the Fox in 1728: "Hardly had we arrived opposite the *Ouisconsin* [Wisconsin] than we discovered traces of a party of *Renards* [Fox]; and after three days' journey, we found their canoes, which they had left at the river of the *Ayous* in order to penetrate more easily into the depths of the surrounding country."³⁵ Does this mean that the Ioway lived on a river in eastern Iowa, or had someone met some Ioway on it and thus designated it? What river was it? Van der Zee³⁶ and Thwaites³⁷ agree that it was probably the Wapsipipicon. This opinion is based upon an estimate of the three days' travel from the mouth of the Wisconsin, in view of the fact that the distance from Lake Pepin to Rock River was traversed in nine days. This is the only mention of the Ioway near the Mississippi until thirty years later. The presence there of the camp of a summer hunting party seems the most logical explanation of the "river of the Ayous".

Another postulated hunting party made itself known to

³⁵ Van der Zee's *Captivity of a Party of Frenchmen among Indians in the Iowa Country, 1728-1729*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIV, p. 98.

³⁶ Van der Zee's note in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIV, p. 98.

³⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, p. 38.

posterity by murdering a Frenchman on the Des Moines River in 1755 and thereby aroused the anger of Louis Marquis de Montcalm.³⁸ Aside from these discordant notes the Ioway are always placed on or near the Missouri River until the 1760's.

In the Coues edition of the journals of Lewis and Clark, when the statement concerning the old village site is made the following comment is added: "They were a branch of the Ottoes, and emigrated from this place to the river Des Moines."³⁹ Thwaites, in his edition, explained that this additional phrase "is crossed out by another pen, in the original MS."⁴⁰ "Original manuscript" must mean the original notebook entry. The crossing out was done after Biddle edited the notes or else Clark overruled the omission, for the explanation is included in the first edition of the journal. Although it may be questionable to say that the Ioway migrated to the Des Moines, it is important to find that from this lower Missouri village they were supposed to have moved east.

At any rate, by the 1760's the Ioway had established themselves on the Mississippi River in Illinois. Such a leap from the Missouri to the Mississippi may seem surprising and arouse questions but the change was not as radical as it first appears. The group had been ranging as far as the Mississippi for a number of years and the location farther east offered a better opportunity for the sale of furs.

James Gorrell, located at Green Bay, listed in 1762 the "Avoys — On each side Mississippi" and gave as his

³⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 195, 196.

³⁹ Coues's *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, p. 92, footnote.

⁴⁰ Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 92, footnote.

sources both French and Indian accounts.⁴¹ But Gorrell's population figure as given earlier is so far from acceptable and his spelling so bad that his location data must not go unquestioned. His placements of other tribes, such as the Sauk, Fox, and Menominee are, however, accurate. In addition, four Indians from the "Avoy nation" had visited him that summer so he should have known.

Two years later St. Ange, commandant at the Illinois and therefore situated at Fort Chartres, complained to his superior that a band of the Ioway "established on the bank of the Mississippi" were annoying the French at Peoria. They had wounded a Frenchman on the Mississippi thirty-five leagues up from Fort Chartres.⁴² In 1769 St. Ange, then located at St. Louis, listed the "Ayooua" with the Sioux, Sauk, and Fox as "Of the district of the upper Mississippi" rather than with the Omaha, Oto, Kansas, etc., "of the Missouri River".⁴³

A more specific location of the village, or villages, in this case, is found in Jedidiah Morse's *The American Gazetteer* for 1798 where even population figures are added. Morse wrote:

Iowa, a river of Louisiana, which runs south-eastward into the Mississippi, in N. lat. 41. 5. 61 miles above the *Iowa Rapids*, where on the E. side of the river is the *Lower Iowa Town*, which 20 years ago could furnish 300 warriors. The *Upper Iowa Town* is about 15 miles below the mouth of the river, also on the E. side of the Mississippi, and could formerly furnish 400 warriors.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Lieut. James Gorrell's *Journal* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. I, p. 32.

⁴² St. Ange's *Letter* in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 293, 296. Fort Chartres was located on the Mississippi, just above the mouth of the Kaskaskia River.

⁴³ St. Ange's *Report* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 300.

⁴⁴ See also Salter's *Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase*, pp. 278, 279.

Later maps used this or similar data. The first map which the writer has discovered that placed the Ioway on the Mississippi was a "Map of the United States of America and of the Course of the Mississippi", drawn by Brion de la Tour and dated 1784. Two "Iowa Towns" are shown, both in Illinois, one opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River and one ten miles or so below the Iowa River.⁴⁵ The two site markings appear to be late additions to an older plate because the Lake Okoboji village appears also, and the Mississippi "Towns" are printed while the other lettering is in script. A 1783 map by the same cartographer shows only the lake site. This Illinois placement was immediately copied and appeared on maps by Delamarche in 1785, Arrowsmith in 1790, Sötzmann in 1791, Russell in 1794, Faden in 1796, Güssefeld in 1797, etc. Evidently the cartographical delineation of the villages was late in relation to their time of occupancy. Morse, it may be noticed, writes "20 years ago". That would be in the 1770's. By 1777 the main village of the Ioway was on the Des Moines River in Iowa. Morse's statement, obviously not too specific, may be passed by without causing difficulty. But it is not at all likely that the two Illinois sites continued contemporaneously with the Des Moines village that from 1777 on is given as the *only* village until the nineteenth century. Brion de la Tour was, of course, in France. Hence the lag.

The site on the Des Moines River is better authenticated than are any of the others, although the majority of references to it come after 1800. From 1770 on, there is a paucity of data regarding the Ioway, aside from maps; maps still carried the Okoboji site and so are useless.

The first mention of the new Iowa location is in a report

⁴⁵ Fifteen miles below the mouth of the Iowa River would be just below the 41st degree of latitude, south of Milroy, Illinois.

that the Spanish government representative, Francisco Cruzat, enclosed with a letter to Don Bernando de Galvez, dated November 15, 1777. The report described various Indian groups with which the St. Louis post had had dealings. As to the "Hayuas", he wrote: "They are located eighty leagues from this village [St. Louis] by water by the Misisipy river on the shores of the Muen river."⁴⁶ This is undoubtedly reliable information since Cruzat was in a position to know. The eighty leagues would place the village near the present Selma, Iowa, in what is now northwestern Van Buren County, on the Des Moines River.

A map that was drawn in the 1780's (according to the Library of Congress) and belonged to Lewis and Clark placed the "nation Eyeway" on the R. de moins". It appears to be the work of someone really familiar with the area, but, the date (1780) is questionable and perhaps twenty years should be added to it.⁴⁷

In 1793 Zenon Trudeau considered the "Ayoa", the Sauk, and the Fox as in control of the Des Moines River, but he mentioned no villages.⁴⁸ McKenney and Hall, however, state that Watchemonne, a chief of the Ioway, was born at an old village on the Des Moines "at this time [1835?] occupied by Keokuk".⁴⁹ Watchemonne was (in 1838) a little over fifty years old. Hence in the last decade of the century the Ioway were definitely on the Des Moines.

⁴⁶ Cruzat's *Letter* in Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 145.

⁴⁷ This is one of several maps which were found (in the 20th century) mixed in with some accounts belonging to William Clark in the Indian Office at Washington. They are thought by Annie Heloise Abel to have been sent by Jefferson to Lewis and Clark before their journey up the Missouri. Hence the dating of them has to be made according to the facts they contain.

⁴⁸ Trudeau's *Document* in Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 50.

⁴⁹ McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, Vol. III, p. 17.

The village mentioned as inhabited by Keokuk (in 1835?) was practically the same site on which white men established the town of Iowaville in 1837. This was in the far northwest corner of present day Van Buren County, on the west side of Section 7 of Village Township, on the north side of the Des Moines.⁵⁰ Iowaville was abandoned in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the site is now farm land.

Thomas G. Anderson, a trader, spent the winter of 1801-1802 with the "Ioway tribe of Indians — a vile set."⁵¹ He described the place as being about fifty miles up the Des Moines River. Again the Iowaville site is indicated. Nicholas Boilvin, appointed Assistant Indian Agent in 1806, was told to visit the "Iawe Towns on the Lemoin".⁵²

Lewis and Clark also placed the Ioway on the Des Moines.⁵³ In their "Estimate of the Eastern Indians" they located the Ioway village thirty-six leagues, and in another paragraph, forty leagues, up the Des Moines. Sources for this were secondary and in view of other conflicting statements as well as Clark's 1810 map, their accuracy is doubtful. The explorers may have heard of a few of the tribe who were at Faribault's trading post two hundred miles up the Des Moines for about four years at the turn of the century. On his 1810 map, Clark places "Ayawas" between Buffalo Horn and Village creeks, on the northeast side of the Des Moines. Neither name is

⁵⁰ Fitzpatrick's *The Place-Names of Van Buren County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVIII, p. 32.

⁵¹ Anderson's *Narrative* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 151.

⁵² Dearborn's *Letter* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 315.

⁵³ Lewis's *Essay on an Indian Policy* in Coues's *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 1222; Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VI, pp. 91, 92; Clark's map of 1810.

now applied to creeks in the region indicated in southeastern Iowa, but it could have been the Iowaville spot. Moreover, the township name may be a carry over from the latter creek's name or the creeks may be so small that they are not noted on geologic survey maps. Many other traders and government officials verify this location, including Cutter in 1812, Clark in 1816, Tanner and Long in 1817, Silby in 1820, and Morse in 1820.

How long the Ioway maintained this Des Moines village, it is difficult to say. The white man was shouldering his way persistently into Iowa by this time. Lewis wrote in 1809, "The third, and only portion of those Indians [of Upper Louisiana], who can with propriety be considered as possessed of such stationary villages . . . is confined to the Ayaways, Sioux, and Foxes of the Mississippi".⁵⁴ But very soon the disruption traceable to the white man reached even their villages, and groups of Ioway were attracted to certain centers of activity for more or less temporary periods.

Even as early as 1805 Zebulon M. Pike in describing his trip up the Mississippi from Rock River northward noted, "In this distance they [the party] passed a large prairie, called the half way to the prairies des Chiens, and several sand banks on the east; the Iowa village and Creek is on the opposite side."⁵⁵ And John Todd in his book of recollections of early days in western Iowa stated that in the beginning of the nineteenth century there was an Ioway village on the Iowa River ten miles above its confluence with the Mississippi.⁵⁶

Giacomo Constantine Beltrami, the Italian explorer, as-

⁵⁴ Lewis's *Observations and Reflections on Upper Louisiana* in Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, p. 322.

⁵⁵ Pike's *An Account of a Voyage up the Mississippi River*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Todd's *Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa*, p. 184.

cended the Mississippi from Wheeling to Fort St. Anthony on the steamboat, *Virginia*. He speaks of the river of the "Yahawas" that was named after people who lived on it,⁵⁷ but that does not definitely indicate that the Ioway were still there. Nor does Jedidiah Morse's (1820) statement of the same fact prove a late occupation.⁵⁸ It is only a hunch that the Ioway were not there long and not after the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Nicholas Boilvin, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote in 1811 that the Ioway had for the most part abandoned the chase except to get meat, and were manufacturing lead (probably near the present site of Dubuque, Iowa).⁵⁹ William Clark, as Governor of Missouri Territory, stated in an official report that the Ioway were "on Grand river" and also had "a village on Lemoin".⁶⁰ George Silby verified the Grand River location when he wrote from Fort Osage to Thomas L. McKenney in 1820 about the Indians between the Missouri and the Arkansas rivers. He said: "They [the Ioway] are latterly much divided, so that I am unable to state precisely how many villages they occupy, or where they are located. . . . The other part of the tribe remains in two villages, I believe, on the De Moines and Grand Rivers."⁶¹

Thomas Forsyth in his *Journal* (1819) remarked that the Ioway had planted corn near Fort Edwards (located

⁵⁷ In the words of Beltrami, "du nom de peuples Sauvages, qui l'habitaient".—Beltrami's *La Découverte des Sources du Mississippi*, p. 62.

⁵⁸ Morse's *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs*, p. 363.

⁵⁹ Boilvin's *Letter* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 252.

⁶⁰ Clark's *A Report of the Names and Probable Number of the Tribes of Indians in the Missouri Territory*, dated November 4, 1816. In the retired classified files, Indian Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁶¹ Silby's *Letter* in Morse's *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs*, p. 204.

on the Mississippi just below the site of Keokuk, Iowa) where they were residing, and in 1821 he asked for a sub-agent there to deal with the Ioway.

Two reports in 1817 — one by Stephen Long and the other by Edward Tanner — suggest that the Ioway had moved their village farther up the Des Moines River. Long wrote, "The principal part of the Ioway Indians reside up this river [Des Moines], at the distance of about one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth."⁶² This information he had obtained during his journey up the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to the Falls of St. Anthony. Edward Tanner, who also claimed to have journeyed up the Mississippi in 1817, placed the tribe one hundred miles from the west side of the Mississippi.⁶³ Both of these figures rest on secondhand information.

A split of the tribe had occurred when an Ioway chief, "Wangewaha" or "Hard Heart", joined the Oto in Nebraska because he was not in sympathy with the English in the War of 1812 and disapproved of the actions of the rest of the group in aiding Great Britain. In the autumn of 1819, according to the story told Stephen H. Long on his Rocky Mountain expedition, many of Hard Heart's people joined him so that the Ioway, Oto, and Missouri were united for a brief time. In 1820, Hard Heart's followers returned to the village on the Des Moines River, but the chief remained with the Oto.

In 1823 Beltrami noted, as the boat steamed past the Des Moines, "This river is inhabited by the Ioways who have been almost all destroyed by the Dakotas."⁶⁴ The massacre

⁶² Long's *Voyage in a Six-Oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony* in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 81.

⁶³ Tanner's *Report* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 288.

⁶⁴ "Cette rivière est habitée par les yahoas qui ont été presque tous détruits par le Sioux" in Beltrami's *La Découverte des Sources du Mississippi*, p. 51.

by the Dakotas is an unsolved puzzle. Since it is doubtful, this site may be questioned. However, Beltrami talked with people at Fort Edwards opposite the mouth of the Des Moines and should therefore have received recent and reliable data.

There is also a tradition of a battle in 1821 between the Ioway and the Sauk and Fox led by Black Hawk in which the Ioway were defeated,⁶⁵ but this is very improbable. At any rate the period of compulsory land cessions was upon the Ioway Indians. In 1824 they gave up land in Missouri; in 1825 they were excluded from Minnesota and far northern Iowa; in 1830 they ceded all their Iowa land. It was during this period of persistent ousting that they began definitely to trail out of Iowa. Some settled near Snake Hills (St. Joseph, Missouri) on the Missouri where their presence was reported by Forsyth (1831), Catlin (1830's), Maximilian (1833), and De Smet (1838). Some settled on the Little Platte, according to Maximilian (1827 and 1833). Reservation life was at hand.

THE OTO

The Oto, a smaller Chiwere Siouan tribe, shadowed the course of the Ioway across northern Iowa to the Missouri; their villages were either contiguous or were separated by only a few miles.

The Oto, or "Otontanta", first appear in what may be Iowa on Marquette's ambiguous map of about 1673. (See Appendix for further discussion.) They are there one of the "nations esloignés dans les terres" and thus relegated to the group containing the Pawnee, the Omaha, and the Ioway(?). The Jesuit map "made in the year 1672", Joliet's map of 1674, and Vander Aa's 1673 map all copy

⁶⁵ Pickard's *The Iowa Indians in the Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 14; Cole's *I Am A Man: The Indian Black Hawk*, pp. 70, 71.

that of Marquette. None of their slight rearranging suggests additional information.

The Oto were brought out of the limitless West and given more definite location by Father Zenobius Membré who coupled the "Anthontantas" with the Ioway when he placed that tribe on what was probably the Upper Iowa River. (See p. 238.) Hennepin copied Membré in this, but he did not specify the location of the western river. La Salle's references show no additional information.

Later maps yield few additional facts. Franquelin's map for 1681 harks back to Joliet's of 1674 for its portrayal of the Iowa area. Franquelin's succeeding maps of 1684, 1685, and 1688 are a distinct improvement over any earlier ones, but he was confused by the extensive terminology used by various tribal groups and Frenchmen to designate the Ioway. Not realizing that "Arounoué", "Paoté", and "Mascoutins Nadessioux" probably all referred to the Ioway, he placed all on the maps in locations given for them at one time or another, naming the Oto always with the "Mascoutins Nadessioux". Both groups were near the head of a river in the "Far West". This specific relationship probably traces ultimately to Membré's records. Fonville's 1699 map makes the same errors.

The failure of Perrot to mention the Oto after his visit to the Ioway in 1685 suggests that the two tribes lived at least several miles apart, or the tribe may have been too small to merit special attention.

It will be recalled that Pierre Le Sueur was told in 1700 that the Blue Earth River was the region of the Ioway, "des Otoctatas", and of the western Sioux. The Ioway were said to live on a lake shore. The Oto were described as living "a little further on".⁶⁶ Delisle in his 1703 map

⁶⁶ The phrase was "un peu plus loin".—Beaurain's *Mémoire* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. VI, p. 78.

placed them with the Ioway on Okoboji Lake. Other cartographers followed Delisle in this — Moll in 1712, 1714, and 1720, Willdey in 1714, and de Fer in 1718.

When the Canadians searched for the Ioway at this place they found neither that group nor the Oto. They found instead that both tribes had gone to the Missouri River near the Omaha. Did Delisle, therefore, on his 1718 map, place the two together on the Missouri? No, he located the Ioway on the Big Sioux(?), on a river farther up the Missouri, and on the Lake, but he had the Oto below the mouth of the "Rivière de Panis" or Platte, on the west side of the Missouri, and, in addition, they appeared in a generalized area between the Des Moines and Missouri, south of the latitude of the mouth of the Platte.

A manuscript confirmation of the Oto's presence near the Missouri in 1701 is found in an anonymous document entitled "Necessity of Fortifying the Country in order to destroy the English establishments" which, in a concentration plan, spoke of making the Omaha and the Oto come down a river which was twenty leagues from the Ohio, undoubtedly the Missouri.⁶⁷ Moreover, an old Missouri woman, quoted by Charlevoix in 1721, described the "Ocotatas" as a tribe living on the western side of the Missouri River.

From this time on the maps represent two schools of thought: one which placed the Oto in a broad area between the Des Moines and the Missouri, toward the south (as Le Rouge in 1742, Bellin in 1755, and Nolin in 1756), and one which places them on the Platte in what is now Nebraska (as on a map in Daniel Coxe's *A Description of the English Province of Carolana*, 1722, the Anville-Bolton map of

⁶⁷ "Il le faudroit aussi charger de . . . faire venir les Mahas, les Octotas, sur une rivière qui est à vingt lieues de Ouabache".—From a report entitled *Necessité de fortifier le Pays pour détruire les Établissements Anglais* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. IV, pp. 586, 587.

1752, Bonne's map of 1757, etc.). From 1757 on the Oto are always located in Nebraska.

It is, therefore, likely that the tribe descended and crossed the Missouri around the turn of the seventeenth century. They established their main permanent village on the Platte, but they continued to hunt in Iowa crossing the Missouri in the region of the mouth of the Platte and so were encountered in that area.

When Bougainville spoke of them and the Ioway being fifty leagues above Fort Leavenworth (See p. 247), the Oto were probably on the Nebraska side and may have been at the "old Ottoes village" described by Lewis and Clark.

THE OMAHA

It is recounted that in prehistoric times, after separating from the other Dhegiha Siouan tribes, the Omaha migrated up the Missouri River to their first recorded position at that river's westward bend. If such a movement did take place, it is likely that the group, during its progression, would have lived at one or more sites in Iowa.

In the sixteenth century the Omaha were another of the tribes which Marquette, Joliet, Franquelin, and Minet stretched into the illimitable West on their maps. But in 1702 Delisle located them on a river which flowed south to join the Missouri at its bend, above the unnamed Little Sioux. The 1703 map is essentially the same in this respect. Many other cartographers copied this general setup,⁶⁸ although more often the river of the Omaha flowed from the northeast, roughly paralleling the river of the Ioway. In addition, the river of the Omaha is sometimes shown with a river above it, again with a parallel course, on which "Ari-

⁶⁸ Moll, 1712-1714, 1720; Willdey, 1714(?); Vermale, 1717; Bonne, 1757; Jeffrey, 1760, 1783; Beaurain, 1777; Anville, 1794; and Faden, 1769. See the map list for descriptions of these maps.

cara" appears. Furthermore, Delisle on his 1718 map and Bowles in 1778 name the river of the Omaha "R. du Rocher". Always, however, the Omaha are placed at the mouth or spreading north from it on one side or the other.

It is perhaps apparent that the river under discussion is the same one as that on which the Ioway were located by Delisle in 1718. In the earlier discussion it was suggested that the Big Sioux was the river intended. It was also pointed out that Vermale differed in his placement of the Omaha. In his 1717 map he shows the "Maha" on a river flowing into the Missouri above the Little Sioux(?). The disconcerting feature here is a river flowing from the west into the Missouri(?) above the mouth of the postulated Little Sioux and below the mouth of the river with the Omaha village. This river has a Pawnee village on it. It seems likely that Vermale was confused in this map. Le Sueur stated definitely that the Omaha and Ioway were near together and this delineation would separate them by a goodly distance. Moreover, the western river looks like the Platte misplaced. Therefore, the conclusion as regards the Big Sioux still holds.

Assuming then that the river on which the Omaha were located was the Big Sioux, it is of importance to this study to determine whether the tribe was on the west or east side of the river. One location would put them in South Dakota, the other in Iowa. There were those who placed the "Maha" in a generalized area at the mouth, but most maps were more specific. In 1702 Delisle placed them up the river, quite a way on the east side. In 1703 he portrayed the village on the Iowa side but nearer the mouth. Then in 1718 he put it on the Dakota side and replaced the eastern site with an Ioway village.

The maps of the eighteenth century reflect this change and started two schools of thought. The cartographers of

both schools were that by profession, and obviously not much new information reached them concerning the western Upper Mississippi area. They therefore copied earlier maps. Many of those who located the Omaha on the Iowa side copied the Delisle 1703 map, for they are the same who showed the Ioway at the lake site until the nineteenth century. Faden and Jeffreys, who located the Omaha on the Dakota side, copied Delisle's 1718 map.

Therefore, taking Delisle as the final reliable source on the Big Sioux location of the Omaha, it would seem that they were in Iowa not later than the second decade of the eighteenth century. After that they were in Dakota or Nebraska. Hence their stay in the Iowa area — of whatever length — belongs mostly to the realm of pre-history.

THE ILLINOIS CONFEDERATION

In the late 1650's the Iroquois besieged a Fox Indian village in what is now Wisconsin. After the siege part of the Iroquois, it is said, returned to the East by circling the southern end of Lake Michigan. In the course of their journey they came upon an Illinois Indian village. Only the women and children were at home so the Iroquois killed them all. When the Illinois warriors returned from their hunt, soon after the massacre, they discovered what had happened, pursued their enemies and, they claimed, killed all but four. Thereupon the Iroquois vowed revenge upon all Illinois Indians. From this impending danger the Illinois fled into the Iowa area, probably about 1667.

One of these groups was the Peoria, whom Marquette and Joliet visited in their pilgrimage down the Mississippi River in 1673. On the 25th of June, when they had descended more than sixty leagues from the Wisconsin, they noticed footprints on the shore and decided to find the Indian village that they assumed was nearby. "We followed

the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former."⁶⁹ The side of the river is not mentioned but on the maps of both men the village is placed south of the river.

Now comes the identification of the river, and into this question intrudes the problem of the accuracy of latitudes as obtained by Marquette and recorded on his map. For some reason his recordings of the latitudes of rivers encountered in descending from the Wisconsin down to the Arkansas (the Illinois, Missouri, and Ohio) are consistently one degree south of the true positions. Only the latitude of the mouth of the Arkansas River is plotted correctly and, as a result, the Mississippi is foreshortened a degree. Such a uniform error indicates either the use of an instrument whose readings were subject to a constant error or computation by "dead reckoning" that began with error. Hence it is necessary to subtract one degree from the readings given, in order to determine the location of the spots mentioned.

As regards the site of the Peoria village we quote Laenas G. Weld who studied this problem thoroughly:

While the journal does not specifically state that the latitude vaguely given as "40 degrees and some minutes" is that of Peouarea, it is evident from the map that this is to be understood. The estimated distance traversed since entering the Mississippi — over sixty leagues — is as indefinite as the estimate itself is uncertain. If 20 leagues be counted to the degree, in nautical fashion, the distance is above 207 statute miles. This would indicate as the place of landing some point on the river near Port Louisa in Louisa County. The latitude of this point is about $41^{\circ} 12'$, which is something over a degree greater than that of Peouarea as given by Marquette's map and nearly the same amount greater than that in-

⁶⁹ Marquette's *Récit des Voyages et des Découvertes* in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 244.

ferred from the narrative. The stream entering here from the west, as shown in the sketch of the true course of the Mississippi, is the Iowa river.⁷⁰

This very logical selection of the Iowa River as the site of the Peoria village conflicts with the older assumption that it was on the Des Moines River. That assumption was based on Marquette's map which shows the Peoria on the same river as the Moingwena.⁷¹ But the two were not necessarily on the same river. In fact, Marquette's manuscript does not even mention the latter tribe. It says, "They [the Illinois] are divided into several villages, some of which are quite distant from that of which we speak, and which is called Peouarea."⁷² Nor does Joliet place the Peoria village on the Des Moines River on his map. It seems likely that having been told that the Moingwena lived farther to the west with perhaps gestures toward the upper river, Marquette assumed that the tribes lived on the same stream. The omission of mention of the Des Moines River when the party passed its mouth, is not odd when one considers how many rivers he omitted to note.

Other maps of even the seventeenth century show the two tribes on two different rivers. Franquelin (1681) placed the river of the Moingwena above that of the Peoria, but in 1684 he reversed this position, as does an anonymous 1682 map that in its legend cites La Salle for its authority. Franquelin was in Quebec in the 1680's. Probably he talked to La Salle while there and his 1684 map shows his

⁷⁰ Weld's *Joliet and Marquette in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12.

⁷¹ Although Hodge gives the spelling "Mongwena", in this study an "i" is added to the first syllable, making "Moingwena" because the tribal name is practically always spelled with the additional "i". This is verified by conversation with Sara Jones Tucker, student of historic Indian tribes in Illinois.

⁷² Marquette's *Récit des Voyages et des Découvertes* in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 247.

new information. Unexplainable is the isolated instance (Franquelin, 1688, copied by Fonville, 1699) where the Peoria are beyond the head of the river instead of at its mouth.

The river of the Moingwena was surely the present Des Moines. Its name harks back to them. Pénicaut in his *Relation* wrote, "They call it Rivière de Moingona after a tribe of Savages who lived upon its banks."⁷³ And its relative position on the maps in regard to the Missouri, Illinois, and Wisconsin rivers supports the supposition. The group is usually shown on the south side near the mouth of the Des Moines. This would be in the area of the present State of Missouri. However, on Franquelin's 1682 and 1688 maps the tribe is placed south of the river at its split into an east and west branch.

The Tapuaro appear on late seventeenth century maps (1682-1688) on the unnamed Iowa River but farther upstream than the Peoria. In the one case of the Peoria being at the head of this river, the Tapuaro are placed only half way up.

The Coiracoentanon were at the mouth of the Des Moines River according to seventeenth century maps (1682-1699). It is likely that other Illinois tribes were also in Iowa at this time but are unrecorded.

The immediate danger from the Iroquois soon passed. Marquette and Joliet had found the Illinois tribes west of the Mississippi just before they returned to their homeland. When the Frenchmen ascended the Mississippi River and turned up the Illinois they met near Lake Peoria the Indians visited on the Iowa on their downstream trip.

Document CXXX of the *Jesuit Relations* (1672-1673) states:

⁷³ Pénicaut's *Relation* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. V, p. 411.

Still farther to the westward, in the woods, are *The atchaterakangouen*, The Machkoutench, Marameg, Kikaboua, and Kitchigamich; The village of the miami, where The atchatchakangouen are, and whither come the Illinoue, the Kakachkiouek [Kaskaskia], Peoualen [Peoria] mengakonkia [Moingwena],—Some for a short time, Others for a longer time. These tribes dwell on The Banks of the Missisipi.⁷⁴

In 1676, however, Father Claude Allouez wrote that at Kaskaskia, where he had been, there were 371 cabins housing eight tribes, most likely all Illinois. He wrote, “at the present time, there are 8 tribes in it [the village], the first having summoned the others, who inhabited the neighborhood of the river mississippi.”⁷⁵ The tribes probably were the Kaskaskia, the Peoria, the Moingwena, the Cahokia, the Tamoroa, the Tapuaro, the Maroua, and the Coiracoentanon. Other informants of the same period verify the return of these tribes to Illinois by the late 1670’s. The maps, however, due to the inevitable copying, continued to show the tribes in Iowa until near the close of the century.

THE OTTAWA AND THE HURON

The area now Wisconsin had, even earlier than Illinois, become so filled with Indian tribes that some were pushed across the Mississippi. Perrot wrote that the Ottawa and Huron, fearful of the encroaching Iroquois, ascended the Mississippi nine leagues and entered a river from the west. There is no way of telling at what point they reached the Mississippi, but this western river was probably the Upper Iowa. (See p. 237.) Unfortunately Perrot’s manuscript gives dates only occasionally and no year is given in connection with the description of this migration. Earlier in the memoir, however, Perrot stated that the Huron and

⁷⁴ Thwaites’s *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 41–43.

⁷⁵ Thwaites’s *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LX, p. 159.

Ottawa were attacked by the Iroquois in 1656. Therefore, Tailhan, editor of Perrot, placed the western sojourn between 1657 and 1660 when trouble with the Dakota forced them northeast again. But the Siouan difficulty did not start until after the Ottawa had returned to the Mississippi and established themselves on Bald Island. Their stay was thus less than three years at most. Thwaites in his *Jesuit Relations* and Miss Blair in her *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley* follow this dating. Dr. Kellogg, however, differs by giving 1653 as the year of the Iroquois invasion west of Lake Michigan and thus places the initial movement of the Ottawa and Huron within the next year or two.

It is certain that they did not tarry many months in Iowa, for Perrot explained:

But in all the extent of the country which they traversed, having seen no place suitable for the establishment of a village because there was no woods at all and because there were only prairies and open country, although buffaloes and other animals, were in abundance, they returned retracing their old route.⁷⁶

THE MIAMI

Some of the Miami, too, joined the hurried movement across the Mississippi, with perhaps an additional reason.

The Wea, a subtribe of the Miami, appeared on Joliet's 1674 map (as Sa8iatonon) along the western bank of the Mississippi between the Wisconsin and the "long river" (Iowa River?) on which were placed the Peoria and other Illinois tribes. The symbols are generalized so that more exact location is impossible. Since the Wea do not appear on Marquette's map and are not mentioned in the *Journal*, Joliet must have heard of their village after his return from the West.

⁷⁶ *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 203.

A westward migration is verified by a document "Relation des découvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle 1679-80-81" which Margry, the great historian, thinks was written by an ecclesiastical scholar rather than by La Salle himself. To quote:

The Miamis formerly lived west of the lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan], whence fear of the Iroquois made them flee beyond the Mississippi where they established themselves. The Jesuit Fathers sent them presents some years ago asking them to return to their old homeland, and they finally sent a group to settle near the head of the river Teatiki [Illinois River].⁷⁷

The document then described how powerful and numerous the Illinois were and how they had to be pacified in any manner possible. This explains a letter of La Salle's written from Fort Frontenac, in August, 1682, in which he said that the Miami "had earlier been forced to abandon their old country due to fear of attack by the Illinois, and had fled beyond the Colbert River [Mississippi] toward the West, among the Oto, the 'Paoté', and the 'Maskoutens, Nadouessioux' [Ioway] who had been forced to accept them for four years."⁷⁸ Evidently the Miami movement resulted from fear, both of the Iroquois and the Illinois.

When did they return? Father Anthoine Sylvy found Miami and Mascoutin together in a village east of the Mississippi in 1676. A part of them at least had returned, but not long before the visit. The most reliable edition of Father Hennepin's works in 1683, told of his meeting a Dakota war party of thirty-three canoes on the Mississippi in 1680. "As we did not understand their language, we took a little stick, and by signs which we made on the sand, showed

⁷⁷ La Salle's *Relation* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. I, pp. 435, 505.

⁷⁸ La Salle's *Letter* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. II, p. 215,

them that their enemies, the Miamis whom they sought had fled across the river Colbert to join the Illinois".⁷⁹

The Illinois tribes were then east of the Mississippi. Probably the four year stay of the Miami as well as that of the Illinois was in the early 1670's.

THE KITCHIGAMI

The Kitchigami, a group ethnically and linguistically related to the Kickapoo and Mascoutin are shown on Joliet's map opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin River in the Iowa area. Marquette does not show the group at all, but it appears on Thevenot's Marquette map. Thevenot, however, placed them a short distance in from the river. Their stay too must have been short and contemporaneous with that of the Illinois and Miami. Allouez found "Kitchigamich" in Illinois in 1669-1670⁸⁰ and Father Beschefer located them east of the Mississippi again in 1681-1683.⁸¹

THE KICKAPOO AND THE MASCOUTIN

The Kickapoo found the land west of the Mississippi a safer place at times than their own homeland. They too had "gone West" before 1700. According to the Beaurain manuscript, Le Sueur, having progressed some fourteen leagues above the mouth of the Wisconsin, "passed this day the 'Rivière aux Canots', which came from the northeast, next that of the Kickapoos, thus named for a nation who formerly lived on its banks."⁸²

A distance of fourteen leagues above the mouth of the Wisconsin would extend about to the mouth of the Upper

⁷⁹ Hennepin's *A Description of Louisiana* (edited by J. G. Shea), p. 206.

⁸⁰ Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIV, p. 233.

⁸¹ Beschefer's *Letter* in Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXII, p. 193.

⁸² Beaurain's *Mémoire* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. VI, pp. 72, 73.

Iowa River on the west. But was the river on the west? So Delisle placed it in 1702 on his "Map of Canada and of the Mississippi". Directly opposite Delisle had "R. au canot". The same delineation appeared on his 1703 map, with above these two rivers the "R. Cache" on the west and opposite the "R. aux Ailes". Just above the latter was "R. Noir", probably the present day Black River, and then Lake Pepin with the St. Peter's or Minnesota River on the left. Again Delisle seems to have known what he was about, having had an opportunity to bolster up the facts we have today with additional information. The general setup points firmly toward an identification of the "R. des Kicapoo" with the Upper Iowa.

The date of the Kickapoo's arrival there is a troublesome question. Was it when the inhabitants of Wisconsin and Illinois slipped into Iowa in the early 1660's? If so, did the Kickapoo keep to the Mississippi and thus out of the way of the Ioway who were at the head of the Upper Iowa? Or did they move over later? There are no definite data on this, but the likely assumption is that the earlier migration took place and that the tribe kept to the edge of the Iowa country. Their stay was undoubtedly short, though maps copying Delisle perpetuated the "Kickapoo River" until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Kickapoo got in trouble again, this time along with the closely related tribe of Mascoutin. They had sheltered the Fox Indians and were therefore hunted and hated by the French. The Kickapoo and Mascoutin returned the hate. Consequently, when Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville, and his party were making a desperate effort to get from Fort Beauharnois down the Mississippi to the Illinois River and Fort de Chartres in 1728, they were captured by the two tribes and made prisoners. The capture took place, said Boucher, near a "small river" reached on the 16th of

October four days after they passed Rock River. The Indian village was located three leagues from the mouth of this "small river".⁸³ The only way to estimate the whereabouts of the river from the description is to consider the relative distances traversed in the stated time. The party had left Lake Pepin on October 3rd, had been kidnapped on the 16th, had pushed ahead continually, took two days to get from the Rock River to the "small river".

Any postulations based on these data cannot help but be insecure. The Marquis de Beauharnois, at that time Governor General of New France, described the event, evidently after a conversation with some of the party, and said it took place at the mouth of the "Rivière aux Beoufs". Now what was the "Rivière aux Boeufs"? It is generally assumed to have been on the west side of the Mississippi. Since the Indians had tried to escape the French army they probably crossed the river. Moreover, when some Fox visited the camp they left it by recrossing the Mississippi. There is no explanation as to how they arrived, but the Fox were at this time east of the river.

Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, the eminent historian, suggested that the "small river", on the basis of the presented information, was the Skunk River. But Dr. Jacob Van der Zee, concentrating on Iowa history, counter-suggested that it was the Iowa River. This stream was known a hundred years later as the "Bison River usually called Iowa". Lieutenant Albert M. Lea so labels it on an original map in 1835, and in his book remarks, "The river marked on the map as '*Bison R. usually called Iowa River,*' is sometimes called Horse River, and sometimes Buffalo River."⁸⁴

⁸³ Boucher's *Narrative* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Lea's *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase* (Reprinted by the State Historical Society of Iowa with the title *The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name*), p. 28.

Moreover this last site seems more reasonable, in view of the official report of the expedition of 1734 which stated that the Fox fort on the Wapsipinicon was not far from the place where the Frenchman had been captured by the Kickapoo and Mascoutin. And lastly, the distance from Rock River to the Iowa would be a more likely two days' trip than from the Rock River to the Skunk. Three leagues up from the mouth of the Iowa River would place the site near the junction of the Iowa and Cedar rivers in Louisa County.

THE CHIPPEWA

Just below the mouth of the Wapsipinicon River, Brion de la Tour on his 1784 map marks a Chippewa ("Sautoux") village. Faden includes it on his 1796 map. Here it is about half way between the mouths of the Wapsipinicon and the Rock River, on the Iowa side. This may have been just a camp which someone found and described.

THE SAUK AND THE FOX

Iowa was a refuge also for the Fox Indians. From time to time all during the eighteenth century they scurried west across the Mississippi to safety from the French, or from combined Indian enemies. They seem to have hunted there some, too, and the party of Fox which Pierre Boucher found traces of in 1728, just below the mouth of the Wisconsin, was probably of this nature.

In 1730 occurred the dreadful massacre by the French of the cornered Fox tribe. In desperation some of the fugitive Foxes sought shelter with the Sauk. Consequently when Coulon de Villiers returned three years later to the Fox country with orders to completely exterminate the tribe, he went to the Sauk and demanded the surrender of the few there. But the Sauk hesitated, for such an action was not in accordance with their code of proper behavior.

In the tense, wavering moments, as Villiers stood demanding and the Sauk evading, the young son of the French commander was killed by a chance shot fired by an Indian. The French returned the fire, and then Villiers himself was shot by a Sauk. The Sauk and Fox had to flee again.

Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart, in a letter dated October 7, 1734, stated that according to the latest information the Fox had established themselves on the "River Wapsipinikam" (Wapsipinicon).⁸⁵ There they built a fort and awaited further developments. They had not long to wait. A punitive expedition was sent out, headed by Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles. Warned of its approach, the Sauk and Fox moved deeper into Iowa, and stopped on the Des Moines River. There the French found them in April, 1735, "on the bank of the River Mongona 60 Leagues from the spot where that River falls into the Mississippi".⁸⁶

The site of the indecisive battle must have been in the region of the present Camp Dodge, north of the city of Des Moines. After this fiasco the French were somewhat in disgrace with the Indian tribes and the Fox felt that it was safe to return into Illinois. Whether they all returned immediately or whether some lingered around the Wapsipinicon is not definitely ascertainable, but after this time there is no mention in the literature or on maps of their being in Iowa until the nineteenth century. Chauvignerie in his official report to the Governor of Canada in 1736 reported the Fox as of the "Fox River, a wandering nation not separate".⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Beauharnois and Hocquart's *Report to the King* in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, p. 206.

⁸⁶ Hocquart's *Letter* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, p. 231.

⁸⁷ Chauvignerie's *Report* in Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Appendix A.

The only other mention of the Fox in Iowa before the turn of the century is an interpretation given by Reuben Gold Thwaites to the Cruzat report of 1777 (See p. 253). According to this interpretation the Fox chief, "Raven", had a village on the Mississippi two hundred leagues up from St. Louis. Thwaites located this village near the Wapsipinicon River.⁸⁸ It is more likely that the Rock River village was meant.

Though the Sauk and Fox had united their tribes as early as 1733 they seem to have maintained separate villages during most of the eighteenth century at least. The Sauk had a permanent village in Iowa before the Fox did. In February of the year 1781 Martin Novarro wrote from Seville to Francisco Cruzat, then Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, "I do not believe it bad for Your Grace to keep Mounsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Misisipi among the Sac tribe forty leagues from that village [St. Louis]".⁸⁹ The mouth of the Des Moines River is about 170 miles from St. Louis. Since it is definitely known that in the early nineteenth century there was a Sauk village at the rapids just north of the present Keokuk (probably on the site of the town of Montrose, Iowa), it is reasonable to assume that Novarro referred to the same site.

When was this village established? It was evidently not there in 1777, for in that year Cruzat in his "Summary of Indian Tribes of the Missouri River" placed the Sauk on the banks of the Mississippi 230 leagues north of St. Louis.⁹⁰ The 230 leagues would put the village much

⁸⁸ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 146; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, p. 206, Vol. XVIII, p. 364.

⁸⁹ Navarro's *Letter* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 422.

⁹⁰ Van der Zee's *Episodes in the Early History of the Des Moines Valley* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIV, p. 324.

farther north; probably the Rock River site was meant. If the nearer one had then been in existence he surely would have mentioned it too. Thus it is likely that the village was established between 1777 and 1781. It was not the main Sauk village, however, for that remained on the Rock River.

The Iowa village continued into the nineteenth century. Zenon Trudeau in 1793 infers that the Sauk were controlling at least part of the Des Moines.⁹¹ Lieutenant Pike mentions the village definitely in 1805,⁹² and in 1806 Henry Dearborn notified Nicolas Boilvin that he should "make the Sacque Village, at the Rapids of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the River Lemoin, your principal place of residence".⁹³ Isaac R. Campbell, writing *Recollections of the Early Settlement of Lee Co.*, based on observations made in June, 1821, said, "At the head of the Rapids, MONTROSE, was an Indian village, Chief's name, in English, 'Cut Nose.'" ⁹⁴ And a Lee County history says: "Peter Williams settled on the site of Fort Madison in 1832. The same year, after the Indians vacated their village where Montrose is now situated, Captain James White inclosed about seven or eight acres".⁹⁵

The Iowa River was a focal point for the Sauk and Fox in the nineteenth century. A map drawn by Meriwether Lewis, according to the word of Nicholas King who copied it in 1805, shows "Saukees and Reynards villages 800 men" on the "Ayavois River". Then in 1814 Thomas G. Anderson, the English trader, quoted Little Corbeaux, a Dakota

⁹¹ Trudeau's *Document* in Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 50.

⁹² Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 14, 15.

⁹³ Dearborn's *Letter* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 314, 315.

⁹⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, p. 884.

⁹⁵ Roberts and Moorhead's *Story of Lee County Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 62.

chief, as saying, "I sent word to the Renards, at the Riviere des Ayovois". And later he said, "They are all in Winter quarters at the Riviere des Ayonais; that is part, of three different nations, Sauks, Kickapoos, and Renards."⁹⁶ Brué on his map of 1819 showed the location on the Iowa River as just north of the mouth. In the 1830's Keokuk was head of a Sauk and Fox(?) village he had established there about 1828. It was some 12 miles up the Iowa, near what is now the site of Elrick Junction, but on the east side of the river at the northern end of a prairie extending south and west. Wapello headed a Sauk village near the present Wapello, Iowa, in Louisa County, on the Iowa River. Poweshiek, with his Fox followers, was on the Cedar, 10 miles from the Iowa-Cedar junction.

It was from the site on the Iowa River that Keokuk led his group to the Iowaville site on the Des Moines River about 1834. Lieutenant Albert M. Lea, an officer of the 1st U. S. Dragoons, passed through this Des Moines River village in 1835.⁹⁷ His map gives the Indian population in the town as 450. Here Catlin visited the tribe in 1835. The village persisted at least until 1842 when the Sauk and Fox transferred all their lands remaining in Iowa to the government. Probably stragglers lingered there even after that.

Chief Appanoose and his 350 Sauk followers had a village on a tributary of the Des Moines which Lieutenant Lea visited also in 1835. It must have been south of the site of Ottumwa, Iowa, and perhaps some distance west of it. Although Lea shows it on his map, the creeks are difficult to determine accurately.

There were, in addition, a number of small villages of

⁹⁶ Anderson's *Journal* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 239, 250.

⁹⁷ Petersen's *Iowa in 1835* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XVI; Lea's *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District*.

Sauk or Fox along the Mississippi which are mentioned by passersby.

In the journal of his Mississippi trip made in 1817, Long recorded: "Passed Little Ioway River coming in from the west. There is a small village of Foxes about three miles up this river, consisting of five or six wigwams."⁹⁸ The river he mentions is unquestionably the Upper Iowa. This must have been a brief camp site because it is not noted by any others although Indian villages by this time were becoming better documented. In 1820, small Fox villages were reported by Morrell Marston — at the Dubuque mines, twenty lodges, near the mouth of the Wapsipinicon River, ten lodges, and opposite Fort Armstrong near the present Davenport, thirty-five lodges.⁹⁹ Long had mentioned the latter village three years before and noted thirty lodges there.¹⁰⁰ And Tanner also wrote about the village and in addition mentioned a Sauk village four miles distant. He gave no further description of the Sauk site.¹⁰¹ Even as early as 1804 in the helpful "Estimate of the Eastern Indians" that Lewis and Clark compiled, they stated that the Sauk and Fox lived in three villages a few miles above the mouth of Rock River on the west side of the Mississippi. This might be the same site as that described later as opposite Fort Armstrong.

Pike (1805) told of a site at the mouth of the Turkey

⁹⁸ Long's *Voyage in a Six-Oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony* in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 12.

⁹⁹ Schoolcraft's *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas*, pp. 346, 347; Marston's *Letter* in Blair's *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 148. Kearny reported 19 lodges instead of 10.—Kearny's *Journal* in the *Missouri Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 122.

¹⁰⁰ Long's *Voyage in a Six-Oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony* in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 69.

¹⁰¹ Tanner's *Report* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 288.

River,¹⁰² and Governor William Clark in 1816, writing from the Missouri Territory, also spoke of a large Fox village there.¹⁰³ Schoolcraft said it was temporarily deserted in 1820 and Beltrami termed it "abandoned" in 1823.¹⁰⁴ More exact location is undeterminable.

County histories list Fox Indians all over eastern and southern Iowa, and Clark in 1816 said that the Sauk were "scattered" west of the Mississippi. They were both ranging westward and downward into Missouri along the Grand and other southward flowing rivers. It was a chaotic period and even more than formerly the Sauk and Fox were "wandering nations".

THE PAWNEE

In early historic times western Iowa had comparatively few permanent residents. Delisle in 1703 placed the Skidi Pawnee (Panimaha) and the "Panibousa" in what may be Iowa but on its southernmost edge. Vermale in 1717 located "Panis" at what appears to be the Missouri above the Little Sioux(?) on both the Iowa and Nebraska sides, but the whole delineation is questionable. It should perhaps be the region of the Platte. Moll (1712-14, 1720), Wildey (1712-14), and Le Rouge (1742), copying, placed Pawnee, Skidi Pawnee, and "Panibousa" in broadcast fashion between the Missouri and the Des Moines rivers in the full north-south extent of Iowa. They are all almost exactly alike in this respect and probably are careless copies of Delisle.

¹⁰² Pike's *An Account of a Voyage up the Mississippi River, from St. Louis to Its Sources*, p. 6.

¹⁰³ Clark's *A Report of the Names and Probable Number of the Tribes of Indians in the Missouri Territory*, dated November 4, 1816. In the Indian Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁰⁴ Beltrami's *La Découverte des Sources du Mississippi et de La Rivière Sanglante*, p. 76.

Since Pawnee are marked in Nebraska contemporaneously with the Iowa appearances and since no villages are marked (except by Vermale) in Iowa, it is likely that that area was chiefly a hunting ground for the group.

THE DAKOTA

The eastern Dakota centered their eighteenth century activities for the most part in the area now Minnesota. There they are located by documents and maps until the end of that century. Nevertheless, they undoubtedly drifted down around the headwaters of the Des Moines River or down the Big Sioux into northern Iowa in earlier times.

By the late 1700's, however, they more regularly ranged southward. They hunted through the region of the upper Des Moines and Cedar rivers. Jean Baptiste Truteau in his *Journal* wrote that about 1794 the "hanctons scioux" lived on the upper branches of the Des Moines.¹⁰⁵

As Pike ascended the Mississippi in 1805, he found Yankton Sioux near the Upper Iowa River.¹⁰⁶ William Clark, when Governor of Missouri Territory, reported in an official communication to the President "6 tribes of Sioux" roving from Prairie du Chien to the head of the Minnesota River. And S. H. Long in 1817 saw several Dakota lodges just above the mouth of the "Little Ioway River" (Upper Iowa) that he explained was a war party camped there temporarily. The only suggestion of a permanent village site is that recorded on Clark's map dated 1810. It indicated a "Sioux" village site just below the mouth of the Upper Iowa. This was copied by Arrowsmith (1814) and by others.

¹⁰⁵ Truteau's *Journal* in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, p. 310.

¹⁰⁶ Pike's *An Account of the Voyage up the Mississippi, from St. Louis to Its Source*, p. 6.

Dakota also followed down the Missouri River into western Iowa. An isolated placement of the Yankton and Teton in this area occurs on one version of Delisle's 1718 map. It does not occur on the reproduction of the map appearing in Paullin's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. But on a map contained in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Vol. II, and described as a facsimile of the 1718 original, the word "Yankton" appears in bold print opposite the mouth of the Platte (Panis R.). Moreover, the "Tetons" are just below the mouth of the Little Sioux, on the Missouri. There are no village symbols. The original map was plainly tampered with after 1718. On it were superimposed in differing print the words "Yankton" and "Teton" at a later time. The "Yankton" spelling does not occur until the nineteenth century, hence the addition is probably quite late and may have been made by French himself. This altered map is the one attributed in some places to Le Sueur and dated 1701. (See Appendix.)

The Dakota were, however, definitely in the Iowa area when Lewis and Clark made their exploratory trip, for they characterized the Yanktons as a nomadic tribe that hunted "between the Missouri & River Desmoin, on the Little River Sioux."¹⁰⁷ And Clark in the 1816 report said that "7 tribes of Sioux" roved "on both sides of the Missouri from river Platt 700 miles up".¹⁰⁸

The Dakota agreed to a land treaty in 1825 that restricted them to the area north of a line leading, roughly, from the Upper Iowa's left fork to the Red Cedar, to the upper fork of the Des Moines, and to the lower fork of the

¹⁰⁷ *Estimate of the Eastern Indians* in Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition*, Vol. VI, p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ Clark's *A Report of the Names and Probable Numbers of the Indian Tribes in the Missouri Territory*, dated November 4, 1816.

Big Sioux to the Missouri. By this agreement they were then to keep out of Iowa.

CONCLUSION

With a picture in mind of the movements of historic Indian tribes in Iowa, it may be possible to suggest those of which the archaeologist might expect to find traces.

Those tribes that lived longest in Iowa probably would have left abundant cultural remains. And those who had lived there before the native material culture was largely obliterated by white man's influence should be recognizable. Fulfilling these two qualifications are, first of all, the Ioway. They were living in Iowa when the first white men came into the region. Their cultural remains should, therefore, be distinctive and show little French or Spanish contact. Moreover, they continued to live in the area under discussion for most of the next 150 years. They moved about, but since no other Indian tribe lived in all these places, it should be possible to distinguish the Ioway horizon from the others. For instance, the Kickapoo lived also on the Upper Iowa, but probably only near its mouth and for but a few years. The genetically related Oto remained with the tribe just up to, and through, the Lake Okoboji period. The Illinois and Ioway overlapped only on the Des Moines River. The Sauk and Fox did follow the Ioway at one site on the Des Moines but did not get into northwestern Iowa.

Aside from the Ioway, the Omaha, the Miami and Kickapoo, and the Illinois tribes might have left archaeologically discoverable traces in restricted areas, probably at only one or two sites. It is not so likely that traces of the Pawnee, the Dakota, the Ottawa, or the Sauk and Fox could be located or definitely identified as such. In historic times the Pawnee and Dakota probably did not have permanent villages in Iowa. The Ottawa and Huron merely visited the

Ioway. The Sauk and Fox, in general, maintained villages there in late times only, when disintegration of their village life and of their material culture was under way.

II

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS IN IOWA

The Indian tribes which lived in the area now Iowa in historic times have been determined. Now it is necessary to note just what archaeological manifestations appear in this same area and to determine the exact locations of them.

That this information might be compiled Dr. Charles R. Keyes, Director of the Archaeological Survey of Iowa, permitted the writer to examine the excavated and surface survey material which he had in his possession from the last two years' work (1934-1936). Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, also opened to study the collections housed at Iowa City. This latter collection was assembled for the most part by or under the direction of Dr. Keyes, although some private collections are incorporated, including the extensive and well-labelled materials donated by Ellison Orr of Waukon, Iowa. The notebooks kept by Dr. Keyes and Mr. Orr were also made available. Aside from this observation of the artifacts themselves, much information relative to the problem was obtained through conversations with Dr. Keyes and from work in the field with Mr. Orr in Allamakee County for several weeks in the fall of 1936.

It was hoped originally to work out a pattern of the locations of all the historic tribes in Iowa, then to do the same with archaeological manifestations, and finally to superimpose the one pattern on the other to see what identifications resulted. But historical research required so much time that the archaeological analysis had to be limited.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS IN IOWA (AFTER C. R. KYLES)

Since the Ioway lived in the Iowa area longer and more continuously by far than any other tribe, and since they established villages in several widely separated regions, leaving similar traces at each place and since these can, apparently, be separated from the unlike matrix of cultures left by other tribes, it was deemed best to concentrate on them. The procedure was to study the archaeology of the regions where the Ioway lived to see if an approximately identical cultural manifestation is present in them all and to survey the whole area to make sure such a manifestation appears nowhere else.

Here a difficulty was encountered. The excavated sites in Iowa are so restricted geographically that it is impossible to determine conclusively what cultural horizons¹⁰⁹ appear in some of the areas where the Ioway lived. Only in Allamakee County in northeastern Iowa, has there been thorough and well controlled excavation of mounds, workshop sites, and caves. Hence only in regard to this one county is it possible to speak with assurance of the archaeological manifestations present and of their relation one to another. In Lyon County, the most northwestern in Iowa, one mound only has been excavated. At present, therefore, identification of archaeological cultures with historic tribes in Iowa must make its chief reliance, archaeologically, on an extensive surface survey. This is done in the full knowledge that any conclusions drawn therefrom can be only hypotheses and that these may vary after more excavation has taken place, but such hypotheses are considered valuable.

The surface survey of Iowa was made almost entirely by Dr. Keyes. He has visited sites that have been reported to him and places he thought should yield Indian artifacts. There he picked up surface material, noted the size and

¹⁰⁹ A "horizon" is a cultural stratum in an archaeological site.

shape of mounds, the traces of house structures, etc. Occasionally he dug test pits. He also examined dozens of amateurs' collections. Due to his careful observations, supplemented by the information gained at the excavated sites, it is possible to distinguish five seemingly distinct archaeological manifestations in Iowa.¹¹⁰

The Woodland Manifestation.—Over all Iowa appears the "Woodland" culture, a manifestation that will undoubtedly resolve itself into several aspects¹¹¹ and phases¹¹² when more material is available. At present there are suggestions of two distinct divisions. Woodland artifacts are found both in rock shelters and in burial mounds. The mounds are for the most part conical, but effigy forms are found along the bluffs of the Mississippi in northeastern Iowa (Allamakee, Clayton, and Dubuque counties). Linear mounds have been noted in the region with the effigies and also at the forking of the upper Cedar River, on the Iowa River in Hardin County, and at the junction of the Boone and Des Moines rivers. Sites seldom exceed two acres in extent.

Burials in the mounds are usually secondary. The pottery which may accompany them is grit tempered, of the medium- or narrow-mouthed olla type with conoidal bases and vertical rims. The vessels are decorated with cord-marks, punctating, and rouletting. Projectile points are mostly of the thick notched or stemmed type, although a few simple triangular points appear regularly with the

¹¹⁰ The names adopted by Dr. Charles R. Keyes have been used for these five archaeological manifestations.

¹¹¹ An "aspect" is a group of communities (sites) having an approximate majority of diagnostic traits in common.

¹¹² A "phase" is a classification unit larger than an aspect and smaller than a pattern. The units composing it have a small but significant number of diagnostic traits in common.

Woodland complex.¹¹³ Ground stone objects are more numerous than chipped stone objects and are more adeptly made. They include three-fourths and one-half grooved axes, discoidals (disk-shaped stone artifacts, sometimes with a central perforation), and boat- and bird-stones (stones resembling boats and birds). There is little bone or shell work as far as present knowledge goes.

The Hopewell Manifestation.—The Hopewellian manifestation, similar to the Elemental type found in Illinois,¹¹⁴ occurs along the Mississippi River terraces from Scott County southward to the mouth of the Iowa River. So far as is known, it is found only sporadically northward into Allamakee County. The complex includes copper beads, axes and awls, pearl beads, perforated bear teeth, effigy and curved base monitor pipes, mica sheets, obsidian, conch shells, grit-tempered pottery of amphora shape with flat base, decorated with cordmarks, bosses, and punch stamping. These data come from surface finds and from more than ten mounds excavated by amateur archaeologists who were encouraged and aided by the Davenport Academy of Science in the 1870's and 80's.

The Mill Creek Manifestation.—In western Iowa the "Mill Creek" manifestation is located on the Little Sioux from its bend along the Buena Vista-Clay County line down to the corner of Woodbury County. Characteristic traits¹¹⁵ of this complex also occur in central Iowa and

¹¹³ A "complex" is the aggregate of traits, found actually in association or forming a distinctive unit. One may refer to a burial complex, meaning all the traits found in connection with a burial, as position of skeleton, orientation, presence or absence of grave goods, etc., or one may speak of the Oneota Complex, meaning all the traits found at Oneota sites.

¹¹⁴ Cole and Deuel's *Rediscovering Illinois*, pp. 18, 19, 222.

¹¹⁵ A "trait" is a feature, as the kind of pottery used, the shape of the base of a projectile point, the position of a body for burial, etc.

perhaps in Allamakee County. There are a few mounds. Most of the sites are villages with some suggestions of earth lodges. The grit-tempered, sometimes polished, pottery presents three vessel shapes — a flat-bottomed straight flaring-sided pan with a flattened lip surface sometimes with flanges, a medium-mouthed olla with almost vertical rim and with a subconical base, and a large-mouthed seed-bowl olla type with unmodified orifice and a rounded lip surface, often with rim effigies. The second type shows decoration on the outer rim and often on the shoulder area, consisting most characteristically of parallel trailed lines that encircle the vessel. The lines are so straight and so evenly spaced it looks as though a comb of some type had been used. Acutely angled zigzag lines may cut across the band of parallel trails. There may be punctations on the lip surface. Cordmarked surface decoration occurs. To judge from the available material the pan and seedbowl types less often show decorative treatment.

Projectile points are of the thick side-notched type and some show the corner tang. Celts and hammerstones appear. There is an abundance of antler material and other bone work. The forms include hoes, awls, flakers, scrapers, etc. A few shells from the Gulf occur. Most of them are unmodified but some gorgets are found. Metates of the heavy shallow type occur.

The Glenwood Manifestation.—The “Glenwood” manifestation appears from the mouth of the Little Sioux southward along the Missouri River. Circular depressions suggestive of earth lodges appear surrounded by low embankments. These depressions occur in small groups or in a straight line paralleling the river. Pottery is grit-tempered and hard. Sherds (fragments of pottery vessels) suggest the presence of medium-mouthed ollas with re-

curved or vertical rims. Collars, handles, and vertically perforated lugs (projecting knobs) are common. Surfaces are well smoothed but not polished. Lips may be notched. If collars are present the lower edge may be decorated by trailing. Some body surfaces are cordmarked. Some are undecorated.

A number of chipped stone artifacts appear, as small projectile points with side or multiple side notches and a basal notch, oval to lozenge shaped knives, and long end scrapers. Work with ground stone, shell, or bone is unknown in this complex so far. A persistent similarity between this manifestation and both the Upper Republican and, to a greater extent, the Nebraska cultures has been pointed out by a number of archaeologists.¹¹⁶

The Oneota Manifestation.—The fifth archaeological manifestation in Iowa is the Oneota. Its appearance is more widely distributed, aside from the generalized Woodland, than any of the others. It occurs in mounds, on village sites, and in rock shelters along the Upper Iowa River, around Spirit and Okoboji Lakes, on the Little Sioux in Clay and Dickinson counties as well as farther down this river in Woodbury County, at the Blood Run site in the far northwestern corner of Lyon County, on the Des Moines River in Warren and Marion counties, and on the Mississippi in Muscatine, Louisa, and Des Moines counties. Its occurrence in mounds takes the form of intrusive burials into mounds constructed by the carriers of the Woodland culture, although the Oneota may have built mounds in western Iowa.

This manifestation is the only one of the five to have shell-tempered pottery. The most common form is the wide-mouthed olla with globular or flattened globular base,

¹¹⁶ Strong's *An Introduction to Nebraska Archaeology*, p. 287.

straight flaring rim, and two strap handles directly opposite each other. The lip surface, the shoulder, and the handles usually received decorative treatment. The techniques used are trailing, incising, and punctating, with the lip surface often fluted by notching or by making rounded impressions, thereby giving a rippled effect. The straight lines in almost parallel series extend from the neck to the shoulder, sometimes forming V's that enclose horizontal rows of punch marks. Oneota material on the Little Sioux River exhibits some pottery traits that are barely represented at the remaining sites: a goodly number of recurved flaring rims, decoration not only of the lip surface but sometimes of the inner lip, too, and shoulder decoration consisting of hachured¹¹⁷ areas adjacent to each other.

Chipped stone forms include well-made simple triangular projectile points with straight base, ceremonial (?) knives either oval or with one end pointed, very thin and delicately chipped, and lastly scraper types that show definite styles. Caches of refuse chips occur with burials and in pits. Discoidal mullers (stones used as pestles), arrow-shaft smoothers, stone awls, and the disk type of equal-armed pipe¹¹⁸ are typical traits of this complex.

Worked copper, usually in the form of beads, is common. Buffalo or elk scapula hoes often appear, and bone awls are not uncommon. Many clam shells are found but few show human workmanship.

In association with this Oneota complex historical material is found—brass coils (ear ornaments?), pieces of rusted iron objects, an iron knife, and glass beads.

Not only is it possible to distinguish these five archaeo-

¹¹⁷ A "hachured" area is one filled with a series of parallel lines.

¹¹⁸ A pipe in which the height of the bowl and the length of the stem are equal.

logical manifestations; their temporal relationship may in some cases be stated. In Allamakee County intrusive Oneota burials (so classified because of type of grave goods plus extension of skeletons) were found in Woodland burial mounds at the New Galena, the Lane Farm, and the Hogback Mound groups, and the Elephant Village site. Moreover, in the Waterville rock shelter on Paint Creek and the "Sixteen" rock shelter on the Yellow River, Oneota pottery was found distinctly above Woodland sherds and other refuse. Since it seems that the Woodland manifestation (omitting the Hopewellian) has the same major traits wherever it appears in Iowa, and since no historic material is anywhere found with it, it may be assumed to precede the Oneota not only in the Upper Iowa region but in Iowa in general.

No sites have been found in western Iowa where Mill Creek and any other manifestation occur together, but a hint of the temporal placement of that horizon is given by the finding of what definitely appear to be Mill Creek sherds associated with Woodland material in the Waterville rock shelter. This suggests either that Mill Creek preceded Woodland or that the two were contemporaneous.

From the data yielded by the surface survey and excavations, it appears that the Mill Creek complex appears near Ioway village sites in only one area. The Woodland material occurs not only in regions the Ioway inhabited but everywhere else in the State. The Glenwood and Hopewell manifestations are too localized to be connected with the Ioway and besides have strong out-of-State affinities. The Oneota manifestation, therefore, coincides better geographically with the locations of the Ioway than do any of the other four.

But if the Oneota horizon is to be identified with the

Ioway Indians then it must be later than any other extensive manifestation in any area where it appears and it must also show evidence of white contact. It was pointed out above that the Oneota seems later than the Mill Creek or the Woodland manifestations. Thus in northern Iowa it was the last manifestation. The lower Missouri River site of the Ioway would have been in the Glenwood area, but the Glenwood manifestation's lack of white man's goods, and in addition, its seeming connection with the prehistoric cultures of Nebraska suggests strongly that it preceded the Oneota manifestation.

Lack of historic material in the Hopewell phase appears to indicate that it preceded the Oneota. It is also considered prehistoric in other regions. Thus the Oneota would seem to be later than the other manifestations. Moreover, it does include in its complex historic material.

The geographical and temporal correlation between the Oneota archaeological horizon and the Ioway Indians seems satisfactory enough for an identification of the two. But another important question presents itself. Is the Oneota manifestation in Iowa sufficiently homogeneous in all its appearances to be accepted as the cultural remains of a single tribe?

And what does "sufficiently homogeneous" mean? It would not be expected that all of the components would exhibit exactly the same traits. Since there was a difference in time between the occupation of the sites there would be accompanying changes in material traits and their frequencies because of the influence of new neighbors, adaptation to a somewhat changed environment (especially as the group moved farther into the open plains), and because of the increasing influence of the white man. But each appearance of the manifestation should show an approximate majority of its determinate traits. To use the classifica-

tory term of archaeology, the manifestation should have the qualities of an aspect at least. It might show an almost identical complex in several regions if there was not too great a time interval between the occupation of them and if there was little influence from the outside. It would thereby constitute a "focus".¹¹⁹ In the case of the Ioway, from 1650-1800, one would expect a degree of similarity that approached more nearly the definition of a focus than that of an aspect.

To determine then if the Oneota manifestation is sufficiently homogeneous to be accepted as the cultural remains of one tribe, it is necessary first to ascertain its series of traits and then to compare finds at all the sites with that. But to make such a list using surface finds and material not gathered under scientifically controlled methods would be questionable. Traits of other manifestations might be incorporated.

Consequently it was necessary to establish this characteristic series by examination of the excavated sites: the Blood Run site in Lyon County, and the Lane Farm Mound Group and enclosed area, the New Galena and Hogback mound sites, the Elephant and O'Regan village sites, the O'Regan, Woolstrom, and Burke cemeteries, and the Waterville rock shelter in Allamakee County.

By this means the traits characteristic of the Oneota manifestation were defined.¹²⁰ These traits are as follows:

Architecture and House Life

No evidence of house structures found.

¹¹⁹ A "focus" is a group of communities (sites) having a preponderate majority of diagnostic traits in common.

¹²⁰ These data are tabulated by site in Table I of Mildred Mott's thesis, copies of which are deposited in the Libraries of the University of Chicago. Descriptive terms used in this study are those employed by Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole and Dr. Thorne Deuel in *Rediscovering Illinois* and defined in their glossary.

Costume and Dress

Rolled copper tubular beads.
 Long copper tubes (four inches long).
 Bone tubular beads.

Ceremonial Complex

Burials inhumed in cemetery or in pits intrusive into mounds built by earlier people.
 Burials usually have some grave goods with them: pots, projectile points, pipes, bone awls, knives.
 Burials extended, as far as determinable.
 Caches of chips may occur with burials.
 Pipes: disk sub-type of stemmed equal arm type.
 simple equal arm.
 All pipes made of stone. Catlinite sometimes used.

Military and Hunting Complex

Projectile points are simple, straight-based, triangular; of flint or chert; very flat; and beautifully chipped.
 Knives are long (five inches or so), oval or with one end pointed, flat and carefully chipped of flint.

Pottery Complex

Temper: crushed shell, fine to coarse but usually readily apparent; and hole temper.
 No slip or polishing.
 Buff colored with bottom and often sides below greatest diameter blackened by use.
 In shape a medium-mouthed or slightly elliptical olla with vertical flaring rim that forms an obtuse or right angle to the shoulder plane; with two strap handles (that may flare at the top) extending from either the lip surface or the outer rim ($\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ " below the lip surface) to the shoulder.
 Area of decoration is lip surface and shoulder area usually; may appear just on lip surface or just on shoulder.
 Techniques of decoration: incising, trailing chiefly; and/or punctating; with consecutive impressions on a rounded lip surface that made broad or sharp ridges between.
 Shoulder designs consist of straight lines extending from neck to greatest diameter of olla paralleling each other or sometimes converging.

Economic and Artistic Complex

Chipped Stone

Scrapers: snub nosed; long end scrapers; thumbnail; and irregular shapes.

Awls: simple or double pointed, of stone.

Rough Stone

Mullers: discoidal: straight walls with convex face, or convex walls with flat face.

Abraders: arrowshaft smoothers of sandstone.

Abraders: whetstone.

Smoothing stones.

Ground Stone

Grooved maul.

Grooved clubhead.

Bone

Buffalo or elk scapula hoes.

Awls: simple type, usually made of ulnae.

Shell

Clam shells showing human workmanship, but almost disintegrated. Some were spoons.

Presence of Historic Material

Brass ear coils.

Glass beads.

Iron objects.

A comparison of the components¹²¹ with this trait series is possible. Table I lists the characteristic traits and also gives the number of the components at which each trait was present. Since the larger part of the material consists of grave goods and since no village site has been thoroughly excavated, absence does not necessarily imply that the trait is lacking. The table also includes a tabulation of the number of surface-surveyed sites where each trait was found.

The data in this table suggest, then, the degree of similarity between the Oneota components at the excavated sites and that between the twelve surface sites and the ex-

¹²¹ A "component" is a single manifestation of a given culture at one site.

TABLE I
FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF TRAITS AT ONEOTA SITES

	<i>Associated with Burials</i>	<i>Not Associated with Burials</i>	<i>Surface Finds</i>
Pottery:			
Number of occurrences...	15	5	8
Number of pots.....	13	1	
Number of occurrences with no rim sherds....	2		1
Shell temper.....	15	5	8
Vessel shape:			
Olla, round	5	1	
Olla, elliptical	7		
Rim straight	12	4	7
Rim recurved		1	1
Lip surface:			
Flattened		3	3
Rounded	12	5	7
Gable		1	2
Strap handle:			
Even width	10	4	6
Flaring	2	1	2
Handle placement:			
Lip surface to shoulder	5		3
Outer rim to shoulder	6	3	4
Number of handles:			
Two	10	1	
Four	1		
None	1		
Placement of decoration:			
Lip surface only.....	1		
Shoulder area only....	3		

	<i>Associated with Burials</i>	<i>Not Associated with Burials</i>	<i>Surface Finds</i>
Lip surface and shoulder	7	1	
Inner lip and shoulder.	1		
Technique of decoration:			
Incising	4	3	4
Trailing	10	4	7
Punctating		2	4
Incising and punctate.	1		1
Trailing and punctate.	1	1	3
Appliqué	1		
Fluted lip surface.....	8	5	6
Type of unit design:			
Straight lines (contin- uous or punctate) parallel or converg- ing	12	1	6
Curved line			2
Contiguous areas of hachured lines			2
Number of occurrences of other traits.....	32	7	11
Chipped stone:			
Projectile points:			
Simple triangular straight base	10	2	9
Scrapers:			
Thumbnail	1		3
Snub-nosed	6	3	5
Long oval	3	1	1
Others	4	2	2
Knives:			
Oval	3		2
One end pointed.....	4	1	4

	<i>Associated with Burials</i>	<i>Not Associated with Burials</i>	<i>Surface Finds</i>
Curved flake	2		
Others	3	1	1
Stone awls:			
Simple	1		2
Double pointed	1		1
Cache of chips.....	6	1	1 ¹²²
Ground stone:			
Mullers, discoidal:			
Straight wall		2	3
Convex wall	1		1
Clubhead, grooved	1		1
Maul, grooved		1	1
Equal arm pipe.....	1		1
Equal arm, disk sub-type..	3		2
Abrading stones:			
Arrowshaft smoother ...	2	1	3
Whetstone		2	2
Smoothing stone	1		
Worked shell	3		2
Clam shell, unworked.....	3		4
Use of catlinite	1		2
Bone work:			
Awls, simple	7		1
Scapula hoe	4	3	
Bead, barrel shaped.....	1		
Socketed projectile point.		1	2
Others	2	3	
Worked copper	6		3
Presence of historic material	7	2	3

¹²² Revealed when rain caused a slight landslide.

cavated ones. The similarity seems very strong — the surface finds corresponding more closely, though, to the material not associated with burials than to the grave goods. This would naturally be expected. The manifestation would seem, from this comparison, to have the qualifications of a focus.

But before conclusions are definitely stated, the traits from the survey sites should be analyzed more carefully.

It is this that Table II attempts to do. Again the characteristic Oneota traits are listed, but this time their presence is indicated at the separate sites from which the surface material was procured. Having verified that it is Oneota, additional objects found at these sites were added, in the belief that they may be part of the Oneota complex. "Inscribed stones" are flat, smoothed slabs of catlinite (one was 3.5" by 5.5") which have animal forms scratched on their surface. All data included in this table was determined as Oneota by comparison with the previously established Oneota trait test. The Allamakee County material described here was not unquestionably Oneota.

Where a trait, uncommon elsewhere, occurs in significant numbers a footnote gives the proportion. Such a situation occurs in Woodbury County. With this one exception, all of the sites show near identity of traits of the Oneota manifestation.

TABLE II

TRAIT OCCURRENCES AT DETERMINED ONEOTA SITES

Allamakee County	Muscatine County
Elephant Site = a	Muscatine Island Village Site = i
O'Regan Site = b	
New Galena Site = c	Warren County
Lane Farm = d	Bowers Farm = j
Clay County	Woodbury County
Harriman Site = e	Little Sioux terrace near Correctionville = k
Dickinson County = f	

Louisa County	Winneshiek County
Toolesboro Village Site = g	Farm northwest of Postville = l
Lyon County	
Blood Run Site = h	

Pottery:

Temper, shell . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k

Vessel shape:

Rim straight . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j, k

Rim recurved . . . k¹²³

Lip surface:

 Flattened . . . d, h, k

 Rounded . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j, k, l

 Gabled . . . d, h

Strap handle:

 Even width . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, h, j, k

 Flaring . . . k

Handle placement:

 Lip surface to shoulder . . . b, d, h, k

 Outer rim to shoulder . . . b, c, d, e, h, k

Technique of decoration:

 Incising . . . a, b, c, d, e, h, k

 Trailing . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j, k

 Punctating . . . e, f, h

 Incising and punctate . . . k

 Trailing and punctate . . . b, d, h, j, k

 Appliqué . . . none

 Fluted lip surface . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, h, j, k

Type of unit design:

 Straight lines (continuous or punctate) parallel or converging . . . a, b, c, d, e, f, h, j, k

 Curved line . . . e, j

 Contiguous areas of hachured lines . . . k¹²⁴

Chipped stone

 Projectile points: Simple triangular (straight based) . . . a, b, d, e, f, g, h, k, l

Scrapers:

¹²³ Eight out of twenty-six had recurved rims.

¹²⁴ Seven out of twenty-six showed this type of design.

- Thumbnail . . . a, b, d, h
- Snub-nosed . . . c, d, g, h, j
- Long oval . . . a, b
- Others . . . d, h
- Knives:
 - Oval . . . b, h
 - One end pointed . . . a, b, c, h
 - Curved flake . . . a
 - (Diamond shaped)¹²⁵ . . . a
 - Others . . . h
- Stone awls:
 - Simple . . . b, h
 - Double pointed . . . h
- Cache of chips . . . b
- Ground stone:
 - Mullers, discoidal:
 - Straight wall . . . f, g, h, k
 - Convex wall . . . h
 - Clubhead, grooved . . . h
 - Maul, grooved . . . h
 - (Stone ball) . . . h
 - (Discoidal) . . . d, h
 - (Axe, grooved) . . . h
 - (Axe, notched) . . . h
 - (Hammerstone) . . . h
 - (Celt) . . . b, h
- Core . . . d, h
- Pipes:
 - Equal arm . . . b
 - Equal arm, disk sub-type . . . c
- Abrading stones:
 - Arrowshaft smoother . . . b, h
 - Whetstone . . . a, c, h
- Worked shell . . . d, f
- Clam shell, unworked . . . b, d, h, j
- Use of catlinite . . . f, h
 - (Inscribed stones) . . . h
- Bone awls, simple . . . d
- Socketed projectile point . . . d, h

¹²⁵ New traits added to the list are given in parentheses.

(Perforated bear (?) teeth) . . . c

Worked copper . . . a, b, d

Presence of historic material . . . b, d, h

Since history, as reconstructed by archaeology, can only be highly inferential in nature, conclusions drawn from a study of this kind must of necessity be postulatory; such a study cannot hope to establish fact, but it should offer a sound explanation for its conclusions. The better substantiated they are the nearer they will be to statements of what actually occurred, that is, true history. It is with this point in mind that the accomplishments of this paper should be evaluated.

In Part I it was found that in recorded time (from 1653 on) the Ioway lived on the Upper Iowa River, in the Lake Okoboji area, on the Big Sioux River, on the bank of the Missouri River near Council Bluffs, on the Mississippi River in Illinois across from the mouth of the Des Moines and below that of the Iowa River, and finally on the Des Moines River in northwestern Van Buren County and at the mouth of the Iowa River.

In Part II it was shown that the geographical and temporal extent of the Oneota manifestation in Iowa coincides quite well with those of the Ioway village sites. Geographically there is coincidence on the Upper Iowa, on Lake Okoboji, on the Big Sioux, and at the mouth of the Iowa River. It is important to note also that Oneota material is found at the mouth of the Vermilion River, near the city of Vermilion, South Dakota, identifiable with the Ioway site on Delisle's 1718 map. The Oneota manifestation is later than any of the others, and it contains historic material. None of the other archaeological manifestations can fulfill nearly as well the geographical and temporal requirements that identification would demand.

Moreover, the Oneota manifestation satisfies the addi-

tional important requirement of being sufficiently homogeneous to have been the cultural remains of but one tribe. So far as we can now tell this manifestation has an approximate identity of traits in its various components. Thus it can be called a focus of the Oneota aspect. The term "Orr focus" has been used to denote the manifestation, although no formal attempt to describe it has been published.

Therefore, on the basis of available material, it may be tentatively concluded that the Ioway Indians were responsible for the Orr focus, Oneota aspect, material in Iowa. Such an identification, if accepted, gives a better understanding of one unit of the Mississippi Valley classificatory system by adding to it temporal, spatial, and ethnological relationships. The postulation cannot be stated with perfect assurance, however, until further excavation is made.

Such investigation will show whether the discrepancies that now occur between the geographical extent of the tribe and that of the archaeological manifestation really exist. At present they need not nullify the hypothesis of identification. Dr. Keyes has not looked for the Council Bluffs site. While he has looked for the Des Moines River village and not found it, he still feels that he may profitably look again. The Orr focus material that appears on the Mississippi in Des Moines and Muscatine counties is very near sites where the Ioway definitely were. Movement up and down the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers was no doubt frequent. These sites could easily have been temporary summer camps. Or perhaps all the permanent villages did not get into the literature or maps.

Further excavation may also explain the Correctionville material. It may constitute a different focus (since its differences are in pottery form and unit of decoration, etc.) and thus it may be connected with a different Indian tribe. It is tentatively suggested that this site may link

specifically with the Oto who journeyed across northern Iowa near (or with) the Ioway and then left them to go down the Little Sioux to the Platte. Dr. Keyes reports seeing material in north central Iowa that looks similar to this, and the traits do sporadically appear in the Allamakee County Oneota manifestation.¹²⁶ They also appear in material from the Blue Earth River in Minnesota and from the Leary site in Nebraska.

Although this study has pertained specifically to Iowa, it is of value finally to look outside of that State. An identification of the Ioway with the Orr focus is borne out by findings in Wisconsin. Tradition states that the Ioway originally came into the area now Iowa from the east. They had earlier been associated with the Winnebago, with whom they are linguistically allied, but they left them for some reason and went westward. The Orr focus should, therefore, be found east of the Upper Iowa River in southern Wisconsin; and it is so found; in the eastern part of Wisconsin is found a manifestation about which W. C. McKern said in 1935: "The Lake Winnebago does seem to be a focus of the Oneota aspect, and it is rather definitely tied up with the historical Winnebago." It seems possible and proper that such a genetic relationship between tribes would be reflected in their being foci of the same aspect. This would tentatively make the Oneota aspect traceable to the Chiwere Siouan Indians as Dr. Keyes and Dr. Griffen suggested. (See p. 228.) It is now up to increased and careful archaeological work to show this relationship more definitely.

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¹²⁶ See the same suggestion made by Dr. Keyes in *American Antiquity*, Vol. III, p. 292.