WHEN Joseph N. Nicollet arrived in the United States in 1832, his modest hope was to contribute to the knowledge of the physical geography of North America through carefully planned field trips along the upper Mississippi River and its drainage basin. In the task he set for himself, the noted French scientist and cartographer succeeded admirably. Beginning in 1836, and during the next four field seasons, he surveyed much of the upper Midwest. The geographical data collected during these expeditions were published by the federal government shortly after Nicollet's death in 1843 in his monumental Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River and accompanying Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River. Both the map and the report have recently been reissued. In 1965 the Minnesota Historical Society reprinted the 1843 map from the original copperplate in the possession of the United States Lake Survey. (The 1843 copperplate apparently has been lost in a recent transfer of records from the former United States Lake Survey District Office in Detroit to the National Ocean Survey in Washington, D.C.) Nicollet's report is available from Xerox University Microfilm, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

With the publication of this volume, the largely unpublished journals and related documents of all four of Nicollet's expeditions are now also available in English translation. The papers of the Mississippi and St. Croix expeditions, along with Nicollet's observations on the Chippewa, were published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1970 under the title, The Journals of Joseph N. Nicollet: A Scientist on the Minnesota and Missouri Rivers, 1836-37. The principal editor of both works is Martha Coleman Bray, who has written a number of shorter articles on Nicollet and is completing a full-length biography of the scientist.

The book under review is divided into three parts. An introduction of forty-one pages chronicles the events leading up to the 1838 and 1839 expeditions and places Nicollet in the political and scientific context of his time. The second part consists of the translated and judiciously edited journals of the various field trips that comprised these two expeditions.

For those periods that journals have not been found, the authors have skillfully supplemented or reconstructed events from surviving annotated sketch maps and astronomical and meteorological notebooks. In one case, the botanical journal of Charles A. Geyser was used to help piece together two trips to the Blue Earth River region. Where the record is too fragmentary, explanatory editorial paragraphs summarize daily occurrences. Nicollet's pertinent correspondence with the War Department and with interested scientists has been reproduced in an appendix along with his important notes on the Sioux. The latter appear in print for the first time and provide new information on the various divisions and subdivisions of the Dakota Indians. These notes have been separately edited by Raymond J. DeMallie.

The journals themselves cover Nicollet's 1838 trips to survey and map the Minnesota River and its southern tributaries westward to "the valley of the famous red stone" and the Coteau des Prairies. The route for much of this expedition apparently had been inspired by George W. Featherstonhaugh, the English geologist, who had explored the region in 1825, and who had impressed Nicollet with "the importance of accurate topographical mapping to the new science of geology." The journals for the following year are less complete but cover Nicollet's important journey up the Missouri River to Fort Pierre and then northeastward to Devil's Lake and return by the Minnesota River to Fort Snelling.

The narratives are concerned primarily with the mundane duties of scientists — mapping, gathering geological samples, recording barometric measurements, determining latitude and longitude — but there are frequent insights into French and Indian place names, the Dakota language, the life and culture of the Plains Indians, and the flat, woodless prairies, all of which contrasted sharply with Nicollet's earlier observations of the Chippewa and their woodland environment on the headwaters of the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. As in his earlier expeditions, Nicollet relied heavily upon local Indians for geographical information, but he found the Sioux lacking in general ability in comparison with the Chippewa. Perhaps this was because he had not become personally acquainted with the Sioux as he had with the Chippewa, particularly his guide on the Mississippi, Chagobay, "my friend and my teacher."

Unlike the earlier expeditions, the Minnesota and Missouri river trips were sponsored and supported by the War Department, whose goal of surveying and mapping unknown areas under Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett closely paralleled the French scientist's ambition. Nicollet's Minnesota and Missouri river expeditions were the first to be carried out under the auspices of the newly formed Corps of Topographical Engineers, the War Department office that undertook the major reconnaissance of the West up to the eve of the Civil War. Nicollet, through his young assistant, Lieutenant John Charles Fremont of the Topographical Engineers, greatly influenced the scientific tone of these later War Department expeditions and set the standard for mapping that guided topographical engineers until the late 1860s.

This volume is suitably illustrated with several sketch maps, drawings, and pages from the journals of Nicollet and Geyser. A small but adequate index map shows the routes of the major expeditions. Copies of the 1865 printing of Nicollet's 1843 map are available separately (for $3.50 and, in hard-cover case, $4.50). The serious researcher will find it indispensable.

The editors are to be commended for the special care that has been taken to identify archaic spellings of personal names.
and place names. Extensive footnotes clarify and supplement the narratives and generally provide excellent biographical and bibliographical data, although this reviewer noted on page 136 one incomplete citation to material in the National Archives.

Anthropologists, historical geographers, and historians will find this book useful and, in some cases, indispensable. The authors, by assembling and translating Nicollet's journals in a convenient format, have made a significant contribution to scholarship.

Reviewed by RALPH E. EHRENBORG, director of the Cartographic Archives Division, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

Kristofer Janson in America. By Nina Draxten.
(Boston, Twayne Publishers for the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1976. xiii, 401 p. Illustrations. $10.95.)

NINA DRAXTEN'S long-awaited biography of Kristofer Nagel Janson (1841-1917) recalls an almost completely forgotten temporary Minnesotan. When he arrived in the United States from Norway in 1881, he had a reputation as a writer of landsmaal (a synthetic form of Norwegian based on the existing dialects, intended as a nationalistic alternative to the Danish-influenced riksmaal). He had been a teacher in a folk high school for nine years. After ordination in Chicago, he settled in Minneapolis as a Unitarian missionary to his compatriots in the "Scandinavian wilderness of the Northwest," and throughout his eleven years in Minneapolis he had constantly to appeal to the American Unitarians for financial aid. Although the Lutherans refused to see Janson as anything but a heretic, he had friends in liberal Norwegian middle-class circles in the city, and consequently Budsikken, a Norwegian weekly, and The North, an English-language paper of Scandinavian interest, paid favorable attention to his work.

At Nazareth Free Christian Church, which Janson started in 1882, his ministry to the Norwegian immigrants who were flooding into and through Minneapolis at this period included readings of his own and other Norwegian literary works, concerts, and debates, and large numbers, especially of young workingmen, were attracted to the church. In 1887 he founded the periodical, Saaman­den (The Sower), to circulate his ideas, which became increasingly influenced by Edward Bellamy, Henry George, and the Christian Socialists, and by spiritualism. Indeed, spiritualism was in good part responsible for the debacle of both Janson and Nazareth Church. His wife, Drude Krog Janson, became alienated from him by his absorption in his secretary, Louise Bentzen (or Benson), who, Drude believed, attained domination over him during seances at which she was the medium. In 1893 Drude left her husband and returned to Norway. Kristofer returned later in the same year, allowed Drude to divorce him, and married Louise Bentzen after the divorce became final in 1897. He spent the rest of his working life in the workers' education movement in Norway.

After its minister's departure from Minneapolis, Nazareth Church declined quite rapidly. In 1894 Louise Bentzen led a spiritualist faction out of the congregation, and the building was sold in 1906. After a further couple of years in rented halls, the church went out of existence, and most of its surviving members joined the First Unitarian Society. The short, brilliant, sad history of Nazareth contrasts tellingly with that of Nora Free Christian Church in Hanska, Minnesota. Here Janson persuaded the original body of seceders from Lake Hanska Norwegian Lutheran Church to define their position as Unitarian, but the congregation continued on its way, consistently self-supporting and happily free of the atmosphere of high drama which seems to have been usual at Nazareth. The Hanska church still flourishes.

Although Nazareth came into existence at a time when some of the young, unsettled Scandinavian immigrants (the author notes the Swedish Unitarians and Universalists each had a Minneapolis congregation) could be drawn to liberal religion, the church could not hold them. As the Swedish Unitarian minister, Axel Lundeberg, wrote, his Norwegian colleague had, against his own will, raised a cult of "Janson worship." Sven Oftedal, professor at Augsburg Seminary and editor of Folkbladet, made another shrewd point which exposed a real weakness in Janson's position when he alluded in his paper to Janson's reliance on Yankee money for missionary work among his countrymen.

Drude Krog Janson, herself a talented Norwegian writer, seems to have suffered greatly during the eleven Minneapolis years. Not only were her own achievements eclipsed by the personality cult which centered upon Kristofer, but she hated city life and had much to endure because of her husband's obvious tendency to live beyond his means (about which Miss Draxten charitably leaves us to our own conclusions). Drude was involved in a ceaseless round of drudgery in homes too large for the family, hard to run, and at one point filled with little Ionic colonnade, once her best years wasting away, she twice fell in love with much younger men. One of them was Knut Hansen, who worked as Kristofer's secretary for a time and won fame as a novelist after his final return to Norway.

Was Kristofer Janson's life in Minneapolis a complete failure? The evidence offered by the author from her abundant familiarity with the written sources and with the traditions of the city's Norwegian community suggests otherwise. His own nobility of character was never, it seems, questioned by his orthodox opponents, and he brought an emollient, irenic spirit into the acrid atmosphere of theological debate. He acted as an informal adult educator through his church, through Saaman­den, and in other ways, in political and social questions, literature, and the visual arts, and he attracted men of intellect to Nazareth. Although the half-dozen upper Midwest congregations he started were short-lived, he drew a number of young Norwegians to the American Unitarian ministry.

We owe Nina Draxten a debt of gratitude for illuminating an aspect of immigrant life which is too little known: There has been a tendency to overlook the secular, liberal, urban intelligentsia which provided an alternative voice to that of the Lutheran ministers and farmers whom we generally regard as having set the tone of the Norwegian-American community. The book is blessed with a generous bibliography and a full array of notes and references, and it is produced in the style to which the Norwegian-American Historical Association has accustomed us. This reviewer has only one small criticism: namely, that three minor characters in the Janson story might...
have been identified: Julius B. Baumann, poet, Cloquet; Lauritz Stavneheim, socialist and secretary of Sons of Norway, Minneapolis; and Peder Ydstie, unknown.

Nina Draxten discusses the literary work of both Jansons and suggests that of Kristofor's books *Amerikanske forholde* (American conditions) (1881) alone would bear translation today. This reviewer would also much like to read *Bag gartneret* (1889), a labor novel set in Minneapolis, and the autobiography, *Hvad jeg har oplevet* (What I have experienced) (1913), together with Drude's feminist novel, *En saloonkeepers datter* (A saloonkeeper's daughter) (1913), and David M. Katzman's *Cleveland, 1870-1930,* Kenneth L. Kusmer's *Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Ghetto,* and Allan Spear's *Riack Chicago: The Making of a Negro* community testimonies, letters, and personal papers. What professional records, newspapers, diaries, interviews, congressional committee testimonies, letters, and personal papers. What are the adversities, tenor, coercion, and attempted re-enslavement of Black migrants. Henri does deal with the factors responsible for the migration, but this material is secondary to her consideration of white America's effect upon Black migrants. There was more discussion in this period about the adverse effects of social Darwinism, the theories of race eugenics, and boxer Jack Johnson's title defense than on new insights into the lives of those experiencing estrangement in northern urban centers. In this respect, the work is more about the history of race relations than migration.

DURING THE YEARS of urban racial unrest from 1865 to 1969, historians were awakened to the reality that Black Americans constituted an ever-increasing proportion of the national urban population. Although the rural-to-urban migration of the Black population has been ongoing since Reconstruction, the migratory patterns and their implications were largely ignored and not fully appreciated until the 1960s.

In the last ten years a number of doctoral dissertations concerning Black urban studies have been published. Among them are Allan Spear's *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto,* Kenneth L. Kusmer's *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland,* 1870-1930, and David M. Katzman's *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century.* The three books reviewed here are among the newer ones relating to aspects of the Black urban experience from 1865 to the present.

Touching only tangentially on the Black urban experience, *The Trouble They Seen* depicts the problems that confronted rural and urban Blacks in the South following the Civil War. It is the story of Reconstruction from 1865 to 1877 as seen from the Black perspective. Editor Sterling has used accounts of Black participants that she found in state archives, congressional records, newspapers, diaries, interviews, congressional committee testimonies, letters, and personal papers. What emerges is a story of strength and determination in the face of adversity, terror, coercion, and attempted re-enslavement of the newly emancipated. The editor does little editorializing, preferring instead to let the documents speak for themselves. However, it is evident that she sees Reconstruction in the same light as did W. E. B. DuBois — that is, as a triumph for Black citizens in spite of the obstacles placed before them.

*The Trouble They Seen* is divided into six chapters and embraces such subjects as the initial reaction to emancipation, the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, Black participation in reconstructed state governments, agricultural and industrial reorganization, education, and Democratic party resurgence, culminating in the nullification of Reconstruction achievements. Although not suited as a text, the book is an excellent pictorial documentary history that could be used as a supplementary source to more scholarly works. It is well edited and entertaining, and a lay reader will find it informative.

According to Dorothy Sterling, the Compromise of 1877 negated the gains by Black people during Reconstruction. The years following witnessed the diminution of the Black vote, Black participation in government, and civil rights. Between 1877 and 1896, the dreams and aspirations of the Black masses were betrayed. As oppression mounted in the South, Blacks began to migrate to other regions in search of personal and political freedom. Unable to participate in electoral politics, southern Blacks in effect voted with their feet. They moved northward during Reconstruction and white reaction to Black migration to northern cities. Henri does deal with the factors responsible for the migration, but this material is secondary to her consideration of white America's effect upon Black migrants. Henri presents an upbeat message. Although the northern reception of Blacks was as hostile in many respects as the oppression they experienced in the South, the author concludes that the migrants had reason to hope for a new tomorrow. They could vote, and they had limited protection of civil rights under the law. In addition, their children had access to education, the key to social mobility. The despair and pathos experienced in urban centers, combined with the hope for the future, helped to forge a new race consciousness. This not only extolled the virtues of being Black in verse and song but generated a political coalition along racial lines, as demonstrated by the nationalism of Marcus Garvey.

The impact made upon the urban ecology by incoming migrants was great. The result was congestion of already well-established Black neighborhoods. Discrimination in housing
was responsible for containing Black residences and commercial expansion in selected areas of the cities. Within these ghettoized areas, Black religious and social institutions arose to meet the cultural needs of the people. Over the years Black colonies of the United States. According to them, these colonies were brought about and nurtured by white racists for the sole purpose of exploiting Black labor while minimizing the social impact of Black people upon American life. According to some, this policy of containment was in part responsible for the outbreak of racial violence in the 1960s.

Historians and sociologists were among the first of the social scientists to realize the research potential of Black urban communities, according to Ernst and Hugg, editors of Black America: Geographic Perspective. They suggest that ethnocentrism and racist attitudes held by many urban geographers have prevented them from recognizing the investigative potential of the inner cities. Black America was conceived to "orient the reader to the nature, extent and applicability of geographic research to Black America."

The book is a compilation of twenty-three articles organized into seven chapters. Subjects range from "Locational Aspects of Black Population and Black Ghetto Space" to "Race, Economics and the City, and Changing Black Settlement Patterns." Black political activity and urban rebellion are also discussed. The book is indexed and has an extensive bibliography and an appendix. As with most collections, the quality and style of the articles vary with each other. In spite of the explanatory notes that introduce each chapter, the articles are often detailed and heavily interspersed with field jargon and references to studies. The book is oriented toward professionals in the field rather than lay readers. Although informative, it is too technical for casual reading.

Reviewed by DAVID V. TAYLOR, chairman of the Department of Black Studies, State University of New York at New Paltz. He received his Ph.D. in Afro-American history at the University of Minnesota.


EVERY PERSON has a work of fiction in them, and that is to remember one's childhood. Each childhood, of course, is unique and of consuming interest to its owner. Even the plainest of stories gives off a certain glow: I was once a child in a town — I remember this so well — now, after all these years, I sometimes feel like that child again. It is too bad that most stories begin and end with a moral. This defeats the memory, which is powerful beyond comprehension and which, unhindered by convention, can hear the teacher's voice and see the writing on the blackboard and count every speck on the ceiling of the schoolroom when we were seven.

The best of the stories in this collection have the excitement of that discovery about them, of writers working at the very dim edges of memory and, then, of whole landscapes lighting up suddenly. "Minnesota Black, Minnesota Blue," Toyse Kyle's memoir of growing up Black in north Minneapolis, is powerful in that respect and free of literary pretense (it is her first published work). "We lived, before coming North, in Kansas City, Missouri, in a black ghetto that stretched for days," she writes, but in Minneapolis, "We were surrounded everywhere by white people — human beings without color whose speech was strange. I remember asking Mama if it hurt to be without color."

Meridel Le Sueur furnishes another landscape: "My grandmother homesteaded a piece of land and built a house on it which was a simple pure expression of the Protestant needs of her severe religion, her graceless intensity of the good, thrifty, work-for-the-night-is-coming, dutiful labor."

And again: "It was a New England farmhouse with a summer kitchen, a birthing room on ground level, and a closed front parlor where one did not let the sun come. She probably did not consider that the house was squared off on an ancient land of mounds and pyramids and cones, on land that had not been plowed in a million years. Neither did she think the land had been monstrously taken from its native people. She thought of it at all, she undoubtedly felt the Christian purposes of her Anglo-puritan world would bring only benefit and salvation to them."

"The design and beauty of this house moved me then, and when I see its abandoned replica on the plains, I weep. It was a haven against the wild menace of the time, a structural intensity promising only barest warmth, a Doric hearth, and a rigid, austere, expectant growth."

Landscapes and territories loom up and are illuminated here that lie outside the official written histories of Minnesota life. There, St. Paul is the capital, Minneapolis is the home of the university, and the governor is the former. In this history, a Black woman struggles with her young daughter on the Third Avenue Bridge late at night, trying to leap; a few miles away, at 3142 Lyndale Avenue South, a little boy invents a game in which he pretends to be a worm and slides along the floor and can look up girls' dresses. The square farmhouse sits on the prairie, frail and luminous, enlivened by spring. A Finnish girl dashes from the sauna onto the frozen lake, dives into a hole in the ice, and swims under the ice to another hole a hundred yards away, and, in a Victorian mansion now gone, a boy pores over an atlas, admiring the expanse of the British Empire, marked in red on the map. It is a history written by outsiders, as children are, wary of the adult world, living by the spirit, as in this paragraph about growing up on a farm near Madison written by Robert Bly:

"We always had some suspicion of men from the town, who did not work with their hands. In town, they thought themselves better, but my father did not share that view, and he shielded us from its destructive radiation. He ran a threshing rig, and stood on it, respecting a number of grown men and even horses who worked with their hands, shoulders, and hooves all day. At times if we were threshing a field that the bank owned, having foreclosed during the late disastrous thirties — perhaps six or seven years before we were threshing — then the bank, to make sure the grain was divided properly, would send a cashier or teller out to watch."

How we pitted these creatures! Getting
out of the car with a white shirt and a necktie, stepping
over the stubble like a cat so as not to get too much chaff
in his black oxfords, how weak and feeble! What a poor
model of a human being! It was clear the teller was
incapable of any boisterous joy, and was nothing but a
small zoo animal of some sort that locked the doors on
itself, pale from the reflected light off the zoo walls,
ligh as salt in a shaker, clearly obsessed with money —
you could see greed all over him. How ignoble! How
vulgar and ignoble! What ignobility!

A note in conclusion: No book of this sort could be "representa-
tive" of Minnesota life, but the editor has sought to make
it diverse, and that is commendable. Of the eight stories, four
are set in the cities and four outside; and, of the ten writers
(three are collaborators), five are women and five are not.

Reviewed by Garrison Keillor who grew up in Anoka. Keillor,
who appears on the "Prairie Home Companion" show on
Minnesota Public Radio, is also a frequent writer for the New
Yorker magazine.

A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals. By Paul
Russell Cutright.
Illustrations. $17.50.)

THE TITLE of this work is meant in a broad sense, for the
volume includes coverage of the diaries and journals of all
members of the famous expedition to the Pacific Ocean in
1804-06. In addition to co-leaders William Clark and Meriwether Lewis, the chroniclers were Charles Floyd, John
Ordway, Patrick Gass, Nathaniel Pryor, Joseph Whitehouse,
and Robert Frazer. Cutright tells the story of the journals
through chapters on major editors such as Nicholas Biddle,
well known in American history for his presidency of the Sec-
ond Bank of the United States, who first worked with the Lewis
and Clark journals, Elliot Cones, who three-quarters of a
century later revised the Biddle edition, and Reuben Gold
Thwaites, superintendent of the State Historical Society
of Wisconsin early in the present century, edited the
multivolumed Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedi-
tion. Later, Milo Milton Quaife, like Thwaites a superintendent
at Wisconsin, edited the Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, published in 1916. Most
recently, Donald Jackson edited the Letters of the Lewis and
Clark Expedition, published in 1962. In each chapter, Cutright
includes extensive biographical sketches of the editors and
well-documented coverage of their interest and work with the
journals.

Cutright's chapter on Ernest Staples Osgood will be of par-
icular interest to Minnesotans because it deals with the dis-
covey of William Clark's field notes in a St. Paul attic in 1935.
The notes were found by Lucile M. Kane, then curator of
manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, in the course of
pursuing a routine lead. When it appeared that these were
previously unknown William Clark manuscripts, Miss Kane
enlisted the services of Osgood of the University of Minnesota
history faculty. Osgood meticulously transcribed the notes and
edited them for publication by Yale University Press in 1964.

The discovery and publication of the field notes was
noteworthy in its own right, but the legal controversy over
their ownership makes their story doubly fascinating. The dis-
pute was principally between the heirs of General John Henry
Hammond, among whose papers the notes were found, and the
government of the United States, which contended that all
writings by members of the expedition were public property.
In a classic case which had ramifications far beyond the im-
immediate issue, Gunnar H. Nordbye, federal district judge of
Minneapolis, ruled in favor of the heirs.

Cutright is to be especially commended for his exhaustive
coverage, thorough documentation, and the excellent biblio-
graphy of books and magazine articles about Lewis and Clark.
Many readers will be bothered by the overuse of the editorial
we" which Cutright relies on to introduce his own views and
redundancies such as "as we will see" and "as we have seen."
However, despite these failings, this is a fine book and a major
contribution to the historiography of the nation's most cele-
brated explorers.

Reviewed by William E. Lass, chairman of the Department
of History, Mankato State University. Lass is author of many
articles, reviews, and books, including the award-winning
From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake: An Account of Over-
land Freighting (1972). He is also author of a bicentennial
history of Minnesota, scheduled for publication later this year.

The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-
1925. By Herbert G. Gutman.
(New York, Pantheon Books, 1976. 664 p. $15.95.)

UNTIL RECENTLY, the role of Blacks in history was of little
interest to American historians. At least one writer (Howard
Olom) argued that Blacks were "as destitute of morals as many
of the lower animals...[and with] little knowledge of the
sanctity of home or marital relations." However, when the civil
rights movement gained momentum in the 1960s, Black his-
tory was popularized as historians and sociologists endeavored
to discover and understand the Black past and its relationship
to the present. The publication of Daniel P. Moynihan's The
Negro Family in America: The Case for National Action (1965)
was one of the more controversial attempts to determine the
historical cause of the social ills that plagued Black Americans.

Moynihan drew upon the work of sociologist E. Franklin
Frazier, whose classic study, The Negro Family in the United
States (1939), argued that the degradation and dehumanization of
slavery produced an emasculated, docile, and physically im-
portant Black male. Family responsibility passed to the female
by default, producing a distinctly matrilineal and probably
matrifocal family structure. This view went unchallenged and
influenced the works of Kenneth Stampp and Stanley Elkins as
well as Moynihan. Picking up Frazier's daisis and building on
the works of Stampp and Elkins, Moynihan asserted that "at the
center of the tangle of pathology is the weakness of the family
structure. It was by destroying the Negro family under slavery
that white Americans broke the will of the Negro people." The weak Black family, he argued, was at the root of the
contemporary social problems afflicting Black people. De-
spite these internal weaknesses, the family could be nurtured
back to health by resolute government action.

This report brought an immediate outcry from the
academic community. Many scholars questioned the assump-
tions and methodology used by Moynihan to support his conclusions. Adding fuel to the fire was the publication of William Styron's novel, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1966), which described this Black rebel as a twisted and crippled personality.

Responding to this debate, a host of scholars undertook studies which refuted the thesis of a "tangle of pathology." John Blassingame's *The Slave Community* (1972) concluded that despite extreme oppression under slavery, the Black family was able to maintain some sense of cohesiveness and structure. In *Time on the Cross* (1975), whose questionable methodology renewed the debate, Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman credited the efficiency of the plantation economy to the slaves alone. In his popular study, *Roll Jordan, Roll* (1974), Eugene D. Genovese argued that because of the master-slave relationship the Black family survived, intact, the horrors of slavery.

Herbert G. Gutman's latest study also seeks to right the wrongs of previous scholarship. Gutman holds that a "tangle of pathology" never existed. He says that previous studies misperceived the adaptive capacities of Black slaves. They were never totally at the mercy of their white masters and did not exist in a cultural void. There was enough space for the creation of a culture that was neither African nor American but distinctly African-American.

Working carefully and thoroughly, Gutman examined several structurally diverse plantations in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Virginia. Using slave registers, Freedmen's Bureau records, and the like, he attempts to show how a common slave culture developed despite these diverse settings. The study suggests that kinship ties among slaves were powerful and extensive. Slaves practiced an exogamous culture, and, although premarital intercourse was common, there was no evidence of casual relations or licentiousness. Though pregnancy often occurred, it was usually followed by marriage. The data suggest that few Black mothers headed single parent households. On the contrary, whenever permitted, slaves sought enduring relationships inside of marriage. If Black households were disrupted, as they often were, kinfolk took over the necessary functions. Gutman maintains. Children who were orphaned by the sale or removal of parents to distant parts received the care needed for proper growth from grandparents, elder siblings, uncles and aunts, or blood cousins. When these kinship were not present, infants and youngsters, orphaned or sold away, were adopted and raised by other slaves.

Gutman contends that the Black family in this country has always been an effective means for transmitting cultural heritage and satisfying basic human needs. Slave kinfolk were more intensely loyal to one another than whites were. Instead of finding the antebellum arrangement pathologically divisive, Gutman found family units capable of adjusting to the stress of an oppressive slave institution.

This monumental study, researched for ten years, is indeed impressive. Gutman provides valuable charts and tables throughout the text as well as annotated footnotes and elaborate appendices. Yet this needed and important work is not without weaknesses in structure and methodology. Gutman, for example, states that the purpose of the study is not only to identify an adaptive slave culture but to determine the sources of slave behavior and beliefs and how these beliefs are maintained. Yet he ignores religion, one of the most basic institutions in Black life. There is little discussion of the importance of religion in West Africa and the survival and transformation of religious values in slavery. Religion was a crucial means of transmitting cultural values as well as maintaining unity in the family structure.

Another important point that Gutman fails to analyze folly is the sexual exploitation of Black women by white men in the North and South. The sexual control of the Black woman has serious implications for the Black family in slavery and freedom which are not addressed by Gutman.

There are several questions, too, raised by the study that have not been answered. To what extent were whites dehumanized through their dehumanization of Blacks? Did this erode the stability of the white family? If so, how? Gutman argues that cultural formations among the slaves in the eighteenth century and before slavery spread to the lower South was a syncretism of African and Anglo-American beliefs and social practices. What were those beliefs and practices and how were they transmitted? The question of the Africanization of white culture needs to be approached. These questions have not been considered by any of the recent studies of the Black family.

The reason may lie in the fact that the research in this area often develops in much the same way as wars are fought — attack and counterattack. The strategy changes, but the questions remain the same. Though Moynihan's study needs refining, none of the recent works, including Gutman's, goes beyond Moynihan to ask new questions. If the debate continues on this basis, there will be little progress beyond the scope of the present study.

There are also structural difficulties in Gutman's work. The organization is confusing, and the writing style difficult. The book suffers from too much data, making it boring in places and frustrating in others. An economy of words would have made the book more readable. As a research source, this study is without a doubt valuable, but more studies are needed to answer the questions raised above and to ask new questions. Herbert Gutman has not had the last word.

Reviewed by Tiffany R. L. Patterson, visiting professor in the Department of History, Carleton College, Northfield.

*Reflections from the North Country. By Sigurd F. Olson.
(New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1976. xvi., 172 p. Illustrations. $7.95.)

GEOLOGY, evolution, subconscious memories, history — the past — are themes that have always fascinated Sigurd Olson. In his latest book, *Reflections from the North Country*, he looks down the long sweep of human history with the same keen eyes that read planetary geology from a vein of rose quartz in *Listening Point*, gauged the swelling waves of Lake Ile à la Crosse in *The Lonely Land*, and surveyed the unfolding landscape of the universe in *Open Horizons*. *Reflections* is a book of essays, strung like pearls on the theme of wilderness.

Thoughtfully and joyfully, the author explores mankind's evolution and the human traits shaped by solitude, migration,
and the seasons. He follows our age-old search for meaning in harmony, beauty, simplicity, and freedom and then turns his attention to the great questions of every age — love of the land, self-knowledge, immortality, and the nature of God.

Although Olson has always been concerned with the relationships between contemporary men and the wilderness, he bypasses the subject of recreation and focuses on re-creation. He seems to say that what we do in the wilderness is not as important as what our subconscious mind remembers. And by remembering, the author means moving harmoniously with the rhythms of sunrise and sunset, snowfall and rainfall, listening for the music of the place, melting once again into the wilderness that produced and nurtured the human race. As he succinctly puts it: "It is when we forget and divorce ourselves entirely from what man once knew that our lives may spin off without meaning."

Not many people can live entirely in the wilderness, nor does Olson think this is desirable. Man, the social animal, is at his best when polished by contacts with others. Those who can, and do, visit the wilderness are privileged, the author writes, and: "Unless we can contribute something from wilderness experience, derive some solace or peace to share with others, then the real purpose [of wilderness] is defeated."

Reviewed by NEWELL SEARLE, who received his doctorate from the University of Minnesota in forest history. His book, Saving Quetico-Superior: A Land Set Apart, on the efforts to protect the wilderness character of that country, is being published later this year by the Minnesota Historical Society Press.

TWO AUTHORS have been named co-winners of the Minnesota Historical Society's Solon J. Buck Award for the best articles to be published in Minnesota History during 1976. Chosen to receive $150 each were Barbara T. Newcombe, whose ""A Portion of the American People: The Sioux Sign a Treaty in Washington in 1858"" appeared in the Fall issue, and David Paul Nord, whose "Minnesota and the Pragmatic Socialism of Thomas Van Lear" was published in the Spring issue. Ms. Newcombe, a librarian for the Chicago Tribune, was associated with its Washington, D.C. office when she wrote the article but later moved to its Chicago headquarters. Nord, who received his master's degree in American business and labor history at the University of Minnesota, teaches journalism at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Winner of part ($75) of the $125 Theodore C. Blegen Award money (for staff members) for 1976 is Bruce M. White, coauthor with Edwin C. Bearss of "George Brackett's Wagon Road: Minnesota Enterprise on a New Frontier," published in the Summer issue. Bearss is not eligible for the Blegen Award. White is a research assistant in the MHS publications and research division. The Buck Award committee this year was made up of Andrea Hinding, curator of the Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota; Roy W. Meyer, professor of English at Mankato State University; and Kenneth Carley, editor of this magazine.

THE MINNESOTA Historical Society's annual meeting and history conference will be held Saturday, October 15, at the Marriott Inn in Bloomington, Minnesota. The noon luncheon will feature the principal speaker, Harrison E. Salisbury, who for many years was an editor and foreign correspondent for the New York Times. Born in Minneapolis and a 1930 graduate of the University of Minnesota, Salisbury has written several books, mainly on Russia and the Far East. His latest, however, is Travels Around America, which has chapters on the Salisbury family's life in Wisconsin and Minnesota and includes comments on the "Minnesota spirit." Since the conference does not have a single theme, sessions will be held on a variety of subjects.

On Friday evening, October 14, a reception for members and others will be held at the State Capitol, where the MHS annual business meeting will be conducted in the house chamber. There will be tours of the Capitol building.

MORE THAN 100 issues have accumulated during the twenty-six years the Minnesota Historical Society published Gopher Historian, a magazine for young readers. The issues are available throughout the state and beyond its borders in schools, libraries, and other collections. Readers familiar with the two anthologies of materials taken from the magazine — Gopher Reader (1958) and Gopher Reader II (1975) — know that the complete file is jammed with interesting, reliable, well-written information on a broad range of subjects. These volumes were edited by A. Hermina Postigl, who also edited the magazine and wrote most of it, and James Taylor Dunn.

Now we have a key to this treasury. The society has just published A Complete Index to the Gopher Historian, 1946-1972 (73 p. Paper $7.50). With this reference aid, the files of the magazine become a kind of encyclopedia of Minnesota history offering concise information on topics ranging from Mrs. Samuel Abbe, a painter and carriage-maker Stephen Abbott through the remainder of the alphabet to legislator-congressman John Zwach and a recipe for zwieback. For the first time, all of Gopher Historian is accessible to readers, researchers, teachers, and everyone curious about aspects of Minnesota's past.

NORMAN W. MOEN

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr.'s New York-to-Paris flight on May 20-21, 1927, was commemorated by articles in numerous national, regional, and local publications. We wish to call attention to just three here. The Minneapolis Tribune's Sunday supplement, Picture magazine, devoted its entire issue to various aspects of the flight, its antecedents and results, and to the man and his family. The issue included a thoughtful article, entitled "A life marked by continued growth," by Russell W. Fridley, director of the Minnesota Historical Society and a friend of Lindbergh.

The April, 1977, issue of the Missouri Historical Society's Bulletin included articles on that society's Lindbergh collection (with numerous pictures), on Kurt Weill's musical tribute to the flier, and on the myth of Lindbergh and Munich. "Two Generations of Heroism" was the lead article in the May, 1977, issue of American Opinion, which featured Lindbergh, Sr., the congressman, as well as his flier-conservationist-writer son.
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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