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"FACE THE NATION"

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GUEST: THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
United States Senate
(Democrat of Minnesota)

MODERATOR: Stuart Novins

REPORTERS: William H. Lawrence
New York Times

Blair Clark
CBS News

Peter Lisagor
Chicago Daily News

PRODUCER: Michael J. Marlow

(Note to Editors: Though this program originated in the studios of Station WITI-TV in Milwaukee, transcripts are being distributed in Washington in accordance with usual procedure.)

MR. NOVINS: The first big official contest for the Presidency of the United States will take place here in Wisconsin on April 5th. The two leading announced Democratic candidates, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts, will face each other in the Wisconsin primaries. And Senator Humphrey is here now to FACE THE NATION.

Senator, there are a lot of billboards along Milwaukee streets that say "America needs Hubert Humphrey for President." We would like to find out why you think so.

So let's start with this first question from Mr. Lawrence.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, the Milwaukee papers tell us this morning that Jimmy Hoffa, the President of the Teamsters Union, is coming here on Tuesday. I wonder, in terms of TV Westerns, whether you think he is a good guy or a bad guy, and whether you welcome the direct or indirect support you are getting from him in this campaign.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, first, Mr. Lawrence, I have never had any support from Jimmy Hoffa. I have never asked for any support from Jimmy Hoffa. He has never tendered me any support. And if he did, I wouldn't take it.

Now, that is the answer to that question.

Mr. Hoffa has been, I would say, rather generous with his condemnation of both myself and Senator Kennedy. He went into my home state in Minnesota here a couple of months ago,

and said that I ought to be defeated. He has made some comments in his official publication to that effect. Of course, that is just one man's point of view.

MR. CLARK: Senator, Senator Kennedy has been pretty free with the statement that if he doesn't do very well here, if he doesn't really win here, he might be through, kind of, for the Democratic nomination.

What is your own feeling about a negative result for you and what you will do afterwards?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I always remember that there are 50 states in the Union, and while I am very fond of Wisconsin and Minnesota, I am also entered in other primaries -- in the State of West Virginia, in Oregon, in South Dakota, in the District of Columbia. I intend to continue on, of course, no matter what may be the result in Wisconsin. While the Wisconsin primary will have a great psychological effect, there is no doubt about that, in the Democratic Presidential delegate picture, there are other primaries, and I wouldn't want to disappoint any of my opponents or my friends by not fulfilling my commitments. So I will go on.

MR. LISAGOR: Senator, Republicans can cross over and vote for Democratic candidates in the Wisconsin primary, as you know. Do you expect many Republicans to cross over, especially Republican Catholics, and vote for Senator Kennedy?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Frankly, Mr. Lisagor, I just don't

know. I do know this -- that the eyes of the nation, as have been indicated here by the previous question, will be on the Wisconsin primary, and I do know that both myself and my illustrious competitor in the Democratic primary will both be out to get a big Democratic vote. And I have the feeling that the eyes of the nation will be focused on Wisconsin enough so that when they see that large Democratic vote, and don't see one quite so large for a Republican candidate, the Vice President, who has determined to file in this State, that this may very well set a trend that will go all the way through to November. So I am looking forward to a great Democratic vote in the Wisconsin primaries.

MR. LISAGOR: Is that your way, Senator, of encouraging Republicans to get out and vote Republican and not to cross over for either you or Senator Kennedy?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is my way of saying that I expect that because of the competition between the Democrats, that we will have a great Democratic vote. We are carrying the message to the American people. And that the pattern which we establish here in Wisconsin of a majority of people voting in the Democratic primary, will be a pattern that could well be followed throughout the nation into the general election in November, 1960. At least, that is my hope.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, I would like to ask you a question about this competition on the Democratic side that you speak of,

and I would like to lay a little groundwork on it first.

It has been suggested here in Wisconsin that you and Senator Kennedy engage in a series of public debates in which you outline your positions.

Would there be any purpose in that? Are you so far apart on issues with Senator Kennedy? Aren't you pretty close to where he stands on most things?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Novins, I have been the one that has suggested these public debates, and I notice that of late others have entered into that spirit. I believe that public debates would be very helpful, regardless of our agreement on certain issues. First of all, it elevates the general pattern of politics.

MR. NOVINS: Well, it doesn't if it just talks generalities. Where do you differ from Senator Kennedy?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, we will both differ greatly from the Republicans, and particularly the Vice President.

MR. NOVINS: Well, then, you ought to debate with Mr. Nixon.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We would be delighted to do that, too.

Secondly, there are differences between Senator Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey. Now, those differences are not on all areas, but there are some. There are differences, for example, in the matter of what I call public works improvement, harbor

development, such as in Milwaukee, and the great harbors in Sheboygan and Green Bay.

MR. NOVINS: Well, do you think that that issue is going to elect a Democratic President in November?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It will surely affect it in Wisconsin. There are differences on agriculture policy, for example, on the matter of rural electrification, on the rural telephone program, on conservation. There are differences on fiscal policy, on closing tax loopholes.

MR. NOVINS: Are there differences on civil rights?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: There are some differences on civil rights.

MR. NOVINS: What are they?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: For example, I voted in the 1957 Civil Rights Act to permit a federal judge to be able to protect voters' rights by holding persons in contempt of court when they denied the right to vote, that is, a public official denied a citizen the right to vote could be held in contempt of court. Senator Kennedy felt that the process of the so-called jury trial. I voted differently in terms of getting the bill up. The Senator from Massachusetts felt that the bill ought to come through the Judiciary Committee, even though we knew that it would be stalemated in there, that it would never get out. I voted to bring it up immediately from the House of Representatives on the Senate

calendar, because that is a legal process under the Senate rules. The differences there are somewhat minor. Nevertheless, there are differences. And I think that these differences could be discussed to the advantage of all parties.

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MR. LISAGOR: Senator, do you think these differences would be decisive, however, in the campaign for the November election?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I will only say this, Mr. Lisagor. That I have not changed my views on these issues. My record is a consistent public record. And I have a feeling that since I have not changed my views, and since my opponent here says that we have no disagreement on the issues, that he now agrees with me. And if that is the case, then I have been able to demonstrate leadership that is convincing and persuasive.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, are you suggesting that Senator Kennedy has changed his views, sir?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: He says he has, on the issues where he has disagreed with me, yes. For example, on agricultural policies, he said right here in Wisconsin that Humphrey was right and he was wrong. I wish I could get the Secretary of Agriculture to admit as well.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, I would like to return if I may to that first question about Jimmy Hoffa. You said he has given you no support. And of course I did not mean financial support. But is it not true that in Wisconsin his attacks are centered upon Senator Kennedy, who is your only opponent in this race?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I haven't heard Mr. Hoffa speak

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in this State.

MR. LAWRENCE: You know what he has said.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I understand he centered his attack upon Mr. Kennedy. He has also shared it may I say upon me, the publication of the Teamster official publication stated quite candidly who were the people that Mr. Hoffa did not care for. But I don't think this is the only issue in this campaign. Mr. Hoffa is not for Senator Kennedy, he is not for Hubert Humphrey. Senator Kennedy has made Mr. Hoffa quite an issue. But he is not running against Hoffa, he is running against Humphrey. We spell our names differently and we are very different in political philosophy and political action.

MR. LAWRENCE: You didn't answer my part of the question about whether he was a good guy or bad guy.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would say Mr. Hoffa's record speaks for itself. It is a bad guy's record.

MR. CLARK: Senator, what issues do you find the voters responding to most, as you go about Wisconsin and the other parts of the country?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I find the people responding on the basis of Wisconsin here, let us say, in the rural areas, very much to the problems relating to the agriculture economy. There are certain areas of the agricultural economy which are sorely depressed and in trouble. The main issue, however,

dm4 should not be looked upon primarily as a problem, but rather as an economic and social opportunity. There is one nation in the world today, just one amongst many, that for all practical purposes, with a working agreement between ourselves and that nation, namely, India that the so-called wheat surplus would become a great asset, would become a positive force for economic development, freedom and democracy. One nation that could absorb practically all of what we call our surplus.

I would immediately, for example, extend to food deficit areas, what I call long-term credit for the purchase of food, for the food deficit nations that are friendly nations to us.

MR. NOVINS: To be repaid in dollars or local currency?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: To be repaid either in local currency or in dollars. If they were long-term credit, I would say in dollars, long-term. But if they were short-term, in local currencies. I would give to India, for example, a drawing account on American wheat up to let's say 400 million bushels a year for the next five years, so that she could plan her economic development, so that she would not have to be deeply concerned about the possibility of famine, or utilizing her limited capital for what we call perishable commodities.

MR. NOVINS: That would require legislation, would it not, Senator?

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: It would require some modification of legislation which I have attempted to get. But we did provide, in the last bill, relating to the sale of surplus food, long-term credits. The Administration has not acted upon it.

MR. LISAGOR: Senator, at the other end of this farm problem, farm income is going down. Would you also maintain high support prices to keep the farmer in business?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would have more than just a support program, Mr. Lisagor. I think that as an oversimplification of the agricultural problem. One of the things, first of all, is to determine to use agricultural production rather than to pay people not to produce. In the world in which there are more hungry than well-fed, and in a world in which food can be a tremendous asset for peace and security and freedom, I would have as an official declared policy on the part of the United States the use of food and fiber as an instrument of American foreign policy. Then I would prefer to set up a farm credit structure that was comparable to current economic needs, a fair price level where farmers were given income protection only if and when they accepted production controls and production adjustments and conservation measures.

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measures.

MR. LISAGOR: Senator, could I go to a more burning question at the moment, and that is civil rights.

You are a recognized champion of civil rights. Can you explain how it is when they are debating this issue, filibustering in the Senate, you are able to get around the country as much as you are, and not in the thick of that fight in Washington?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, I can explain it very well, because not a thing is going on. I was back in Washington last week. I participated in discussions in the Senate on civil rights. This is the so-called windjammering part of the civil rights debate, the filibuster. And when -- I am in constant touch with the Senate leadership. And when the time comes for a cloture petition, when we can close off the debate of those who are seeking to delay a decision on the fundamental issues of civil rights, Hubert Humphrey will be there. And what is more, my legislation is in the hopper. My amendments are at the desk. And I have been in on all of the consultations. I shall not be found wanting tomorrow, as I have not been found wanting yesterday.

MR. LISAGOR: Can you say in this same connection how you and Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas could support the same civil rights bill?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am not sure that we could, Mr. Lisagor. I think that Senator Johnson will not want to go

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as far as I do, even though I must say that Senator Johnson seeks a civil rights measure that will protect voting rights. For example, I happen to believe that our civil rights measure that we passed should include not only the protection of the right to vote, in name, but it also should set up the machinery, the procedures to protect that right at once, and not to have it delayed, because justice delayed is justice denied. I believe in the federal registrar. Wherever a local official refuses to register a duly qualified voter, then I believe, as the Civil Rights Commission said, in a system of federal registration. I believe that the Attorney General should be empowered under law to move in on his own motion to protect the civil rights of individuals. Senator Johnson would not go that far.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, you say that you have not been found lacking, but I hear from your colleagues a criticism directed not alone at you, but at the other so-called candidates for President -- Senator Kennedy, and to a certain extent, Senator Symington -- that none of you have been available, or if available, only rarely, for these one and two a.m. quorum calls that are required now to keep the Senate in session, which is not too easy in this kind of fight.

What is your answer to that? Is it not worth while to be in the Senate to help provide those quorums?

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is, indeed, and, Mr. Lawrence, if I felt that my presence was required, I would be there, as I have indicated to every single person that has worked with me in this campaign. It is a fact that while we are away, others answer those quorums. I was there last week. I answered the quorums all night long. I didn't prove anything by answering it, except that I can get up and find my way into the Senate Chamber and go back and go to bed. Now, I don't consider this an act of statesmanship. I do consider it one of physical endurance. But I must say I have talked this over with my colleagues, and they recognize we are engaged in a Presidential primary out here. No one has any secrets about this. And when the votes are required on substantive matters, or was there even a danger -- were there even a danger that there would not be a quorum, I would be there. In fact, I will be there, may I say, on Monday night, and on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, of next week.

MR. LAWRENCE: You will be in all next week?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, indeed.

MR. LAWRENCE: And take part in the all-night --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. And I even took part in the debate last week, and took part in the deliberations, and I have taken part all year long in the preparation of the civil rights measures.

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MR. LISAGOR: Senator Russell of Georgia, who is leading the fight for the Southerners, says that one of the problems here is that too many Presidential candidates in the Senate want their name on the bill, the civil rights measure that comes out.

What do you say to that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I wouldn't want to be critical of my colleagues, because I was the first to have my name on a civil rights bill. Since I have been first, it would seem unfair for me to complain about others. I started advocating civil rights at the Democratic Convention in 1948. I did it as Mayor of Minneapolis. We were the first city to have an enforceable fair employment practices ordinance, one of the first for a human rights commission.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, when you did it in 1948, as you just mentioned, it brought about a walk-out on the part of the Southern States.

What kind of support do you expect from the South at the Convention?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I hope I will have some. I trust that a man's position on civil rights would not deny him the nomination, because if it does, the Democratic Party will be denied the victory in 1960.

MR. NOVINS: Would you reverse that, and say that you hope that no Southerner is denied the nomination?

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't believe in any kind of bigotry, religious, political, regional, sectional, or any other kind.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, just one more quick question:

You said earlier, in answer to Mr. Clark's question, that if things went wrong for you here in Wisconsin you would continue in the fight.

I wonder if you could tell us specifically what you would do. Would you enter other primaries?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am already entered. I have already paid a rather handsome filing fee in West Virginia. I intend to get my money's worth. I will be there.

MR. NOVINS: What about the other states?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: In South Dakota, in Oregon, in the District of Columbia.

MR. NOVINS: Why are you staying out of California?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: For the very same reason I gather that another candidate announced that he was staying out.

MR. NOVINS: Well, we will ask him about his reasons. I would like to ask you about yours.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am staying out of California because I talked this matter over several times with the Governor, Mr. Brown, with the State Chairman, Mr. Minnell, with the Chairman of the North, Mr. Roger Kent, with Mrs. Smith, the National Committeewoman, and the other political leaders, and I said that unless someone else entered the

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primary, that I would respect the wishes of the Democratic organization in California and stay out of the primary. I talked this over with the Governor last July. I have talked it over with his leaders three or four times during the year. I spoke to the Governor just a week ago, before Mr. Kennedy's announcement about his staying out, and it has been quite well understood by both of us and by all parties, that we would all respect the wishes of the local state organization, if no one else entered. I have been prepared to enter, if someone else entered.

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MR. NOVINS: If you were named as the number one man by the convention, would you welcome Governor Brown as a running mate in the number two spot?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Governor Brown, in my mind, is one of the outstanding governors of the Nation, highly qualified for any position -- Number one, number two, or wherever else he may be needed.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, we have been asking you in a somewhat negative way about Wisconsin. Can you be subjective enough to give us a realistic rundown of what your prospects here are? One, as to a state-wide victory, and two, as to how many delegates you might pick up with or without a state-wide victory.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Lawrence, you have asked a very frank and fair question, and I am going to give you as honest an answer as is humanly possible for a man with my limited experience to give you. This is a tough fight for me, I know that. I have known it all the time. I have not deluded myself for a moment. I think it is fair to say that the public opinion polls have showed me not in first place, but rather in second. I have a feeling, however, that we are gaining ground and that we are gaining it systematically and steadily. I think we are gaining it because people realize that I am very serious about this. I take to them a message on the issues. I have a great regard and a high respect for my

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opponent in the Democratic primary. He is a fine and good man, intelligent and able. I discuss however the issues of agriculture, peace and war, of economic development, the improvement of our distressed areas, problems of conservation, our young people, education. I am an issue man. I am talking issues and it is beginning to take hold.

Now, having said that, I really believe that we are now moving to a point where in the Wisconsin situation that I have a chance to carry a majority of the districts. And I am now working hard to carry a majority of the vote.

MR. LAWRENCE: That begs the question just a little.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is the best I can give you, Mr. Lawrence.

MR. LAWRENCE: I meant first in terms of a state-wide victory, popularwise, do you see that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir, I see the possibilities of that. Indeed, I want it. I shall work with all of the zeal and energy at my command to obtain it. I must add, however, that the most important aspect in terms of the primary are the delegates, because it is the delegate that will be helpful in the Democratic convention.

MR. LAWRENCE: In your decision to go on, even should you lose in Wisconsin, and lose badly, is this not --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Wait a minute, let's just say lose, because I am not going to lose badly, and I am not going to

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lose.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, I am just posing a question, Senator.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It sounded rather affirmative.

MR. LAWRENCE: I don't know a thing about the situation in Wisconsin. But is not your answer that you will continue to go on a reversal of what you said many months ago, that if you took a licking here you would hurry home to Minnesota and start running for reelection?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I wouldn't say it is a reversal, Mr. Lawrence. I did say, and I will say again, that if I took a serious defeat here, that I of course would have to take a brand new look at the whole situation. But since that time I have filed in a state, West Virginia. I shall be in the West Virginia primary. If health permits and if I am alive -- and I expect to have both good health and be very much alive physically and politically. I am also committed to enter the South Dakota primary. I welcome any opposition there. I shall be there. I am likewise committed in two other primaries. I intend to carry out these commitments. I intend to do so on the wave of a victory from Wisconsin.

MR. CLARK: Senator, you mentioned before the high cost of filing and running in these things. Are you aware of any disparity in the resources available to you as against your opponent Senator Kennedy here?

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am, Mr. Clark. I don't like to make too much of it. But there is a difference, may I say, between occasionally getting up in the morning between 4:00 and 5:00 o'clock and catching a commercial airliner and having your private plane. I think that just about explains it.

MR. CLARK: Do you think this interferes with your prospects here?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, not particularly. I don't believe that money is the predominant factor. It is a very helpful factor in an election. But I am sure that there is no one in the United States that really thinks for a moment that Hubert Humphrey has the financial resources of several other candidates. I don't mean just to select out one. I don't say I am the poor man's candidate, because I am a very rich man. I have good health, a good family, a wonderful opportunity. I have been treated well by my fellow citizens. I have the love of a good wife and the affection and love of some nice children.

MR. LISAGOR: Senator, I would like to ask you how much sense does it really make for you and Senator Kennedy to beat your brains out here in Wisconsin which has been historically a graveyard for people running in primaries, which is not altogether typical of the United States, which is Republican.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, the latter point, Mr. Lisagor, I would not want to admit that it is Republican. I believe that

dm 5 Governor Gaylor Nelson and Senator William Proxmire and Lieutenant Governor Philleo Nash, and some of the others, have seen to it that this state is not Republican. There has been a shift which is very noticeable and notable.

It is a fact that this state has its own particular political temperament, and its own particular political characteristics which may not be characteristic of the total nation.

Now, to get specifically to your question, this is another primary. That is why I said that I don't think a primary in Wisconsin is necessarily decisive for anyone. It seems to me that that is really making a dramatic event out of something that is hardly that dramatic or that spectacular.

(5) MR. NOVINS: What about primaries generally, Senator? There are only about 16 or 17 states that have them. They are all run by different kinds of ground rules. Do they serve any useful purpose in your opinion?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Some -- not nearly as much people are led to believe. I do not even, if you win all of the primaries -- you cannot necessarily win the nomination. But they lend themselves to news. They provide a field day, may I say, for you distinguished gentlemen. It gives you good copy.

MR. NOVINS: Of course, candidates have never fought this.

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not particularly. However, many candidates do not indulge in primaries. I have no particular criticism of them if they don't.

MR. NOVINS: What would be the alternative, Senator, to the kind of primary that we have now? Would you like to see state conventions, that sort of thing?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would think that if you are going to have primaries, you would be better to have some Federal standards, so that the primaries, particularly as they relate to Federal officers, that is to Presidential nominee and Vice Presidential, if you have them for that, would have some uniformity. And that you would limit the period of campaigning and put explicit limitations upon the amount that can be expended in Presidential primaries. Otherwise I am afraid that you will see primaries becoming sort of special events for special purposes for those of special resources.

MR. LISAGOR: Senator, you are quite an authority in the Senate on disarmament, and we are coming up to a period of disarmament talks now. Do you think that the foreign policy of the United States in general will be immobilized in the coming months because of this Presidential campaign?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, sir. The foreign policy of the United States has lacked the zeal and the fervor it ought to have, but not because of any Presidential campaign. And we are poorly prepared, may I say, for a disarmament conference.

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This is a very unfortunate thing.

MR. LISAGOR: If you were President today, what would you do about disarmament specifically and as briefly as you can.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would set it as the central part of our foreign policy. But the first thing that I would insist upon is parity in military power, so that when you can negotiate with the Soviets, you negotiate from a position of parity and from strength. And then I would proceed relentlessly to the doctrine and to the purpose of disarmament. But also preparing ourselves scientifically and technically, so that the inspection and control measures which are absolutely essential to disarmament can be negotiated without any injury to our national security.

MR. LAWRENCE: When you say you would insist on parity, though, Senator, that means does it not we would first have to have a build-up before we could go into disarmament.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would say that it might be necessary to equate our strength, to have a build-up of our strength, to the Soviets, as you discuss disarmament itself, because you cannot afford unilateral disarmament, Mr. Lawrence, and that is what we have had. We have had an Administration that has put the physical budget ahead of what I consider to be the essential requirements of national security.

MR. NOVINS: Would you say generally that you adopt pretty

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much the same position towards defense that Senator Symington does?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would say that most all of us seem on the Democratic side to have pretty much the same view on the necessity for an adequate defense. My point is, however, that not only would I talk about filling the gap or closing the gap in defense, but I believe that the United States must get out in front as the spokesman for peace, not merely in disarmament, but the use of our food and our medical care and our capital and our great scientific development as an instrument for world peace.

MR. NOVINS: Thank you very much, Senator, for coming here to FACE THE NATION. Our thanks also to today's news correspondents,

Peter Lisagor, of the Chicago Daily News;

Blair Clark, of CBS News; and

William H. Lawrence, of the New York Times.

This is Stuart Novins.

Next week there will be no FACE THE NATION. We invite you to join us again on March 20th when our guest will be the Deputy Secretary of Defense, James H. Douglas.

Our program today originated in the studios of WITI-Televsion, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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