REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWS RECEPTION WASHINGTON, D. C. MAY 5, 1977

It's a joyous evening. Really, it's a delight to be here. I'm only sorry that I didn't get here a little earlier. But the Congressional Fellow, who works for me, insisted that I remain at my desk. You see, I do not claim in any way that I run my office. I'm one of the employees. It's a new system we have. It's called collective leadership. And I am the one they lead.

There are so many people here tonight that I would like to mention who worked with me as Congressional Fellows. But, first of all, I must say how much I appreciate meeting a professor from the University of Pittsburgh, in the Political Science Department, who has such humor and such little knowledge of government. Undoubtedly, you are the smash hit of the campus.

Bill, we want to thank you so much. But certain portions of your remarks tonight I've heard somewhere else. Now that I've heard you use those words, I don't know why I spent the time last night. You make them seem so much more meaningful.

John Stewart, my dear, long time friend, has been your master of ceremonies tonight. John has given a good accounting of himself. He has been brief. He's always profound. And he has always had class and style. But he has overdone it here tonight. I want you to know that he, too, can give a long speech -- but they're not as good as mine.

I'm so proud of John Stewart and grateful for all the wonderful help that he has given me as well as many others in our Congress and political party process. So many activities.

Now, we had three of my Congressional Fellows come up here and say nice things, all of which are true. Eddie Williams. Eddie was with me some years ago and I'm so proud of his accomplishments. He had a splendid record even before he got close to me. He was able to come out of it without being too much destroyed or in any way downgraded. Eddie, we're proud of you. And your quoting my favorite poet tonight made me feel very sentimental. I wouldn't want to deny what he said -- particularly, after you repeated it.

And then Julie Wetzel. It is absolutely true that I went to Secretary Schlesinger and beseeched him to let me have Julie for another term as Congressional Fellow. She was terrific. She worked with our Minnesota people until I thought that she had been born in Minnesota and raised her whole life there. Most significantly, she did her job in a first-class fashion. May I say that all of the Congressional Fellows have been excellent that I have been privileged to have near me and with me.

Julie, tonight I know exactly how you felt when I used to call you and say, "How is the mail? How are we doing on the letters?" Many times I would say to the Congressional Fellows, "Look, I know you're able. I know you're brilliant. I know you have professional competence, but -- damn it -- answer the mail." We have a phobia in my office about that.

Once in a while in my political life I would have a letter come through that would concern me. And I would call that particular person in and say, "If you're going to send that letter out, put your name on it, not mine. I don't want anybody back home to think that I'm that stupid."

Right now in my office, I have a lovely, intelligent, able, brilliant Congressional Fellow that has already proved her competence by coming up here and turning on the tape recorder. I believe in

giving our Fellows heavy responsibility. If you can't turn on a tape recorder, then where are you going? After all, haven't tape recorders been a part of our history?

I now have the oldest living Congressional Fellow on active duty in my office at the present time. I don't know how much work he does, but the girls tell me he is a very entertaining fellow. Dan Davis is something. We feel that the longer you keep them, the better they are. In this case, as long as we can keep him awake like other people, it is like letting one Congressional Fellow do the work of two people. Dan is marvelous. Thank you very much. I hear that one of these days you're thinking of going over to the other body. If you insist on making that kind of a judgment, I hope that the Lord will bless you.

My legislative assistant is a former Congressional Fellow, too. He couldn't get a job any place else. He's a man from up in Massachusetts. They vote Democratic up there and he sort of has a Minnesota accent. Have you ever heard those fellows? They can't say "park." They have to say "paak." Tim Barnicle. We decided that we needed one Irishman in the office to try to keep ethnically pure. Tim is here some place. He's a tremendous fellow. Oh, there he is drinking. Never let an Irishman in on a party like this. Even the cash bar bill won't stop him. I bet he traded in his food stamps for that.

There are a lot of others around here and I'm going to miss some. When I'm through, raise your hands -- those that I missed.

Bob Healy is here. Bob is working now as the A.A., that's not Alcoholics Anonymous, for Senator Culver. Bob was well trained. He wasn't much when we first got him, but he has come along since then.

And Bob Kerr is out there some place. There he is -- way in the back. He is with Congressman Maguire of New Jersey. I can say the same thing about Kerr. He developed well.

One of the Fellows that I hoped was going to be here tonight, but isn't, is Jim Lewis. Martin Nimerow is here tonight. Where's Marty? There's Marty, way in the back of the room. Good to see you, Marty. How is the Department of Labor getting along? Marty is doing a good job with them. And Cynthia Carrington is here. Where's my beautiful Cynthia? There she is. You did such a good job for us.

I don't know if Wendy Ross is here or not. Wendy is with the USIA. One thing about Wendy, she made me repay all of her service by having me come over and speak to the USIA one day. Sam Raskin. I just saw Sam. There's Sam. He still looks like he has been worked over. Sam will recuperate. He'll make it alright.

Jack Cannon is back from one of those hardship posts in London. Jack, you look good. I'd like a little of that hair. And Sally Horne. Sally, how good to see you. Sally, how old is the baby? (Sally responds, "Sixteen months.") Her husband is here, don't blame me.

Mike Miller. Is Mike here? I thought Mike was around, but maybe some of these people aren't here this evening. Is Jim Thurber still here? There he is. Jim good to see you. And Jack Limpert. Jack, my goodness, the white fox. There are a few others here tonight. I hope I didn't miss anyone. Barry Morrisroe, my good friend. How are you? Glad to see you.

No I have a very important speech here which was written by one of my Congressional Fellows. I want to make two comments, however. I want equal time on rebuttal. First of all, John Stewart said that when he came with me he had a directive -- namely that the Executive Branch is always wrong. It's true.

I remember when I became Vice President. Kermit Gordon was the Director of the Budget. And after the first cabinet meeting, the President called me in afterwards and said, "Hubert, you'd better

talk to Kermit Gordon. He's visited with me and he feels that some how or other you are antagonistic towards him." The President added that Kermit felt that the relationship was not good and that my feelings were rather personal.

"Well," I said, "Mr. President, I'd be glad to see him." The next day Kermit Gordon came over to the office and sat down to talk. And I said, "Kermit, what seems to be the problem?" He said, "Frankly, I don't think you like me." I said, "That is just ridiculous." "It's the way you look at me," he said, "and the way you speak to me and the way you treat me."

I said, "Kermit, look it's the first Cabinet meeting. I've just become Vice President. I've been in the Senate 16 years. In all of those 16 years I've said there are only two forces in the world that I thought were a threat. One was the Communist Party; the other is the Bureau of the Budget."

I told him quite frankly that I thought the Bureau of the Budget was the more active of the two. I said, "You can't expect me to erase 16 years of conviction all in one Cabinet meeting. Just give me a little time."

I found out that the old adage that where a man sits often depends on how he stands is entirely true. I'm getting to like the Budget Committee now, but I don't like OMB.

Kirk, Dean Acheson's story is absolutely right. After all, we had only had a dozen meetings that day, and I told Dean Acheson that he ought to get acquainted with people. And I'd take him out around a little bit. We did have a couple of big meetings. He was up there talking about the work of the Marshall Plan and the possibilitites of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization. These are real good topics for our friends on the Iron Range!

We made the tour and when we got through we went over to Jerry Heaney's home. Jerry is now a United States Circuit Court Judge. I always had friends that would give me a free meal and a free can of beer. How do you think we got by on our salaries in those days?

By the way, I want you to know that in all the years since 1789 the United States Senate has had only 17 pay increases. And, of the 17, one of them was cut off and two of them were held up. Boy, what a suffering group we are. I just thought that I would tell you about that today. It's wonderful what you learn and these are great things to remember.

The Acheson story is true. I did dance with a waitress.

I will always remember what Sam Rayburn used to say. Sam Rayburn once said a great thing we should always remember. "There's no reason for any man ever to be weak and stupid when for two drinks he can get strong and smart."

You will notice that there is a class distinction here tonight. I appreciate that most of you are from Middle America, representing the great multitude of our people. You have no sense of the imperial. No sense for the abuse of power.

But there is one representative here from the White House, as you noticed tonight. I think you should know that while Mr. Carter goes around in jeans he isn't giving the poor farmer image. Why do I say that? Because I've watched President Carter carry that bag on his shoulder. Did you ever get a chance to look into it? I've never heard of any carrying jeans like that. And the only time the poor fellow needs an extra suit is when he needs a tux.

I've been looking into this Administration. I'll bet you anything that right now in London, as I speak to you now, the President of the United States is looking over his tux.

Oh, my goodness me, I overlooked Nelson Guild. Nelson who was with me during '64 when we were battling on civil rights. Nelson, Good Lord, man, you're getting as gray as I am.

One other thing I want to say tonight is about books. I heard someone mention books. By the way, there is an outstanding publication which I think you should have. Frankly, you ought to think about your family, your friends and relatives. And those of you who have thoughts of teaching the sciences, the arts and government —you should have this book. It is possibly the most significant book that has been written on Congress since Woodrow Wilson's CONGRESSIONAL GOVERNMENT. And I copied some of that, too, I might add. It's entitled, THE EDUCATION OF A PUBLIC MAN. You can get a copy for \$12.95. The author is an old friend of yours and really you can't imagine what it would mean to my heirs and my grandchildren.

John Stewart is written up in that book, as are a lot of people. Some of you were mentioned, but the publisher said, "We've got to keep the book clean."

Now a serious word. I have received so much from the Congressional Fellows Program, as has been said here tonight. I have had the privilege during my years as Senator and Vice President to have over 30 on my staff. Over 30 Congressional Fellows! I can honestly say that every one of them was top grade. Every one brought so much to me personally, to the office I'm privileged to hold, and to the other members of our staff. Everyone, I think, learned something in the office, but we learned so much if not more from them. It's a great educational process.

The Congressional Fellows come from many walks of life. They have been scientists, journalists, educators. And I believe your experience broadened your vision and enriched your lives. I know that it has mine.

There is another great thing about the Congressional Fellows Program as far as I'm concerned. It's cheap labor. And to be able to get such talent at no cost. Boy, I believe in Santa Claus.

For those of you that have been in this program, this is our silver anniversary -- is it not, Kirk? (Yes.)

You who have been in this program over the years, look what you have witnessed during this time. A veritable upheaval and revolution in civil rights.

When we gathered here in this same hall 15 years ago, we would be arguing whether or not we could really have a national program for civil rights. Fifteen years ago, yes. Thirteen years ago we would be asking if people could vote regardless of race, creed and color.

We've made tremendous changes in America. And I don't want you to be a cynic about our country. One thing about a free society like ours is it always exposes its limitations. And that's what gives us strength. The only people reluctant to be self-analytical and self-critical are the weak.

I think the real test of our democracy is the fact that we are willing to look at ourselves in the mirror, so to speak, and occasionally be willing to acknowledge that in dirty face there is our own and then set to the process of cleaning up the blemish.

Many changes have taken place in government institutions. The Congress of the United States that I serve in now is very different than the one I served in when I came here in the 81st Congress. We're in the 95th now. The role of leadership in Congress is very different. The staffing of the members of Congress, thank God, is so much better and very different. Our foreign policy is different.

There was a time when we felt we had the overwhelming -- almost unilateral -- responsibility for a safe world. That was after World War II. At a time when we were trying to put the pieces back internationally. But I tell you that there were less than 60 nations that could qualify for the United Nations. Now there are 150.

On the world scene colonialism is dead. There still are those who try to hang on to vestiges of it. The imperialism that we knew in the 19th and early 20th century is dead. But a new form raises its ugly head. The Dark Continent as it was known -- Africa -- is very much alive and active. The dialogue between the North and the South which is mainly a topic of academic discussion will soon have to become a reality.

There was a time when the Congress of the United States literally gave over to the President whatever he asked for in the field of national security. But we wouldn't learn the results of that policy. Power begets power. Power as we all know tends to corrupt. And now the Congress of the United States has imposed its will. The pendulum swings wide and sometimes wider.

We're now in the process of trying to find our new sense of direction -- internationally and domestically. But what I think was best about these years in public life, not because of me -- but because of the changes that have taken place, is the attitude of our citizenry that there is a greater sense of justice in our society. Not that we're a just society yet, but that there is a greater sense of justice -- a feeling that people ought to have an opportunity and that there is a role for government in opening up those gates of opportunity.

You see, I don't buy the argument that we are worse than we were. Or that we failed, or that we lost our way. We're just trying to find a better way. We haven't failed. We just haven't completed our past.

What we need to have are people who really believe that we can do better. And the story of America is not a utopia. The story of this nation is not an immediate sudden success. The story is one of growth, of maturity, of making mistakes, and learning from the mistakes, of moving forward and occasionally moving back -- holding our ground and then once again seeing the chance to move ahead.

I put it very simply. The story of America is to do better. And that's why the Founding Fathers gathered at Philadelphia and spoke about, "We the People in order to form a more perfect union," not a perfect union, but "a more perfect union," established and ordained that Constitution. They gave to the whole world a set of promises.

I have very little time for people who say we ought not to promise, that we shouldn't raise people's hopes. You live by hope. And you live by promise. Achievement is not enough, because so many of us, at times, don't quite make it. We don't always get what we want. But we've got to believe that someday, somehow, it will be better. And that we can do it.

Two been accused many times of being a congenital optimist about so many things. I've also been told that I'm not tough enough. I suppose they're both true because so many people say it. But I'll tell you this -- I don't think this world needs any more toughies. I've never believed that you need to be tough. I think at times you need to be firm.

And I'm an optimist. Because I take a look at myself and I see from whence I came. What looked to be no opportunity. From a little country town out of the plains of South Dakota to the first great opportunity of my life, the University of Minnesota. And then from there on out to have a chance to serve in public office -- to be a teacher, father, husband, a friend and even to get the nomination of my party for the highest office in the land.

So don't tell me there isn't opportunity in this country. You've got to work for it. You've got to scrap for it. But I believe that the story of America justifies my optimism. Never has there been a society of such variety, of such a heterogeneous grouping of people that have been able to accomplish so much in such a short period of time and still recognize that they're not even half-way to the promise of one nation under God with liberty and justice for all.

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REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWS RECEPTION

Washington, D.C.

May 5, 1977

Dr. Kirkpatrick, "fellow" Congressional Fellows, distinguished guests, I am very grateful for this honor.

It is an honor because I will be joining only two other individuals whose contributions have been noted in this fashion, Dean Acheson and D.B. Hardeman. They and I have had the happy opportunity to work with -- and, hopefully, to learn from and to inform -- a variety of Fellows for more than twenty years.

I feel strongly that the Congressional Fellowship program is a profitable experience, both for those who are selected as participants and the various Congressional offices.

This program opens up the doors of Congress to our future leaders in higher education, government, the press and business. At the same time, the Fellows, with their experience as scientists, journalists, lawyers and administrators, bring new enthusiasm and a fresh point of view to the Congressional offices where they work.

This has been my experience both as a Senator and as Vice President. During those years, more than thirty fellows joined my staff for their tours of duty.

The Congressional Fellowship Program will be celebrating its silver anniversary this year. In the twenty-five years since its creation, our government and its policies have undergone drastic revisions and constant evaluation.

Through this program, the Fellows have been able to witness this evolution first-hand and contribute to the very changes which have taken place.

For example, those of you here who have specialized in foreign affairs have witnessed dramatic shifts in our foreign policy. As the past decade drew to a close, we began to learn that the power and the resources of the United States are limited. We cannot be the "policeman" for world peace.

Even more important, we learned that our knowledge of other peoples -- their real problems and needs -- too often is seriously limited. Many centers of power and contending ideologies are represented in our world community of 150-odd nations.

On the other hand, the fundamental reality of this world community in the 1970's is that our many nations are heavily interdependent. A serious recession, a shortage of a critical natural resource, a significant increase in the price of oil, or a failure to confront the demands of fair international trade can seriously affect the well-being of all peoples.

We are called upon to recognize that the challenges of peace, prosperity and justice cannot be viewed in isolation from each other. They are unending challenges, for which there is no single, final solution.

The domestic scene in this same twenty-five year period has been exciting and changing as well. While major problems remain to be addressed, there has been much progress in all areas of our national life.

But I would like to direct your attention to one far-reaching development, not grounded in legislation. I am referring to the profound alteration that has taken place in the last decade in our perceptions of morality and political propriety.

These changed perceptions have affected every aspect of our public life. They have had a dramatic impact upon the relationship between the government and our people.

I firmly believe that this impact will be for the better -- a more responsive government, an informed and involved citizenry, and a nation that cares and that takes the leadership in making this a better world.

This new relationship will be of central importance to the health and vitality of our democracy. Every public servant who bears that title with pride and honor should be grateful for a press that relentlessly holds its officials to high standards of truth and integrity.

There may be something in Thomas Jefferson's claim that were it left to him to decide between a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, he would prefer the latter. Luckily for those of us in public life, Jefferson never had the opportunity to choose either alternative!

In concluding my remarks, I want to wish the past and present Fellows continuing success in your life work. I envy the excitement, the responsibility and the opportunities that will be yours.

I thank you for the opportunity to work with so many of you. You have assisted me for more than twenty years, and you have sharpened my wits as well.

I deeply appreciate this award. Thank you.

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Washington, D. C.

May 5, 1977

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DR. KIRKPATRICK, "FELLOW" CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWS,

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, I AM VERY GRATEFUL FOR THIS HONOR.

IT IS AN HONOR BECAUSE I WILL BE JOINING ONLY TWO OTHER INDIVIDUALS WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN NOTED IN THIS FASHION, DEAN ACHESON AND D.B. HARDEMAN. THEY AND I HAVE HAD THE HAPPY OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH -- AND, HOPEFULLY, TO LEARN FROM AND TO INFORM -- A VARIETY OF FELLOWS FOR MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS. I FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM IS A PROFITABLE EXPERIENCE, BOTH FOR THOSE WHO ARE SELECTED AS PARTICIPANTS AND THE VARIOUS CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES. THIS PROGRAM OPENS UP THE DOORS OF CONGRESS TO OUR FUTURE LEADERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT, THE PRESS

AND BUSINESS.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE FELLOWS, WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE AS

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IN CONCLUDING MY REMARKS, I WANT TO WISH THE PAST AND PRESENT FELLOWS CONTINUING SUCCESS IN YOUR LIFE WORK.

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I THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH SO MANY OF

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I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THIS AWARD. THANK YOU.

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