search and publications, and myself. Coauthors with me will be Lucile M. Kane and William E. Lass. The book will be heavily illustrated with a blend of color and black-and-white photos and sketches. Another feature will be a list of suggested historic places at the end of each chapter where the reader can continue his or her excursion into the places where people, geography, and events met to create the ongoing story we call history.

The St. Paul Companies is to be commended both for its deep sense of history and its generosity that make this effort possible and for giving the authors the freedom to interpret the Minnesota story for Minnesotans as they approach the twenty-first century. The venture will be an exciting one for the Minnesota Historical Society during the next three years. The society will be solely responsible for the book's research and interpretation.

**Book Reviews**

**Billy Williams: Minnesota's Assistant Governor. By Maurice W. Britts.**

(St. Cloud, Minn. North Star Press, 1978. xii, 198 p. Illustrations. Cloth $7.95, paper $5.95.)

IN THE PAST, the job of executive office aide to the governor of Minnesota was a choice patronage position. Although it was a highly sought-after position, the occupant usually enjoyed only a brief tenure in office due to the whims of the electorate. Each succeeding governor exercised the right of appointing a partisan executive aide who in fact would serve as both his appointing secretary and confidant. It was an unusual occurrence to have an executive aide outlast his sponsor in office. It was more unusual yet to have one remain in office for fifty-three years. Such was the case of Billy Williams, the first and only Black executive aide to the governors of Minnesota.

Billy Williams was invited to join the executive staff of Governor John A. Johnson in 1903. He finally accepted the offer in 1904 after turning down a contract to play professional baseball. He was fortunate to have caught the eye of the governor. Patronage positions for Black party faithfuls seldom amounted to more than janitorial positions in the State Capitol building. It was to Williams' credit that he took the position offered him because, of course, it would take another fifty years before Black baseball players would be allowed to play in the white professional leagues. Executive aide to the governor was probably the most prestigious job held by a Black man in state employ since Frank (John Francis) Wheaton's election to the Minnesota house of representatives in 1899. Wheaton's tenure was brief, lasting only one legislative session. Although Governor Johnson would die in office five years later, Billy Williams' career was launched. During his tenure in office Williams would serve fourteen governors in succession. According to the author, he grew to be respected and loved by all who came to know him.

Billy Williams: Minnesota's Assistant Governor, by Maurice Britts, is a biographical account based in part upon Williams' diary, supplemented by oral testimonials by intimate friends and associates. The author portrays Williams as a Chesterfieldian gentleman endowed with the wisdom of Solomon and equipped with the patience of Job. Although never aggressive and quietly assertive, he managed the affairs of office with adroitness and diplomatic aplomb. He was a friend to visiting children, a sounding board for distressed citizens, chief protocol officer for visiting dignitaries, and confidant to governors. In essence he was a man for all seasons. When Williams died in 1963, several years after his official retirement, the state of Minnesota officially mourned the passing of a trusted and respected civil servant.

Alas, the lives of exemplary men in state employment are not always the stuff of which good biographies are made. After reading this book one is struck with the impression that Williams' life is a story that needs to be told, but more appropriately in article form. The book is not a substantive treatment. It contains too little information stretched too far between smatches of Minnesota history. One of the central themes of the book is the alleged confidentiality that Williams shared with Minnesota governors. The author suggests that, as a confidant of the politically powerful, Williams' timely and quiet counsel influenced the course of legislation and the resolution of sensitive issues, and aided in the amelioration of the Black man's condition in Minnesota. None of these does the author prove conclusively. In spite of the attempt, Williams does not emerge conclusively. Not only is the content disappointing from a political perspective, the title is a misnomer. Williams was never anything more than a governor's aide, a functionary who made appointments and kept schedules with other expanded responsibilities. At the very best, he was an assistant to the governor, never assistant governor, a title suggesting definitive powers.

As a Black man in the opening decades of the twentieth century, even in Minnesota, he could aspire to nothing higher. Indeed, he was fortunate to have caught the eye of the newly elected governor. It was Williams' athletic prowess and quiet demeanor, not necessarily his intellectual ability, that won the position for him.

The author's attempt to underscore Williams' strength of character ultimately does him a great injustice. The things that Williams ought to be applauded for are hardly acknowledged by the author. Britts' portrayal of Williams is more in keeping with a hero in a Greek tragedy. In this instance our hero's
tragic flaw is his color; he is a Black man, ostensibly a mulatto, sandwiched between two conflicting cultures and a myriad of loyalties. His color effectively prevents him from becoming all that his talents might have allowed. His ambivalence about his identity, which he never resolves, prevents him from ever marrying anyone, Black or white. Although he does not die a tragic death, the greater tragedy was that his living was compromised by those he trusted the most. This reviewer could not help wondering, if Williams was loved and respected by governors, politicians, and administrators for his ability, why he was not offered advancement in fifty-three years of public service. Former Governor Elmer Benson, speaking posthumously of Williams, succinctly states, "It is my opinion that if it were not for the prejudice and ignorance of so many of us toward colored people, Williams would have been able to make a much greater contribution to the state and the nation than he did. He was a very remarkable and fine human being." If there are abiding strengths of character that we ought to laud in a man like Billy Williams, it ought to be his instinct for survival in a sea of racial intolerance which effectively compromised his career.

The book portends much but delivers little. It is an average biography about an above-average man whose sense of humanity, fair play, and justice endeared him to all. If read in that context the book might be enlightening.

Reviewed by DAVID V. TAYLOR, former chairman of the Black studies department at the State University of New York College at New Paltz and now curator of the Hubert H. Humphrey Collection in the Minnesota Historical Society's division of libraries and special collections.


THE ESSAYS in this work were first presented at a symposium on ethnic leadership sponsored by the James S. Shouler Fund at Johns Hopkins University in February, 1976. John Higham, who organized the symposium, set it the task of exploring the neglected subject of the process by which leadership has emerged in a variety of ethnic groups and the role it has played in shaping the boundaries and identity of those groups. In consequence, all the contributors were forced, directly or indirectly, to address the vexing question of the degree to which ethnic groups are the creation of their leaders. The result is a highly illuminating comparative study of ethnicity in America.

All of the seven essays on ethnic groups are insightful and competent surveys. Two of the essays — Nathan Glazer's on the Jews and Robert Cross's on the Irish — because they draw primarily on existing studies and are on relatively well-known groups, will offer few new insights to students of American ethnic groups. Both articles are, however, important for comparative purposes in the volume. Most general readers will profit from Glazer's efficient summary of the importance of personal philanthropy, the principle of legitimation for early Jewish leadership and its replacement by professionalism, as philanthropy became institutionalized. Readers will also enjoy Cross's charming study of the central role of loyalty in the political success of Irish Americans.

Frederick Luebke's study concentrates on the effect of the World War I crisis on German-American leadership. German leaders, in an attempt to retard disintegration of the group as immigration declined at the end of the nineteenth century, added a new chauvinism to the cement of language and culture that held the community together. They paid heavily for the partisanship of the new Germany which their efforts inspired. The wartime persecution eroded their constituencies, destroyed their organizations, and discouraged the able and ambitious from aspiring to leadership. The postwar rebuilding of a community in the face of external hostility and internal resentment just barely got under way before it was scuttled by Nazism. According to Luebke, it was, in any case, doubtful that any group as socially, politically, and culturally diverse as German Americans could be welded back together once the tie of language and culture was broken. Roger Daniels' study of the Japanese is a look at a group facing a similar situation in World War II. In the prewar period Daniels focuses on the important role of the Japanese government in creating ethnic institutions and first-generation leadership because of its "obligation" to regulate its emigrants under the Gentlemen's Agreement and on the bitter generational conflict when a second, American-educated generation of leaders arose to challenge their largely unaculturated fathers. The war and the relocation engendered even more conflict but ultimately led to the ascendancy of a patriotic, Americanizing leadership that persisted until recently, in no small measure because of official United States government patronage during the war period.

No student of Minnesota history or the American Indian experience should miss Robert Berkhofer's excellent, groundbreaking essay on leadership among American Indians. It is a brilliant dissection of the way in which changing government policy toward American Indians constantly altered the criteria for leadership, the arena of its exercise, the relationship of leaders to their constituencies, and the interests they promoted or defended. On an infinitely wider and more complex scale it bears comparison with the Japanese wartime experience. Nathan Huggin's study of Black American leadership concentrates on the way the cast-like status of Blacks circumscribed the roles of Black leaders. He isolates two modes of leadership that emerged after the Civil War: "emblematic" and "reformist," with Booker T. Washington as an example of the first and W. E. B. DuBois of the second. Although both groups of leaders were able to shape Black consciousness, promote racial pride, and win gains, neither was successful in organizing the mass of Blacks. Huggins's article is marred by a need to stress the uniqueness of the Black experience and exaggerate the successes and opportunities of the white ethnic groups who are the main competitors of the Blacks for jobs and housing. This odd emphasis in a work devoted to comparative history obscures some important similarities.

The most stimulating essay in the collection is Joseph Barton's on eastern and southern Europeans which deals with Italians, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Croatians. His original, comparative approach, which looks at the experience of ethnic leaders on both sides of the Atlantic in the context of industrial development and agricultural modernization, raises enough new questions and offers sufficient insights.
for all students of ethnicity and immigration to justify a separate essay. One important finding worth noting here is his discovery that the vast majority of the hundreds of leaders of local ethnic organizations he surveyed had experience in village mutual-aid groups that began to grow up in southern and eastern Europe after 1870.

The essays on ethnic groups are bracketed by an afterward by Sidney Mintz which, while it adds little to the study of ethnic leadership, does give a useful survey of recent anthropological views of the nature of ethnicity, and an introductory essay by John Higham which struggles intelligently but unsuccessfully to give coherence to the wide variety of experiences analyzed in the book and adds a brief case history of the development of leadership among Hawaiians. His suggested division (following Gunnar Myrdal) of ethnic leadership into “accommodating” and “protest” is valuable but too porous a screen for a comparative study of such complex histories. His emphasis on the importance of the relation to a homeland—Israel, Ireland, Indian reservations, Germany—in shaping the responses and styles of ethnic leadership is also useful but limited. Higham’s difficulty is as much a product of our lack of knowledge about the leadership of ethnic groups as it is the diversity of their experiences. This admirable volume demonstrates how much more history we need to know before we can begin to do sociology.

Reviewed by THADDEUS C. BADZIALOWSKI, chairman, department of history and political science, Southwestern State University, Marshall, Minnesota.

Billions of Years in Minnesota: The Geological Story of the State. By Edmund C. Bray.


IN THIS NEW BOOK, Edmund C. Bray has more than doubled his well-known A Million Years in Minnesota: The Glacial Story of the State by doing a brief review of the earlier history of Minnesota and by adding a tour guide and glossary. In general, it is a useful and well-done book that will help many amateur geologists find instructive rock exposures and understand what they see. The tour guide should be particularly useful in that regard.

There are a few infelicities. I seriously doubt that readers will realize from this book that the granites and gneisses of the Precambrian period of Minnesota were formed ten to twenty miles down in the crust during the formation of mountains as high as the Himalayas—mountains now completely eroded away. Trying to cram the history of three-and-a-half billion years into eight pages is a bit breathtaking and choppy, to say the least. Figures 5, 10, and 14, the paleogeographic maps of the Cambrian, Ordovician, and Devonian periods were obsolete in 1936 and 1947 when they were drawn and have not improved since.

Minnesota was close to the equator during the time of these maps, and unlike its present north-south alignment, the state was parallel to the equator. Europe and Africa were much closer then than now and the sea was much more extensive than shown. Figures 36 and 92 were taken with a tilted camera, and the photographs were not trimmed to level them before publishing. Finally, the author makes the error of assuming that the landscape in the “Driftless area of southeastern Minnesota and adjacent southwestern Wisconsin” has not changed during the Ice Age, since it was not covered by glaciers. This is not so, the area has been deeply dissected by glacial meltwater, and the local relief increased from 100 feet to over 700 feet.

On the other hand, the color photos of glacial models will help readers to understand the relationship of glacial features to each other, and the treatment of glacial history is generally complete and accurate.

Reviewed by ROBERT E. SLOAN, professor of paleontology, geology and geophysics department, University of Minnesota.

St. Paul’s Historic Summit Avenue. By Ernest R. Sandeen, with the assistance of Margaret Redpath and Carol Sawyer.


HISTORY-CONSCIOUSNESS has been recently “discovered” as a major force in shaping mid-twentieth century thought and action. The casual observer tends to express such a consciousness in such history-oriented activities as reminiscences or nostalgia and the desire to re-create “better” times and escape to the romantic world of the past. Historians turn to the past in search of reasons for later developments. Others see the past as a panacea for the pressures of the modern world. Unfortunately, the past has often been clouded into intangibility. Modern man blames his predecessors with the destruction of his heritage through a nonchalant acceptance that the future will take of itself. The Minneapolitan may ask the St. Paulite, “Why has Summit Avenue survived while Park Avenue has almost vanished?” We then ask ourselves the definition of “survival” and whether there is any value in preserving Summit Avenue.

In 1969, architectural historian Donald R. Torbert suggested:

“Through many years there was no strong or effective protest against the gradual, piecemeal destruction of the architectural and cultural aspect of the city’s history. It seemed to be a natural and perhaps inevitable process set in motion by the growth of the city. But as the rate of demolition increases, there is a heightened awareness that real values are at stake and that the destruction which threatens is neither good nor inevitable. It may be of some worth to look at the nature of the [past], . . . and raise questions as to what should be preserved.”

Ernest R. Sandeen, in his recent publication, St. Paul’s Historic Summit Avenue, has explored “the nature of the past” to explain the forces which have shaped “the best preserved Victorian boulevard in America.” In the presentation of his findings, Sandeen has gone beyond the nostalgia of the avenue’s glorious past to immerse the reader in the tangible presence of the avenue today. In the course of six chapters, the reader is brought to realize that the avenue is not a place where time has stood still, but that the forces which shaped it are the very forces which now direct its preservation.

It is interesting to note, as Sandeen points out, that the piecemeal destruction of the architectural aspect of Summit Avenue was not brought about by an expanding central business district, industry, or the gradual dereliction of the
neighborhood, but by the people of the avenue as players in a social chess game. As J. Wesley Bond wrote in 1853, the bluff upon which Summit Avenue traversed was a "spot adapted to build up a showy and delightful display of architecture the glittering mansions of St. Paul's merchant-princes rising up in every direction." It was the domain of the elite society that prominence and acceptability were expressed through strict adherence to fashion. Fashionable architecture was a principal means of proclaiming one's position in society. Sandeen observes that a constant struggle for "one-upmanship" resulted in a constantly changing appearance of the avenue as well as a constantly changing directory of residents. It is ironic that the Reverend Edward D. Neill, the first Summit Avenue resident, predicted the fate of the first-generation mansions as he commented on the condition of Fort Snelling shortly before the Civil War: "Under the advancing and resistless pressure of modern civilization, it may be that within a generation not one stone will be left on another." As Sandeen illustrates, by 1890 all but a handful of the first-generation mansions had been replaced by larger, more opulent, and more fashionable ones, often with new and more affluent owners. Those mansions which remained were "victimized" by alterations as required by the accepted fashion of the time.

Well into the twentieth century, Summit Avenue was the most fashionable address in St. Paul. Its gateway was guarded by the Cathedral, and its parklike promenade stretched to the Mississippi River, bordered by what F. Scott Fitzgerald called "a museum of American architectural failures." The highlight of St. Paul's Historic Summit Avenue is an annotated and illustrated walking tour of the avenue from the Cathedral to Macalister Street. While the academic architectural historian may agree with Fitzgerald, it is evident from Sandeen's portrayal that the merits of the avenue extend far beyond the simplicity of bricks and mortar. It is possible, on a warm summer evening, to imagine processions of carriages on the avenue and men and women in their finery on a leisurely stroll, politely greeting their neighbors or stopping to chat on the spacious lawn or "gingerbread" porch of one of the elegant mansions. Is this image or reality?

St. Paul's Historic Summit Avenue is an important "awareness tool" for understanding the history of St. Paul's elite in an era when money and fashionable expression were the rule of the day. Of principal importance is that Summit Avenue exists and can be experienced. It has a glorious past and may certainly have a glorious future. Ernest Sandeen tantalizingly invites his readers to enter its fascinating world of buildings, spaces, and people, but above all, to look at the past and "raise questions as to what should be preserved."

Reviewed by CHARLES NELSON, historical architect with the Minnesota Historical Society's state historic preservation office. Nelson played a major role in surveying the Summit Hill area for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

news & notes

RECENT ADDITIONS to a growing body of reference guides to original source materials in the upper Midwest are handsome volumes from two of Michigan's major repositories of manuscripts and public records.

A Guide to Manuscripts in the Bentley Historical Library, by Thomas E. Powers and William H. McNitt (Ann Arbor, 1976, 392 p., $10.00), supersedes the library's 1963 guide to provide a comprehensive overview of one of the Midwest's largest and richest bodies of manuscript materials, the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. The 3,369 entries — over 1,000 more than in the earlier guide, with many marginal items now omitted — reflect the institution's collecting focus on public affairs, business, education, religion, and journalism, as well as on the history of Michigan in general and on the many activities of regional, national, and worldwide significance pursued by Michigan people. Also included are a number of city, township, and county public records. All entries are organized into a single alphabetical sequence.

Concise and informative descriptions specify types of materials and major topics and correspondents within each collection, with some citations to specific items or groups of items. Persons are identified by occupation and residence, and organizations are also identified if their name and purpose are not clearly deducible from their names. The index seems quite complete. Researchers exploring Michigan's history in depth or seeking specific items may also want to continue consulting the old guide, which notes minor biographical and local history items, scattered letters and financial records, small bits of city and county records, and similar miscellany not included in the new guide.

A second item, A Guide to the State Archives of Michigan: State Records, by Valerie C. Browne and David J. Johnson ([Lansing], Michigan History Division, Michigan Department of State, 1976, 401 p., $14.95), is the first comprehensive introduction to and description of its nearly 10,000 cubic feet of state agency records to have been published by the Michigan History Division. It is divided into four sections: the Executive Branch (the nineteen major state departments created by the Executive Organization Act of 1965), the Legislative Branch, the Supreme Court, and Defunct, Superseded, or Transferred Agencies. The latter is a rather artificial category but should pose no serious impediment to the researcher. Within each section, agencies are arranged alphabetically. The table of contents serves as a useful summary of the agencies represented in the guide.

An administrative history is included for each agency, outlining the circumstances of its creation, its antecedents, its purposes and activities, major administrative and functional changes, and present status. Under each administrative subdivision of the agency the brief descriptions its record series, generally arranged by administrative importance or agency function. The descriptions focus concisely on the nature, subject content, and date spans of the files and refrain from wasting space and the reader's time with literary niceties or self-evident comments. Restricted records are so noted. An index includes departments, agencies, and commissions (with appropriate cross-references), topics, names of some distinctive programs, projects, and records series, and some corporate and personal names. Appendices list state census records and microfilmed federal records available at or through the State Archives, as well as the more detailed finding aids that have been published for Spring 1979
The Northwest Area Foundation recently published the first issue of a newsletter designed to supplement its elaborate Annual Report and other publications. Foundation President John Driscoll said the newsletter, edited by Lucy Cook, will explain "current programs and what they are trying to accomplish" as well as furnish other information. The first issue features stories on three projects assisted by foundation grants. They are the huge microfilm collection of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's Benedictine Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota; the Oregon Historical Society's program to save the Russian heritage of the Pacific Northwest; and the program at Sheldon Jackson College in Alaska to raise salmon and train fishery workers.

Primary source material is being sought for the forthcoming "Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States," supported by the Supreme Court Historical Society and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Scheduled for completion in four to five years, it is a project to publish all documents illuminating the development of the Supreme Court in its first decade. The editors are particularly interested in locating any correspondence of the following: Chief Justices John Jay, John Rutledge, and Oliver Ellsworth; Associate Justices John Blair, Samuel Chase, William Cushing, James Iredell, Thomas Johnson, Alfred Moore, William Paterson, Bushrod Washington, and James Wilson; Clerks of the Court John Tucker and Samuel Bayard; Attorneys General Edmund Randolph, William Bradford, and Charles Lee; and unofficial Court Reporter Alexander James Dallas.

Any information should be forwarded to Dr. Maeve Marcus, the Supreme Court Historical Society, Suite 333, 1511 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

The compilers of A History of Rock County from 1911 to 1976 (Louverne, Minn., 1977, 563 p., illustrations, $22.50) have presented a valuable update of the county's history since 1911, when Arthur P. Rose's An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone Minnesota appeared. Compiled by the Rock County Historical Society and Mrs. Jaycees, the book is organized topically, beginning with a history of the early settlement of the county, its organization, and then on to chapters dealing with various communities, churches, and organizations in the county. Coverage of some of the churches is particularly well done, offering a glimpse into some of the issues in congregations and the use of native languages in services.

Nearly half of the book is devoted to family biographies. These unfortunately vary in quality; some are more specific than others in dates and locations. Yet a survey of the families reveals a large number who arrived in the county before 1890 but were not mentioned in Rose's history. Most of these families were Norwegian or German. Because of the book's large number of illustrations, the reader has a good idea of the appearance of Rock County in earlier times. Although one might wish for more attention to the county's history during the last fifty years, instead of a return to the early days, this is a good county history. The book may be ordered from the Rock County Senior Citizens Services, Louverne, Minn. 56256.

Kenneth Moss

More than sixty persons voted unanimously to establish an Association for Documentary Editing at a meeting held in St. Louis, Missouri, during the recent Southern Historical Association Convention. The association's object is "to encourage excellence in documentary editing by providing means of cooperation and exchange of information among those concerned with documentary editing and by promoting broader understanding of the principles and values underlying the practice of documentary editing." A constitution was adopted and the following officers elected: Arthur S. Link, president, editor of The Papers of Woodrow Wilson; Lester J. Cappon of the Newberry Library, Chicago; president-elect, Robert A. Rutland, director of publications, editor of The Papers of James Madison; and Charlene N. Bickford, secretary-treasurer, whose project is the Documentary History of the First Federal Congress.

All persons with an interest in documentary editing are encouraged to join. Annual dues are $15.00 (regular) and $7.50 (students, retired, unemployed) and may be sent to Charlene N. Bickford, First Federal Congress Project, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20052.

Ovation, the combination of a book of 132 pages and a two-record set published by the Minnesota Orchestra in 1977 (available from the orchestra and from bookstores at various prices), presents a history of the organization on its seventy-fifth anniversary. The book, written by Minneapolis Star columnist Barbara Flanagan, includes brief sketches of each conductor from Emil Oberhoffer (1903-1932) to Stanislaw Skrowaczewski (1960-1979), as well as short histories of the Women's Association, youth concerts, special concerts, and construction of the new Orchestra Hall in Minneapolis. A final section of comments by visiting conductors and musicians offers reminiscences and congratulations from those who have directed and played with the orchestra. A section on the musicians themselves is notably lacking. The book is profusely illustrated with fine photographs, unfortunately not credited. The text, written in a readable, journalistic style which sometimes becomes tiresome in a work of this length, covers only the highlights of the orchestra's history but contains interesting comments by those who have been associated with the group.

The historical album, produced and engineered by Dennis Rooney of KSJN, includes recordings by each conductor since Henri Verbrugghen (1923-1931). Of special note is the orchestra's playing of Bach's Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor, arranged and directed by Dmitri Mitropoulos (1937-1949), and Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture, conducted by Antal Dorati (1949-1960). The latter became the first long-playing classical record ever to sell a million copies. Unfortunately, the second album, produced on a Candid label, does not continue the historical theme. It is devoted entirely to Skrowaczewski-led recordings of Prokofiev's Love for Three Oranges and Straubinsky's Petrouchka. The performances are nicely executed, but Rooney, given the space, could have expanded the frustratingly abbreviated historical section.

Ovation provides a fine visual history of the orchestra, some amusing anecdotes from its past, and a tantalizing taste of its recorded works. But the set offers a pleasant break rather than a definitive history.

Ann Regan