

bs/jp/PA9.k./BRAYMAN, H.

October 29, 1975

Mr. Harold Brayman
Rooms 3 and 4, Suite 1250
Wilmington Trust Building
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

Dear Mr. Brayman:

Thank you for advising me of the book you are writing about remarks given at the Gridiron Club dinners. I have no objection to your quoting from my speeches to the Club for the period you indicate--from 1963 to 1972.

I wish you every success with the book and look forward to reading it.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

001110

HAROLD BRAYMAN
ROOMS 3 AND 4 - SUITE 1250
WILMINGTON TRUST BUILDING
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE 19801

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September 12, 1975

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr.
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

There hasn't been a book written about Gridiron dinners and skits since 1915. By agreement with the Gridiron Club, I have undertaken the task of doing one and it is now completed. Title: "Presidents on the Gridiron." It covers all Presidents and dinners from 1885 down through 1975 and contains considerable material of historic interest.

The club has made its very voluminous records fully available to me, and I have about 40 speeches made to the club by Presidents of the United States and a great many by other major public figures, including many candidates for President.

What I have attempted to do is to weave the speeches together with the skits and songs relating to Presidents and to major policy matters before the country at the time.

The Gridiron Club has agreed that for the purposes of this book all speeches of persons no longer living need no longer be considered off the record. It was also agreed that any speeches which I use of persons still living would be used only with their permission. I am writing you this letter to request your permission to use some of the key quotes from your speeches, which we have in the Gridiron files.

You spoke at the Gridiron Club on seven occasions between 1963 and 1972. It may interest you to know that, in its 90-year history, the club has invited only four persons to speak more than seven times -- Chauncey M. Depew, William Howard Taft, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin Roosevelt. This, I think, is quite a tribute to the high quality of the Gridiron speeches which you have made and indicates why I am anxious to use them in considerable detail in my book.

Betty

I have no objection
but would want to
have the right to edit the
extracts he intends to quote,
Jove

HAROLD BRAYMAN
ROOMS 3 AND 4 - SUITE 1250
WILMINGTON TRUST BUILDING
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE 19801

AREA CODE 302
774-7255

October 1, 1975

Mr. David G. Gartner
Legislative Assistant to
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Gartner:

On September 12 I wrote Senator Humphrey a letter requesting permission to quote extracts from his Gridiron speeches in a book I am doing about the history of the Gridiron Club, to be entitled "Presidents on the Gridiron."

As I explained in that letter, my agreement with the Gridiron Club is that all speeches of persons no longer living are no longer off the record, and speeches of all other persons will be used only with their permission. This involved writing to about 33 people, and I haven't been turned down yet. I have permissions from all but five or six who haven't replied so far.

I am writing to you to ask for your assistance in getting a reply from Senator Humphrey expedited, because I realize that Congress is taking a ten-day recess starting October 10. My absolute copy deadline on this book is the end of October, and I would like very much to get a response from the Senator before your October recess.

All of Senator Humphrey's speeches have been outstanding, and I very much want his permission to use them, subject, of course, to any editing he may wish to do.

Sincerely,



However, since these speeches were made by you on the understanding that they were off the record, I think it only fair to give you an opportunity to edit the portions which I use, in case there are any quotes which you would rather not make public.

Consequently, I am attaching to this letter my copy on your speeches, and if you wish to make any changes or eliminations, I will be glad to accede to your wishes. I very much desire your permission to use these, and I hope you will give it to me without change.

Since I have not been active as a Washington newspaperman for quite a number of years, it wouldn't be at all strange if you don't remember me. But I was a Washington correspondent for 14 years, was president of the Gridiron Club in 1941, and have been a member of it since 1933. If you wish further details about me, Dick Wilson can supply them to you. And if you have any doubts about giving me the permission I have requested, I wish you would talk to Dick about it before responding.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Harold E. Sawyer". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sincerely,".

Enclosures (7)

cc: Mr. Richard L. Wilson
Des Moines Register and Tribune
952 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20045

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

March 9, 1963

Consider yourself our meat,
We don't want to have no fuss,
For after some consideration you are beat
Unless you are one of us.

Senator Hubert Humphrey was introduced as the Democratic speaker.

He greeted the assembled crowd as "fellow managers of the news" and recalled that Adlai Stevenson, in his speech to the Gridiron Club after he had been defeated by General Eisenhower, used as an opening line: "A funny thing happened to me on the way to the White House."

"You know," said Humphrey, "ten years ago I thought that was very funny." He made a long pause.

"And then came West Virginia."

"You may remember," he continued, "that the President and I travelled together quite a bit in 1960. It was a good scrap, and I have no regrets. Frankly, gentlemen, I think I did pretty well for a Protestant.

"So here we are today. I have Strom Thurmond, and he has Charles DeGaulle. Let the punishment fit the crime.

"But if our President sometimes has his difficulties with the DeGaulles and Diefenbakers of the world, let us never forget that he is the first President within the memory of man to have the last word with May Craig."

[May Craig was at that time a celebrated correspondent of New England papers, who appeared regularly on "Meet the Press" and at White House conferences, and whose questioning, while always polite, was very penetrating.]

Turning to Romney, he noted that he had read recently that Romney had announced he would not be a candidate for President in 1964.

"Governor," said Humphrey, "that makes two of us."

"Now my advice to you Republicans is to remember the immortal words of that apostle of stand-pat Republicanism -- Calvin Coolidge. Permit me to paraphrase and update -- I do not choose to lose."

He told of a conversation he had had in Minnesota with a Republican friend, to whom he had pointed out that the Democrats had a big edge in registration, and that they were just the bigger party. The friend asked if he didn't believe it was possible once in awhile for a good little man to beat a good big man.

"Yes," said Humphrey, "it's certainly possible. After all David did defeat Goliath. But -- it was so unusual that three thousand years later, people are still talking about it."

The Internal Revenue Service was putting on a campaign at that time against expense account deductions that they thought were excessive.

"So let us eat, drink and be merry," said Humphrey, "for tomorrow we shall have tax reform. France may have the Mona Lisa, England may have the Cheshire Cat, but we have the only smiling tax collector in history -- Merry Mortimer Caplin.

"The new frontier has arrived -- ask not what you can deduct for business expenses. Just eat at Howard Johnson's and go Greyhound.

"Mr. President, I'm loyal. I support most of your tax proposals. But really, Mr. President, things are going too far.

Do we have to give up those dinners at Twenty-One? Do we really have to report her name and address?"

But he told his audience not to worry about the tax reforms. He'd be "pleading our case every Tuesday at the White House breakfasts," and "by the way, two or three years ago I counted on having most of my meals over there."

Turning then to defense contracts, he said he'd been talking to the President about the fact that most of the big defense contracts had been going to the West Coast, leaving nothing for the Midwest.

"My argument," he said, "has been overwhelmingly persuasive. The tide of defense contracts has been reversed. Completely reversed!"

Then, with arms outstretched dramatically to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, he said: "Teddy, for God's sake, leave something for the Midwest!"

He wasn't suggesting that President Kennedy and his White House associates were giving out any special favors, but he had noticed, he said, "that Ireland just received its first sugar quota in history."

Picking up the cue about managing the news from the end of the preceding skit, he said he'd heard that the newsmen and publishers had been "complaining about the White House managing the news. Shame on you," he said. "When did professionals ever lower themselves to worry about amateurs!"

He recalled that he had had a "few journalistic darts" himself, and that he had read "the farewell comments of our former

Vice President at the end of the California gubernatorial campaign" when he told them they wouldn't have Dick Nixon to kick around any longer, and said he understood that most of the newspapermen were "secret Democratic agents."

"How wonderful it is," he exclaimed, "to be in this hotbed of the Democratic underground tonight."

He hoped the Bobby Kennedy hiking craze wouldn't catch on with the Republicans, because "it would be just too painful to see Ev and Charlie walking fifty miles -- backwards."

Then, with quiet seriousness, he said he wanted to leave one last thought about the 1964 elections.

"Do you really think that the American voters would elect a President who might appoint his brother David as Attorney General, his brother Winthrop as head of the Peace Corps, and then turn around and support a third brother, Lawrence, for the United States Senate?

"Gentlemen, we of the Kennedy Administration do not believe that this country will stand for a dynasty."

He bowed to the tradition that speakers on these occasions should strike a serious note before they close. It was a good tradition, he said, and he was glad to observe it. But his message, which he addressed to both Republicans and Democrats, could be compressed in one sentence from Abraham Lincoln, uttered at "another trying period in our history":

"In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity."

"It seems to me that advice is just as good today as it was 100 years ago."

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

March 20, 1965

I'm an old cowhand with the Johnson brand,
And I take my stand in the promised land.
Never rode a hoss, 'cause I don't know how,
But you know darn well I'm gonna learn to now,
'Cause it sure beats walkin' behind a plow,
Yippee-yi, LBJ.

I'm a maverick stray from the A.D.A.,
And I used to play Walter Reuther's way,
But I'm steppin' out in diff-rent comp'ny now,
Henry Ford, Fred Kappel and Roger Blough,
We're saddled up with businessmen somehow,
Yippee-yi, LBJ.

I'm the quietest man in all the land
Since I got the word to be seen -- not heard.
I could talk all day if I had my way,
But I'd better not, there'd be hell to pay,
I may do tomorrow what I can't today,
Yippee-yi, LBJ.

Collins introduced Vice President Humphrey as "the co-pilot on the Great Society's dizzy flight into the future," to speak for the Democratic Party.

President Johnson had made it perfectly plain, as the Democratic Convention approached in 1964, that he was going to choose his running mate as all previous Presidents had done, but he let the speculation go on for months as to who it would be and finally announced, after the Democrats had gathered in Atlantic City, that his choice was Senator Hubert Humphrey.

Humphrey began his speech by giving his version of how this came about.

"You recall I never sought the job," he said. "All those meetings last summer with businessmen, bankers, and oil tycoons, editors, Governors, Mayors had but one objective, to help President Johnson. I was the most surprised man in Atlantic City when I got that call from the White House."

He described the call as beginning:

"Hubert, do you think you can keep your mouth shut for the next four years?' I said, 'Yes, Mr. President.' And then he said, 'There you go interrupting me again.'

"And then came the campaign -- extremely interesting, extremely long, extremely expensive, but ending up extremely well. And Barry, you were extremely helpful.

"Barry, we met only once during the campaign, and appropriately at the cornpicking contest. And you may recall I said, 'Barry, you'd better lay off that Social Security issue.' And you replied, 'Listen, Horatio, your run your campaign, and I'll ruin mine.'

"But Barry's doing all right. He has a new TV network show. It runs from 6 P.M. to 5:30 every night. He is writing a syndicated column that reads from right to right.

"But Barry's a smart man. If you can't beat those sensation-seeking columnists, join them."

Then he turned to Nixon, whom he described as "another friend of the President here tonight."

"After being elected," he said, "I immediately sought his advice. I said, 'Dick, what do I need to do to be a good Vice President?'

"Well," he said, 'get yourself a good dog.' 'Anything else,' I said? 'Oh, yes, you need a crisis. In fact, you really need six crises.' 'And what else,' I asked him? He said, 'Stay out of South America.'

"But being Vice President is not all one happy rose garden. For one thing I had to declare all my assets. Up until then, I had Muriel thinking we were broke. She even made her own dresses.

"President Johnson is an amazing man," he continued.

"The President believes in on-the-job training. I remember the President saying to me after that 1960 West Virginia Primary, 'Hubert, that was the poorest campaign I have ever seen. If ever this country has a poverty program, you ought to be in charge of it.'"

Then, laughing at himself some more, he began talking about the discussions that had occurred about building an official residence for the Vice President.

"The President asked me about that," he said. "I said, 'Mr. President, I kind of go for those big old houses with the columns on them.'

"He said, 'Yes-s-s-s-s.'

"I said, 'Mr. President, I like a house that is close in. I like a lot of yard, a lot of trees and squirrels and a lot of driveway. I like a lot of bedrooms in different colors.'

"The President said, 'Yes-s-s-s.'

"And finally I said, 'Mr. President, I think I have my eye on just the right place.'

"The President said, 'Hubert, you have had too much time for reflection.'

"And that's when he assigned me Civil Rights, Poverty, Mayors, Travel -- See-America, Peace Corps, Ambassadors, agriculture, legislation, and diligent attention to my duties as a trustee of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

"Now I'm not complaining. I really like my job -- I mean jobs! Why, I will go any place I am asked to go. I will do anything I am asked to do at any time. You see, I try harder. I have to. I'm only No. 2."

He related an imaginary conversation he had had with George Reedy.

"One of the real pleasures has been working with the White House Staff. The other day I called George Reedy and asked him about that dinner for Princess Grace of Monaco.

"He said, 'I'm sorry, I don't know about any dinner.'

"'But, George, you announced it to the press at Monday's briefing.'

"'I don't remember having a Monday briefing.'

"'But, George,' I said, 'there's a dinner tonight for Princess Grace.'

"'I don't have any information on that. I have to check it out.'

"'George,' I said, 'do you know who you are talking to.'

"'I am not sure.'

"'This is the Vice President of the United States.'

"And he said, 'Could you give me a few more details.'"

That ended the humorous part of his speech, and his serious close concentrated on the need for both individuals and nations to search their souls for the answers to the vital questions of life.

"Who am I? What do I believe? What really counts in my life?" he asked.

"To confront such questions forthrightly is never easy.

"To answer them honestly is often painful.

"Yet a determination to do this is the true test of one's courage and conviction -- and of one's humanity.

"And so it is in the life of a nation.

"Do we, as a free people, possess the courage, the conviction and the humanity to ask: Who are we? What do we believe? What does America stand for?"

"I believe that today America is searching her soul for these answers. She is doing it on the highway between Selma and Montgomery, in the marbled halls of Congress, in the barren valleys of Appalachia, in the poverty-stricken slums of Harlem and South Chicago, and on the distant battlefields of Southeast Asia.

"And, as in the life of an individual, this process in the life of a nation is never easy.

"It is not without great pain and sacrifice. Yet to avoid these questions, and to evade these answers, would be to forfeit the legacy of freedom given to us by generations of compassionate and courageous Americans.

"President Woodrow Wilson was one of these Americans. Speaking in Philadelphia in 1914, he gave his vision of where America should be going:

"'My dream is that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity.'

"This is Lyndon Johnson's dream. It is my dream. And it is surely yours. This is the Promise of America."

The speech, like Goldwater's, was a great success.

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

March 13, 1966

Vice President Humphrey had his chance the next day at the Gridiron reception, when the songs of the Gridiron dinner are traditionally resung for the benefit of those who attended the night before, plus their wives and the widows of deceased Gridiron members.

Richard L. Wilson, who each year since 1958 has acted as the master of ceremonies at this reception, introduced Humphrey at the end of it in these words:

"Many have heard of the great mystery of the historic lost speech of Abraham Lincoln," said Wilson. "Tonight we have the lost speech of Hubert Horatio Humphrey."

It wasn't the speech that he had planned to deliver the night before, except in part, because all during the songs he had been scribbling notes in order to adapt it to the new situation.

"Thank you, Dick Wilson," he began, "the Johnny Carson of the Gridiron Club -- a little overweight and a little elongated, ^{Wilson is 6'3"7} too, but he will do for a daytime show.

"You may have noticed," he continued, "that the first song rendered not by the doves or hawks but by these canaries was a protest song about sit-ins. Well, I have been sitting here since last night..."

He never finished the sentence, because it was drowned out with laughter.

Poking fun at his own reputation for talking, he referred to Wilson's comment about the lost speech and quipped: "No one will ever believe that about me."

"Last night was magnificent," he went on. "I had two or three places at the head table. I never knew where I was sitting. I remember when I was second row from the back."

Laughing at himself still further, he said of the undelivered speech of the night before that he had promised President Johnson he could keep that text. "Those remarks," he said, "are under lock and key. They may be in the Johnson Library. They may be one of the few things about me he likes."

He cited the "He walks with me and he talks with me" song and commented, "I consider walking in the garden mighty nice. You ought to see what I go through sometimes."

Closing on a serious note, he paid a tribute to the Grid-iron Club and said that "there isn't any country that can laugh at itself unless it has great inner strength."

"In song and in verse, it is good to take a good look at ourselves. The people of the nation are good and strong and hard working and fun loving, and they pay their own way and do what is right."

Citing the club's final song of courage, which had been deeply serious and had drawn long applause at both the Saturday dinner and the Sunday reception, he quoted Winston Churchill's feeling that courage is the "first of all human qualities because it guarantees all the others."

"As long as the nation has courage, there is hope for all mankind," he said.

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

March 11, 1967

Vice President Humphrey responded to the toast to the President, Johnson having declined the invitation to this dinner.

Taking his cue from the final skit and the closing song, Humphrey paid his tribute to "our most distinguished of all guests, these fine gallant young men from the American Forces in Vietnam."

"I am here," he said, "with a special mission this evening. This is the time that we are all searching for peace. I have been sitting very close to Dean Rusk in the hopes that his antenna might get a peace feeler or two. But I want to say that we had more peace feelers tonight than this government has heard for many a month."

Then he stuck in the knife.

"I came here with one message, stop the bombing, Bobby... This is the first time that I recall my good friend from New York has spoken for all of the Democratic party, and I want to thank him for his good message."

His next references were to the previous dinner, when President Johnson had pre-empted his place as the final speaker.

"Before we begin this evening's festivities," he said, "before we get a start on it, I thought that there were a few preliminaries that ought to have been disposed of at once. Last year when I was here, I was ready to speak, as some of you recall. I had myself a first-class speech, which I told you later on that I had filed in the library down on the banks of the Pedernales. This afternoon I got it out of hock, and I have been revising it ever since. I'd just like to make sure now, from Walter Trohan, is he coming or isn't he? Because if he is coming, I am revising my remarks. But if you can guarantee me safe passage for a while, we can have some fun here."

"First of all, I have noticed that every place that I have been speaking of late, there's always about 50 or 100 people who find they are at the wrong meeting. No sooner do I get up to speak, [than] some of the best customers walk out. I just thought you would want to know this is the Gridiron Club annual gathering."

Then he referred to Walter Trohan, the quite conservative bureau chief of the Chicago Tribune. Since Humphrey was the guest of honor, he was seated at Trohan's right.

"You have," he said, "an upstanding and outstanding liberal leader with you this evening as your president. This is the first time that Walter Trohan has ever been to the left of me.

"I will tell you, though, he is the kind of liberal who had his car shifted to right-hand drive just to make sure that everything was alright, and then he positioned the distinguished head of the Chicago Tribune to my right, and that is an accurate characterization of this gathering, I might add."

In the Trohan inauguration skit, the treasured Mark Hanna gavel had been carried from the stage to Trohan by Arthur Krock, then the senior active and most distinguished member of the Gridiron Club.

"When I saw the gavel passed tonight," said Humphrey, "I jotted down a note and I couldn't help but think what this meant -- from Mark Hanna to Arthur Krock to Walter Trohan. I don't know what we Democrats are doing here at all. But this gavel has been used softly and impartially.

"You know, I spoke at the National Book Awards ceremony the other evening up in New York, and I listed a number of books and authors that I thought were rather pathetic and were worthy of our attention. But there was one that I forgot on that evening, and it

was a book by a very fine and great man who served his country faithfully and is the father of a very distinguished family, Mr. Joseph Kennedy. It was written in 1936 and titled I Am for Roosevelt. And in that book there was the never-to-be-forgotten passage, 'I have no political ambition for myself or for my children.' I just can't understand what the President is worried about. I think that's about as authentic a commitment as anyone could get."

But there was also another book, portions of which had been published in LOOK Magazine, the book by William Manchester, The Death of a President. The publication of portions of this in advance by LOOK Magazine had been quite a publishing triumph, and Humphrey commented that "it has had such an impact, my good friend Mike Cowles out here is changing the title of his magazine from Look to the Manchester Guardian. And I don't blame him, he can afford to do it."

He next proceeded to some further satire on the Administration. He noted that for most Democratic Administrations, the major source of criticism came from the business community.

"But not so for the Johnson Administration," he said. "Why, just the other day he was talking with two outstanding leaders in the business world. Wealthy, progressive, hard-driving, enterprising Texans deeply concerned about the status of free enterprise in America. He had a long talk and could hardly believe what he was hearing. These tough businessmen seemed to agree with every point that he made. And when they left, the President sighed with relief and he called in his secretary and he said, 'Juanita, those are good, intelligent men. Make a note of their names, Bill Moyers and Jack Valenti.'

Coming back to the President's relationships with Senator Kennedy, he said he happened to believe, from his position of impartiality and objectivity, "that the President does have some just cause for a grievance."

"I will give you an example. Just last Thursday, the President had a normal day's schedule. Appointments, speeches, six appointments, a short press conference, a long-awaited letter from Prime Minister Kosygin. And it was on that very day that Senator Kennedy picked to make his speech, totally obscuring our news from the front page. It seems to me that the President does have just cause."

Humphrey
For Reagan, / had a word, too. He told the Governor that Washington was "a nice place to visit, but you wouldn't want to live here."

And he had looked over some of the Governor's comments a few years back, when he was president of the Screen Actor's Guild. "As I was reading over the former labor leader's statements, I couldn't help but think how amazing it was what a little democratic prosperity could do to change a man's mind."

In closing, he spoke of former President Truman and quoted his statement that "I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation ... by outside pressures."

The Truman government, he said, was formulated not for war, but as an instrument of peace. "In his time, as in ours, peace is our business. Peace means many things, and, above all, it does not mean weakness or indecision. It means, on some occasions,

preventing a conflict, if it is possible. It means assuring that aggression does not succeed. It means helping nations build their strength and confidence, which makes them invulnerable to aggression, and it means trying with every resource of mind and spirit and heart and imagination to translate a conflict on the battlefield into a negotiation and an honorable settlement. That definition of peace is one that governs this nation today without regard to party.

"I have spent much of this day talking and working with our President. What we talked about were these dimensions. Just about this time a week from now, the President of the United States and his senior advisors will be on their way to the Pacific to the island of Guam. He will be conferring there with Ambassador Lodge and General Westmoreland and with the finest military and diplomatic team that this nation has ever developed to carry forward the struggle against aggression, and to find and to carefully open any avenue towards peace. He will plan there and work there to help the people in South Vietnam build their nation for themselves. I am sure that I speak for you tonight when I say that he will carry on this mission,"

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

March 9, 1968

A wheelin' dealin' leader
In a poli-tick-in' town.
Always helpful to his friends,
Especially Root and Brown.
Wealth and fame went to the men
Who never let him down.
He settled for the White House
'Cause there wasn't any crown.
Lyndon. Lyndon Johnson,
The buckskin buccaneer.
Lyndon. Lyndon Johnson,
Seein' his duty clear.

Polls were agin' him though
He shoveled out the dough.
His private pollster says
It just ain't so.
Swears he'll be winnin'
And they'll all eat crow.
Calls on the spirit of the Alamo.
Lyndon. Lyndon Johnson,
King of the wild frontier.
Lyndon. Lyndon Johnson,
Seein' his duty clear.

With a reference to the man from Minnesota who had been accompanied in the skit by Sancho Panza and the donkey, Finney, as the Democratic speaker, then introduced/"another man from Minnesota," Vice President Humphrey.

Mindful of what had happened two years before when President Johnson popped in unexpectedly, Humphrey said at the outset he wanted to get rid of the preliminaries -- "Is he coming?" He followed with a suggestion that they lock the doors, because "tonight we close the credibility gap."

Speaking of the upcoming campaign, he remarked that "the office seeks the man. Don't tempt me. Loyalty oath or not, I could be tempted!"

Speaking of the Vice Presidency, he described it as "the only office designed by the mind of man with a constitutionally enforced humility. The President," he said, "is always thinking of

me. His messages are full of talk about the disadvantaged and the forgotten...

"But you may have noticed," he continued, "I have been more independent these days.

"In Boston, I attacked the Congress for inaction on legislation.

"In Detroit I called for a Marshall Plan for the cities.

"In Washington I discussed in some detail the report of the Kerner Commission.

"And each time I was happy to see that George Christian clearly spelled it out. 'The Vice President was speaking on his own.'

"I'm glad to be speaking to those who understand the American language of my boyhood," he said. "I was born of an oppressed minority. We were Democrats!"

"Those were the good old days when to be 'far out' meant living on a farm away from town.

"A picket was a fence post. And when you 'took a trip,' you went over to your grandmother's house.

"As you all know, my father was in drugs. He never dreamed what a potential market he had at the nearby land-grant college."

Veering off then to the forthcoming Conventions, and where the Democratic conclave should be held, he said that the President was holding out for the Houston Astrodome, but that he was for the St. Paul Auditorium.

"We just couldn't agree, so we called Bobby to ask his preference. Really, I expected him to say the Boston Garden. But no, he said 'Las Vegas.'

"Why Las Vegas? The wiretaps are already installed."

Then he told about having a meeting with the President to talk about the campaign, and Johnson had said: "Hubert, we've got to divide the campaign duties.

"You take Berkeley, Cambridge, Harlem, downtown Detroit, the farm states and Alabama. I'll take Fort Bragg, the Space Center, and Johnson City."

About a week before, he continued, when the Governors came to Washington, the President and Mrs. Johnson asked them to the White House. He thought it was pretty big of the President, too, particularly when he noticed, during cocktails, that several of the wives were measuring the furniture and feeling the draperies.

"Well, it's a wonderful house.-- a good address in a nice neighborhood. The plumbing works. The garbage is collected regularly. And when it's cold, you can count on a hot blast from Capitol Hill."

He noted that it was quite common for political personalities to appear on the Johnny Carson show and said that "what isn't so well known is that many of them plan to appear later this year in regular roles on other shows. For instance:

"Barry Goldwater in 'Snap Judgment.'

"George Romney in 'Get Smart.'

"George Wallace in 'Let's Make a Deal.'

"Bobby Kennedy and Chuck Percy in 'The Little Rascals.'

"Gene McCarthy in 'Sunrise Semester.'

"Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey in 'Run for Your Life.'

"Have you seen the buttons kids are wearing these days?

The political ones are especially interesting.

"'Romney's a Dropout.'

"'Don't Walk -- Buy a Used Car from Nixon.'

"'Draft Rocky: He Looks Good in Khaki.'

"I'm told they're coming out with one that says: 'I'm a Lousy Listener -- Unleash Hubert!'

"Now a word about the opposition," he went on. "We see across this great land hundreds of billboards proclaiming: 'Ford has a better idea.'

"Well, Jerry, if you have any idea, I wish you'd give it to the House."

He closed with a peroration about our America -- that "size is not grandeur" and "territory does not make a nation."

He then recalled the words of Edmund Burke more than a century before that "the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing," and of Calvin Coolidge, that "the business of America is business."

"But we know," he said, "the business of America is America, and the greatest gift of free enterprise to our nation is not what is on the balance sheet but what is in the communities."

Business at work, producing a prosperous economy, a strong nation, and "the determination to see that America is not only rich but just."

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

March 15, 1969

Humphrey was introduced as the Democratic speaker. He said it wasn't the results on election night or even the verdict of the Electoral College, but that "it's when you have been invited to speak at the Gridiron that you know it's official -- then you know you have lost..."

"This is a night for reminiscing. When a man loses a Presidential election, he keeps thinking about what went wrong. I want to share those thoughts with you -- because of the great support I got from the publishers and newspapers of this country..."

"But the defeat was not without some blessings. Each morning, as a professor, I grade a few term papers; in the afternoon, as a druggist, I fill a few prescriptions; and in the evening, as a husband, Muriel and I work on my collection of campaign buttons. The one I prize most says: 'Almost all the way without LBJ.'

"As a matter of fact, it's been rather easy for me to switch from political life to academic life -- involuntarily, I might add.-- especially since I had my riot training last fall. My only complaint is -- I don't get combat pay!..."

"I teach at two schools and this gives me the unusual and historic opportunity to be held hostage on two campuses simultaneously. No other ex-Vice President or professor can make that claim!"

After several other remarks about college students, "The Love Poems of Eugene McCarthy," and Eric Goldman's book, he continued:

"But enough of the past. Let us turn to the present. The last time I saw President Nixon was on Inauguration Day. He was taking his oath, and I was muttering a few of my own."

Since then, he said, it had been a fast-moving presidency. President Nixon had withdrawn "nominations for 451 Postmasters, 26 judges, retired more than a dozen ambassadors, rescinded the Trans-Pacific route decision, sent Governor Rockefeller to Latin America, and exiled Murray Chotiner to Bethesda."

Then, speaking very slowly and seriously, he said:

"I know you all share with me an enormous sympathy for the man who holds the loneliest office in the land, the most sensitive office within the gift of the people, the man who walks a tight rope between what is right and what is wrong -- buffeted by one force or another.

"We honor this man tonight and I want to pay my special respects to -- the Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew.

"You know, Vice President Agnew and I are soul brothers! We have both occupied the office space allotted to the Vice President. So we both understand the meaning of that immortal phrase, from Aristotle, or was it Socrates, 'If you've seen one slum, you've seen them all.'

"It is traditional at the Gridiron Club to end on a serious note. You all know how I feel. I ran. I lost. I was disappointed. But I have recovered, and perhaps I will return."

Then, turning to Nixon, who had been Vice President for eight years and then out of office for eight, he said, "Mr. President, your own life has inspired me. May I be so fortunate."

"I have been close enough to high office over these past 20 years to know the pressures and problems that our President and

Vice President must bear, day after day -- the splendid misery.
Winning the peace is a lonely battle.

"Our hopes and prayers are with them. May good fortune smile upon them until November 6, 1972."

Noting that the cabana had replaced the ranch, and that lights burn again in the White House at night, the Republican skit was laid at "Rebozo's Hideaway" on the beach at Key Biscayne.

When an impersonator of Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird inquired of a couple of natives what they thought about the winter White House being there, they replied that "Bee Bee says it don't hurt the real estate values hardly at all."

Interior Secretary "Walter J. Hickel," who was already under somewhat of a cloud because he had been a bit critical of President Nixon, and because he wanted immediate fast development of the Alaska oil pipeline, led off with a song:

I fell in with evil companions;
The things they proposed were a crime;
Those oil men had schemes that gave
me wild dreams --
And I had a wonderful time!

Among the many Republicans gathered at Key Biscayne was Deputy Secretary of Defense "David Packard," who inquired naively, with the President setting up so many new commissions, "how about one to try sneaking some Republicans into the Administration?"

This brought a severe rebuke just as "Governor Rockefeller" and Republican National Chairman "Ray Bliss" came on stage. Bliss, it was explained, "lost the only job he had, and the Governor lost two he wanted, like President or Secretary of State."

And Rockefeller sang, "Do you ever think of me?"

To -

From - HAROLD BRAYMAN

April 3, 1972

Humphrey was introduced as the Democratic speaker by the Gridiron president, who presented him as the titular head of the Democratic Party and announced that "there is an old proverb in Washington: To make a long story short, don't let Hubert Humphrey tell it."

Humphrey commented on the introduction as titular leader by saying, "I don't know whether any pun was intended by that introduction, given the circumstances surrounding this meeting."

But, in any event, he felt that night, he said, "like Hubert Horatio Hamlet: To be here or not to be here: that was my question. Whether t'would be nobler in the mind t'o suffer slings and arrows of the picket line outside, or take arms against the sea of troubles inside, and, by opposing, end them."

W. C. Fields had once been asked, he commented, whether he favored clubs for women, and his classic reply was: "Sure I do, when all other means of persuasion fail."

Gridiron speakers, he said, were supposed to present political jokes.

"Unfortunately," he said, "most of the political jokes I know are still in office."

Referring to the Republican speaker who was to follow him a little later in the evening, he mentioned the "handsome and distinguished Barry Goldwater" and announced that he had heard he was negotiating a movie contract "with 18th Century Fox."

"Barry and I are good friends," he said, because we have so much in common. We were both worked over by Lyndon Johnson.

"As a matter of fact," he continued, "this coming fall while I campaign for the Presidency in all 50 states, Barry, true to his style, and determined to prove his friendship for me, intends to do his campaigning for Richard Nixon in the original 13 colonies.

"But one thing I'll say about Barry and me. He is clearly on the Republican side and I'm clearly on the Democratic side -- now if we could only find out whose side Nixon is on!"

But he wanted to give the President credit.

"He did give the dollar back to its rightful owner -- the banks. In fact, he has a charismatic, magical quality about him. He almost made the dollar disappear!...

"I won't say that Mr. Nixon hasn't had some success. Look at it this way -- at least he kept us out of Northern Ireland."

And he'd just received a late bulletin: "President Nixon just ordered the bombing of Jack Anderson."

As to Vice President Agnew, he assured his audience that it wasn't true that that official was opposed to newsmen expressing their views.

"He's only opposed to people reading those views!"

"And another silly rumor is that Mr. Agnew is at odds with the young people. Actually, he feels about them as he feels about news commentators -- they should be seen and not heard."

The Republicans, he thought, were irretrievably committed to controls: "Control the press, control the money and control the White House -- if only they would control prices too!"

It was obviously "a nostalgic evening" for him, he said, with a jibe first at ITT.

"There is a great deal to be said about the old politics and the old ways. Do you remember those good old days when all that was shredded was wheat?

"When the Republicans came into office they reminded us that a new broom sweeps clean. I just don't think anyone expected the new broom to sweep so much under the rug...

"Do you remember the good old days when all you had to remember was ATT -- now the Republicans want to forget ITT.

"And do you remember when we Democrats initiated a war on poverty? That was just before the Republicans started their war on prosperity.

"I remember when you called a plumber after a leak developed. Now you call J. Edgar Hoover, and have Jack Anderson following him.

"And remember when George Wallace was content to just block the door to the schoolhouse? Now he wants to block the door to the White House, again.

— "Finally, do you remember Hubert Humphrey before he learned to be brief? Well, don't rely on it!

"Seriously, though, there is vitality in the Democratic Party. Every mother's son and daughter that ever wanted to be President is running for the office. And, of course, it's all Nixon's fault -- he's made the job so attractive -- Key Biscayne, San Clemente, Camp David, Peking, Moscow and an occasional visit to the White House. Now that's living! I tell you, it beats going to the ranch...

"Having been brought up in the belief that anyone can run for the Presidency at least twice, I am now too determined to add a platform plank that recommends a new Presidential election system. You can't blame me for being dissatisfied with the old one."

He ended his speech by making a plea that the Gridiron Club change its constitution by adding, in the section covering membership, after the word "men," the two words "and women."

"You can call it the Poe amendment," he suggested, (and he sang) "Two little words -- that's all I live for -- those two little words."

Former President Johnson, just a few days prior to the dinner, had been taken ill, and Humphrey closed his speech by saying:

"Tonight a former President lies ill in a hospital at Charlottesville, Virginia. I ask you to join me in wishing him a full and speedy recovery."



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