REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS
NEW YORK CITY
MARCH 8, 1967

I am honored and delighted to be at an occasion, and with so many people, of importance in the world of books.

I have written books. And I read books.

I hope you will not write me off as insensitive, if I tell you that both the books I read, and the books I've written, have been largely non-fiction.

I have always felt somewhat like Mark Twain about these things:

"Wak talk by men who have been in a war is always interesting; whereas moon talk by a poet who has not been on the moon is likely to be dull."

But for those who do prefer fiction, let me tell you that -- in the world of politics -- I find a great deal of it every day. And, I can tell you in this regard that "Fiction, truth is a thousand times stranger than."

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As we look forward this evening to honoring the outstanding books and authors of 1966, we inevitably think back on the books and authors that have had some impact on our own lives.

In my schoolboy days in South Dakota I can remember devouring the early memoirs of Woodrow Wilson's Administration, and the 8-volume biography by Ray Stannard Baker that began appearing in 1927.

Franklin Roosevelt picked up with me where Wilson left off. In fact, I wrote my master's thesis at Louisiana State University on the New Deal. I absorbed everything in sight on Roosevelt both pro and con.

Those were the days when we were all concerned with "social consciousness." And many of us still are -- you don't have to look too far to find the idealogical roots of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Not quite 200 years ago -- 191 years to be exact -- a book was published in Philadelphia that deserved to win a National Book Award for 1776, if there had been any then.

It was COMMON SENSE by Thomas Paine, an Englishman who was a rather unpleasant character but who put into eloquent and concise words the yearning for national freedom that was bursting into flame in the hearts of Americans.

Historians have always attached major importance to COMMON SENSE. But I think few people realize what a remarkable best-seller it was.

Within three months after it was first issued, this 80-rage pamphlet had sold 120 thousand copies in the American colonies. This is equal to a sale of 10 million copies, based on our present population. The price of the first edition by the way was about the shillings or 10 cents.

Another book that is a favorite of mine and could have cualified for one of your awards was Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

It was written toward the end of the Revolutionary War and was the best early statement of the humanitarian and agrarian principles which were the moving forces in the first hundred years of our development.

It was also a great scientific work. It made Jefferson the father of American geography and malentology and was more widely read in Europe than any American book since Benjamin Franklin's Experiments and Observations on Electricity published 30 years before.

Then there were the Lincoln-Douglas debates, which occured in 1858 but took awhile to sink into the national consciousness.

A publisher in Columbus, Ohio, brought them out as a book in 1860, and that book had a great deal to do with winning the Republican Presidential nomination for Lincoln

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Another book published at about the same time was important to me in my studies and teaching because it was such a beautifully clear and convincing examination of what the author called Congressional Government.

The author showed just how the power of Congress and its committees had grown up, and how it overshadowed and even dominated in a harmful way the power of the Executive in the White House. The author was Woodrow Wilson and he wrote the book as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University.

Later on, while he was president at Princeton--and before he was able to do something about the powers of the Presidency--Wilson wrote his masterful History of the American People, which certainly might have received a Book Award in its time.

That book was published by Harper & Brothers as I recall.

I asked Cass Canfield, by the way, what other Presidents besides Kennedy and Wilson his firm had been associated with. He told me it all started back in the 1840's when Harper's printed some books of poems by President Tyler's son; and then went on to issue in 1843 a big fat volume of

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President Tyler's speeches, messages and other public papers. This did Tyler no good when he went after renomination for President a year later. But it was one of the earliest examples of the publication of Presidential papers which is now such a valuable historical activity, and which the government is assisting with funds and the services of trained editors and scholars.

I have a good reason for knowing the power of a Harper book in politics -- in 1960 I did some campaigning against the author of <u>Profiles in Courage!</u>

Even before the Tyler book, by the way, I understand that Harper's tried very hard to sew up a contract with Dolley Madison for publishing her husband's Presidential papers. This fell through because Mrs. Madison's son by her first husband, John Payne Todd, who was something of a ne'er do well, made off with many of the Madison papers and sold them to souvenir hunters to pay his racing and liquor debts.

But over the years the Harper firm has had important publishing relationships, through its book and magazines, with every Presidential administration from Abraham Lincoln's to Lyndon Johnson's -- with the possible exception of three: James Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, Herbert Hoover.

One of these omissions will be corrected. I understand, when Margaret Leech, one of the many distinguished authors whose Harper-published books have won awards and prizes, completes the definitive book she is writing on the life of Garfield.

I hope you will forgive me for giving such fulsome credit tonight to Harper's. But, since it is the 150th anniversary of a great publishing house, I feel all of us would be moved to do the same.

All of us with a respect for ideas and for knowledge owe so much to the publishers who print not only what they know is profitable, but also what they believe should be printed, for its own sake -- profitability or not.

I know there are some who would deny that this is so. But most of you know that it is.

Finally, I would leave you with one other thought:

The vast number of titles which are published each year --  $\frac{\text{all}}{\text{may}}$  of them are to the good, even if some of them  $\frac{\text{may}}{\text{may}}$  annoy or even repel us for a time. For none of us would trade freedom of expression and of ideas for the narrowness of the public censor.

America is a free market for people who have something to say, and need not fear to say it.

It is your job, and it is mine, to see that America remains that way.

Vice President Hubert H. what we mean by free speech." to say and need not are to Humphrey was heckled by experts last night—some 100 incident calmiy and as he be- Seven works of 190 were guests at the National Book gan his address guipped, "Tve honored with awards. They

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Humphrey told the audience sor. America is a free market as the protesters left: "This is for people who have something

Awards ceremonies protesting heard of Broadway shows that were "The Fixer," by Hernard the war in Viet Nam, walked sometimes lose their audience Malamud; "Mr. Clemens and

Goodman and about 100 others in the audience of 1,000 authors, publishers and booksellers, then stalked from the hall to the boos and catcalls of those who remained,

out as he was about to speak, after the first night. I'm sorry Mark Twain," by Justin Kapdium at Philiharmonic Hall in
Lipson Contag royalet Mitch. dum at Philinarmonic Hall in ence perore we even began."

Lincoln Center, novelist Mitchell Goodman stood in the aisle and shouted, "Mr. Vice in books, eschewing any mention of the war or of William dren in Viet Nam and you and we are all responsible."

Peter Gay: "Nights and Days."

by James Merrill and "La Vida," by Oscar Lewis, Willard Trask was honored for his translation of Casanova a "History of My Life," and Gregory Rabassa for his translation of President."

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pride and pleasure to welcome here to join in our celebration, the Vice President of the United States, Hubert Humphrey.

Mr. Nichols and Mr. Minow - this is what we mean by free speech. Once again my friend Bill Nichols and Newt Minow and Roger Stevens, members of the National Book Committee and ladies and gentlemen. I've heard of Broadway plays that didn't have customers after the first night but I'm sorry to lose the trade before we get started. I'm sure that you know that I feel singularly honored to be here on this occasion and to be with so many very distinguished writers, authors, men and women of such importance in the world of literature and books. Now I really can't claim to be much of an author - frankly much of my life is spent talking and therefore having made so many speeches and having to listen to them myself. I do understand how boring they can be. I've had little time for writing but I have written some books. I think I should tell you a little bit about them. None of them have been good enough to make me rich and thus far none of them bad enough to defeat me. But you never can tell at least to one of those possibilities. I like to read books and I hope that you will not write me off as being insensitive if I tell you that the books that I read and like best to read and the books that I've written have

been largely non-fiction . I've always felt like Mark Twain about these things and people are quoting Mark Twain more and more these days and I think that's good because of his fresh and indigenous sense of humor. He said, "War taught by men who have been in a war is always interesting whereas moon talk by a poet who has not been in the moun is likely to be dull". So I shall talk about the kind of a life it has been my privilege to live which is essentially a public life. I might say for Mark Twain that he may have to eat his words because it is entirely possible that we shall have a poet that can talk about the moon in the not too distant future - one that has been there. But for those of you who do prefer fiction, and I think I would if I could just get enough time to read it, let me tell you that in the world of politics I find a great deal of it every day. And I can tell you in then this regard that fiction truth is a thousand times stranger than. Or to put it another way - there is a bit of fiction, on occasion even in politics. Many of you may know that my old friend and your friend Cass Canfield came to Washington a few weeks ago to invite me to be with you at this meeting. It seems like he's a very brave man and gets into more than his fair share of trouble. I told Cass that I'd be delighted to come because I knew that this had been a difficult time for him. But I think I should tell Cass that he does have the satisfaction tonight of knowing that in this, your anniversary year, that you've had a very lasting effect

on publishing. My friend, Mike Cowles, is changing' the name of his magazine from Look to The Manchester Guardian. Now as we look forward this evening to honoring the outstanding books and authors of 1966, we inevitably look back on the book and authors that have had some impact on our own lives and I want to share some of those observations with you. In my school days, back in the plains of South Dakota, I can remember devouring the early memoirs of Woodrow Wilson's administration. My father was devoted to Woodrow Wilson and I grew up in the philosophy of Woodrow Wilson's new freedom. I remember the eight volume biography that was in dad's library by Ray Stannard Baker and that library or that biography started to appear in about the year 1927. Franklin Roosevelt picked up with me where Wilson left off. I should add that there was another little book that I read of Woodrow Wilson's which I have on my desk and which I consider to be almost a spiritual message. It's a very short dissertation entitled, "When A Man Comes to Himself." It is very hard to find - there are very few copies but may I say if ever you feel a bit depressed and you want to sense what really is going on in this great universe of ours -- read it. Now back to Franklin Roosevelt -- in fact I wrote my masters thesis at the Louisiana State University on the New Deal. I literally

devoured and absorbed everything on sight on Roosevelt both pro and con. And I might just as well make a confession - it was mostly pro for my politics. Those were the days when we were all concerned with social consciousness and I trust those days will live on forever. Many of us still are very concerned and I don't think you have to look too far to find ideological roots of many pieces of legislation today back to those days. Not quite 200 years ago, in fact, 191 years to be exact, there was a book published in Philadelphia that deserved to win a National Book Award for 1776 and if you have any awards that are retroactive, I would suggest that you give consideration to this book. It's title - it was "Common Sense" by Thomas Paine - an Englishman who was rather an unpleasant character but who put into eloquent and poignant words the yearning for national freedom that was bursting into flame in the hearts of Americans. Now historians have always attached major importance to common sense. I think Washington said it was worth a whole army to him but I think a few people realize what a remarkable best seller it was. Within three months after it was first published or issued, this 80 page pamphlet or book had sold 120,000 copies in the American colonies. Now this is equal to the sale of ten million copies based on the present population

and I venture to say that any one of the award winners tonight would settle for the ten million copies. The price of that first edition, by the way, was only two shillings or approximately 50 cents. Things have changed somewhat. Now another book that is a favorite of mine and I think could have qualified for one of your awards was Thomas Jefferson's "Notes On Virginia." It was written toward the end of the Revolutionary War and it, I believe, was the best early statement of humanitarian and agrarian principles which were the moving forces in the first 100 years in our national development. It was also a very great scientific work because Jefferson was author, statesman, scientist, philosopher, all in one. It made Jefferson the father of American geography and Palentology and was more widely read in Europe than any American book since Benjamin Franklin's "Experiments and Observations on Electricity" - a book that was published just 30 years before Jefferson's work. Then, too, I have always had as a favorite author that great French political commentator, Alex deTocqueville, and his famous work that I think is the most precise observation on America --"Democracy in America." deTocqueville was a very astute observer of the contemporary scene. He was an analyst of not only the people but of political forces and he was a political prophet. Then, of course, there were the

Lincoln-Douglas debates which occured in 1858 but took a while to sink into the national consciousness. A publisher in Columbus, Ohio brought them out as a book in 1860. And that book, another powerful, moving force had a great deal to do with winning the presidential nomination for Abraham Lincoln. A very good book on our early military history was written by a young Harvard graduate who studied law and political science at Columbia University in the early 1880's and he wrote the difinitive work on the naval war of 1812. He did this in his apare time. His name was Theodore Roosevelt. I've read this book for just share enjoyment because I like the way he wrote history. He was sort of on our side. Another book published at about that time which was of interest and importance to me in my studies in teaching as a professor in political science - because it was such a beautifully clear and convincing examination of what the author called congressional government. As a matter of fact I'd like to go on record here as a member of the American Political Science Association to tell you it is the definitivework on congressional government and nothing has every been written to equal it. The author showed just how the power of Congress and its committees had developed and how at times it overshadowed and even dominated in what he thought was a harmful way too the power of the executive in the

White House. My how times have changed. The author was Woodrow Wilson and he wrote the book as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University. Later on while he was president at Princeton , before he was able to do m something about the powers of the presidency, Wilson wrote his masterful history of the American people which certainly might have received a book award in his time. It is one of the great histories of our people. Now that book was published by the gentleman who came to call on me, that is his company that celebrates its 150th birthday - Harper and Brothers, as I recall. I asked Cass Canfield, by the way, what other Presidents besides Kennedy and Wilson his firm had been associated with and he told me that it all started back in the 1840's when Harper first printed some books of poems by Pres. Tyler's son and then went on to issue in 1843 a big fat volume of Pres. Tyler speeches, messages and other public papers. I should report to you that this did Tyler no good When he went after the namination for the presidency a year later but it was one of the earliest examples of the publication of presidential papers which is now such a valuable historical activity and which the government, as you know, is assisting with funds and services of trained editors and scholars. Now I have good reason personally for knowing the power of a book in politics. In 1960 I did some campaigning against the author of

"Profiles in Courage" and the author was good and so was the book. Even before the Tyler book, by the way, I understand that Harpers tried to find a way to sew up the contract with Dolly Madison for publishing her husbands presidential papers. But this fell through because Mrs. Madison's son by her first husband, John Paine Todd, who was something of a new do-well, made off with all the papers and sold them as souviners to pay for his racing and drinking bills. Proving only that public papers do have some value. I hope you'll forgive me for giving this what appears to be rather undue credit to Harpers but as I said since it's its 150th anniversary that's quite a long time for a publishing firm to live and it's a great publishing house. I feel that all of you would want me to do this just as you would want to do it. Finally let me say this - all of us with a respect for ideas and for knowledge owe so much to the publishers who print not only what they know is profitable but also what they believe should be printed for its own sake profitability or not. And there are such publishers. I would leave you with one other thought - the vast number of titles which are published each year - all of them are to the good even if some of them may annoy or even repel us for a time. I happen to believe that none of us would want to trade freedom of expression and ideas for the narrowness of the public censor. Jefferson said in that

first inaguraul of his something that I repeat frequently because I think it is needed now more than when he said it - it is needed in public life, private life, it surely is needed in the media, the printed word, the spoken word, the visual word. Jeferson said, "Air of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it". This is the very essence of what we mean by freedom of speech and freedom of press, freedom of conscience. And our beloved friend and one of thegreat noble spirits that I know inspired so many of you as he inspired me, Adlai Stevenson, gave us a very distinct and practical definition of the kind of a society that we want for ourselves and for our posterity. Adlai said, "My definition of a free society is one where it is safe to be unpopular". And I think that is a definition not only of a free society but also of what it means to write and to think, to sing and to paint, to dance and to talk and to walk as you would as long as you do not deny the other man or the other person his right to do the same. You see, America is more than a market place of goods. In fact America is a free market place of ideas, a free market for people who have something to say and need not fear to say it. And as long as we perserve that enviroment, that political, cultural, social mileau - the enviroment for the expression of mans intellect and his spirit there will never be any danger to this nation. Now I happen to think that is your job and it is my job to see to it that America remains that way a home for ideas and inspiration to creativity, a wholesome enviroment for people who want to be themselves.

## REMARKS

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tell you that -- in the world of politics -- I find a great

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Many of you may know that my old friend Cass Canfield came to Washington a few weeks ago to invite me to be with you this evening.

I first asked Cass about the family -- of course,
I meant Cass' family.

When he assured me that all was well, I told him that his visit was particularly fortuitous. I had been thinking about a book for some time, and I wondered if Cass would be interested. In fact, I had a manuscript all ready for him to look over.

But, to my surprise, Cass said he would <u>not</u> be interested until he was sure I had cleared the manuscript with my friends.

But Cass, but you'do have the satisfaction of knowing in this, that in your anniversary year, that you have had a lasting effect on publishing.

For instance, did you know that my friend

Mike Cowles is changing the name of his magazine from

Look to The Manchester Guardian

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