

return to the woods, as they have under the park's protection. Nothing would have pleased him more than the knowledge that thousands of people each year are enjoying his old home.

To me, this park brings contact with a great span of American history. I think of the centuries that the river beside us carried a traffic of Indian canoes. At one time or another, tepees must have been pitched on every flat area of valley. Surely hunters with their bows and arrows killed game where we are assembled now. Not many yards from here, when I was a boy, I found a carnelian spearhead.

Early trappers carried their furs down this river, and I myself remember the wanigans and bateaux of the lumber companies. It is now hard to visualize the big log jams that were once held by the river's rocks and shoals. My father and I often walked out over them and swam at their outer edges.

I can even connect the Mississippi, here, with aviation. One day, before the first World War began, when I was playing upstairs in our house, I heard an unusually loud engine noise. I ran to the window and climbed out onto the roof. There was an airplane flying upriver, below the treetops on the banks. I learned that it was carrying passengers from a field near Little Falls. Of course I wanted to fly in it, but my mother said that would be much too expensive and dangerous.

I might end by saying that on this riverbank one can look upward in late evening and watch a satellite penetrate through stars, thereby spanning human progress from the primitive hunter with his canoe to the latest advance of our civilization. But in saying so, I would be stopping short of our latest advance. I believe our civilization's latest advance is symbolized by the park rather than by satellites and space travel. In establishing parks and nature reserves, man reaches beyond the material values of science and technology. He recognizes the essential value of life itself, of life's natural inheritance irreplaceably evolved through earthly epochs, of the miraculous spiritual awareness that only nature in balance can maintain.

As our civilization advances, if our follies permit it to advance, I feel sure we will realize that progress can be measured only by the quality of life — all life, not human life alone. The accumulation of knowledge, the discoveries of science, the products of technology, our ideals, our art, our social structures, all the achievements of mankind have value only to the extent that they preserve and improve the quality of life.

This is why I say that parks symbolize the greatest advance our civilization has yet made.



BOOK REVIEWS

Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier: Studies in American Land Policy. By Paul Wallace Gates.

(Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1973. vii, 333 p. \$12.50.)

PAUL WALLACE GATES has spent a lifetime working on the effects of American land policy. Together with his students, he has contributed a stream of books and articles on this foundation of American life. The present book deals with the disposition of land on a limited prairie frontier, which in this instance is mostly Indiana and Illinois, with occasional glances at Kentucky, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska. The period covered is roughly from 1830 to 1880. The emphasis is on what was wrong with our land policy.

A critic who discovers something wrong must have in mind an ideal that can be used as a measuring stick. Gates's ideal seems to be the Jeffersonian concept of a nation of independent yeomen farmers who operated family-sized farms. Thus, any policy was deficient and wrong that permitted absentee landlords and large holdings on the one hand and tenants and agricultural workers who had no chance of becoming yeomen farmers on the other. If, however, the yardstick used was productivity, or conservation, or to support the government in lieu of taxes, a different conclusion might be reached. The truth of the matter was that our land policy had not one but several goals.

Gates examines tenants, land speculators, and cattle kings in the Midwest and landlords, farm laborers, and Southern

investment in Northern lands. Since the same people pop up in most chapters, the text is repetitious and would have benefited from a merciful editorial ax.

Gates admits that under the American land system 75 per cent of our farmers were owner-operators by 1880. He also admits that raw land away from settlement had no value, that capital for developing the frontier must come from elsewhere than the frontier, that the land speculator and promoter played an important role in getting people and capital to the frontier, and that the occupier of the land must pay back the capital borrowed from elsewhere by years of hard work. Many of the land speculators and promoters lost heavily, and few attempts to create and maintain large estates succeeded. High interest rates on the frontier were not necessarily owing to large elements of original sin in the creditors but rather were a reflection of risk, scarcity of capital in new areas, and the attractiveness of alternate opportunities for investment.

The growth of tenancy, which irks Gates as it does all right-thinkers, may not have been solely a result of greediness on the part of landlords but may have been a reflection of the amount of capital necessary to become an owner-operator. It is possible, too, that life in archives, rather than life on a farm, may have led Gates to overestimate the desire of farm laborers to become owner-operators and partake of the Jeffersonian dream. Some hired men had little desire or capability of becoming yeomen farmers.

Reviewed by RODNEY C. LOEHR, *professor of history at the University of Minnesota and a member of the Minnesota Historical Society executive council.*

***The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands.* By D. S. Otis. Edited by Francis Paul Prucha.**

(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. xvii, 206 p. \$6.95.)

***Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900.* Edited by Francis Paul Prucha.**

(Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973. 358 p. \$12.50.)

THESE TWO VOLUMES, both edited by Francis Paul Prucha, are complementary in that they treat the same subject and time period from different perspectives. *Americanizing the American Indians* reveals the attitudes and viewpoints of the champions of Indian "rights" during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It was in this period that the Dawes Act was formulated, lobbied through Congress, and applied to many of the reservations. *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* provides an assessment of the motives that underlay the breaking up of Indian lands in severalty and evaluates this policy until 1900. D. S. Otis, a historian employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, made his study as a part of the effort which led to a revision of Indian policy in 1934. His manuscript was prepared from printed official sources and was included with the hearings before the House

Committee on Indian Affairs as part of the deliberations which resulted in the Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act which reversed the policy of allotments and assimilation. Whether or not Otis influenced this legislation is uncertain. Nevertheless, his book deserves publication as the first significant attempt by a historian to interpret the quest for Indian "rights" associated with the Dawes Act.

Professor Prucha has rendered a considerable service to students of Indian affairs by making accessible these writings of reformers and this early historical study of land in severalty. His thesis that reformers were more responsible for the destruction of reservations than the army or the frontier settlers should excite interest and perhaps debate. By contrast Otis worked hard, without much evidence, to suggest that land grabbers and business promoters were somewhat responsible for the allotment policy. This idea has persisted too long, as has the notion that Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior, was the instigator of the original general allotment bills of 1879. What Otis missed, because he apparently did not research the letter files of the Indian Bureau, was the influence of the Protestant missionary associations that met annually with the Board of Indian Commissioners. Otis was on the right track when he wrote near the end of his book: "For if white land seekers and the business promoters did not create the allotment system, they at least turned it to their own good use." The same idea applies to Schurz, for, as Otis recognized, the secretary in 1880 supported allotment as a means of pacifying the frontier communities by making the unallotted portions of reservations available to white settlers.

But the principal motivation behind allotment, as Prucha correctly perceives, was the desire of the reformers to bring an end to tribalism and to make individual ownership of land the means of assimilation. For this reason it is unfortunate that he did not select any of the speeches of Alice C. Fletcher, given in the Mohonk Conferences, for inclusion in *Americanizing the American Indians*. There was no more influential exponent of ending communal ownership of Indian lands than this lady whose reputation as an ethnologist was augmented by experience as the promoter and implementer of the Omaha Allotment Act of 1882. She also served as one of the special agents who applied the Dawes Act to the first reservations selected for allotment.

Reviewed by HENRY E. FRITZ, *chairman of the department of history at St. Olaf College and a scholar of Indian history.*

***The Marquis de Morès: Dakota Capitalist, French Nationalist.* By D. Jerome Tweton.**

(Fargo, North Dakota Institute of Regional Studies, 1972. 249 p. \$8.95.)

D. JEROME TWETON'S study of the Marquis de Morès, a daring and controversial French nobleman, is evenly divided between the marquis' career as a business entrepreneur in the American West and as a political activist and French nationalist in Paris, Indochina, and Africa. In both phases of his life, the colorful and unduly optimistic De Morès failed.

In the first portion of the book, Tweton treats De Morès' developing interest in the Dakotas during the 1880s. The marquis, backed by his own wealthy, aristocratic family and married to Medora von Hoffman, daughter of a Wall Street banker, soon realized his dream of western land holdings along the Little Missouri River. Within a space of three years (1883–86) De Morès became involved in the cattle and sheep industries, organized a stage and freight line, and attempted a salmon shipping business. His most impressive venture, however, was his plan to slaughter beef on the western range and ship it to market in iced railroad cars. A large packing plant was constructed at his new town, Medora, in western Dakota, with icing stations of the Northern Pacific Refrigerator Car Company set up in Montana, Dakota, and Minnesota (Brainerd, Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul) along routes to Midwest markets. But strong Chicago competition and the death of the range cattle industry spelled defeat for De Morès' grand scheme. Similarly, a subsequent attempt to corner retail meat outlets in New York City failed. Tweton asserts that De Morès "lacked financial responsibility" — his father covered most losses — and thus he would embrace new schemes without hesitation. Yet De Morès' stay on the northern plains was typical of the Dakota boom and the Gilded Age in two respects: (1) America was aggressively seeking capital investment, and (2) the average size of American business operations increased substantially during the period. Favorable attitudes toward investing capitalists is evident in the trial surrounding De Morès' involvement in the shooting of a western buffalo hunter. The whole affair, given rather lengthy treatment in the book, indicates favoritism to De Morès. With the end of the marquis' ventures, the town of Medora died.

The second part of Professor Tweton's book records the marquis' diverse and controversial activities from his return to France in early 1887 until his death in 1896 at the age of thirty-seven. While on a tiger-hunting expedition in Nepal, he became interested in Indochina. Convinced that a railroad from the Gulf of Tonkin inland would enhance French influence and commercial activity, De Morès began surveying the area. But his plan was thwarted by the French government, especially by Ernest Jean Constans, a Jew who became minister of the interior. His experience with Constans, plus his reading of Edouard Drumont's anti-Semitic writings during this period, helped shape De Morès' views. By the early 1890s, he became an active anti-Semitic political candidate

in Paris, published writings attacking the French Jewish population, and spoke out against England's colonial policies. He embraced the Boulangist element in French politics for a time, promoted the idea that credit should be in control of the workers (credit was a "Jewish monopoly," he said), supported a free silver monetary policy, and attacked Georges Clemenceau as a "British agent." Restless and outspoken, yet devoted to France and his family honor, the handsome De Morès continued to be controversial. Following a sword duel in which he killed his opponent, the marquis saw his influence diminish. The last chapter in the marquis' life, characteristically, involved a hastily planned expedition in Africa. Undaunted by lack of enthusiasm and even opposition from French officials for his proposed Franco-Moslem alliance, De Morès ultimately died on the Sahara in 1896. Even his death was controversial, as British agents, a family from Tripoli, and regional desert merchants were among those accused of his murder by a raiding party. Tweton's judgment is that bandits, known to be in the area and lured by the great value of materials in possession of the De Morès party, committed the deed. De Morès' whole African scheme was unrealistic, but his strong national pride in attempting to expand French holdings in Africa, does exhibit a kinship to the "new imperialism" of European nations during the late nineteenth century.

Professor Tweton of the University of North Dakota has produced the first well-balanced account of De Morès' fascinating and sometimes chaotic career. His study is well-researched and superior to other accounts in the use of French sources. Tweton's conclusions are sound, and he makes his judgments while choosing not to involve a "running commentary" with different interpretations within the narrative of the book. A good photographic section, two maps, and an index give the volume greater utility.

De Morès, in conclusion, presents the reader with a study in contrast; for example, the aristocratic French gentleman embracing elements of socialism. But the enigma of De Morès and his views perhaps reveals both the man's responses and the nature and degree of significant historical change during the late nineteenth century.

Reviewed by BRUCE L. LARSON, *associate professor of history at Mankato State College and author of the book, Lindbergh of Minnesota: A Political Biography.*

news & notes

"I, HARRY HAYWARD, desire to make known to the world . . . my connection with the death of Katherine Ging. . . . These words were uttered by a man's voice on an old brown wax cylinder that is the focal point of an article, "The Last Words of Harry Hayward (A True Record Mystery)," by the cylinder's owner, Tim Brooks, in the *Antique Phonograph Monthly* for June-July, 1973. Mr. Brooks links the primitive phonograph industry with "one of the most notorious murder cases of the 19th century" — the fatal shooting of Minneapolis hairdresser Kitty Ging on December 3, 1894, while she rode in a buggy near Lake Calhoun. Hayward, a gambler and a dandy who sought Miss Ging's life insurance, arranged to have an accomplice, Claus Blixt, do the actual shooting and was hanged for his scheme on December 11, 1895, after his (Hayward's) brother, Adry, confessed.

Mr. Brooks points out that, before Hayward met death, he was visited in the Hennepin County jail and at the gallows by two Minneapolitans, H. Benedict and T. C. Hough, who recorded his last words on a phonograph roll. The record was merchandised by Hough and Benedict and possibly other regional companies, the author says. He seems to feel that the cylinder he owns originated with a Chicago company and might be a recording of an elocutionist saying words spoken by the condemned Hayward. Mr. Brooks welcomes information from other collectors pertaining to "variant recordings by or about Harry Hayward, or of what companies may have advertised them." For crucial

material for his article, the author credits the help of Walter N. Trenerry who devoted a full chapter to the Ging-Hayward story in his *Murder in Minnesota*, published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1962. Mr. Trenerry in turn was assisted by staff members of the society in locating information for Mr. Brooks.

THE MAN WHO successfully led the crusade for effective forestry management in Minnesota is the subject of an article in the July, 1973, issue of *Forest History*. Entitled "Minnesota Forestry Comes of Age: Christopher C. Andrews, 1895-1911," the article is by R. Newell Searle, whose earlier article on the Minnesota National Forest in *Minnesota History* in Autumn, 1971, won him Theodore C. Blegen awards from both the Minnesota Historical Society and the Forest History Society.

Mr. Searle points out that Andrews was "at the remarkable age of sixty-six" in 1895 when "he embarked upon his forestry career." For sixteen years he crusaded against forest fires and "land skinning" and advocated establishing state-owned forest preserves. At first he met with an indifferent state government and an apathetic, even hostile, public. Gradually, however, it became clear that a force of unpaid, untrained, part-time rangers to patrol and fight fires, combined with weak and generally unenforced laws against negligent railroad and lumbering companies, was inadequate to meet forestry problems.

In 1911 Andrews finally saw his efforts rewarded in the legislature. A bill

was enacted concentrating all forestry and fire-fighting tasks in an office of state forester. Forest districts were established, rangers hired, and laws tightened and enforced. Andrews was retained as secretary of the supervisory state forestry board until his death in 1922. By 1911, too, three preserves had been established, largely through Andrews' efforts.

A REPORT on "Minnesota Archaeology" by staff writer Clifford D. Simak and staff photographers Mike Zerby, Richard Olsenius, and Bill Davis was published in the September 2, 1973, issue of *Picture*, the Sunday magazine of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Emphasis was placed on Minnesota Historical Society work last summer at Knife Lake, Fort Charlotte, and the Lower Sioux Agency. Also mentioned were digs sponsored by other organizations near Spring Valley, Lake Marquette (southwest of Bemidji), Lake Benton, and in the Big Stone-Whetstone area of western Minnesota.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH history is recounted in *The Second Fifty Years: The Diocese of Minnesota and the Diocese of Duluth from 1907 to 1957* (Minneapolis, 1972), by the Reverend E. L. Sheppard, diocesan historiographer. The book begins with 1907, the terminal year of an earlier church history, and concludes with the twenty-five-year episcopate (1931-1956) of Bishop Stephen E. Keeler.

The introduction gives a brief overview of the church in the nineteenth century. The second chapter tells of the

division into two dioceses — Duluth and Minnesota — in 1895 and their reunion in 1944. The episcopacies of three bishops through these years form the outline around which the story of the church is told. The chapters also treat, separately, the different regions of Minnesota — including northern, south-eastern, and southwestern Minnesota, Minneapolis, and St. Paul — each with peculiar identities, problems, and strengths.

The author's 114-page booklet is more than a compilation of statistical data or a series of biographies. It also records the church's attempts to evangelize the Indians, the largely unsuccessful efforts to woo the Swedes, and the problems of a church with an "aristocratic image" in Minnesota, especially in the rural areas. In a chapter entitled "Retrospect and Prospect," Mr. Shepard points out that today the church's "frontier" is in the metropolis and is no less a challenge than the frontier of the 1850s.

Among the booklet's illustrations are portraits of the bishops. One of the three appendixes presents the church history materials in the Minnesota Historical Society, and another lists the extant Episcopal congregations in Minnesota in 1957.

FOLK ARCHITECTURAL FORMS are an "endangered species," writes Matti Kaups in an article, "A Finnish *riihi* in Minnesota," in the *Journal of the Minnesota Academy of Science*, volume 38, numbers 2, 3, 1972. Kaups, an associate professor of geography at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, writes that buildings such as these, transplanted from the Old World and becoming extinct in the New World, should be saved. The *riihi*, a combination grain drying, threshing, and winnowing barn, was used extensively in Finland, but immigrants built it to only a limited extent in the United States. There is evidence that only about twenty were built in Minnesota, says Kaups.

In the article, he describes one *riihi* found in St. Louis County in deteriorating condition. It had been built in 1903 and abandoned in about 1936. He provides the details of the construction and function of the *riihi*, with the aid of photographs and drawings (there are three photographs on the cover which help illustrate his explanation).

The few *riihis* which were built were soon abandoned because of a different

environment and changes in technology. The "ethnic relic" near Eveleth should be restored and preserved for its value in illustrating the cultural transplantation of Finnish farmers to Minnesota around the turn of the century, argues Kaups.

SEVERAL NEW VOLUMES in an "In America" series for children have recently been issued by Lerner Publications of Minneapolis. Among them is the two-volume work, *The American Indians*. Other new books in the ethnic series include those on the Russians, the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans, the Chinese, and the Ukrainians. Nancy Eubank of the Minnesota Historical Society's historic sites division is author of the book, *The Russians in America*.

The books, well illustrated with photographs, are for grades five through eleven and sell for \$3.95 each.

THE REMINISCENCES of a man who has spent most of his seventy-three years in northern Minnesota's logging camps and forests have been published in a booklet, *Early Loggers in Minnesota*. The author, J. C. Ryan, spent a number of years in various jobs in camps and mills before becoming a state ranger and forester, a job he held for forty-seven years until his retirement in 1970. He has written extensively on early logging days for a variety of publications, including *Minnesota History*. The articles in this collection first appeared in the bulletin of the Minnesota Timber Producers Association, which published this pamphlet.

Ryan writes about the men and their jobs: the cruisers, cooks, clerks, log inspectors, sawyers, "walkers" (roving supervisors), log loaders, and just plain "jacks." He tells about the things that concerned loggers: food, safety, health, and the buildings they lived and worked in. He deals with logging railroads, the horse and ox teams used to haul logs, ice roads (and the mud, rock, and sand roads the horse-drawn vehicles had to travel) and an early lumberjack hospitalization plan. Ryan even includes a chapter on "Ecology in the Early Days" that includes kind words for the lumber industry.

THE MINNESOTA Historical Society has taken over sponsorship of the *Newsletter* of the Immigration History Society. The first issue came out in May, 1973, under the editorship of Carlton C.

Qualey, research fellow at the society and professor emeritus of history at Carleton College. The *Newsletter*, published in May and November, brings together a variety of scattered information on work being done in ethnic and immigration areas.

The longest article in the May issue is on "Immigration Research in Britain," by Philip Taylor, of the University of Hull in England. He tells about three major books recently published in Britain and discusses other projects now in progress, as well as methods of researching, the problems, and conditions at various institutions. A second article by Jean Scarpaci of Towson State College in Baltimore is on "Immigration History and Baltimore's Ethnic Community." She deals with the vast, untapped resources available to the ethnic historian in that port city.

Other information of interest is about organizations, meetings and their proceedings, and new publications. For further information, write Mr. Qualey, Minnesota Historical Society, 690 Cedar Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.

REMINISCENCES of "Indian Neighbors," by Nels M. Hokanson, appear in the July, 1973, issue of the *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, published by the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society of Chicago. Mr. Hokanson's family immigrated to the United States in 1887 and settled in St. Paul for a few years. (See his "I Remember St. Paul's Swede Hollow" in the Winter, 1969, issue of *Minnesota History*.) In 1894 or 1895 the Hokansons homesteaded in Aitkin, then a "little logging and Indian town." The author tells of some of his youthful experiences with and impressions of Indians of the area and includes an amusing account of a meal he ate with an Indian family. He was astounded to learn that the main course was boiled puppy.

Mr. Hokanson concludes with a short account of the Battle of Sugar Point, a brief and final uprising of the Pillager Indians on the Leech Lake Reservation fifty miles from Aitkin. Fearful whites in the town believed a false rumor that Indians had sacked a neighboring settlement and were on their way to Aitkin. Although many families took refuge within a hall in the town, father Hokanson calmly made Nels and the rest of the family stay put at home.

This personal, subjective article offers interesting insight into attitudes of small-town whites toward Indians near the turn of the century.

Since 1849, when it was chartered by the first territorial legislature, the Minnesota Historical Society has been preserving a record of the state's history. Its outstanding library and its vast collection of manuscripts, newspapers, pictures, and museum objects reflect this activity. The society also interprets Minnesota's past, telling the story of the state and region through publications, museum displays, tours, institutes, and restoration of historic sites. The work of the society is supported in part by the state and in part by private contributions, grants, and membership dues. It is a chartered public institution governed by an executive council of interested citizens and belonging to all who support it through membership and participation in its programs. You are cordially invited to use its resources and to join in its efforts to make Minnesota a community with a sense of strength from the past and purpose for the future.

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