Fifteen years ago the Minnesota Twins concluded the 1982 season with a dismal 60–102 record, the worst in major-league baseball. Succeeding years were not much kinder to the team, and in 1987, odds-makers put them at 150-to-1 to win the pennant. But Tom Kelly, named Manager of the Year for three of his five years in the minors, was their skipper now. With veterans like Kent Hrbek and Frank Viola and newcomers including Kirby Puckett, Kelly led the Twins to clinch the Western Division title and take on the Detroit Tigers for the American League championship. Record-breaking crowds of jubilant, vocal Minnesota fans debuted the Homer Hanky and cheered their team to a 4-to-1 game victory. The stage was set for the Twins to prove the odds-makers wrong as the team prepared to battle the St. Louis Cardinals in the 1987 World Series.

In the first world championship ever played indoors, the Twins crushed St. Louis in games 1 and 2 at the Metrodome. But the Cardinals took the next three contests and were one game away from the title when the series returned to Minnesota. A grand-slam home run by Minnesota native Hrbek led the Twins to an 11–5 victory in game 6, and in the final game, with the bases loaded, Twins shortstop Greg Gagne drove in right fielder Tom Brunansky in the sixth inning to break a 2–2 tie. Minnesota went on to a 4–2 victory and its first world championship in franchise history.

The 1987 World Series commemorative items depicted here are a sampling of the objects preserved in the museum collections of the Minnesota Historical Society to document this milestone in Minnesota sports history. History Center visitors can enjoy video highlights of the 1987 and 1991 World Series in the Minnesota A to Z exhibit’s “B is for Baseball.”

—Adam Scher, museum curator

FRONT COVER: North Shore painter Birney Quick, a popular teacher at the Minneapolis School of Art (later, Minneapolis College of Art and Design), founded the Grand Marais Art Colony in 1947. The prolific Quick favored landscapes painted from nature, such as Trout Stream (detail, watercolor and pencil on paper, 1947). For the story of the art school on the shores of Lake Superior that celebrates its fiftieth anniversary in 1997, see the article beginning on page 250. Quick’s photo by Earl Seubert, 1965, and Trout Stream are in the MHS collections.
**Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877–1923**  
*By Donal F. Lindsey*  

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of American Indian education took place at Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) in Virginia in the late 1870s. There, an industrial trade school for blacks, founded and controlled by white reformers, opened its doors to Indians. It served more than 1,300 students from 65 tribes or nations until 1923, when the Indian program officially closed.

A bold and unusual initiative for the time, the idea of educating blacks and Indians at the same school struck a discordant note with majority views about race relations and brought about intense scrutiny from outsiders. From beginning to end, Hampton’s work with Indian students attracted spirited supporters and ardent critics; both left a paper trail brimming with the sound and fury of white Americans debating the education and role of blacks and Indians in American society. This plethora of letters, memoirs, and treatises, along with Hampton’s penchant for detailed record keeping (1.2 million items in the archives) has left a voluminous database on the origins, development, and demise of Hampton’s Indian education program.

This book, part of the *Blacks in the New World* series, compares black and Indian education, although its primary concern is Hampton’s Indian program. In the author’s view, the program’s significance lies in what it tells us about the racial thought and politics of the time. Examining in great depth the ideological, social, and economic forces that shaped the course of black and Indian education nationwide, he argues that Hampton’s white leaders and supporters used the different experiences of blacks and Indians with American society to develop accommodationist education programs for both groups. Underlying Hampton’s educational philosophy of training “the hand, the head and the heart” was white racism and its preference for educational opportunities that prepared students to accept white control over their lives and future.

According to Lindsey, white Hamptonians used Indians—whom they saw as “savages” untutored in the religion, language, and customs of white folks—to rationalize an education program for blacks that promoted sectional reconciliation and the separate-but-equal doctrine evolving in American society. Black students were encouraged to serve as role models and teachers to Indians, who were less familiar with white culture. The black role in Indian education, Lindsey argues, was designed to help diffuse black bitterness at the betrayal of Reconstruction’s promises of land, freedom, and equality. At the same time, through interaction with blacks, Indians would acculturate to white culture more quickly and become more accepting of American domination, including, among other things, treaty abrogations and exploitation of Indian lands.

While Lindsey provides fascinating evidence in support of his interpretation and offers valuable insights into the racial thought and politics swirling around Hampton, there are problems with his thesis. White Hamptonians did not need Indians to develop an accommodationist education program for blacks. Its primary ingredients—the widespread belief in black inferiority and the social Darwinian theory of stages of human development with whites at the apex of civilization—were alive and well in American society and familiar to Hampton’s founder, Samuel C. Armstrong, and his supporters. It is also doubtful that their “superiority” over Indians provided black students with much comfort in accepting the direction of racial policies and practices in the post-Civil War period.

In addition, the schooling developed for Indians at Hampton was not unique; similar programs emerged at Indian boarding schools throughout the country. None of these needed the example of black acculturation to develop a curriculum fostering Indian acceptance of white culture and domination. Most educators at the time, including those at Hampton, regarded Indian culture as the great stumbling block to absorption into American society. The only difference was that at Hampton pride in cultural heritage was encouraged to promote acceptance of white culture, whereas at most other places the strategy was to eradicate Indian culture. As might be expected, Hampton’s deviant approach heightened controversy over its program, but the intended outcomes were the same.

As some revisionist historians are wont to do, Lindsey at times stretches to make a point. For example, his contention that Hampton’s Indian education program started in 1877 with the arrival of one Indian student fails to be convincing. As the evidence he provides makes clear, it
began in 1879 with the Indians released from imprisonment at Fort Marion and brought to Hampton when no other eastern school was willing to educate them.

From an American Indian perspective, the most serious weakness of Lindsey’s study is his coverage of historical and cultural experience. The author’s approach is largely a synopsis of Indian policy directives with a focus on education. One should not confuse the historical and cultural realities of Indian life with American Indian policy.

The Indian students who came to Hampton did not leave their cultural backgrounds and experiences with American society at home on the reservation. Their outlook and prior experiences greatly influenced their interactions with blacks and whites at Hampton. While it is unrealistic to expect to see historical and cultural detail for all of the tribes at Hampton, the author could have provided more than he did. One of the consequences is that Lindsey then analyses the complex relations among Indians, blacks, and whites without bringing to the table the factors that made Indians act the way they did.

Students of Minnesota history will find this book to be a good source on the Minnesota connections to Hampton. Lindsey covers Bishop Henry Whipple’s strong support of the school and his role in recruiting Indian students. Those who participated were largely from White Earth and Leech Lake Indian Reservations. Among their ranks were Albert Bender, who distinguished himself in major league baseball, and his sister, Elizabeth Bender Red Cloud, who gained notoriety for her work with women’s groups active in Indian affairs and education. Descendants of Hampton’s students will be pleased to learn that the school’s detailed records contain reliable genealogical data and, often, photographs and follow-up information on their life after Hampton, such as marriages and work experiences, based on responses to surveys conducted by the staff, newspaper clippings, and letters from the students to the staff.

On the whole, Lindsey’s book is a solid contribution to the literature. His coverage of the Indian education program is richly detailed and well written. The book contains a wealth of information on the thought of Samuel C. Armstrong and his supporters and critics, provides data on the Indian participants often found nowhere else, and covers the controversies surrounding the school with clarity and a keen understanding of the dynamics of racism in American history. While not the final word on Hampton’s Indian education program, the book offers a perspective that counterbalances previous works that have soft-pedaled the role of racist thought and politics in shaping the education programs and tri-racial interactions at Hampton. It provides an excellent foundation for further study and reflection on Hampton’s “hand, head and heart” educational philosophy and its impact on the history of black and Indian education in America.

Reviewed by W. Roger Buffalohead, a member of the Ponca tribe and a consultant in American Indian history and culture. He has served as acting chair of the department of Indian studies at the University of Minnesota and dean of the Center for the Arts and Cultural Studies at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe.

Stockwell of Minneapolis: A Pioneer of Social and Political Conscience

By William P. Everts Jr.


Syvanus A. Stockwell was one of the most enduring figures in Minnesota’s galaxy of progressive political leaders. Not nearly as well known as Ignatius Donnelly and Floyd Olson, his career connected their life and work. Stockwell was present as an advocate, organizer, and elected official from the populist movement of the 1890s through the progressive era in the early decades of this century up to the triumph of Farmer-Laborism in the 1930s. In this book, his grandson presents an admiring portrait of both the man and the great social movements of which he was a part.

To list the organizations and causes to which Stockwell gave his life is to construct a family tree of Minnesota progressivism: Henry George’s movement for a single tax, the anti-imperialist opposition to U.S. intervention in the Philippines, the fight for women’s suffrage, the Nonpartisan League, and the birth of Minnesota’s conservation movement. Four decades before the civil rights movement, Stockwell was an ally of the Twin Cities’ small but emerging black community, and in the mid-1920s, he led a fight to abolish compulsory military training at the University of Minnesota—a campaign that prefigured the great campus struggles of the 1960s.

As a politician, Stockwell was tireless. First elected to the legislature as a Democrat with Populist support in 1890, he served additional terms in 1896 and 1898. Following a string of defeats for state and local office through the next two decades, he enjoyed renewed success, winning all but one legislative election from 1922 through 1938. It was in his later years, as a man in his 70s and early 80s, that Stockwell enjoyed his greatest influence as a legislator. His wife, Maud, was a major figure in Minnesota’s women’s movement, and together the Stockwells became, in a sense, the first family of Minnesota progressivism.

Clearly Stockwell covered a lot of ground in his life, and so does the author of this biography. In energetic and straightforward prose, Everts paints a picture of both the man and his political context. Those familiar with the broad strokes of Minnesota progressive history will find little original in the author’s treatment of major developments. What I found especially interesting, however, were his descriptions of the networks and social organizations that nurtured and sustained the radical spirit through times of movement and quiescence. One of the keys to understanding Minnesota’s relatively progressive political culture is to analyze how social-movement traditions are passed down over time. Evert’s vivid accounts of groups like the Saturday Lunch Club, the Stockwells’ annual corn fest, and the First Unitarian Society demonstrate how gatherings of conversation, celebration, and community sustain political action over time.

Equally helpful were his accounts of some less known but fascinating and important political battles, many of them in Stockwell’s hometown. A leading Minneapolis
reformer, he sought to rid the city of the machine politics practiced by the legendary boss, Alonzo Ames. He helped start the Minneapolis Voters League in 1904 to bring greater integrity and competence to city government. In 1905 he founded the Municipal Ownership League to break the corrupt relationship between the gas, electric, and streetcar utilities and city politicians. Public ownership of utilities was a passion for Stockwell, one he pursued with vigor as a legislator, private citizen, and repeatedly unsuccessful candidate for city council.

Stockwell was also passionate about the environment, long before conservatism became a national concern. He started local campaigns to clean up the pollution in Lake Calhoun caused by ice-making machines, advocated for public improvement around Minnehaha Falls and Lake Nokomis, and fought for an efficient and clean water supply for the city. His greatest legacy was on a grander scale. As chair of the Public Domain Committee of the Minnesota House in 1933, he shepherded legislation that preserved the wilderness area on the Canadian border and established 13 new state forests. Today’s battle over the Boundary Waters was first joined, though in a different context, in the 1920s and 30s, and Stockwell, characteristically, was right in the middle.

Everts, then, has written a biography about a man and the causes he cherished. But what about this man? Everts presents him as many contemporaries saw him: steadfast, courageous, and principled. Of his virtue, there can be no argument. Yet, ironically, this very rectitude makes for unsatisfying biography. As a reader, I looked for the tension, the moral struggle, the human imperfections that make us vital and interesting as human beings. Donnelly, Olson, Franklin Roosevelt, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln were not uniformly consistent or always virtuous. What makes them interesting as leaders is the tension between principle and expediency, ambition and selflessness, that marked their careers.

Did Sylvanus Stockwell ever doubt the righteousness of his positions? Was he ever tempted to put aside principles for political advantage? Did he agonize over whether the proverbial half a loaf is better than none? Everts does present his grandfather as a man who evolved—who embraced a reformer’s pragmatism in his later years as a Farmer-Labor legislator. In fact, the old single-tax radical of the 1890s was critical of his party’s 1934 platform calling for a “cooperative commonwealth” in Minnesota and the nation. Clearly he was capable of change. Yet we don’t get inside the man—perhaps because he rarely revealed what was inside to a wider public.

I don’t want to end on a critical note, however. Everts is not a professional biographer. What he has given us is a warm portrait of a man who deserves the gratitude of those who, like me, respect the progressive political traditions of this state. More importantly, he has given us the story of a man we can look up to. And in these times, that is no small gift at all.
critical reading of his source materials would add substantially to the complexity of García’s analysis. For many readers of Minnesota History, García’s topic may be a new one and his book an important introduction to the material, but for scholars of midwestern Mexican and Chicano history, little new ground is covered. The addition of a general, entry-level historical and cultural history of midwestern Mexicans and Mexican Americans, however, is a welcome and important one.

Reviewed by Susan Marie Green, who has a doctorate in American studies from the University of Minnesota, with emphasis on Chicano cultural and labor history. She was recently awarded an Andrew Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellowship in the Humanities at Bryn Mawr College to continue her work on zoot suiters from the 1920s to the present.

The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition
Edited by Gary B. Moulton
(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, vol. 9, 1995. 419 p. Cloth, $55.00; vol. 10, 1996, 300 p. Cloth, $45.00.)

In addition to their own meticulous journal writing, Captains Lewis and Clark early in their expedition directed others in the company to keep journals also. They indicate that seven of the enlisted men did so, and four journals have survived: those of Sergeants John Ordway and Charles Floyd and Private Joseph Whitehouse in manuscript, and Sergeant Patrick Gass’s as published in 1807. The three sergeants’ journals are included in these two volumes; Whitehouse’s will follow in volume 11.

We do not find a lot of new factual material in these journals. The captains fulfilled their responsibility by recording distances, direction, natural history, and Indian relations with great care and awareness of the official nature of their records. The sergeants present a less official, more human, response to this great adventure. With greater brevity but, possibly, greater frankness, Ordway portrays the hunger and fatigue, the tormenting mosquitoes, the frozen moccasins, and the dealings with Indians. He is no less aware of the natural history he is observing than the captains, but he relates it more directly to the expedition’s food supply than to its scientific significance. Survival concerns are more prominent than the grand purpose of the expedition, as recorded by his commanders.

The journal of Charles Floyd is brief—from May to August 1804—due to his death. He was the only man to die on the expedition. Floyd’s observations are, in general, terser than Ordway’s and frequently reflect his interest in the quality of the land through which he passed from St. Louis to the vicinity of present Sioux City, Iowa.

Patrick Gass’s journal, having been edited for publication, lacks the irregular grammar and orthography of the others. More easily read, if less colorful, Gass’s observations and coverage of certain topics are individualistic and sometimes unique. His background as a carpenter probably dictated his interest in the construction of Mandan and Hidatsa houses, and he alone gives a good description of Fort Mandan. His curiosity led to a lesson from the Shoshone Indians in starting a fire. He was often very observant and admiring of native technologies, and he comments at length on native social customs. He was also more frank than any of the other journalists in the matter of relations between men of the expedition and women encountered en route. He was sometimes scrupulous about detail, inventorying the moccasins on hand before beginning the return trip (338 pair) and recording the animals killed for food and rainy days during their wintering in the West. Gass’s journal went through seven editions between 1807 and 1814. Its popularity is understandable, and it remains a very interesting read.

In editing this series, Gary Moulton has provided useful links between these journals and those of Lewis and Clark. He refers the sergeants’ more brief descriptions to the greater detail found in the officers’ journals and the editorial comment found there. Yet there are instances where the sergeants’ information is not found in the longer journals. The commentary by Gass’s original editor, David McKeehan of Pittsburgh, provides useful insights into contemporary knowledge and attitudes.

The major failing of these two volumes is in their maps. Black lettering on dark gray background makes them difficult to use. In all other respects the series continues at a very high standard of publication.

Reviewed by John Parker, editor of Jonathan Carver’s journals, who has reviewed the earlier volumes of the Lewis and Clark journals for this quarterly.

Scott Anfinson, an archaeologist in the State Historic Preservation Office, has won the Theodore C. Blegen Award for the best article by a Minnesota Historical Society staff member. His article, “The Wreck of the USS Essex,” was in the Fall issue.

This year’s judges were Timothy Glines, administration officer at the Minnesota Historical Society, and Susan Rugh, assistant professor of history at St. Cloud State University and director of the Central Minnesota Historical Center. Each award includes a prize of $600, which will be presented at the Society’s annual meeting in the fall.

CHARLIE WHITE WEASEL is the author of several recent publications, including *Pembina and Turtle Mountain Ojibway (Chippewa) History* (349 p., $30.00). Drawing on facsimile historical documents (including exploration journals, early census records, and treaties) and historical and contemporary photographs and accounts, the former tribal chairman, who is a descendent of the famed Gaytay Minomin (Old Wild Rice), builds an impressionistic history of the people who once inhabited the land that is now primarily North Dakota. Other publications include *Old Wild Rice, The Great Chief* (48 p., $5.00) and *Turtle Mountain Chippewa Language Beginner’s Handbook* (32 p., $8.00).

A closely related title available from the same source is *History of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians* (32 p., $5.00) by Aun nish e naubay (Patrick Gourneaut), also a former tribal chairman. To order, add 12 percent for shipping and send to White Weasel Publications, P. O. Box 1168, Belcourt, ND 58316 (701-477-5017).

GREAT GRANDDAUGHTER Maida Leonard Riggs has compiled and edited “a subset” of the letters of Mary Ann Longley Riggs, who with her husband Stephen and growing family was a missionary to the Dakota Indians. They are best known for their sojourn at Lac qui Parle mission and the ill-fated Hazelwood Republic in Minnesota. *A Small Bit of Bread and Butter: Letters from the Dakota Territory, 1832–1869* (South Deerfield, Mass.: Ash Grove Press, 1996, 284 p., paper, $17.95) provides the daily details of a missionary woman’s life: births and illnesses, successes and frustrations, needs and wants. Editor Riggs has divided the book into chapters based on the couple’s various mission sites and has supplied introductory headnotes setting the historical context. As she notes, the Dakota War is curiously absent from Riggs’s letters, although there are many references to her losses as a result of it.

FROM Ta-coumba Aiken’s mural on a grain elevator in Good Thunder to Minneapolis’s Uptown neighborhood and Grand Portage National Monument, *100 Places Plus 1: An Unofficial Architectural Survey of Favorite Minnesota Sites* surprises and delights. Color pictures and short essays describe the selections in this eclectic collection of publicly accessible favorite places chosen by writers, architects, and designers. “Plus 1” is Susan Allen Toth’s “100 Places is Only a Beginning,” a paean to her favorite haunts throughout the state. Published in 1996 by AIA Minnesota, the 137-page paperback is available for $19.95 in bookstores or, with tax and handling, from the publisher, 275 Market Street, Suite 54, Minneapolis 55405-1621.

*CULTURAL MAP of Wisconsin*, A Cartographic Portrait of the State, compiled by David Woodward, Robert Ostergren, Onno Brouwer, Steven Hoelscher, and Joshua Hane, combines the features of an atlas, tour book, and thumbnail history into one big sheet, measuring 40 x 45 inches. Side 1, the state map, is replete with symbols denoting attractions such as lighthouses, hiking trails, museums, historic sites and communities, parks, and colleges and universities. Short descriptions are supplied for hundreds of the 1,200 sites depicted. Side 2 contains smaller maps and longer paragraphs on the advance of the Euro-American settlement frontier and ethnic settlements ca. 1940 as well as photographs and maps detailing the attractions in Wisconsin’s major cities. Accompanied by a 22-page index to sites, the $9.95 map was published by the University of Wisconsin Press.

REMINDER: Handsome, sturdy slipcases, open at the back for maximum protection and convenient storage, keep your back issues of *Minnesota History* within easy reach on your bookshelf. Each container holds eight issues. The maroon-colored cases are embossed with the magazine title and come with a gold-foil transfer for marking the year and volume number on the spine. Available for $9.95 plus tax and shipping from MHS Press: (612)297-3243 or 1-800-647-7827.
From the Collections

Canoers on Minneapolis’s Lake Harriet amiably paused on a warm night in 1914 for an unusual “flashlight” photograph. Resting comfortably on pillows and seat backs (but sans life preservers), boaters enjoyed roof-garden concerts at the Classic Revival pavilion, built in 1904 on pilings over the water. Just visible at the left of the photo are the pavilion’s columns, a few concert listeners—and a bright light.

Commercial photographer Charles J. Hibbard set up the photograph, illuminating the view with flashlamps that burned magnesium powder to produce what was marketed as “bottled sunlight.” Outdoor electric floodlamps would become commonplace within a few years.

Boasting “We photograph anything that can be seen,” Hibbard operated his busy Minneapolis commercial studio from about 1886 until his death in 1925. His widow Sarah carried on the business for a few years until Norton and Peel took it over in 1931.

—Marilyn Ziebarth
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