

The **P**ALIMPSEST

OCTOBER 1924

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THE PURPOSE OF THIS MAGAZINE

THE PALIMPSEST, issued monthly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, is devoted to the dissemination of Iowa History. Supplementing the other publications of this Society, it aims to present the materials of Iowa History in a form that is attractive and a style that is popular in the best sense—to the end that the story of our Commonwealth may be more widely read and cherished.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

Superintendent

THE MEANING OF PALIMPSESTS

In early times palimpsests were parchments or other materials from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the records of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

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THE IOWA BANNER

THE PALIMPSEST

EDITED BY JOHN ELY BRIGGS

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Iowa in the Beginning

The natural resources of Iowa are often extolled, but the story of their creation is not so familiar. It is as though rich men's sons were using their heritage with never a thought of how it came to be theirs. The character and ability to amass a great fortune are not developed in a single generation; nor were the rich mineral deposits, the soil, and the flora and fauna of Iowa made ready for man in a moment. Only through incomprehensible stretches of time have the forces of nature wrought the miracle of things as they are.

For the story of Iowa began when the earth first sallied forth in its orbit. Astronomers tell us that a long time elapsed before the Archean rocks were formed, and it may have been ages later when the dawn of life occurred. Eons have passed since then, while the world "turned on in the lathe of time". All sorts of creatures have sprung into existence,

fulfilled their mission, and passed into oblivion. Only the rocks have endured since the earth was formed. If the age of Iowa were conceived as a mile, the era of human kind would be less than a yard.

The history of Iowa before the advent of man is clearly recorded in the hills and valleys, the rocky cliffs, and the rich black loam of the prairies. The story begins when Iowa was under the sea, at a time when the noblest inhabitants were algae and worms. It was then that the Sioux Falls "granite" was laid down on the floor of the ocean. After a great while the sea receded, but in time the land was again submerged and the history of the next ten thousand centuries or more is told by the sandstone cliffs in Allamakee County.

At last a new age dawned, when the principal rock-forming forces were the primitive molluscs that deposited their calcium carbonate shells in the shallow arms of the ocean. By imperceptible accretions the Ordovician limestones of northeastern Iowa were formed. In a similar manner but at a later epoch, shell by shell, the Anamosa limestone grew as thousands of years fled by; and it was not until the age of the fishes that the crinoids and molluscs preserved the record of their times in the bluffs of the Cedar and Iowa rivers.

Meanwhile, at intervals, these layers of limestone were above the sea level and exposed to the savage attacks of the weather. As the floods of summer storms trickled into the earth some of the minerals

were dissolved and carried away to be stored in the crevices of the age-old Ordovician stone. Thus were the lead mines created for Julien Dubuque.

There came a time when the climate of Iowa was tropical. Vast marshes were filled with rank vegetation. Giant trees, enormous ferns, and all-per-vading rushes stored up the heat of summer suns and, dying, fell into the water. As thousands of years went by, the reedy tarns turned into peat bogs and decomposition continued until little but carbon remained. Such is the story the coal mines tell.

But the old earth heaved, and here and there a great salt lake or an inland sea appeared. Evaporation exceeded the supply of fresh water, and so at the end of a very long period only a salt bed remained or an extensive deposit of gypsum. So it has come to pass in the age of man that stucco comes from the Fort Dodge gypsum mines which were prepared at the end of the Paleozoic era.

The lofty peaks of the Rockies were rising when the sea, which ever and anon has flooded the land that now is called Iowa, retreated to the southward and has never returned. In Tertiary times the climate was temperate. There were flowers for the first time in Iowa, and with them came the bees and the butterflies. In sheltered nooks or the beds of streams, buried deep beneath the glacial drift, lie the bones of the animal life that prevailed.

But through the majestic sweep of geologic epochs the temperature gradually changed, and after hun-

dreds of thousands of years the age of ice came in. Through the long, bleak winters the snow fell, and the summers were too cool to melt it. So year by year and century after century the snow piled higher and higher until the land was covered with ice. As this ponderous ice sheet moved over the surface of Iowa it planed down the hills and filled up the valleys; streams were turned out of their courses; rocks were crushed into fragments and the fragments were ground into powder.

The first glaciation was followed by an interval of temperate climate, but the ice age was only beginning. Again and again the glaciers crept down from the north — twice all over Iowa and on three other occasions part of this region was covered. The earliest glaciers laid down the impervious subsoil of clay, while the later ones mingled powdered rock with the muck and peat of the inter-glacial periods to make the loam of the fertile Iowa farms.

Probably a hundred thousand years have fled since the last glacier visited north-central Iowa, but the region is still too young to be properly drained, so nature is assisted with dredges and tile. It was during the Pleistocene period that mankind came into existence, but no man trod Iowa soil until the last glacier was gone. Compared with the inconceivable eons of time since the first Iowa rocks were formed, it was only as yesterday that the ancient mound builders flourished.

JOHN ELY BRIGGS

Indians of Iowa

Beat — beat — and a double beat!
Ashes are the grass of a lodge-pole town.

On a day in a year between 1657 and 1660 some Ottawa and Huron Indians, fleeing before the Iroquois, entered Iowa by way of the Upper Iowa River. It was their hope to find a country in which to dwell; but, although hospitably received by the Siouan tribes along the present Iowa-Minnesota line, they were unable to adapt themselves to a prairie life and soon fell back to the forests.

Then in 1673, as for a long time before that year, some tribes of the Illinois nation hunted and fished in Iowa on the streams now called the Cedar, the Iowa, and the Des Moines. But the Indians so far named, though in the Iowa land, were here not as Indians of Iowa. They were here as wayfarers, or sojourners, merely.

The Indians who, with any precision, may be called Indians of Iowa are those who at various periods between 1825 and 1854 signed treaties yielding, or qualifying, control of Iowa lands in favor of the white race. These Indians for the most part were the Sauks, the Foxes, the Pottawattamies, the Winnebagoes, the Ioways, the Otoes, the Omahas, and the Sioux.

Books and articles upon Iowa have contained much with regard to the Sauks and the Foxes, but the other Iowa tribes have been passed over rather lightly. The Sauks and the Foxes were outstanding in their deeds and in their tribal characteristics. So resolute were they, and so fierce, that, like the Sioux, they seemed to be a kind of Iroquois of the West. Indeed, an attempt has been made to show that the Foxes were actually of Iroquoian stock; but this hypothesis has met with scant favor from ethnologists.

Narrowing somewhat our survey, let us glance for a moment at the Sauks and the Foxes; then at the Ioways; next at the Pottawattamies and the Winnebagoes; and also at a tribe, as yet not mentioned — a peculiar tribe and a tiny one — the Mascoutins. Lastly the Tama Indians should be noted.

The Sauks and the Foxes, both, were excellent warriors; but between them a difference lay. The Sauks had regard for authority. They paid respect to counsel. In short, they were circumspect — looked before they leaped. On the other hand, the Foxes were individualists. To them authority, as such, was abomination. Their practice, if not their rule, was every man for himself. In keeping with this, the Foxes (at least in the early time) did not stand well with the fur traders. When the latter advanced goods to them on credit, they were not inclined to reciprocate by providing the furs wherewith to square the obligation. With the Sauks it was

quite otherwise. Their reputation with the fur men was at all periods that of reliable traders.

In Wisconsin, where the Foxes originally dwelt, there raged between them and the French warfare for fifty years. It was warfare relentless and to the knife. In the same region, during the same period, the Sauks, while at times supporting the Foxes, maintained for the most part an attitude of neutrality — of diplomatic aloofness. That the Sauks and the Foxes were invariably allies is an error as strange as it is of long standing.

It was toward the middle of the eighteenth century that the Foxes entered the Iowa land, and they came as intruders. The actual occupants of Iowa at that period, so far as the land was occupied at all, were the Ioways.

The Ioways are interesting. They possessed marked traits. As warriors they were intrepid, and they made good hunters and trappers. They were endowed with splendid physiques; their shoulders were broad; their breathing was deep. But about the tribe there dwelt ever something of the ludicrous. They affected rings for their noses — noses none too clean, it is said — and their mouths were apt to spread from ear to ear. They fed hugely on meat; so wide mouths perhaps were required. Moreover, they impressed observers as being forlorn, down at heel. The impression was deepened by the circumstance (more notable in their later history) that many of them had but one eye. Still,

they could hardly have been as forlorn as they seemed, for they wore the best of buffalo robes and dictated the output of the Red Pipestone Quarry, just over the line in southwest Minnesota.

Unlike the Ioways, who were Siouan, the Pottawattamies were Algonquin, as were the Sauks and the Foxes. Capable enough as warriors, the Pottawattamies liked better to trade. In fact they were the traders *par excellence* of all the Northwest to the westward of the Ottawas. Their appearance was princely; their manners were excellent; and they drove a bargain with inimitable grace. The distinguished Jesuit, Father P. Jean De Smet, says of them that by comparison the Sauks and the Ioways were "beggars". Unfortunately, the Pottawattamies lent distinction to Iowa for but a very short time.

Coming now to the Winnebagoes, we have another tribe of Siouan origin. They, like the Pottawattamies, dwelt in Iowa briefly; but it was long enough for them to commit bloody depredations, for they were not of the Sioux for nothing. The British trader Thomas G. Anderson calls them the "dirtiest" and at the same time the "bravest" of the Indians he had met.

Perhaps the most enigmatical and elusive of the Iowa tribes were the Mascoutins. As their name indicates, they were a prairie people. It is sometimes said that the Mascoutins were not a tribe separate and distinct, but merely a roving band of the

Pottawattamies. They disappeared toward the end of the eighteenth century, yet to-day, in Kansas, a portion of the Pottawattamies call themselves Mascoutins or Muscadines. In their palmy days, from 1665 to 1735, they were known from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Wisconsin, and from the Ohio to the Great Lakes, and all maps took them into account. Fierce were they, and at the same time crafty. They entered Iowa about 1728 and identified themselves with the Mississippi shore below the mouth of the Iowa River. Shadowy as their Iowa history is, they imparted their name to Muscatine Island — a center from which it has spread to Muscatine County and to the city of Muscatine.

Thus, then, we have them — these six tribes upon whom we have dwelt. None are in Iowa to-day save only a remnant of the Foxes — the Meskwakies. They were removed from the Commonwealth in 1846 by the Federal government; but, homesick for the old places, they drifted back and bought land along the Iowa River in Tama County. But a problem arose: the Indians were not legal persons, and hence could not hold property by deed. What should be done? In 1856 a law was passed by the General Assembly giving the "consent" of the State "that the Indians now residing in Tama county known as a portion of the Sacs and Foxes, be permitted to remain and reside" in Iowa. This was well, but in whom should title to their lands be vested? In whom but the head of the Common-

wealth — the grand sachem — the Governor. And so it befell. From the days of Governor James W. Grimes (1857) until the third of July, 1908, the Governor of Iowa served as trustee for these Indians residing as landholders within the borders of Iowa. Since then their land has been held in trust by the United States government in the name of the Secretary of the Interior.

The Foxes of Tama County possess modern cottages. Do they live in them? In a measure. Behind the cottage you will find invariably a well-constructed wigwam of poles covered with bark or with mats of reeds, and there, if time presses, you would better seek the family. Indians are Indians even yet. An Indian at Tama, smiling and deprecatory, has been known to voice regret for the good old days — the days of the white man's fire-water and of squaws more than one.

IRVING B. RICHMAN

Explorations of Iowa

As early as 1673, before King Philip's War or Bacon's Rebellion, two brave Frenchmen, the woodsman Louis Joliet and the missionary Jacques Marquette, skirted the eastern shore of Iowa on their momentous voyage of discovery. Toward the end of June they visited a village of Illinois Indians then dwelling a few miles inland on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, and a few days later passed the mouth of the Des Moines River on their way to the South Sea or the Gulf of Mexico, they knew not which.

During the century and a quarter that followed, roving Indians traversed the prairies of the Iowa country, French adventurers passed up and down the Mississippi, fur traders bartered for pelts with tribesmen along the Iowa streams, and in the days of the Spanish régime in the Mississippi Valley three Frenchmen — Basil Giard, Julien Dubuque, and Louis Honoré Tesson — obtained land grants along the eastern edge of Iowa. These men knew something of the region, but not until after the United States purchased Louisiana from France in 1803 was the extent and character of the Iowa country revealed in official reports. Then within a twelvemonth two governmental exploratory expeditions skirted the borders of what is now Iowa, the

one up the turbid, shifting channel of the Missouri River and the other up the broad sweeps of the Mississippi.

On the 18th of July, 1804, the famous Lewis and Clark expedition, sent by President Jefferson to explore the newly-acquired territory of Louisiana, reached what is now the southwestern corner of Iowa. From July 22nd to the 26th, the party encamped near the present boundary of Mills and Pottawattamie counties and, while the men dried provisions, mended oars, and hunted or fished, the leaders, Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark, prepared dispatches and maps of the country. At this place they enjoyed an abundance of ripe grapes and the fishermen caught a plentiful supply of catfish, but the hunters were less successful although deer, turkeys, and grouse were sighted. Pushing on up the Missouri River in their three boats the explorers camped several times on the Iowa shore. Thirty-five days were consumed in traversing the distance from the southwestern corner of the present State to the mouth of the Big Sioux River where the Missouri turns westward.

On the 20th of August the expedition landed a short distance below the present site of Sioux City and there, weakened by an attack of a virulent summer malady, Sergeant Charles Floyd died — the first and only casualty of the entire journey. "He was buried on the top of the bluff with the honors due to a brave soldier; the place of his interment

was marked by a cedar post on which his name and the day of his death were inscribed."

Lewis and Clark proceeded on up the Missouri River, leaving the land that is now Iowa, and pushed on to the Pacific Ocean. Upon their return two years later they reached the mouth of the Big Sioux River on September 4, 1806, and stopped at noon near Floyd's bluff. There they discovered that the grave had been opened and was half uncovered. Having repaired the damage they continued their journey down stream, and five days later they passed again the southwestern corner of Iowa.

To-day the tall monument near Sioux City, erected by Iowans to the memory of Sergeant Floyd, is a perpetual reminder of the famous Lewis and Clark expedition which, going out in 1804 and returning in 1806, skirted the western boundary of Iowa and made known through an official report the natural features of the region traversed.

In the summer of 1805, while Lewis and Clark were finding their way toward the sunset land, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, then a young man of twenty-six, was sent from St. Louis by General James Wilkinson to explore the upper valley of the Mississippi River. On August 20th Pike and his companions arrived at the foot of the Des Moines Rapids near the present site of Keokuk, Iowa. With considerable difficulty they piloted the keel boat through the dangerous channel to a place opposite the present site of Montrose. After presenting to-

bacco, knives, and whisky to a band of Sauk Indians who were encamped on the Iowa side of the river, Pike proceeded up stream. When the expedition reached the present site of Crapo Park, Burlington, Pike made a careful examination of the place and recommended it "as a very handsome situation for a garrison". A granite boulder dedicated by the Daughters of the American Revolution now marks this spot which won favor in the eyes of the young lieutenant. Continuing up the river Pike and his men encamped again and again on the Iowa side, and on Sunday, September 1st, the Lieutenant arrived at the Mines of Spain. He was "saluted with a field piece, and received with every mark of attention, by Monsieur Dubuque, the proprietor". Attempts to learn detailed facts about the lead mines, however, brought only evasive answers. As at Burlington, the Daughters of the American Revolution at Dubuque have erected a permanent marker commemorating the visit of Lieutenant Pike in 1805.

A high bluff near McGregor so impressed the young explorer with its strategic possibilities that to this day it is known as Pike's Peak. Near the mouth of the Upper Iowa River the white men were received kindly by Wabasha, chief of the four lower bands of the Sioux, and were permitted to witness a medicine dance. Before his departure Pike presented the chief with tobacco, knives, and eight gallons of diluted whisky. Leaving the Sioux village on the afternoon of September 10th, and continuing

the ascent of the river the expedition soon passed beyond Iowa.

Seven months later the party again camped on Iowa soil, but the reports of the return trip are meager. In much the same way that the Lewis and Clark expedition revealed the facts about the western border of Iowa so Pike's exploration afforded a picture of the eastern fringe of this trans-Mississippi domain.

Other explorers and visitors came and went in the Iowa country, each one contributing to the information about the new land. In 1820 Stephen W. Kearny made a trip from Camp Missouri near the present city of Omaha across Iowa in a northeasterly direction to Camp Cold Water in Minnesota. Somehow he gained the impression that the treeless prairies, the scarcity of surface water, and the rugged character of the hills would forever prevent the region from supporting more than a sparse population.

Sixteen years elapsed before any official report of the interior of Iowa appeared and then a thin little volume, *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory*, by Lieutenant Albert M. Lea, gave a vivid picture of the heart of the country. Lea's descriptions of interior Iowa were based upon observations made on a march undertaken in the spring of 1835 by three companies of dragoons from old Fort Des Moines up the valley of the Des Moines River to the Racoon Forks thence to the Mississippi and back

again. On this exploration of more than a thousand miles Lieutenant Lea voluntarily assumed the duties of topographer and chronicler.

His report describes the slow progress up the divide between the Des Moines and the Skunk rivers, due to the soft ground still wet from excessive rainfall. The beauty of the Iowa landscape caught his attention and he wrote that "the grass and streams were beautiful and the strawberries so abundant as to make the whole tract red for miles." Game, too, was plentiful and wild fowl formed a part of nearly every meal. Aside from the discomfort caused by pelting rains the journey was a pleasant change from barrack life at old Fort Des Moines.

When the expedition reached a point near the present site of Boone the line of march veered to the northeast until the Mississippi was reached near Lake Pepin. Returning, the column headed west to the Minnesota lake region and thence, marching southward from the headwaters of the Des Moines River, the dragoons reëntered Iowa near the present site of Swea City. From the Raccoon Forks Lieutenant Lea and a companion descended the Des Moines River in a canoe, "taking soundings to report on the practicability of navigating keel boats over its course".

Lieutenant Lea was so favorably impressed with the Iowa country that he wrote: "all in all, for convenience of navigation, water, fuel, and timber; for richness of soil; for beauty of appearance; and for

pleasantness of climate, it surpasses any portion of the United States with which I am acquainted."

It was reports such as this that revealed the amazing resources of Iowa. Lea's book and glowing descriptions of the region by other visitors led to the apparently endless stream of settlers who poured into the new country during the forties and the fifties.

BRUCE E. MAHAN

The Naming of Iowa

The Commonwealth of Iowa was named some ten years before it was born. On this point the records are clear and the story simple.

It was in 1836 that a lieutenant of United States dragoons, by the name of Albert M. Lea, published a small book entitled *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory*. In the pages of this book and on the map which accompanied it the author designated that part of the original Territory of Wisconsin which lay west of the Mississippi River as the "Iowa District". Two years later, when the original Territory of Wisconsin was divided, the Iowa District was erected into an independent Territory and christened the "Territory of Iowa". And when in 1846 a State was carved out of the Territory of Iowa, it too was called "Iowa". Thus the line of descent of the name Iowa as originally proposed by Lieutenant Lea is clear and direct — from the Iowa District, through the Territory of Iowa, to the State of Iowa.

But where did Lieutenant Lea get the name "Iowa" and how did he come to apply it to the area that was later to become the Commonwealth of Iowa? The answer to this question is of peculiar interest since prior to the publication of *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory* the country immediately

west of the Mississippi River had been called "Scott's Purchase" or the "Black Hawk Purchase". In the opening chapter of his book Lieutenant Lea tells us in language that is unmistakable that the name "Iowa" was taken from the Iowa River which on account of its "extent and beauty" seemed to him to give "character" to most of the country through which it passed.

When and how the river flowing into the Mississippi from the west came to be designated as Iowa or Ioway is unknown: that the name of this river was taken from the Ioway tribe of Indians who had inhabited portions of the Iowa country is in the light of present historical knowledge simply one possible explanation.

It is interesting to recall that in later years Lieutenant Lea was much concerned about the spelling of the name Iowa: mature reflection had led him to the conviction that the letter "y" should be added. And so he expressed regret that the name was spelled Iowa instead of Ioway.

HAWKEYE

The cognomen (sobriquet or nickname) "Hawkeye" or "Hawkeyes" as applied to Iowa or Iowans was first formally suggested by James G. Edwards in the Fort Madison *Patriot*, a newspaper issued under date of March 24, 1838. David Rorer, a pioneer lawyer of Lee County, claimed to have made the suggestion to Mr. Edwards. Later this cogno-

men was approved by such prominent men of the Territory as Robert Lucas, Joseph Williams, William B. Conway, Theodore S. Parvin, Ver Planck Van Antwerp, and Jesse Williams. In 1839 it was used in a series of letters published in the newspapers of the Territory, and by common consent it came to be accepted without formal adoption.

The significance of the cognomen "Hawkeye" is not so clear as its origin. Mr. Edwards thought its adoption would "rescue from oblivion a memento, at least, of the name of the old chief [Black Hawk]." Popularly, the name as applied to the people of Iowa suggests the vigilance, watchfulness, and keenness of vision of the hawk — a bird found everywhere in the Iowa country.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

Pronunciation of Iowa

Not long ago, on a train speeding from the East toward Chicago, I fell into casual conversation with two gentlemen whom chance had made my fellow travellers for the afternoon. Now, three topics commonly form the subject-matter of discussions in the smoking compartments of Pullman cars: they are methods of shaving, brands of tobacco, and the virtues of home States. Other matters may of course slip in, though rather incidentally, as politics, sports, and the weather; but the first three are the staple Pullman topics. On this occasion we had finished with shaving and tobacco and had settled down to home States, when the Chicagoan — a portly gentleman with a close-cropped black mustache — upon learning I was from Iowa, remarked that he had been born in Ioway himself. Thereupon the baldheaded man from Albany observed that his sister had married a man from I-o-wa, and now lived in Dez Moinz. Being of a nasty disposition in such matters, I at once raised the issue of pronunciation, alleging that out in Iowuh most people pronounce the name of the State as I do. At the end of a more or less heated argument we might have repeated in chorus the same statement: "I have always heard the name pronounced my way, and therefore my way must be correct."

As a matter of fact, there is something to be said for each pronunciation. *Ioway* is still common in the State, especially among older people and in rural districts. When many of the State's respected and cultivated citizens, including its Governor, pronounce its name so, the usage can not be said even to be obsolescent. Moreover, while Iowans continue to raise their right arms high and sing at the top of their voices,

“We're from I-o-way, I-o-way!

That's where the tall corn grows!”

the *Ioway* pronunciation is not likely to perish. Thus the superior timbre of *ay* over *uh* for singing strengthens the older pronunciation.

And the fact is that etymologically *Ioway* is more nearly correct. The Indians whose name was identical with that of the river from which Albert Lea christened the “Iowa District” were called Ioways or Iyooways. Alanson Skinner, the best authority on the Ioway Indians, writes in a private letter, “In my ten years' experience with the tribe I have heard the name repeatedly pronounced by the members of both the Oklahoma and Kansas-Nebraska divisions as follows: *I-yu-way*, the accent being on the first syllable, and the last syllable having the distinct *ay* sound.”

Recollections of pioneers, the early English spelling *Ioway*, and the efforts of French explorers, missionaries, and traders to spell the name support this view. These men were not noted for accurate

orthography, nor were they concerned with philology, but, as was usual in reducing an absolutely new word to written symbols the spelling was inevitably phonetic. F. W. Hodge in his *Handbook of American Indians* lists about seventy versions of the word, of which the following French spellings indicate clearly the prevalence of the final *ay* sound. Aiaouez, Aiauway, Aieways, Aijoues, Aioaez, Aiouez, Aiowais, Ajaouez, Ajouez, Aöais, Avauwais, Ayauais, Ayauvai, Ayauway, Ayawai, Ayeouais, Ayououais, Ayouez, Ayouwais, Ayovai, Ayoway, Iawai, Ihoway, Ioewaig, Ioway, Jowai, Joways, Yoways, Yuahés. The final *-ay* is etymologically correct.

The pronunciation of my friend from Albany has less to commend it. Any reason for the placing of the accent on the second syllable is difficult to find. When one tries to account for it by analogy, remembering *Iona* and *iota*, one is embarrassed by the commoner *iodine*! The fact remains that in the East and South the penultimate accent for *Iowa* is very common. Its users say they were taught that accent at school; yet the books do not have it. Out of ninety-two records of pronunciation I have gathered from dictionaries and geographies only three accent the word on the *o*, and two of them are English and the third published in Boston in 1855.

Though the reason for a shift of accent may be hard to find, the cause of the change of *-ay* to *-uh* is fairly clear: the purists started it, and human na-

ture finished it. The purists, working chiefly through the teachers of the common schools, insisted there was no justification for pronouncing the final *-a* like *-ay*. They argued from analogy, citing Christian names like Ezra, Anna, Elisha, and place names like Minnesota, Africa, America. *Ioway* seemed quite as wrong as *Joshuay*. If analogy is superior to etymology in pronunciation, these purists were right. They insisted, moreover, not upon *-uh*, but upon a sound sometimes called the half-Italian *a*, somewhere between *a* in *fat* and *a* in *father*. They were able to make thousands of children try for that sound in *ask* and *grass*, but in a final unstressed syllable it quickly degenerated into the sound of *a* in *about*, which may be indicated by the spelling *-uh*. This lax *uh* sound is also frequently substituted for the *o* sound of the second syllable. Moreover, some New Englanders will add a final *r*.

Here, then, are six distinct pronunciations: I'oway, Io'wah, I'ower, I'owah, I'owuh, and I'uhwuh. Which is right? There is, after all, but one standard of correctness for pronunciation, and that standard is the consensus of usage. Now if this consensus is not clear, that is, if there appears to be a division in common usage, the conscientious seeker usually does one of two things: he either adopts the usage of some person or group of persons that he respects, or he accepts the "preferred" pronunciation of his favorite dictionary. He may choose the

latter course because he thinks that in the dictionary the god of words speaks, and the three legs of the dictionary-stand are for him the tripod of the sibyl; but a consultation of the preface of the sacred tome will reveal the frank acknowledgment that the lexicographer is trying merely to record usages as he has carefully observed them. Thus the *vox dei* he thought he heard is shown to be only the *vox populi* after all, and whether he follows his preferred group or his dictionary he is yielding finally to "social coercion".

Weight of usage, now, is with the pronunciation *Powuh*, the final vowel as *a* in *about*. Thus the dictionaries record it. The purists, however, plead for a lower, "broader" *a*, a definite *-ah* in place of the lax *-uh*. The advocates of this pronunciation can not claim "correctness", since correctness is based on consensus of usage rather than on aesthetics, but their pronunciation is attractive.

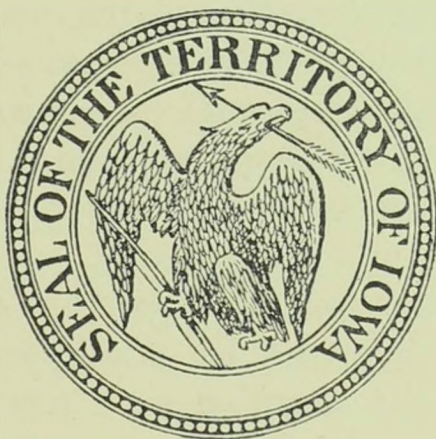
I wish this article might fall into the hands of the portly Chicagoan and the baldheaded man from Albany, for they did not allow me to set forth my arguments at length. After they had read it they would say, I suppose, what they said before with some philological soundness: "I have always heard the word pronounced my way, so my way must be right."

FRANK LUTHER MOTT

Great Seals of Iowa

On November 22, 1838, the Council of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of the Territory to transmit to the Council "the Great Seal of this Territory, with its impression, for inspection". William B. Conway, the Secretary of the Territory, complied on the following day, submitting the seal together with some impressions on wax and paper. His letter of transmittal described the seal as a device "believed to be simple" and "perfectly expressive of a distinct idea, intimately associated with the history of the delightful country which we have the happiness to inhabit". The eagle, he explained, was "the proud and appropriate emblem of our national power," while the Indian arrow held in its beak and the unstrung bow clutched in its talons depicted an idea "well calculated to make the eye glisten with patriotic pride, and cause the heart to beat high with the pulsations of conscious superiority." At the same time he thought the design presented "a touching appeal to our manly sensibilities, in contemplating the dreary destiny of a declining race;" nor did it fail "to admonish us of the immense importance of improving" the "inheritance which it was their peculiar misfortune to undervalue and neglect."

The communication from the Secretary, together with the seal and its impressions, were referred to the Committee on Territorial Affairs and on November 24th, Warner Lewis reported that in the opinion of the committee the "devices are admirably adapted, and appropriate for the Great Seal of this Territory". Accordingly, on the motion of Stephen Hempstead, the Council adopted the design as the Great Seal of the Territory, and the House of Representatives took the same action on November 26th. Governor Lucas gave his approval on January 4, 1839.



THE GREAT SEAL OF THE TERRITORY

Although the design of the Territorial seal is credited to William B. Conway, the work of engraving was done by William Wagner of York, Pennsylvania. In a subsequent resolution proposing that the seals for the courts in the Territory also be executed by

Mr. Wagner, the committee on Judiciary of the Council praised his work as having been "executed with elegance and classic taste."

A die of the original Territorial seal has been preserved by the State Historical Society of Iowa. It is one and five-eighths inches in diameter and the word "great" does not appear on it, although the Secretary in his communication and the legislature in its resolution prefixed the word.

Probably the best evidence of the intrinsic artistic merits of the Territorial emblem of authority is to be found in the fact that the general design and motif has served as the model for the seal of the State Historical Society and the seal of the State University of Iowa. The device has also been used extensively upon maps and as a coat of arms. In 1864 an issue of Iowa national bank notes, printed by the Federal government, bore the Great Seal of the Territory.

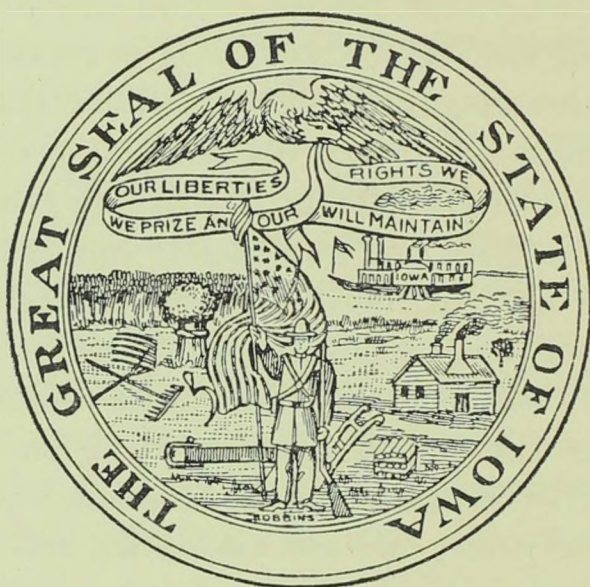
The transition from a Territory to a State involved many changes in administrative details, among which the adoption of a new seal received early consideration. On December 9, 1846, nineteen days before Iowa was actually admitted to the Union, W. E. Leffingwell introduced a resolution in the First General Assembly which was already in session, authorizing the Secretary of State to procure a State seal. This measure was promptly passed by the House of Representatives and referred in the Senate to a select committee composed

of Thomas H. Benton, Jr., Francis Springer, and Philip B. Bradley.

The Senate committee reported a substitute resolution which was passed and approved by Governor Ansel Briggs on February 25, 1847, directing the Secretary of State to procure a Great Seal of the State of Iowa "two inches in diameter" on which should be engraved the following device: "a sheaf and field of standing wheat, with a sickle and other farming utensils, on the left side near the bottom; a lead furnace and pile of pig lead, on the right side; the citizen soldier, with a plow in his rear, supporting the American flag and liberty cap with his right hand, and his gun with his left, in the center and near the bottom; the Mississippi river in the rear of the whole, with the steamer Iowa under way; an eagle near the upper edge, holding in his beak a scroll, with the following inscription upon it: *Our liberties we prize, and our rights we will maintain.*" This design was to be surrounded by the words "The Great Seal of the State of Iowa".

The State Historical Society of Iowa is now in possession of a wooden plate which is labelled the "First Seal of Iowa". It was presented to the Society by John Springer. This seal is rectangular in form, about three and one-fourth inches long by one and one-half inches wide, and made of hard wood reinforced with lead. The design engraved upon it corresponds in its principal details to the description of the seal set forth in the resolution of

the legislature, except that the eagle near the upper edge does not bear in his beak the scroll inscribed with the State motto. It has been suggested that this plate was probably designed for the General Assembly as a model of the proposed official circular seal.



THE FIRST DIE USED FROM 1847 TO 1856

The first die was executed in accordance with the specifications in the authorizing act of 1847, except that the seal was two and three-sixteenths inches in diameter instead of two. Since then the engravers of new dies have made many minor changes in the device, though the description in the law has been substantially followed. In 1915, C. C. Stiles found on official documents in the public archives the im-

pressions of eight different dies, the last of which had been in use since 1888.

Different opinions have been expressed concerning the artistic qualities of the Great Seal of Iowa. T. S. Parvin lamented the fact that so many details were "encompassed within a radius of one inch" and a writer in the Des Moines *Register and Leader* of March 7, 1909, criticized the seal because it symbolized nothing of the true characteristics of the State. In his opinion it "represents a century gone by, a time when the population was strung along a narrow belt bordering the Mississippi river", and does not typify Iowa "as she is" for "no cattle, no hogs, no corn, no prairie, no farm scene" are included.

On the other hand E. W. Eastman, who thought there was nothing "*civilized*" about the Territorial seal" and that the eagle was "a coarse ill-begotten thing, keeled over, with great haunches" and looking "for all the world as though it had been pilfered from an old counterfeit Mexican dollar," was enthusiastic in his praise of the State seal. He thought it was symbolic of the modern progressive age of an enlightened people. He liked the display of the implements of industry and commerce, the "bold and fearless" citizen soldier of Iowa, the soaring eagle, and the glorious motto — all emblematic of the "civilization and liberty, and industry, and progress, and valor" of "Iowa as it is and *is to be*".

JACOB VAN EK

Mottoes and Slogans of Iowa

"Our liberties we prize, and our rights we will maintain" boldly proclaims a scroll held in the beak of an eagle on the Great Seal of the State of Iowa. And whether considered as "a bit of stilted, bombastic rhetoric, suggestive of the Fourth of July" or as "a noble expression of freemen" it has remained as a sort of official motto of the State for nearly eighty years. It was in February, 1847, that a committee of the State Senate — Thomas H. Benton, Jr., Francis Springer, and Philip P. Bradley — recommended that this motto be made a part of the State seal. It does not appear whether the sentiment was original with some member of the committee or not. The fact that the wood cut of the "First Seal of Iowa" does not bear the motto would seem to indicate that its insertion at least was the work of the committee.

Another well known Iowa motto is the statement chiseled on the block of "marble" contributed by Iowa for the Washington monument. As originally written by Lieutenant Governor Enoch W. Eastman the motto read: "Iowa: the affections of her people, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable Union."

This motto is almost as old as the inscription on the State seal. On December 14, 1850, a committee

of three from the State Senate was appointed to confer with a similar committee from the House of Representatives to recommend a suitable inscription for the block of "marble" selected by Josiah H. Bonney of Iowa City from the quarry of Moses B. Root in Van Buren County. Senator George G. Wright, as chairman of this committee, invited several people to suggest appropriate mottoes, and from among the large number received the one submitted by Lieutenant Governor Eastman was adopted. The undimmed popularity of this inscription with the flight of years is silent testimony to the good judgment of the legislative committee in selecting the Eastman motto.

Perhaps one of the best known slogans of the Hawkeye State is the declaration made by Sidney A. Foster in 1886: "In all that is good, Iowa affords the best." The slogan has sometimes appeared with slight variations of wording, but according to Mr. Foster himself the above is the phrasing he used to characterize particularly the business and educational opportunities in Iowa even at a time when there was considerable discontent and depression.

A slogan contest inaugurated in January, 1923, by the Des Moines *Register* awakened widespread interest throughout the State. Prizes amounting to one thousand dollars were offered by this newspaper for the best advertising slogan for Iowa. During a period of five weeks a prize of one hundred dollars was awarded each week to the person who submitted

the best slogan, and the final sweepstakes award of five hundred dollars went to C. W. Christensen of Des Moines for his slogan, "Horace Greeley meant Iowa".

This assertion is based upon the oft-quoted advice of the famous editor of the New York *Tribune* for ambitious young men to seek their fortunes in the West. He once wrote in an editorial, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." And there is some historical justification of the slogan, for at least on one occasion his counsel did turn out to mean Iowa. Greeley once told Josiah B. Grinnell, a pioneer clergyman, to "Go West, young man, go West." Eventually, in 1854, Grinnell came to Iowa, and helped to found the city and the college which bear his name.

There have been some critics who insist that all of the mottoes and slogans of Iowa, save perhaps the inscription on the Washington monument, are boastful. Be that as it may, they have all been inspired by loyalty and justifiable State pride. They reflect the confidence of the people of Iowa in the destiny of the Commonwealth.

BRUCE E. MAHAN

Songs of Iowa

There is frequently much confusion as to the status of the so-called State songs, due largely to the fact that they may be chosen by official action, by popular approval, or by a combination of the two methods. In the Middle West particularly, where State boundaries are artificial and the population has constantly shifted, it is not surprising that there should be much uncertainty. There have been many aspirants to the honor of writing the State song for Iowa, but only three or four of these songs have received noteworthy official or popular recognition.

First in point of time and official recognition is *The Song of Iowa*, the words of which were written by S. H. M. Byers, who gives the following account of the inspiration of the song:

“At the great battle of Lookout Mountain I was captured, in a charge, and taken to Libby Prison, Richmond, Va. I was there seven months, in one room. The rebel bands often passed the prison, and for our discomfiture, sometimes played the tune ‘My Maryland’, set to Southern and bitter words. Hearing it once through our barred windows, I said to myself, ‘I would like some day to put that tune to loyal words.’ ”

Many years later, in 1897, Mr. Byers carried out his wish and wrote a song to the music of *Tannen-*

baum, the old German folk-song which the Confederates had used for *My Maryland*. The next night a French concert singer at the Foster Opera House in Des Moines sang the new song upon the request of Mr. Byers. The number was a great success and was encored again and again. These were the words:

You ask what land I love the best,
Iowa, 'tis Iowa,
The fairest State of all the West,
Iowa, O! Iowa.
From yonder Mississippi's stream
To where Missouri's waters gleam,
O! fair it is as poet's dream,
Iowa, in Iowa.

See yonder fields of tasseled corn,
Iowa, in Iowa,
Where plenty fills her golden horn,
Iowa, in Iowa.
See how her wondrous prairies shine
To yonder sunset's purpling line,
O! happy land, O! land of mine,
Iowa, O! Iowa.

And she has maids whose laughing eyes,
Iowa, O! Iowa,
To him who loves were Paradise,
Iowa, O! Iowa.
O! happiest fate that e'er was known,
Such eyes to shine for one alone,
To call such beauty all his own,
Iowa, O! Iowa.

Go read the story of thy past,
Iowa, O! Iowa,
What glorious deeds, what fame thou hast!
Iowa, O! Iowa.
So long as time's great cycle runs,
Or nations weep their fallen ones,
Thou'lt not forget thy patriot sons,
Iowa, O! Iowa.

This is the only song thus far to receive official recognition as well as popular favor. In 1911, C. J. Fulton introduced the following resolution in the Iowa House of Representatives:

"Whereas, The patriotic song of Iowa by S. H. M. Byers, has, for years, been sung in all the schools of the state, and on thousands of public occasions, political and social, and wherever Iowa people come together in other states, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the House, the Senate concurring, that it be hereby declared to be recognized as the State Song."

This resolution was adopted by the House on March 18, 1911, and the Senate concurred on March 24th. It was not printed among the laws, however, for concurrent resolutions are merely expressions of the sentiment of the legislators and are not statutes. The song has been sung for many years and by popular consent, as well as legislative action, deserves a prominent place in the patriotic music of Iowa.

Another song which has no official status but is popular throughout the State, especially in the schools and for quartette work, is *Iowa* — "*Beauti-*

ful Land", the words of which were written by Tacitus Hussey in 1899 and read as follows:

A song for our dear Hawkeye State!
Iowa — "Beautiful Land;"
As a bird sings of love to his mate,
In Iowa — "Beautiful Land."
The land of wide prairies and trees;
Sweet clover and humming of bees,
While kine breath adds perfume to these,
In Iowa — "Beautiful Land!"

Chorus:

Crown her! Crown her! Crown her!
Crown her with corn, this Queen of the West,
Who wears the wild rose on her breast;
The fairest, the richest and best!
Iowa — "Beautiful Land!"
Iowa — "Beautiful Land!"

The cornfields of billowy gold,
In Iowa — "Beautiful Land,"
Are smiling with treasure untold,
In Iowa — "Beautiful Land."
The food hope of nations is she,
With love overflowing and free
As her rivers, which run to the sea,
In Iowa — "Beautiful Land!"

Her tale of the past has been told,
Of Iowa — "Beautiful Land;"
The future is not yet unrolled,
Of Iowa — "Beautiful Land."
The Past! How high on fame's scroll
She has written her dead heroes roll!
The Future! Fear not for thy goal,
O Iowa — "Beautiful Land!"

Then sing to the praise of our God,
Of Iowa — "Beautiful Land,"
And our fathers, whose feet early trod
This Iowa — "Beautiful Land."
A land kissed by sunshine and show'rs;
Of corn land, wild roses and flow'rs —
Oh! thrice blessed land, this of ours!
Our Iowa — "Beautiful Land!"

The music was composed by Horace M. Towner of Corning, now Governor of Porto Rico.

An example of somewhat hasty action concerning a patriotic song is to be found in the adoption of *Iowa, Proud Iowa* by the Iowa Federation of Music Clubs as their State song. The words are by Virginia Knight Logan. An effort was made in 1921 to have this song adopted by legislative action, the bill providing that it "shall be used as a State Song on all occasions where a State Song is to be used, either at home or abroad, and on all public or official occasions where the use of a State Song is proper or advisable." No action was taken, however. At least the last stanza of the song, which appears below, was evidently written in response to the war sentiment.

All hail! to Proud Iowa,
Queen of the West,
With broad rolling prairies
So fertile and blest.
Where cool shady streams flow,
'Mid verdure so rare,
With Iowa's beauty,
No State can compare.

Refrain:

Then hail! to Proud Iowa,
Queen of the West!
To the strains of grandest music
Proclaim her the best;
“Our liberties we prize and
Our rights we’ll maintain”
“In God is our trust” to
Preserve her great fame.

From fields all aglow
With her ripe golden grain;
And Iowa garners
Her bounties again.
The world offers homage
From every shore,
For blessings abounding
From Iowa’s store.

When war’s desolation reigns
Over the sea;
And “To Arms” came the call to
Defend Liberty,
Her brave sons and daughters
“Old Glory” unfurl’d
And Iowa’s “Rainbow”
Gleam’d over the world.

The latest and perhaps the most widely known of Iowa songs is the *Iowa Corn Song* — that rollicking “booster” song which became famous at the time of the Shriner conclave held at Des Moines in 1921. This song originated some ten years earlier when George E. Hamilton, captain of the Za-Ga-Zig temple drill team, wrote a verse and chorus to the old tune of “Travelling” while en route to the Shriner

conclave at Los Angeles. Additional verses have been improvised by other people and sung on later occasions. Many of these no doubt have been lost or forgotten, as in the case of the folk-songs of Europe. Indeed, the *Iowa Corn Song* is in many respects a true folk-song.

In 1921 a revision of the song was printed and put on sale, Ray W. Lockard being associated with Mr. Hamilton as author. Although the words have little to commend them as an official State song, the music, adapted by Edward Riley, is catchy, and the chorus has a swing which has made the song popular wherever there are Iowa people. It has become known the length and breadth of the country.

Here are the two stanzas and the chorus included in the published edition:

Let's sing of Grand old I-O-WAY,
Yo-ho, yo-ho, yo-ho,
Our love is stronger ev'ry day,
Yo-ho, yo-ho, yo-ho.
So come along and join the throng,
Sev'ral hundred thousand strong,
As you come just sing this song,
Yo-ho, yo-ho, yo-ho.

Chorus:

We're from
I-o-way, I-o-way.
State of all the land,
Joy on ev'ry hand.
We're from I-o-way, I-o-way.
That's where the tall corn grows.

Our land is full of ripening corn,
Yo-ho, yo-ho, yo-ho,
We've watched it grow both night and morn,
Yo-ho, yo-ho, yo-ho.
But now we rest, we've stood the test,
All that's good we have the best,
I-o-way has reached the crest,
Yo-ho, yo-ho, yo-ho.

There has not been sufficient time as yet, to test its popularity: like most popular favorites it may run its course like a Fourth of July sky rocket to vanish into the darkness of oblivion, or it may find a place among such songs as *Yankee Doodle* which, though they have no spiritual inspiration, have lived because they help people to throw aside every-day cares and move forward with a quicker step.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

The Iowa Banner

To the majority of the people of the United States, especially those in the States and Territories created by the national government, the United States flag has typified their sense of group consciousness, their ideals, and the sovereignty of the United States. There was little demand for State flags in early days and to this indifference the Civil War added positive opposition, since State patriotism was looked upon as a threat of disunion.

The Spanish-American War, however, removed some of this prejudice and a succession of national expositions emphasized the desirability of distinctive State banners. Beginning about 1900 the various Commonwealths not already provided with State flags began to adopt these emblems of a platonic State loyalty which did not suggest rivalry with the national sovereignty.

In no other State, probably, was there greater indifference to the significance of a State flag than in Iowa, due perhaps to the fact that the State was settled largely from other States and established its State government during the period of dissension preceding the Civil War. Gradually, however, there developed in certain groups a sentiment for a State flag and as early as 1913 an attempt was made to secure the adoption of a State banner by legislative

action. A commission was appointed but it failed to report in 1915 and was instructed to continue its work and report to the General Assembly in 1917. At this session the committee reported that in their opinion Iowa should have a flag but they had found no suitable design, and the legislature adjourned without further action.

In the meantime the United States entered the World War. It was expected that the Iowa men would fight in State regiments as they had in former wars and this emphasized the desirability of a State flag to designate the Iowa units. The organization most interested in this matter was the Iowa Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution which had already prepared two designs. On May 11, 1917, Mrs. Lue B. Prentiss, chairman of the Society's flag committee, Mrs. Dixie Gebhardt, and a number of other interested persons appeared before the State Council of National Defense, presented a flag design submitted by Mrs. Gebhardt, and asked that it be adopted as the State flag for use by the Iowa soldiers. The Council approved the plan without much discussion. Thereupon the Daughters of the American Revolution had a number of flags manufactured and presented one to each of the Iowa National Guard regiments, one of which — as the 168th United States Infantry — was already in France. The use of State flags, however, was soon rendered almost impossible by the policy adopted by the War Department of assigning men to military

units without regard to the State from which they came.

The flag as first designed had an entirely white field but before any were manufactured Mrs. Gebhardt added a vertical blue stripe next the pole and a similar red stripe on the outer side, leaving the white field approximately as wide as the two colored stripes combined. On this center of white is the representation of an eagle, carrying in its beak a blue streamer on which is the motto from the Iowa State seal, "Our liberties we prize and our rights we will maintain". Below is the word "Iowa" in red letters.

There seems to have been little enthusiasm for the new State flag and but little opposition. Its official status was fixed in 1921 by a law approved on March 29th providing that the flag sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution should be the official State banner. The law also requires that if displayed with the Stars and Stripes the State banner should be placed beneath the national emblem.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

Comment by the Editor

THE HERITAGE OF THE PAST

The alpine mountaineer, intent upon gaining the summit of a lofty peak, will nevertheless halt ever and anon in his upward course and, leaning upon his staff, he will look back over the trail he has followed. How altered the prospect appears from above! The pine-clad ravine far below that seemed so dark and forbidding has become a soft, rich valley of sunshine. And yonder icy lake, which an hour ago mirrored in vivid splendor the enticing heights beyond, has been transformed into an azure gem in an emerald setting.

It is well that a people should sometimes pause and take thought of their bearings. In the tumult of a busy world there is danger lest the promise of the future prove so alluring that all account of the past be forgotten. Perspective is essential in any walk of life. He who does not occasionally look back into his yesterdays will lose his sense of progress, for he will not know that his viewpoint has changed. And the people of any Commonwealth who have no time to contemplate the course of events that have shaped their destiny rob themselves of their heritage of experience and the inspiration of former achievement.

Nor are the vital elements of history always found in great events. It is a curious fact that the true story of commonplace matters is often elusive. Everyone knows that there were Indians in Iowa, but how many can tell who they were or what were their habits. Was Iowa named for a tribe of those Indians? How shall the name of the State be pronounced? And what are the mottoes that reveal the ideals of the Hawkeyes? Such information is important in the life of a people, for the knowledge of such things, if widely diffused, is a basis of community consciousness and Commonwealth loyalty. Who shall deny that the first Iowa folk-song expresses an instinct for unity?

J. E. B.

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