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# FOIA MARKER

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13762  
**Folder ID Number:** 13762-011

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**Folder Title:**  
Fourth of July Parade, Marshfield, MO 7/4/91 [OA 8325] [2]

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Grant / Cawley  
Draft two  
June 26, 1991  
A:JULYFOUR

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: FOURTH OF JULY PARADE  
MARSHFIELD, MISSOURI  
JULY 4, 1991  
11:00 a.m.**

Thank you so much for that warm welcome. [Acknowledgements:  
<sup>Intro</sup> Governor Ashcroft; <sup>Jack Danforth</sup> Senators Danforth and Bond; <sup>KIT</sup> Congressman "Give  
'Em Hell, Mel" Hancock, <sup>Wayne</sup> Mayor Walter Plunkett, <sup>families + ribbon</sup> (all the veterans,  
others?)] And to all of you who lined the parade route as Barbara  
and I came into town, <sup>Presid. Comm. Don Rost</sup> thank you for letting us share this holiday  
with you. ///

[Mr. Plunkett, I hear that in addition to being Mayor, you  
are a <sup>chief</sup> fire fighter here in town, and that you own and operate the  
gas station. [joke to come from NSC.]]

Look at this field of flags, will you? I know that the  
flags don't just fly on the Fourth of July in Marshfield,  
Missouri. **They fly every day of the year. ///**

[I understand that Marshfield has a long history of great  
Fourth of July parades. In fact, I'm told that 100 years ago  
today, the speaker at the parade was the Honorable O.H. Travers,  
who was reported to be "the silver-tongued orator of  
<sup>Missouri</sup> Springfield." On the centennial of that great occasion, would  
you settle for "the Silver Fox of Rye, New York"? /// ]

What a thrill to be celebrating "the glorious Fourth" here  
in the Show-Me State. When we heard we had a chance to walk in  
the oldest Fourth of July parade in Missouri, we couldn't pass it  
continuous celebration

up. It's great to be here in Marshfield -- the place some have called **"the best little town on Earth."** ///

Barbara and I remember other Fourths we've celebrated ... the kids and the fireworks in Midland, Texas ... baseball games in Connecticut ... corn on the cob and hamburgers last summer in Maine, outside of a town about the size of this one. Seeing these youngsters on bikes reminds us of our own grandkids, and standing here, I think of our family ... our friends ... and the special times we've shared together over the years.

Times like this bring to mind President Eisenhower's thankfulness for "the rare and priceless privilege of growing up in a small town." These towns cultivate the kind of values that carried this country for over two hundred years -- ones like liberty and loyalty, ingenuity and independence. And through it all, faith in God above. These ideals make up the American Character. You can't buy them out of a catalog or learn them from the evening news. They grow out of the good deeds we do for each other right here in this town square.

If **Am the Ov.**  
**Resp. Sp.**  
**Bully Pulpit (Pres)** tell them: You can find the American character **day, in Marshfield, Missouri.//**

It's 7. Today hundreds of relatives are in town, high school classmates back for reunions, long-lost friends home for the weekend. Take a look at some of the heroes among us this morning: **the hard-working doctors and nurses. ///** **The fearless fire fighters, all volunteers -- like your own Mayor, right here. ///** **The policemen and women -- some of them**

(Curt)



Am the Ov.  
Resp. Sp.  
Bully Pulpit (Pres)

volunteers, too -- on the beat day in and day out. /// And certainly, thank God for the dedicated teachers at Marshfield Elementary, and the Junior and Senior High Schools. ///

But today, the town -- the whole nation -- gathers to honor yet another group of heroes -- the brave servicemen and women of Operation Desert Storm. /// While standing strong for American values, they liberated a nation abroad and transformed a nation at home. As Sergeant Richard Mann [is he here today?] said, "I think God took a whole generation of Americans out into the desert, and showed them a miracle." Sergeant Mann was right -- but the real miracle took place not in the sands of Kuwait. It unfolded in the American heart. ///

These young men and women went to the desert, thinking of you, thinking of their country. They brought honor to our nation, just as all our veterans here today made us proud. ///

Together, we stand ready for the next step in the American experience -- the 21st Century together. And we are ready -- for we are a nation of families and communities just like Marshfield. We are a nation of parents, brothers, sisters and neighbors. We know that our future lies right in the hands of kids like these right here. [point to kids on their bikes in parade.]

We believe in them, through all their childhood dreams and wild ideas. I'm reminded of a story about Mark Twain -- true story -- a man who had a weakness for new inventions. Over the years, he lost half a million dollars investing in various

FAX

contraptions. Finally, decided that he'd been gullible too often. He resolved never to humor an inventor again.

*Answers,  
The Wit & Wisdom  
of Mark Twain  
P. 124-5*

Well, one day a gangly young man approached Twain, carrying a boxy device. Twain listened politely to the young man's pleas for help, but explained he just wasn't interested. Looking dejected, the would-be inventor shuffled away. Twain, perhaps feeling a pang of pity, cried out: "What did you say your name was again?" "Bell," was the reply, "Alexander Graham Bell."

Luckily, someone else took a chance on Alexander Graham Bell. [[Luckily, that is, unless you have a teenager who won't leave Bell's invention alone.]]

Bell saw an opportunity to make life better -- and he seized it. Right here in Marshfield, you know what it takes to solve problems and you're willing to take a chance. You know who you are: the volunteers who run the Head Start, the people who created the child care center at the Methodist Church; teachers who challenge children's imaginations and stretch their minds.

Barbara and I have come here today because it's impossible not to feel at home in America's heart. By your example, your faith and your hard work, you are leading us into the Next American Century. By your hospitality, you're making one President feel as comfortable as a cousin at a family reunion.//

Thank you so much for having us here today. God bless each and every one of you, and Happy Fourth of July.

# # #

*Parents AS  
Teachers  
ADDPD  
modul  
(can see)  
Temple  
Baptist*

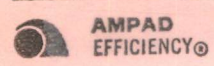
To C2  
Date 7/1 Time 1:40

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M Anne Driscoll  
of \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone 778-2321  
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE CALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALLED TO SEE YOU	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILL CALL AGAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
WANTS TO SEE YOU	<input type="checkbox"/>	URGENT	<input type="checkbox"/>
RETURNED YOUR CALL		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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23-000 50 SHT. PAD  
23-001 250 SHT. DISPENSER BOX

Intro ⇒

- ↳ Kay Plunkett
- ↳ Janet Ashcraft
- ↳ Sgt (shoog) Hancock
- ↳ Leona Rost

David -

DPE Lib.

913-263-4751

Times like this bring to mind President Eisenhower's thankfulness for "the rare and priceless privilege of growing up in a small town." These towns cultivate the kind of values that carried this country for over two hundred years -- ones like liberty and loyalty, ingenuity and independence. And through it all, faith in God above. These ideals make up the American Character. You can't buy them out of a catalogue or learn them from the evening news. They grow out of the good deeds we do for each other, and you can find them right here in this town square.

**If anybody asks, I'll tell them: You can find the American Character on display, every day, in Marshfield, Missouri. ///**

[You can also find that same Character in self-made Americans like our nominee to the Supreme Court, Judge Clarence Thomas. Judge Thomas says that when he was growing up, "God ... school, discipline, hard work and 'right-from-wrong' were of the highest priority. Judge Thomas spent a lot of his life in Missouri -- *attending the Imm. Conc. Sem. and then* working as an assistant attorney general, as counsel to the Monsanto Company, and *later,* an aide to your own Senator Danforth -- before going on to a distinguished career as a jurist. Clarence Thomas is a man of character and impeccable credentials -- a model for all Americans. Clarence Thomas has earned the right to sit on the United States Supreme Court. /// ]

It's the Fourth of July. Today hundreds of relatives are in town, high school classmates back for reunions, old friends home

WPOST  
JULY 2, 1991  
P. A1

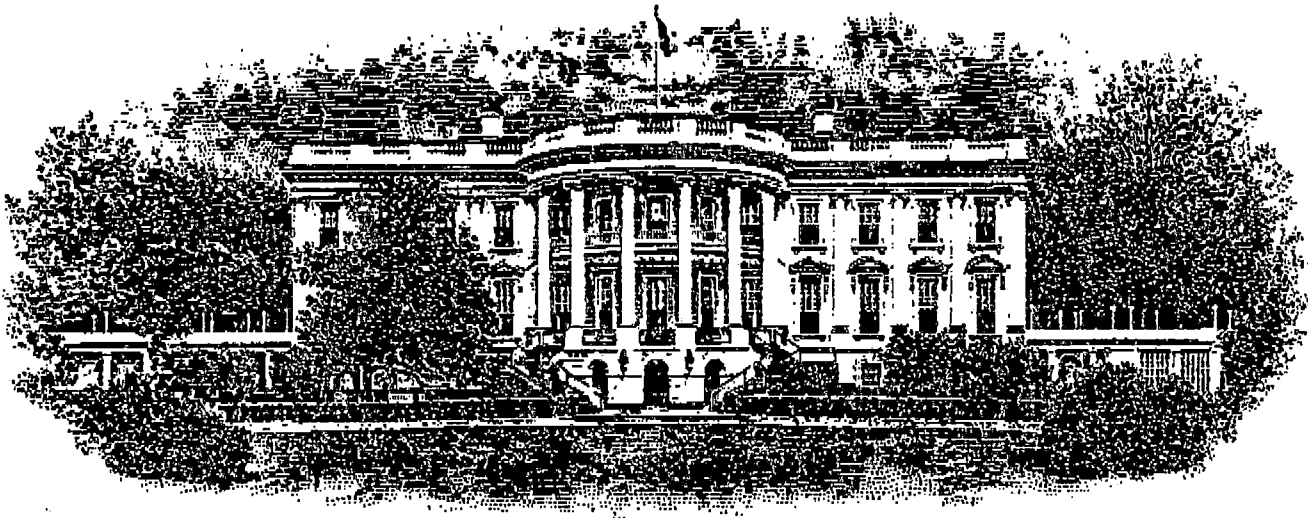
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



# Office of Public Affairs

## FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of Pages Including Cover 3

Date July 1, 1991

To Public Affairs Directors

Fax Number \_\_\_\_\_

Office Number \_\_\_\_\_

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JUDGE CLARENCE THOMAS

Judge Thomas was born on June 23, 1948 in Pinpoint, Georgia, a rural community outside Savannah, to Leola and M.C. Thomas. He was reared by his grandparents, Myers and Christine Anderson. After graduating from high school in 1967, he attended Immaculate Conception seminary in Conception Junction, Missouri. He subsequently entered Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts, from which he was graduated with honors in 1971. In that same year, he enrolled at Yale Law School and was graduated in 1974.

Following graduation, and until 1977, Judge Thomas served as an assistant attorney general in the office of Missouri Attorney General John C. Danforth, where he represented the state of Missouri before trial and appellate courts, including the Supreme Court of Missouri. From 1977 until 1979, Judge Thomas worked as an attorney in the Legal Department of the Monsanto Company. In 1979, he joined the staff of Senator Danforth as a legislative assistant.

In 1981, Judge Thomas was appointed by President Reagan to be Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights at the Department of Education. A year later, he was appointed Chairman of the Equal Opportunity Commission. He was reappointed Chairman of the EEOC in 1986.

In October 1989, Judge Thomas was nominated by President Bush to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Judge Thomas was confirmed by the United States Senate on March 6, 1990, and has served on the Court of Appeals since March 12, 1990. He, his wife Virginia, and his son Jamal live in Northern Virginia.

## Weather

Today: Humid, showers or storms.  
High 86. Low 72. Wind 7-14 mph.  
Wednesday: Variably cloudy.  
High 86. Wind 7-14 mph.  
Yesterday: Temp. range: 73-86.  
AQL: 60. Details on Page B2.

# The Washington Post

## FINAL

Inside: Health  
Detailed index on Page A2

114TH YEAR . . . . No. 209

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1991

Prices May Vary in Areas Outside  
Metropolitan Washington (See Box on A2)

25¢

## Bush Picks Thomas for Supreme Court

*Appeals Court Judge Served as EEOC Chairman in Reagan Administration*

### Self-Made Conservative

*Nominee Insists He Be Judged on Merits*

By Ruth Marcus  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Judge Clarence Thomas is the product of southern poverty and segregation who made his way from Pin Point, Ga. to the once unimaginable height of a Supreme Court nomination.

"As a child, I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it," Thomas said in a brief but emotional statement yesterday, standing by President Bush's side in Kennebunkport, Maine. "In my view, only in America could this have been possible."

Tapped to replace the first

black member of the court, Justice Thurgood Marshall, Thomas has had firsthand experience of racism that rivals Marshall's own. He was barred from whites-only movie theaters and restaurants. As the only black student at a Catholic boarding school, he was harassed by classmates who teased, after lights out, "Smile, Clarence, so we can see you."

But that experience was the crucible for a conservative philosophy that is in many ways the polar opposite of Marshall's liberal worldview—a fierce belief in the primacy of individual will and drive, and in the debilitating effect of racial preferences as a

See NOMINEE, A6, Col. 1

By John E. Yang  
and Sharon LaFraniere  
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush yesterday chose Clarence Thomas, a conservative black federal appeals court judge, to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court, saying he is "the best person at the right time."

Thomas, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Ronald Reagan, has for years challenged civil rights leaders over workplace preferences for minorities or women and school busing for desegregation. A 43-year-old Roman Catholic, he would be one of the youngest justices ever to join the Supreme Court.

Conservatives were delighted with the nomination of a longtime favorite, while some Democrats expressed fears that Thomas, whose views on abortion are not publicly known, would help overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that established a constitutional right to abortion.

Both sides acknowledged the power of his personal history. He was raised in poverty in Savannah, Ga., by a nearly illiterate grandfather, who he said stressed "God . . . school, discipline, hard work and 'right from wrong.'"

"Judge Thomas's life is a model for all Americans, and he's earned the right to sit on this nation's highest court," said Bush, who insisted race played no part in his choice of a black judge to replace Marshall, the first black justice on the court.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) praised Thomas as "a man whose very life exemplifies the American dream."

Although opposition to his nomination seemed muted yesterday, some senators and civil rights groups predicted that Thomas will face tougher confirmation hearings than did David H. Souter, Bush's first appointment to the Supreme Court. "I'm through reading tea leaves and voting in the dark. . . . I will not support yet another Reagan-Bush Supreme Court nominee

See COURT, A6, Col. 1



In Kennebunkport, Maine, Bush introduces Thomas as his choice for high court.

CRACK'S CHILDREN

# High Court Nominee Called a Conservative With 'Common Touch'

NOMINEE, From A1

means of redressing discrimination. Thomas's views on affirmative action and civil rights were sharpened and expounded during his controversial tenure as head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from 1982 to 1990. It was a post he once said he felt "insulted" about being selected for because of the silent assumption that he was qualified for a civil rights job rather than one using his expertise in taxation and corporate law.

At the EEOC, Thomas grew increasingly opposed to the use of racial preferences and attacked civil rights leaders who "bitch, bitch, bitch" about the administration. Affirmative action programs, he said in a 1987 letter, "create a narcotic of dependency, not an ethic of responsibility and independence. They are at best an irrelevance, covering up some real problems, and inevitably a stigma."

The seeds of that view were planted early by Thomas's grandfather, Myers Anderson, a stalwart Democrat, devout Catholic, and active member of the NAACP. He instilled in the young Thomas a drive to succeed, a fervent belief in the importance of education and disdain for those who rely on government welfare programs rather than making their own way in the world.

Thomas's father left the family when he was a young child; his mother remarried, and he was sent to Savannah to live with his grandfather at age 7—the first time he had lived in a house with indoor plumbing, and eaten three square meals a day.

After school, Thomas helped his grandfather deliver ice and oil; in the evening, he would go to the library built for blacks by the Carnegie family—the public library in Savannah was for whites only—to muse over the pages of the exotic *New Yorker* magazine.

"If you wanted him to do something, you'd just go to the Carnegie Library and there he was," his mother, Leola Williams, told the Associated Press. "He loved his books."

His most vivid childhood memory of the Supreme Court, he said yesterday, was the "Impeach Earl Warren" signs that lined Highway 17 near Savannah—placards prompted by Warren's ruling in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case argued by Thurgood Marshall.

"I didn't quite understand who this Earl Warren fellow was, but I knew he was in some kind of trouble," said Thomas, who was 5 at the time of the landmark school desegregation ruling.

Thomas has criticized *Brown* from a different perspective, saying it was based on faulty assumptions that all-black schools are necessarily inferior.

Thomas made his way from the St. John Vianney Minor Seminary, where he was a star quarterback, to the Immaculate Conception Seminary in Missouri, where he decided, to the bitter disappointment of his grandfather, to end his studies for the priesthood.

He headed to Holy Cross College in Massachusetts, where he worked on a free breakfast program for black schoolchildren and urged a student walkout over the college's investments in South Africa, and then to Yale Law School, where he graduated in 1974.

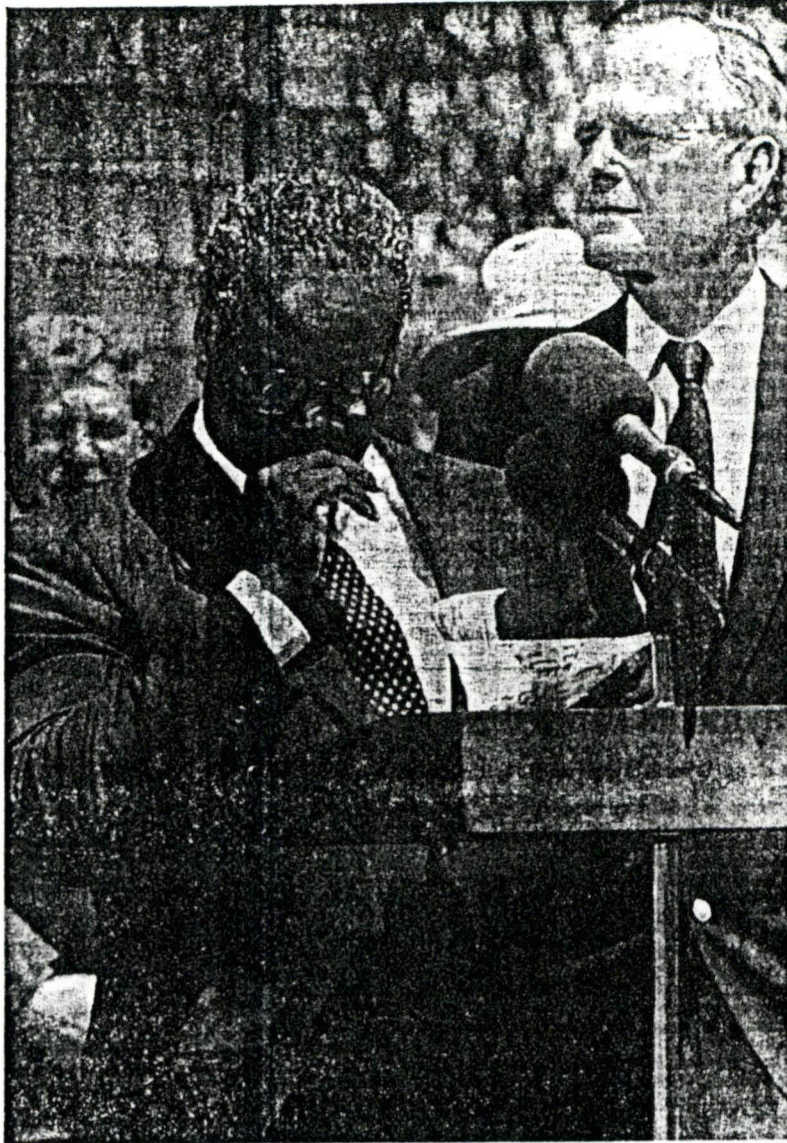
Now, after a career that has included a job in corporate law and on the staff of Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), as well as the EEOC, he occupies the appeals court seat once held by Judge Robert H. Bork, whose Supreme Court nomination was defeated in 1987.

So overcome with emotion he had to stop speaking, Thomas yesterday thanked "all those who have helped me along the way... especially my grandparents, my mother and the nuns, all of whom were adamant that I grow up to make something of myself."

Divorced from his first wife, Thomas, who turned 43 last week, has custody of their son, Jamal, 18. He is married to Virginia Lamp Thomas, who works in the Labor Department's legislative affairs office.

Thomas's career is pervaded by an insistence that he be judged on his own merits and a seeming horror at the thought of special treatment because of his race.

Thomas's friend and former colleague on Danforth's staff, Alex



Thomas pauses, overcome with emotion, as he expresses his thanks to "all those who have helped me along the way."

Netchvolodoff, recalled Thomas telling how he hid from his instructors during college and at law school "so they couldn't see what his color was" and adjust his grades accordingly.

When he interviewed with Netchvolodoff for a job on Danforth's staff in the Missouri attorney general's office, Netchvolodoff said, Thomas, then a student at Yale Law School, demanded: "Are you going to treat me as harshly as anyone else?"

Yet Thomas has been willing to challenge discrimination by those who purported to be allies. In a speech to the conservative Heritage Foundation in 1987, he complained that he and other black conservatives were often shunned by policymakers.

"It often seemed that to be accepted within conservative ranks and to be treated with some degree of acceptance, a black was required to become a caricature of sorts, providing

side-shows of anti-black quips and attacks," he said.

In an article, he joked that he often felt "that my only role was to be confused with Clarence Pendleton," then the outspoken black chairman of the Civil Rights Commission.

Thomas has also been outspoken about the continuing significance of race in America. "I don't care how educated you are, how good you are at what you do—you'll never have the same contacts and opportunities, you'll never be seen as equal to white," he said in an Atlantic magazine article in 1987.

Thomas's friends said yesterday that while his philosophy may differ sharply from that of the man he is slated to replace, his life experiences—like Marshall's—offer a valuable perspective for a court dominated by those with privileged upbringings.

"We are talking about a person who understands what it's like to be black and poor in this country and to face the worst kinds of prejudice," said Frank Washington, a law school classmate and former Carter administration official. "The kind of experiences he's had, he will not block those from his thinking."

Thomas is "a conservative but a compassionate kind of conservative, not rigid or ideological in his views. His every motive is that he empathizes with ordinary people, he's one of them," Danforth said in a telephone interview yesterday.

"Clarence Thomas has the common touch," Danforth said. "In a very real way, he'll be the people's justice."

Staff writers Bill McAllister and Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

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About

Several rights leaders yesterday criticized the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas—until good Mr. Thomas appears to the rights community.

Noting that Thomas and grew tagged in a presidential League, one sitting office walls, that the portunities of his people."

Whether receptive "is the ma

Thomas appointed peals for Circuit by chairman Opportun criticized programs as rights gro panic, hav was lax it tions unde

"The re sion had a protecting communit president La Raza, groups.

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Many Bush would the high c officials re candidates judges. Fr Emilio Ga Tex., flew terview ov panic has the high co

## CLARENCE THOMAS

- **Born:** June 23, 1948, in Savannah, Ga.
- **Married:** Virginia Lamp Thomas; one son, Jamal, 18, by previous marriage.
- **Education:** Holy Cross College, Yale Law School
- **Professional:** Assistant attorney general, state of Missouri, 1974-1977; lawyer, Monsanto Co., 1977-1979; legislative assistant, Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) 1979-1981; assistant secretary for civil rights, U.S. Department of Education, 1981-1982; chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1982-1990; U.S. Court of appeals, March 1990-present.
- **Religion:** Catholic.

Source: Response to Senate Judiciary Committee questionnaire, 1990

# Bush Picks Thomas for Marshall Seat on Supreme Court

COURT, From A1

who remains silent on a woman's right to choose [an abortion] and then ascends to the court to weaken that right," said Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), who cast the lone vote against Thomas's nomination as an appellate judge.

Thomas avoided giving his potential opponents any ammunition yesterday as he and Bush addressed reporters in front of the wood-shingled cottage that serves as Bush's office at his family's oceanfront home in Kennebunkport, Maine. Thomas restricted his comments to



lack of action. Thomas blamed the growing backlog of unaddressed cases during his tenure on a lack of funds.

Thomas's critics did not sway Senate Judiciary Committee members in February 1990, when they voted 12 to 1 to approve his nomination to the D.C. Circuit. But several senators, including Biden, warned Thomas that they would scrutinize him far more carefully if he came back to them as a Supreme Court nominee.

His most likely opponents at the confirmation hearings, expected to take place in September, are activists for abortion rights and organ-

ization official said Thomas won out over Garza because of a "semiconscious sense... this was a black man to be replaced," then immediately backpedaled, saying: "Strike that. He was the best person."

Bush settled on Thomas about 3 p.m. Saturday, during a conference call with White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray, White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and Thornburgh.

Bush telephoned Thomas on Sunday afternoon to discuss the nomination and to invite him to Maine, but did not formally offer the job. When Thomas arrived aboard an

# Bush Picks Thomas for Marshall Seat on Supreme Court

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Thomas avoided giving his potential opponents any ammunition yesterday as he and Bush addressed reporters in front of the wood-shingled cottage that serves as Bush's office at his family's oceanfront home in Kennebunkport, Maine. Thomas restricted his comments to the pivotal role his grandparents, his mother and the Catholic nuns played in his rise.

"As a child I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it," Thomas somberly said. "Only in America could this have been possible."

His voice choked with emotion as he acknowledged his grandparents, and he paused for several seconds, unable to continue, while Bush looked into the distance.

Administration officials said Thomas, who Bush appointed to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals only 15 months ago, emerged as the front-runner almost as soon as Marshall announced his retirement Thursday. The process of selecting him was characteristic of the Bush administration: it involved only a tiny circle of aides and was marked by tight secrecy.

The other finalists were Texas appellate judges Edith H. Jones and Emilio M. Garza, both from the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, administration officials said. Bush aides argued that Thomas was less controversial than Jones, and more experienced than Garza, sources said.

Administration officials said Bush concentrated almost exclusively on minority or female candidates. Bush, however, told reporters, "The fact that he is black and a mi-



The president and Judge Clarence Thomas during news conference yesterday.

nority has nothing to do with this sense that he is the best qualified at this time. I kept my word to the American people and to the Senate by picking the best man for the job on the merits. And the fact that he's a minority, so much the better."

Democrats acknowledged yesterday that the fact that Thomas is black will make it difficult for civil rights groups to make a compelling issue of his opposition to many forms of affirmative action.

"Anyone who takes him on on the subject of civil rights is taking on the grandson of a sharecropper . . . because that person wants quotas and preferential treatment," said Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah).

It may also be difficult for Democrats to carry through on their promises to vigorously question Bush's choice because "the question will be, is a higher standard being applied to this guy than was applied to David Souter, and why," said one Senate Democratic aide. "If Souter was confirmable with non-answers, why isn't Thomas?"

Neither Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) nor Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) gave clues to their reaction yesterday, saying only that the nomination would be promptly considered.

Thomas has described himself as a firm advocate of a "colorblind society." "Racial quotas and other race-conscious legal devices only further and deepen the original problem," he wrote in 1987.

"Today . . . color conscious means something favorable to us. We have set-asides, we have affirmative action. . . I firmly believe that just as we can use it for us it's going to be used against us again," he told an interviewer in 1983.

Thomas has often said that no government program can replace the kind of self-discipline instilled in him by his grandfather, who taught him: "You had to get up, had to go to work." Only his grandfather's philosophy saved him from a life like that of his sister, who was raised by other relatives and now supports four children on welfare, he said in 1983.

At various points, Thomas has questioned rent control, minimum wage laws and enterprise zones to redevelop slums.

As chairman of the EEOC from 1982 to 1990, Thomas drew fire for what critics called a "dismal" failure to enforce anti-discrimination laws. Civil rights groups charged he let thousands of age-discrimination complaints lapse for

lack of action. Thomas blamed the growing backlog of unaddressed cases during his tenure on a lack of funds.

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His most likely opponents at the confirmation hearings, expected to take place in September, are activists for abortion rights and organizations for the elderly.

Kate Michelman, executive director of the National Abortion Rights League, said in a statement: "Never again should senators confirm a nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court who has no record and provides no answers about his commitment to equal justice and fundamental rights."

During his 15 months on the bench, Thomas has written 18 opinions on issues ranging from the Interstate Commerce Commission's jurisdiction over a passenger ferry to a complaint that a criminal defendant's rights against self-incrimination were violated at his trial on cocaine distribution charges.

None of the opinions, said Bruce Fein, a conservative constitutional expert, "were of great moment. He's going to be almost as *tabula rasa* as David Souter."

Thomas's nomination was set in motion only a few hours after Marshall's resignation, when Attorney General Dick Thornburgh interviewed him. Some administration officials said they believed that Garza would be a better political choice, because any opposition from the Democrats would seem to further link the party's civil rights policy to the interests of blacks.

Garza's appointment also would have been a nod toward a voting bloc that the administration has been courting vigorously. One ad-

ministration official said Thomas won out over Garza because of a "semiconscious sense . . . this was a black man to be replaced," then immediately backpedaled, saying: "Strike that. He was the best person."

Bush settled on Thomas about 3 p.m. Saturday, during a conference call with White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray, White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and Thornburgh.

Bush telephoned Thomas on Sunday afternoon to discuss the nomination and to invite him to Maine, but did not formally offer the job. When Thomas arrived aboard an Air Force jet yesterday with Thornburgh, Gray and Sununu, Bush chatted with him alone in the bedroom of his residence for 15 or 20 minutes, then offered him the nomination.

They then joined the Bush family and aides for a lunch of crab salad and English muffins on a porch overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. Thomas tried to telephone his wife, but she was not in her office at the Labor Department. He reached her with the news just minutes before the news conference.

Bush told reporters Thomas met his requirement as someone who would "faithfully interpret the Constitution and avoid the tendency to legislate from the bench." He said he did not ask Thomas, who spent a year in a Roman Catholic seminary studying for the priesthood, his views on abortion rights.

The president praised Thomas as "a fiercely independent thinker with an excellent legal mind who believes passionately in equal opportunity for all Americans. He will approach the cases that come before the court with a commitment to deciding them fairly, as the facts and the law require."

**Yang reported from Kennebunkport, Maine, and LaFraniere from Washington. Staff writers Helen Dewar and Ruth Marcus contributed to this report.**

hoped the president would nominate a black person to fill the high court vacancy, "but we also thought it should be an African American who embodies some of the tradition of Justice Marshall."

The NAACP has disagreed with Thomas's stands on issues such as affirmative action, "but whether those disagreements are fatal will require a whole new examination," Hooks said.

Many observers had believed Bush would nominate a Hispanic to the high court after administration officials revealed that the list of candidates included three Hispanic judges. Federal appeals court judge Emilio Garza, 43, of San Antonio Tex., flew to Washington for an interview over the weekend. No Hispanic has ever been nominated to the high court.

"Well of course we are disappointed that a Hispanic was not appointed," Yzaguirre said.

Rhetorically, he asked of Bush "Are you saying that there were no qualified people? Are you saying we're never the best? . . . That's what Bush said with [Supreme Court Justice David H.] Souter. And that's what the president is saying again. I think he's going to have to answer."

Richard Larson, legal director of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said that although he was surprised when the nominee turned out to be Thomas rather than Garza, "We're pleased that ethnicity remained consideration."

The problem, Larson and other rights activists said, lies not in the color of the nominee but in his constitutional views. "We do not believe that he [Thomas] believes in constitutional protection of individual rights or full enforcement of our nation's civil rights laws," Larson said.

Mary Frances Berry, former head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, said Thomas's potential elevation to the high court ought not to be given a lot of attention by the civil rights community. The conservative majority, producing 6 to 3 rulings on most issues, already is in place, she said, so Thomas's potential seat on the bench "doesn't change the course of the law."



# Mixed Feelings Are Voiced by Rights Leaders

## Uncertainty Expressed About Thomas's Views

By Lynne Duke  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Several black and Hispanic civil rights leaders expressed pleasure yesterday at President Bush's nomination of a minority jurist to the Supreme Court, but they said that—unlike retiring Justice Thurgood Marshall—Clarence Thomas appears to be no friend of the issues the rights community holds dear.

Noting that Thomas, 43, is black and grew up poor and disadvantaged in the South, John Jacob, president of the National Urban League, said, "I'm hoping that anyone sitting in Justice Marshall's old office would hear voices from the walls, that there is a charge that that person has to keep in protecting the rights and dignities and opportunities of all people, particularly of minority and disadvantaged people."

Whether Thomas is likely to be receptive to such voices, Jacob said, "is the major question mark."

Thomas, a conservative who was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit by Bush in 1990, is a former chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission who has criticized affirmative action programs as "social engineering." Civil rights groups, both black and Hispanic, have alleged that the EEOC was lax in remedying rights violations under Thomas's leadership.

"The reality is that the commission had a dismal record in terms of protecting the civil rights of our community," said Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, a coalition of Hispanic groups.

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.), a former EEOC chief, said Senate confirmation hearings, to be held in September, "will be very important" in gauging what kind of Supreme Court justice Thomas may be.

"I would hope that his tenure at the EEOC would not prove reflective of his constitutional views," Norton said. "We are projecting as to where he stands on the Bill of Rights. That kind of deep questioning has yet to take place."

Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, promised last week that if Bush nominated someone extremely unacceptable to the civil rights community there would be the "mother of all confirmation battles."

Yesterday, Hooks said he had been speaking hypothetically, not about Thomas in particular. "We have made no decisions about Thomas," he said. The NAACP did not oppose Thomas's nomination to the federal appeals court.

Hooks said the NAACP had hoped the president would nominate a black person to fill the high court vacancy, "but we also thought it should be an African American who embodies some of the tradition of Justice Marshall."

The NAACP has disagreed with Thomas's stands on issues such as affirmative action, "but whether those disagreements are fatal will require a whole new examination," Hooks said.

Many observers had believed

Thomas pauses, overcome with emotion, as he expresses his thanks to "all those who have helped me along the way."

chvolodoff, recalled Thomas tell how he hid from his instructors college and at law school "so I couldn't see what his color was" and adjust his grades accordingly. When he interviewed with Netchvolodoff for a job on Danforth's staff as Missouri attorney general's office, Netchvolodoff said, Thomas, a student at Yale Law School, asked: "Are you going to treat me as harshly as anyone else?" (Yet Thomas has been willing to tolerate discrimination by those purported to be allies. In a speech to the conservative Heritage Foundation in 1987, he complained he and other black conservatives are often shunned by policymakers. It often seemed that to be accepted within conservative ranks and to be treated with some degree of acceptance, a black was required to be a caricature or, worse, providing

side-shows of anti-black quips and attacks," he said.

In an article, he joked that he often felt "that my only role was to be confused with Clarence Pendleton," then the outspoken black chairman of the Civil Rights Commission.

Thomas has also been outspoken about the continuing significance of race in America. "I don't care how educated you are, how good you are at what you do—you'll never have the same contacts and opportunities, you'll never be seen as equal to white," he said in an Atlantic magazine article in 1987.

Thomas's friends said yesterday that while his philosophy may differ sharply from that of the man he is slated to replace, his life experiences—like Marshall's—offer a valuable perspective for a court dominated by those with privileged upbringings.

"We are talking about a person who understands what it's like to be black and poor in this country and to face the worst kinds of prejudice," said Frank Washington, a law school classmate and former Carter administration official. "The kind of experiences he's had, he will not block those from his thinking."

Thomas is "a conservative but a compassionate kind of conservative, not rigid or ideological in his views. His every motive is that he empathizes with ordinary people, he's one of them," Danforth said in a telephone interview yesterday.

"Clarence Thomas has the common touch," Danforth said. "In a very real way, he'll be the people's justice."

Staff writers Bill McAllister and Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

# Marshall Seat on Supreme Court



lack of action. Thomas blamed the growing backlog of unaddressed cases during his tenure on a lack of funds.

Thomas's critics did not sway Senate Judiciary Committee members in February 1990, when they voted 12 to 1 to approve his nomination to the D.C. Circuit. But sev-

er administration official said Thomas won out over Garza because of a "semiconscious sense . . . this was a black man to be replaced," then immediately backpedaled, saying: "Strike that. He was the best person."

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action. ... I firmly believe  
t as we can use it for us it's  
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an interviewer in 1983.  
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ment program can replace  
l of self-discipline instilled in  
his grandfather, who taught  
ou had to get up, had to go  
k." Only his grandfather's  
hy saved him from a life  
t of his sister, who was  
y other relatives and now  
s four children on welfare,  
in 1983.  
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ed rent control, minimum  
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nation to the D.C. Circuit. But sev-  
eral senators, including Biden,  
warned Thomas that they would  
scrutinize him far more carefully if  
he came back to them as a Supreme  
Court nominee.  
His most likely opponents at the  
confirmation hearings, expected to  
take place in September, are activ-  
ists for abortion rights and organi-  
zations for the elderly.  
Kate Michelman, executive di-  
rector of the National Abortion  
Rights League, said in a statement:  
"Never again should senators con-  
firm a nominee to the U.S. Supreme  
Court who has no record and pro-  
vides no answers about his commit-  
ment to equal justice and fundamen-  
tal rights."  
During his 15 months on the  
bench, Thomas has written 18 op-  
inions on issues ranging from the  
Interstate Commerce Commission's  
jurisdiction over a passenger ferry  
to a complaint that a criminal de-  
fendant's rights against self-incrim-  
ination were violated at his trial on  
cocaine distribution charges.  
None of the opinions, said Bruce  
Fein, a conservative constitutional  
expert, "were of great moment.  
He's going to be almost as *tabula  
rasa* as David Souter."  
Thomas's nomination was set in  
motion only a few hours after Mar-  
shall's resignation, when Attorney  
General Dick Thornburgh inter-  
viewed him. Some administration  
officials said they believed that  
Garza would be a better political  
choice, because any opposition from  
the Democrats would seem to fur-  
ther link the party's civil rights pol-  
icy to the interests of blacks.  
Garza's appointment also would  
have been a nod toward a voting  
bloc that the administration has  
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Staff John H. Sununu and Thorn-  
burgh.  
Bush telephoned Thomas on Sun-  
day afternoon to discuss the nomi-  
nation and to invite him to Maine,  
but did not formally offer the job.  
When Thomas arrived aboard an  
Air Force jet yesterday with Thorn-  
burgh, Gray and Sununu, Bush  
chatted with him alone in the bed-  
room of his residence for 15 or 20  
minutes, then offered him the nomi-  
nation.  
They then joined the Bush family  
and aides for a lunch of crab salad  
and English muffins on a porch  
overlooking the Atlantic Ocean.  
Thomas tried to telephone his wife,  
but she was not in her office at the  
Labor Department. He reached her  
with the news just minutes before  
the news conference.  
Bush told reporters Thomas met  
his requirement as someone who  
would "faithfully interpret the Con-  
stitution and avoid the tendency to  
legislate from the bench." He said  
he did not ask Thomas, who spent a  
year in a Roman Catholic seminary  
studying for the priesthood, his  
views on abortion rights.  
The president praised Thomas as  
"a fiercely independent thinker with  
an excellent legal mind who be-  
lieves passionately in equal oppor-  
tunity for all Americans. He will  
approach the cases that come be-  
fore the court with a commitment  
to deciding them fairly, as the facts  
and the law require."  
Yang reported from  
Kennebunkport, Maine, and  
LaFraniere from Washington. Staff  
writers Helen Dewar and Ruth  
Marcus contributed to this report.

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# Politics and the Thomas Choice: Building the GOP's Black Elite

By Thomas B. Edsall  
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court is the most significant event in a decade-long drive by the Republican Party and the conservative movement to nurture and promote a black elite directly challenging the traditional—and strongly Democratic—civil rights leadership.

"Politically, [the Thomas nomination] will tear down the existing black political leadership in the sense that he will bring to light the

fact that the black community is not monolithic and need

not be held captive to the liberal plantation," said Claudia A. Butts, deputy director of the New Majority, the Heritage Foundation's minority outreach program. "The days of blacks being politically aligned to the liberal party [the Democratic Party] are about to be ended."

Naming Thomas to the court is one of a number of moves involving right-leaning black officials that have been designed to counter charges of racism against the GOP and conservative institutions. These efforts during the Reagan and Bush years included naming Clarence M. Pendleton Jr. chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, backing Rep. Gary Franks (R-Conn.) in his successful bid in 1990 to become the first black Republican House member in two generations, and now the third major federal appointment for Thomas.

As Republican National Committee chairman, Lee Atwater, who was a principal architect in making black murderer-rapist Willie Horton's case a symbolic issue in the 1988 campaign, said a central goal of his tenure would be raising black Republican voting margins from the 10-percent levels characteristic of the 1980s. But whether the Thomas nomination would further the goals of Atwater, who died this year, was a point of contention yesterday among Republican strategists.

A key Bush adviser, speaking on background, argued "that one of the things that has influenced black voters to a modest degree is the number of blacks you bring into government. This is a nudge [to an overwhelmingly Democratic black electorate]."

Another Republican who has done extensive work exploring black attitudes toward the GOP countered: "It will take a lot more



*The nomination "appears to be yet another step in the ideological hijacking of the Supreme Court by the radical right wing of the Republican Party."*

—Ronald H. Brown  
Democratic national chairman

than that [the Thomas nomination] to redeem ourselves [with black voters]." Instead, he said, the nomination may have more "impact on liberal whites; they will credit Bush for choosing a black person."

The Bush adviser argued that the selection of a conservative black to the Supreme Court will provide an indirect boost to Bush as he attempts to make the case that the civil rights bill passed by House Democrats and now the subject of intensive negotiations in the Senate promotes racial quotas.

"It [the Thomas nomination] strengthens Bush's position in the civil rights fight across the board," the adviser contended. "Every demonstration that there is not a pure, homogeneous position on these issues helps us."

But a Washington-area GOP consultant argued that the nomination "confuses the quota issue" because it seems to imply that the court seat being vacated by Justice Thurgood Marshall had to be filled by another black. "This [the Thomas nomination] is a quota. One day Bush was like a ramrod [on quotas], the next he contradicts himself."

In picking Thomas, Bush laid down a gauntlet, not only to the civil rights leadership but also to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, which has already made known its ideological differences with Thomas.

Two years ago, 16 prominent Democratic House liberals charged that Thomas "has demonstrated an

overall disdain for the rule of law" as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. They had in mind Thomas's public challenges to liberal ideology, as demonstrated in such statements as "there is no government solution. . . . I will ask those who proffer a governmental solution to show me which group in the history of this country was pulled up and put into the mainstream of the economy with government programs. The Irish weren't. The Jews weren't."

Yesterday, Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said the Thomas nomination "appears to be yet another step in the ideological hijacking of the Supreme Court by the radical right wing of the Republican Party."

Robert Squier, a Democratic consultant, sharply disputed Republican assertions that the Thomas nomination will help the GOP chop away at the strong Democratic loyalty of blacks. "It's not possible," he said, to use an appointment to build black support "if you try to do it without regard to the issues that guys like Marshall fought for all their lives."

Referring specifically to Bush's use of Willie Horton in 1988, Squier said, "You can't turn around and say I was just kidding. I really don't want to do a racist campaign. You can't attack the people you are trying to convert. It's so fundamental, it's hard to express."

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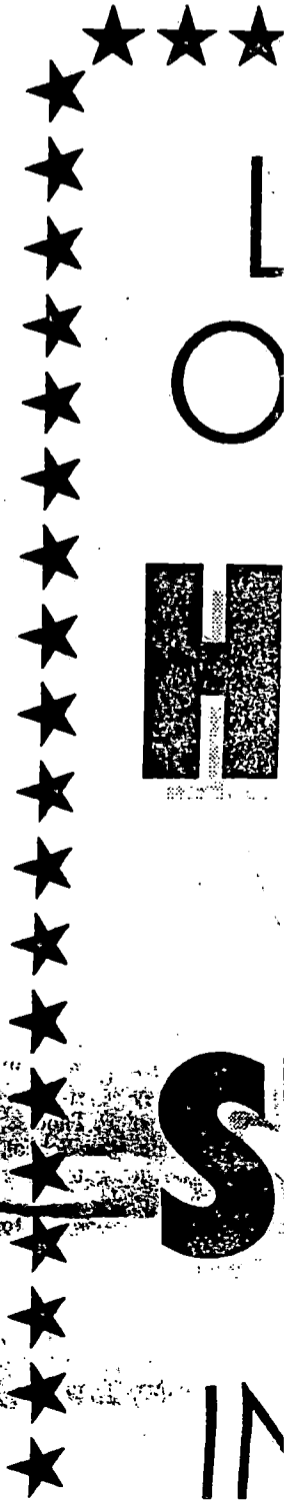
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*'I Emphasize Black Self-Help'*

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# 'I Emphasize Black Self-Help'

## Thomas's Thoughts on Quotas, the Work Ethic and Conservatism

Following are excerpts from some Clarence Thomas speeches and published interviews:

**Wall Street Journal, 1987:** "I firmly insist that the Constitution be interpreted in a colorblind fashion. It is futile to talk of a colorblind society unless this constitutional principle is first established. Hence, I emphasize black self-help, as opposed to racial quotas and other race-conscious legal devices that only further and deepen the original problem."

**The Washington Post, 1983:** "You can't replicate my grandfather. A sociologist at the University of Alabama, when he studied blacks who were successful, found that there was a strong father figure, a strong person someplace in that individual's life, that broke him out of the circle of poverty—a coach, a minister, grandparent, mother, father. Somebody who said, 'Boy, you are going to school today. You gon' be somebody. You gon' do better'n I'm doin'.' That was my granddaddy's whole philosophy. 'I'm doin' this for y'all, so y'all don't have to work for the white man, so y'all don't have to take what I had to take.' My granddaddy used to say this world is tough, always tough on a poor man. My granddaddy told me, when I went off to college, 'Just remember that no matter how many degrees you get and how high you go, the lowest white man in the gutter can call you a nigger.' The attitude that kept me going came from him. He used to always say that there was no problem that elbow grease can't solve. Then he'd say things like, 'Old man Can't is dead. I helped bury him.'"

**From a speech to the Heritage Foundation, 1987:** "My household . . . was strong, stable and conservative. In fact, it was far more conservative than many who fashion themselves conservative today. God was central. School, discipline, hard work and 'right-from-wrong' were of the highest priority. Crime, welfare, slothfulness and alcohol were enemies. . . . The most compassionate thing they (our grandparents) did for us was to teach us to fend for ourselves and do that in an openly hostile environment. . . . Those who attempt to capture the daily counseling, oversight, common sense, and vision of my grandparents in a governmental program are engaging in sheer folly. Government cannot develop individual responsibility, but it certainly can refrain from preventing or hindering the development of this responsibility."

" . . . I joined the [Reagan] administration [in 1981] as an assistant secretary in the Department of Education. I had, initially, resisted and declined taking the position of assistant secretary for civil rights simply because my career was not in civil rights and I had no intention of moving into this area. In fact, I was insulted by the initial contact

about this position as well as my current position. . . . I always found it curious that even though my background was in energy, taxation and general corporate regulatory matters, that I was not seriously sought after to move into one of those areas.

" . . . I am of the view that black Americans will move inexorably and naturally toward conservatism when we stop discouraging them; when they are treated as a diverse group with differing interests; and when conservatives stand up for what they believe in rather than stand against blacks. This is not a prescription for success, but rather an assertion that black Americans know what they want, and it is not timidity and condescension.

" . . . I failed to realize just how deep-seated the animosity of blacks toward black conservatives was. The dual labels of black Republicans and black conservatives drew rave reviews. Unfortunately, the raving was at us, not for us. The reaction was negative, to be euphemistic, and generally hostile. Interestingly enough, however, our ideas themselves received very positive reactions, especially among the average working class and middle-class black American who had no vested or proprietary interest in the social policies which have dominated the political scene over the past 20 years.

" . . . Inherent equality is the basis for aggressive enforcement of civil rights laws and equal employment opportunity laws designed to protect individual rights. Indeed, defending the individual under these laws should be the hallmark of conservatism rather than its Achilles' heel. And, in no way, should this be the issue of those who are antagonistic to individual rights and the proponents of a bigger, more intrusive government. Indeed, conservatives should be as adamant about freedom here at home as we are about freedom abroad. We should be at least as incensed about the totalitarianism of drug traffickers and criminals in poor neighborhoods as we are about totalitarianism in Eastern Bloc countries. The primacy of individual rights demands that conservatives be the first to protect them."

**Atlantic Magazine, 1987:** "There is nothing you can do to get past black skin. I don't care how educated you are, how good you are at what you do—you'll never have the same contacts or opportunities, you'll never be seen as equal to whites.

" . . . Those who insist on arguing that the principle of equal opportunity, the cornerstone of civil rights, means preferences for certain groups, have relinquished their roles as moral and ethical leaders in this area. I bristle at the thought, for example, that it is morally proper to protest against minority racial preferences in South Africa while arguing for such preferences here."

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HEADLINE: GOP howls at demands Biden makes of nominee

BYLINE: Dawn M. Weyrich; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Sen. Joseph Biden's request that conservative judicial nominee Clarence Thomas release thousands of documents on his record in government service has triggered a partisan blowout on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Republican senators charged that the committee chairman is trying to discredit the nomination of Mr. Thomas to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit in a manner reminiscent of the successful fight against Judge Robert H. Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court.

"It's apparent that the long knives are out and [the Democrats] are doing everything to discredit Clarence Thomas by hook or by crook," said Sen. Orrin Hatch, Utah Republican and a Judiciary Committee member.

"We're not going to have another character assassination like they did to Bork," Mr. Hatch said. "If they think they're going to do to [Mr. Thomas] what they did to Bork, they are going to have the most awful fight on their hands they have ever seen. I guarantee it."

Democratic senators refused to comment or did not return phone calls. But Democratic aides on the Senate Judiciary Committee - who asked to remain anonymous - said all judicial nominees receive extensive questionnaires on their records.

While not all nominees are issued document requests, one aide said, such inquiries are normal when the candidate has an extensive background in government. Mr. Thomas has been chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission since 1982.

"I expect [the Republicans] to react this way," one aide said. "It's not a fishing expedition. There are real issues that need to be resolved."

But, conservatives have said that liberals abhor Mr. Thomas' refusal to seek sweeping quota-based remedies in equal opportunity cases before the EEOC.

Republican critics said the eight-page document request contains some legitimate questions, but is rife with others that do not relate to Mr. Thomas' fitness to serve on the bench.

Sen. Charles Grassley, a committee member and Iowa Republican, said he is particularly outraged over a request for "the EEOC work force composite, by race, at the time Mr. Thomas became EEOC chairman along with the most current



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workforce composite available."

"The question is inappropriate," Mr. Grassley said. "The question ought to be whether or not qualified people are hired to work at the EEOC. It seems to me like a violation of the dream of Martin Luther King, who dreamed of a color-blind society."

Other critics said they are incensed that Mr. Thomas has been asked to release all correspondence in 1982-1989 on cases that allege discrimination due to neutral employment criteria shown to have a disproportionate adverse impact on minorities.

According to EEOC documents, 2,965 lawsuits have been filed in U.S. district court since 1982. Critics said Democrats are attempting to stall the nomination by asking Mr. Thomas to compile the thousands of pages relating to these suits.

Furthermore, the critics charge, some of the cases in question are still pending in court, and release of related memoranda could inhibit the government's ability to conduct the cases.

But Democratic aides said that because Mr. Thomas has been a high-ranking government official for nearly eight years, senators reviewing his nomination must have access to information on concerns raised about the nominee.

"He's had a long record of government service and - as has been the case in similar circumstances - a number of allegations have been raised by outside groups, anonymous sources and members of the judiciary committee," one Democratic source said.

"In addition to seeking basic information relating to the fitness of a nominee to serve on the federal bench, it is the obligation of this committee to follow up on allegations which nevertheless often prove to be baseless," the aide said, adding that Mr. Biden did not request information on some allegations that he considered to be "irrelevant."

Democrats have more on their minds than investigating charges against Mr. Thomas, Mr. Grassley said, adding that defeating the nomination is the goal of liberals who worry that the nominee ultimately could rise to higher judicial office.

"For the Democrats, this is not a case of keeping Clarence Thomas off the court of appeals. They see it as keeping a likely successor to [Justice] Thurgood Marshall off the Supreme Court, and the sooner they get him buried the better off they are," Mr. Grassley said. Like Justice Marshall, Mr. Thomas is black.

Furthermore, the senators said, if Mr. Thomas were a liberal he would not have been asked to release such an extensive amount of information.

"They want to defeat him so bad they can taste it," said committee member Alan K. Simpson, a Wyoming Republican. "They want to do it in a bloodless crime, to leave a poisoned dart in his chest and say it came from outer space.

"He's getting pecked to death by ducks. If they'd just have the guts to say, 'We don't like him because he's a conservative,' that would be nice and



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honest and so refreshing."

The document request was leaked to the Wall Street Journal and printed in its Wednesday editions with an accompanying editorial blasting Mr. Biden for conducting "a fishing expedition offending standards of fair play."

Mr. Biden fired off an angry letter to the Justice Department and Judiciary Committee members - the only ones to receive the confidential document request.

"I have been firmly committed to keeping confidential our investigations of nominees pending before this committee," the letter stated. "The primary reason that I insist on confidentiality is to protect the nominees themselves, as well as their reputations and families."

The letter went on to say: "We receive many serious accusations against nominees that later prove to be baseless, and I am strongly opposed to allowing any aspect of these accusations to be publicly aired prior to their being fully investigated and resolved by the committee."

Not all Republicans on the 14-member judiciary committee agreed that the document request is a poorly disguised political maneuver.

"The committee chairman has the right and responsibility to check the background of any appointee," said Sen. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Republican. "I have been impressed with Mr. Thomas' performance in past positions and I intend to support him. It is my prediction he will be confirmed."

Biden critics also predict a successful result to Mr. Thomas' nomination, but say it won't happen without a nasty fight.

"I'm going to go into training," Mr. Simpson said. \*\*\*\*PHOTO/BOX

Clarence Thomas

\* Born: June 23, 1948, in Savannah, Ga.

\* Education: Bachelor's degree from Holy Cross College, 1971. Law degree from Yale Law School, 1974.

\* Career: Served as Missouri assistant attorney general in Jefferson City, 1974-77. Was the Monsanto Co. attorney in St. Louis from 1977-79. Worked as a legislative assistant to Sen. John Danforth, Missouri Republican. Served as assistant secretary for civil rights in the Department of Education, 1981-82. Has been chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission since 1982.

Source: 5th edition "Who's Who Among

Black Americans."

\*\*\*\*CHART

BIDEN'S RESEARCH PROJECT



(c) 1990 The Washington Times, January 19, 1990

Sen. Joseph Biden, Delaware Democrat and chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, sent an unprecedented, eight-page minutely detailed document request to Clarence M. Thomas, President Bush's nominee to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District. Mr. Thomas is former chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Representative portions of the Biden questionnaire follow.

Please provide any and all transcripts that have been made of speeches or public remarks made by Chairman Thomas, including any question and answer sessions following his remarks.

Also, please provide a list of any and all videotapes made of Chairman Thomas' speeches or public remarks.

Please provide each version, or edition, from January 1986 to the present, of the section of the EEOC's Official Compliance Manual dealing with the relative priority to be placed upon cases brought under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act [ADEA]. If no section of a particular version of the manual mentions this issue, please indicate that. In addition, please provide any correspondence, memos or instructions sent to District Directors with regard to any changes or updates in this section of the Manual over this time period.

For the years 1982 through 1989, please provide the following information:

Copies of all memoranda or correspondence prepared by Chairman Thomas or transmitted to him from the EEOC General Counsel, the EEOC Office of Legal Counsel, other EEOC commissioners or personnel from the Office of Management and Budget, which discuss or address the treatment of charges filed by persons who allege a violation of the ADEA due to an employer's denial of pension accruals for work performed beyond normal retirement age (65).

[Six similar requests follow in the pension accrual category alone. The document request includes 11 such categories, with similarly detailed demands.]

This [overall] request contemplates production of all documents described, including all drafts and non-identical or distribution copies.

This request contemplates production of responsive documents in their entirety, without abbreviation or expurgation.

The words "and" and "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to make the request inclusive rather than exclusive.

Source: The Wall Street Journal

GRAPHIC: Photo/box, Clarence Thomas, By The Washington Times; Chart, BIDEN'S RESEARCH PROJECT, By The Washington Times

What time POTUS speaks?

how many people?

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mayor <sup>first name</sup> Plunkett intro

Gov. Ashcroft who  
intros POTUS

also on stage.

Sr. Kit Bond

Mrs. Ashcroft

Mrs. Bush

Cong. Mel Hancock

[call Valerie]

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White House Speech Writing Dept.

From: David Haight, Eisenhower Library

Phone/FAX: 202-456-6218

Phone: 913-263-4751

SUBJECT: Pages 4-5 of DDE's Guildhall Address July 1945

**THOMPSON COMMUNICATIONS**  
INC.

John P. Thompson  
President

*Communications, Marketing & Media Services*

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(417) 468-5428

dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan whose husband or father will not return.

The only attitude in which a commander may with satisfaction receive the tributes of his friends is in the humble acknowledgment that no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is the symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause. Unless he feels this symbolism and this rightness in what he has tried to do, then he is disregarding of courage, fortitude and devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all Allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they whom this august body is really honoring today, then indeed I will be content.

This feeling of humility cannot erase of course my great pride in being tendered the freedom of London. I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognize family relationships, the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kansas, and Denison, Texas, would together equal in size, possibly one five-hundredth of a part of great London.

By your standards those towns are young, without your aged traditions that carry the roots of

[4]

London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong.

But I find myself today five thousand miles from that countryside, the honored guest of a city whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London Council to have gone farther afield to find a man to honor with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity of size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess.

To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene.

When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas.

To my mind it is clear that when two peoples will face the tragedies of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then in the deepest sense those two are truly related. So even as I proclaim my undying Americanism, I am bold

[5]

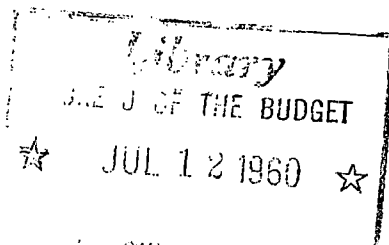


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*American Treasury*  
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*Harper & Brothers, Publishers*  
*New York*



making all the money in the world. . . . Texans are so proud of Texas that they cannot sleep at night. . . .

ANON., a supposed "speech" by a visitor to the state, printed in the Texas *Almanac*

[Houston] will be the New York of the late 20th century.

J. RUSSELL SMITH

### THE MIDDLE WEST

This is the country for a man to enjoy himself: Ohio, Indiana, and the Missouri Territory; where you may see prairie sixty miles long and ten broad, not a stick nor a stone in them, at two dollars an acre, that will produce from seventy to one hundred bushels of Indian corn per acre: too rich for wheat or any other kind of grain. I measured Indian corn in Ohio State last September more than fifteen feet high, and some of the ears had from four to seven hundred grains. I believe I saw more peaches and apples rotting on the ground than would sink the British fleet. I was at many plantations in Ohio where they no more knew the number of their hogs than myself. And they have such flocks of turkeys, geese, ducks, and hens as would surprise you; they live principally upon fowls and eggs, and in summer upon apple and peach pies. The poorest family has a cow or two and some sheep and in the fall can gather as many apples and peaches as serve the year round. Good rye whiskey; apple and peach brandy, at forty cents per gallon, which I think equal to rum. Excellent cider at three dollars per barrel of thirty-three gallons, barrel included.

There is enough to spare of everything a person can desire; have not heard either man or woman speak a word against the government or the price of provisions.

The poorest families adorn the table three times a day like a wedding dinner—tea, coffee, beef, fowls, pies, eggs, pickles, good bread; and their favorite beverage is whiskey or peach brandy. Say, is it so in England?

If you knew the difference between this country and England you would need no persuading to leave it and come hither. It abounds with game and deer; I often see ten or fifteen together; turkeys in abundance, weighing from eighteen to twenty-four pounds. The rivers abound with ducks and fish. There are some elk and bears. We have no hares, but swarms of rabbits: the woods are full of turtledoves, and eight or nine kinds of woodpeckers. Robin redbreast the size of your pigeon.

SAMUEL CRABTREE, letter to his brother, 1818

Illinois is heaven for men and horses, but hell for women and oxen.

Popular saying in Illinois in the early nineteenth century

Honour to Pioneers That Broke Sod That Men to Come Might Live.

Inscription on State Capitol Building, Lincoln, Nebraska

The common fence in the eastern half of the United States was made of rails split from the tree trunks of the cleared fields. It was supplemented by the stone wall or rock fence in regions such as New England where there were as many rocks as there were trees. Of rails, the most familiar type was the Virginia worm or zigzag fence, remnants of which still exist in remote parts of the woodland states. This fence, along with the log cabin, made its way west until it came to the Great Plains which it could not enter or cross for the simple reason that there was no material for making it. Also, there were no rocks, especially in the eastern plains which the pioneers first entered. In short, fencing became economically impossible, and without fences there could be no farming because live-stock and agricultural crops are mutually exclusive. For want of fencing the agricultural frontier was brought almost to a dead halt on the edge of the plains, and it was unable to move forward until a practical and economical substitute could be found. In the interval before a practical fence was invented, every device imaginable was tried, such as thorny hedges of bois d'arc, cactus, running roses; even mud fences were built to go along with sod houses. None of the substitutes were satisfactory and all were expensive. The fence problem may be said to have been acute from 1850 to 1875, leaving the Great Plains in the hands of the cattle kings of the open range. . . .

The solution in this case was neither borrowed from the Spaniards, as the method of handling range cattle on horseback had been, nor furnished by New England, as in the case of the Colt revolver. The solution, the invention of barbed wire, was the work of a group of farmers living in the open prairies of Illinois near the little town of DeKalb. Their names were Joseph Glidden, Jacob Haish, and perhaps a third, Isaac Ellwood. Joseph, Jacob, and Isaac did not make brick without straw, but they made fences requiring little timber. In 1873 the first two began making barbed wire, independently, and each obtained a patent. What they discovered was that a cheap and practical fence, one easy to construct and to maintain, could be made by twisting two wires with barbs spaced at regular intervals, and that three strands of this infernal contrivance stretched tight on posts would keep cattle and crops separated.

The success of Joseph, Jacob, and Isaac was phenomenal, and though they started as simple farmers they wound up as millionaires because they had the only fence that could be used in about half of the United States. Barbed wire was shipped into the plains by the trainload, and within twenty-five years nearly all the open range had become privately owned and was under fence. Ranching was converted from the open range into the big pasture type. With the possibility of fencing, the farmers, who had been stalled for a generation on the edge of the plains, resumed their march to the west.

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB, *The Great Plains*

The Kansas spirit is the American spirit double-distilled. It is a new grafted product of American individualism, American idealism, American intolerance. Kansas is America in microcosm: as America conceives itself in respect to Europe, so Kansas conceives itself in respect to America. Within its borders Americanism, pure and undefiled, has a new lease of life. It is the mission of this self-selected people to see to it that it does not perish from off the earth. The light on the altar, however neglected elsewhere, must ever be replenished in Kansas. If this is provincialism, it is the provincialism of faith rather than of province. The devotion to the state is devotion to an ideal, not to a territory, and men can say "Dear old Kansas!" because the name symbolizes for them what the motto of the state so well expresses, *ad astra per aspera*.

CARL BECKER, *Kansas*, 1910

There is about [Indiana] a charm I shall not be able to express. . . . This is a region not unlike those which produce gold or fleet horses or oranges or adventurers.

THEODORE DREISER, *A Hoosier Holiday*, 1916

On a hill by the Mississippi where Chippewas had camped two generations ago, a girl stood in relief against the cornflower blue of Northern sky. She saw no Indians now; she saw flour-mills and the blinking windows of skyscrapers in Minneapolis and St. Paul. . . . A breeze which had crossed a thousand miles of wheatlands bellied her taffeta skirt in a line so graceful, so full of animation and moving beauty, that the heart of a chance watcher on the lower road tightened to wistfulness over her quality of suspended freedom. . . . The days of pioneering, of lassies in sunbonnets, and bears killed with axes in piney clearings, are dead now

than Camelot; and a rebellious girl is the spirit of that bewildered empire called the American Middlewest.

SINCLAIR LEWIS, *Main Street*, 1920

Here—she meditated—is the newest empire of the world; the Northern Middlewest; a land of dairy herds and exquisite lakes, of new automobiles and tar-paper shanties and silos like red towers, of clumsy speech and a hope that is boundless. An empire which feeds a quarter of the world—yet its work is merely begun. They are pioneers, these sweaty wayfarers, for all their telephones and bank-accounts and automatic pianos and cooperative leagues. And for all its fat richness, theirs is a pioneer land. What is its future? she wondered. A future of cities and factory smut where now are loping empty fields? Homes universal and secure? Or placid chateaux ringed with sullen huts? Youth freed to find knowledge and laughter? Willingness to sift the sanctified lies? Or creamy-skinned fat women, smeared with grease and chalk, gorgeous in the skins of beasts and the bloody feathers of slain birds, playing bridge with puffy pink-nailed jeweled fingers, women who after much expenditure of labor and bad temper still grotesquely resemble their own flatulent lap-dogs? The ancient stale inequalities, or something different in history, unlike the tedious maturity of other empires? What future and what hope?

SINCLAIR LEWIS, *Ibid.*

[Village contentment is] the contentment of the quiet dead, who are scornful of the living for their restless walking. It is negation canonized as the one positive virtue. It is the prohibition of happiness. It is slavery self-sought and self-defended. It is dullness made God.

SINCLAIR LEWIS, *Ibid.*

Back in 1905, in America, it was almost universally known that though cities were evil and even in the farmland there were occasional men of wrath, our villages were approximately paradise. They were always made up of small white houses under large green trees; there was no poverty and no toil worth mentioning; every Sunday, sweet-tempered, silvery pastors poured forth comfort and learning; and while the banker might be a pretty doubtful dealer, he was inevitably worsted in the end by the honest yeomanry. But it was Neighborliness that was the glory of the small town. In the cities, nobody knew or cared; but back home, the Neighbors were one great happy family. They lent you money, without questioning . . . they soothed your brow in sickness . . . and when you

had nevertheless passed beyond, they sat up with your corpse and your widow. Invariably they encouraged youth to go to bigger and nobler things.

And in 1905, I returned to my own Minnesota village for vacation after my Sophomore year at Yale, and after two months of it . . . I was converted to the faith that a good deal of this Neighborliness was a fake; that villages could be as inquisitorial as army barracks. So in the third month of vacation, fifteen years before it was published, I began to write *Main Street*.

SINCLAIR LEWIS, *Ibid.*, "Introduction," 1937

The Nation's Dust Bowl.

Description of the Middle West during the great drought of the '30's

The Corn Belt is a gift of the gods—the rain god, the sun god, the ice god; and the gods of geology.

J. RUSSELL SMITH

. . . and the smell of woodsmoke in Ohio and the flaming maples, the nights of the frosty stars, the blazing moons that hang the same way in a thousand streets, slanting to silence on the steeple's slope; nights of the wheel, the rail, the bell, the wailing cry along the river's edge, and of the summer's ending, nights of the frost and silence and the barking of a dog, of people listening, and of words unspoken and the quiet heart, and nights of the old October that must come again, while we are waiting, waiting, waiting in the darkness for all of our friends and brothers who will not return.

THOMAS WOLFE, "One of the Girls in Our Party"

Chicago is stupefying . . . an Olympian freak, a fable, an allegory, an incomprehensible phenomenon . . . monstrous, multifarious, unnatural, indomitable, puissant, preposterous, transcendent . . . throw the dictionary at it!

JULIAN STREET

Ohio is the farthest west of the east and the farthest north of the south.

LOUIS BROMFIELD

Many of the following items are to be encountered all over the United States; nevertheless I think of them as typically middle western. One could make a litany of forces, memories, institutions—for instance the ole swimmin' hole, the red brick schoolhouse, and the ritual of "working one's way" through college; or cartoons like that by John McCutcheon of the *Chicago Tribune* about Indian summer, football teams like the Green Bay Packers, and social phenomena like wrong-side-of-the-trackism in regard to where a person is born.

I could mention church suppers; county and state fairs, particularly on Governor's Day as in Iowa; the memory of portages and poems by Carl Sandburg; the tradition of paternalistic independent newspaper editors like Henry Justin Smith of the *Chicago Daily News*; small lakes in northern Indiana like saucepans full of limp bathing suits; the lawns, six inches deep with autumn leaves, before frame houses with big porches in middle-sized Wisconsin towns; and the rows of orange pumpkins outside Ohio filling stations.

Or I could talk of the great state universities, their athletics and their alumni; utterly nauseous conditions in the state insane asylums; bulletin boards in the local post offices, with their wide variety of reading matter—reports on migratory birds, advices on criminals by the FBI, and civil service jobs; about the use of the word "visit" as a synonym for the verb "see," and the fact that the most conservative vote is not, contrary to general opinion, that of the farmers but of businessmen in small towns; about the crushing social pressure exerted on youngsters by the corner drugstore, and place names like What Cheer, Iowa, and Peculiar, Missouri, about the middle western awe of a really good department store, like Marshall Field's in Chicago, and the ubiquitous night schools—especially their courses in law.

Then there are the motels and tourist camps which, what with Puritanism and the housing shortage, have become the chief haunts of the amorous; the fact that the United States is the country where most luxuries are cheap; a great instinct for horseplay in most Americans; the hired man who comes to work at 8:02 in the morning (or 7:59) instead of 8 sharp to demonstrate his independence and hatred of regimentation; the gap between the basic good will of citizens and their lack of concrete desire to put the good will into performance; and the nuggets of political conversation like "Don't know if he can vote his own wife, but he carries a lot of punch," "When we're in a war I'm for the president as long as it lasts," "There's a pretty high brand of government in this here state" (how many times did I hear that!), "He's the best rough-and-tumble

swivel-chair lawyer in the county," and "The guy is so honest that there's nothing he'd steal but an election."

JOHN GUNTHER, *Inside U.S.A.*

## THE WEST

I turn round and round irresolute sometimes for a quarter of an hour, until I decide, for the thousandth time, that I will walk into the southwest or west. Eastward I go only by force, but westward I go free. Thither no business leads me. It is hard for me to believe that I shall find fair landscapes or sufficient wildness and freedom behind the eastern horizon. I am not excited by the prospect of a walk thither; but I believe that the forest which I see in the western horizon stretches uninterruptedly toward the setting sun, and there are no towns or cities in it of enough consequence to disturb me. Let me live where I will, on this side is the city, on that the wilderness, and ever I am leaving the city more and more and withdrawing into the wilderness. I should not lay so much stress on this fact if I did not believe that something like this is the prevailing tendency of my countrymen. I must walk toward Oregon and not toward Europe.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.

Bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census, 1890

Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file—the buffalo following the trail to salt springs, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle raiser, the pioneer farmer—and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, *The Frontier in American History*, 1920

[The frontier is] the line of most rapid and effective Americanization.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, *Ibid.*

From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraint is triumphant. There is not *tabula rasa*. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experience, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, *Ibid.*

American democracy was born of no theorist's dream; it was not carried in the *Susan Constant* to Virginia nor in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth. It

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QUOTATIONS

*Classical and Modern*

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BURTON STEVENSON  
Editor *The Home Book of Verse*

I can tell thee where that saying was born  
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*  
Act i, sc. 5, l. 9

TENTH EDITION

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY  
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VILLAGE

VILLAIN AND VILLAINY 2085

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No. 1.

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<sup>1</sup> O vanquisher, whosoever thou art. not long shalt thou exult. nor shall I be unavenged; thee also a like fate awaits. (Non me. quicumque es. inulto Victor. nec longum latura: te quoque fata Prospectant paria.)  
VERGIL, *Æneid*. Bk. x, l. 739.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won.  
DUKE OF WELLINGTON, *Despatch*, 1815.

Madam, there is nothing so dreadful as a great victory—excepting a great defeat.  
DUKE OF WELLINGTON, *Remark*, to a lady expressing passionate wish to see a great victory. Wellington borrowed it from D'Argenson. (See Grimm's *Mémoires*.)

VILLAGE

<sup>3</sup> There is more harm in the village than is dreamt of (Hay mas mal en el aldeguela que se suena.)  
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. i, ch. 46.

<sup>4</sup> The villager, born humbly and bred hard, Content his wealth, and poverty his guard.  
CHARLES CHURCHILL, *Gotham*. Bk. iii, l. 117.

<sup>5</sup> If you would be known, and not know, vegetate in a village; if you would know, and not be known, live in a city.  
C. C. COLTON, *Lacon*. Pt. i, No. 334.

<sup>6</sup> Sweet Auburn! loveliest village of the plain, Where health and plenty cheer'd the labouring swain,  
Where smiling spring its earliest visit paid,  
And parting summer's lingering blooms delay'd.  
OLIVER GOLDSMITH, *The Deserted Village*, l. 1.

How often have I loiter'd o'er thy green,  
Where humble happiness endear'd each scene;  
How often have I paus'd on every charm,  
The shelter'd cot, the cultivated farm,  
The never-failing brook, the busy mill,  
The decent church that topp'd the neighbouring hill,  
The hawthorn bush, with seats beneath the shade,  
For talking age and whisp'ring lovers made!  
OLIVER GOLDSMITH, *The Deserted Village*, l. 7.

<sup>7</sup> A little one-eyed, blinking sort o' place.  
HARDY, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Ph. i, ch. 1.

This poor little one-horse town.  
MARK TWAIN, *The Undertaker's Story*.

<sup>8</sup> A small country town is not the place in which one would choose to quarrel with a wife; every human being in such places is a spy  
SAMUEL JOHNSON, *Letters*. Vol. i, p. 107.

A village is a hive of glass,  
Where nothing unobserved can pass.  
C. H. SPURGEON, *Salt-Cellars*.

<sup>9</sup> Country in town. (Rus in urbe.)  
MARTIAL, *Epigrams*. Bk. xii, ep. 57, l. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Small town, great renown. (Petite ville, grand renom.)  
RABELAIS, *Works*. Bk. ii, ch. 35. Of Chinon. Rabelais' native town. See also AMBITION.

<sup>11</sup> In every village marked with little spire,  
Embowered in trees, and hardly known to fame.

WILLIAM SHENSTONE, *The Schoolmistress*. St. 2. And villages embosomed soft in trees.  
THOMSON, *The Seasons: Spring*, l. 954.

<sup>12</sup> They take the rustic murmur of their bourg  
For the great wave that echoes round the world.

TENNYSON, *The Marriage of Geraint*, l. 419.

VILLAIN AND VILLAINY

See also Knave

I—Villain

<sup>12a</sup> Villain of the deepest dye! thy hellish machinations I defy! me life you may gain in this wild endeavor, but me spotless honor, hardly ev—never! never! And the villain still pursued her.

MILTON NOBLES, *The Phoenix*. Act i, sc. 3. Carroll Graves, one of the characters, is writing a chapter of a story.

<sup>13</sup> The greatest scoundrel that walks on two legs. (Omnium bipedum nequissimus.)

PLINY THE YOUNGER, *Epistles*. Bk. i, epis. 5.

A wretch, a villain, lost to love and truth.  
BURNS, *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, l. 83.

Calm, thinking villains, whom no faith could fix,  
Of crooked counsels and dark politics.  
POPE, *The Temple of Fame*, l. 410.

One Pinch, a hungry lean-faced villain,  
A mere anatomy.

SHAKESPEARE, *Comedy of Errors*. Act v, l. 237.

With foreheads villainous low.

SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest*. Act iv, sc. 1, 250.

Thou lowest scoundrel of the scoundrel kind,  
Extract of all the dregs of all mankind.

THOMAS SHERIDAN, *Satire on Mr. Fairbrother*.

<sup>14</sup> O villain. villain. smiling, damned villain!  
SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, l. 5, 106. See under SMILE.

<sup>15</sup> As if we were villains by necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion.

SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*. Act i, sc. 2, l. 132.  
See also KNAVE AND FOOL.

<sup>16</sup> I would not be the villain that thou think'st,  
For the whole space that's in the tyrant's grasp,  
And the rich East to boot.

SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*. Act iv, sc. 3, l. 35.

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# AMERICA THE QUOTABLE

*Mike Edelhart and  
James Tinen*



**Facts On File Publications**  
460 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10016

\* \* \*  
 homogenous organism which  
 ze."  
 Edmund Wilson  
 "Detroit Motors"  
 1930

Places

of the Grosse Pointe people,  
 ere some men have to go for  
 ch they escape at night."  
 Stephen Birmingham  
*The Golden Dream*  
 1978

\* \* \*  
 been accused of representing  
 money, as tasteless and  
 annual models."  
 Stephen Birmingham  
*The Golden Dream*  
 1978

ula Region:

of Michigan is a year-round  
 days are cool and the nights  
 n of the new growth on the  
 the early bloom of the first  
 heir way through the moss-  
 auty we would hate to miss.  
 autumn blow a spectacular  
 quiet woodlands along the  
 shore."  
 Joanne and Charles Jordan  
*Travel*  
 May, 1976

\* \* \*  
 shore bordering the head of  
 ern curve of that silver sea,  
 red. It is a wilderness still,  
 e school-maps nothing save  
 ed paper, generally a pale,  
 e climate, all the way from  
 on ports on the Little Bay de  
 : in lake phraseology, 100  
 ng to the mapmakers, who,  
 region, set it down accord-  
 those long-legged letters,  
 a-rees," that stretch accom-

modatingly across so much townless territory farther  
 west."

Constance Fenimore Woolson  
*Castle Nowhere*  
 1875

*THE MIDWEST  
 AND THE  
 GREAT PLAINS*

The Midwest and Great Plains, by their unmatched  
 economic output, have fueled the American experi-  
 ment. The vast quantities of food and raw materials  
 produced in this swatch of fertile land, running  
 southward from the Canadian border to the Rio  
 Grande and stretching from the Ohio Valley to the  
 Rocky Mountains, have made America an economic  
 powerhouse. Socially, the area is conservative, the  
 heart of homey American virtues. No trend that  
 begins on the coasts can become officially "Ameri-  
 can" until it is accepted by the pragmatic folks of the  
 Middle West, until it "plays in Peoria." When the  
 world thinks of America, the rich fields of the Great  
 Plains and the hardworking people of the Midwest  
 are what comes to mind.

THE REGION

"It is in that great cosmopolitan country known as  
 the Middle West that we may hope to see the hard  
 molds of American provincialism broken up; that we  
 may hope to find young talent which will challenge  
 the pale proprieties, the insincere, conventional opti-  
 mism of our art and thought."

Willa Cather  
*These United States*  
 1924

\* \* \*  
 "I sometimes think that a European deploring the  
 horror of Pittsburgh, Detroit, St. Louis, and 'your  
 Midwest cities' is not really criticizing the Midwest  
 or American cities but the 19th century city any-  
 where."

Alistair Cooke  
*Talk About America*  
 1968

\* \* \*  
 [A businessman of the West]: "If the West had been  
 settled first, the East would be a wilderness today,  
 for the reason that the fertile soil, the vast cities, the  
 ease of communication of the midland, would have  
 made it the home of all ease, refinement, culture, and  
 art. The East would have been only a fringe of  
 seaport towns, with fine shooting and fishing lands  
 as a background."

Hamlin Garland  
*Crumbling Idols*  
 1894

\* \* \*  
 "This Midwest. A dissonance of parts and people,  
 we are a consonance of towns. Like a man grown fat  
 in everything but heart, we over-labor; our outlook  
 never really urban, never rural either, we enlarge and  
 linger at the same time, as Alice both changed and  
 remained in her story."

William Gass  
*In the Heart of the Heart of the Country*  
 1968

\* \* \*  
 "[Socialist leader] Eugene Debs came to magnify the  
 midwestern virtues and to minimize the midwestern  
 faults, but even the faults he shared with others  
 became a source of strength... He was able to  
 understand [the] common mind because it was, in  
 many ways, so exactly his mind. His generosity  
 sometimes became mawkishness. His literary sense  
 found satisfaction in both Goethe and ordinary dog-  
 gerel. His delight in humor did not scruple at re-  
 peated Negro dialect jokes. He drank hard liquor  
 because his fellows drank hard liquor. In his entire  
 life, he never made an important decision on the  
 basis of theoretical study."

Ray Giner  
*Eugene V. Debs*  
 1949

\* \* \*  
 "Those who have lived pent up in our large cities  
 know but little of the broad, unembarrassed freedom  
 of the Great Western Prairies."

Josiah Gregg  
*Commerce on the Prairies*  
 1844

\* \* \*  
 "Define the Middle West again. It is where industry  
 and agriculture both reach their highest American  
 development and coalesce."

John Gunther  
*Inside USA*  
 1947

"On a hill by the Mississippi where Chippewas had camped two generations ago, a girl stood in relief against the cornflower blue of Northern sky. She saw no Indians now; she saw flour-mills and the blinking windows of skyscrapers in Minneapolis and St. Paul. . . . A breeze which had crossed a thousand miles of wheatlands bellied her taffeta skirt in a line so graceful, so full of animation and moving beauty, that the heart of a chance watcher on the lower road tightened to wistfulness over her quality of suspended freedom. . . . The days of pioneering, of lassies in sunbonnets, and bears killed with axes in piney clearings, are deader now than Camelot; and a rebellious girl is the spirit of that bewildered empire called the American Middlewest."

Sinclair Lewis  
*Main Street*  
1920

\* \* \*

"I had gone to catch a glimpse of the famous Middle West that has long been the bogey of Europe. If the United States Senate refused to ratify a treaty, we always ascribed it to pressure from the Middle West; if a new and super-efficient tractor began to undercut British tractors, it was always due to the mass production that was possible only in the illimitable Middle West; if the United States wanted its war debt repaid, it was owing to the ignorant clamor, we explained to each other, of the citizens of the Middle West who were so unreasonable as to want their money back. In fact, we made the Middle West into a sort of Colossus, alternately illiterate and politically acute, alternately half-witted and shrewd, alternately turning its back and its telescope upon European affairs, alternately wrapped up in a loutish sleep and possessed of demoniac vigilance."

A.G. MacDonell  
*A Visit to America*  
1935

\* \* \*

"... those flat lands of compromise and mediocre self-expression, those endless half-pretty repetitive small towns of the Middle and the West."

Norman Mailer  
"Superman Comes to the Supermarket"  
1960

\* \* \*

"It is an amorphous region, a slab of eight or nine states deposited in the center of America."

James Morris  
*As I Saw the USA*  
1956

\* \* \*

"Across the table-flat plains, from North Dakota to Texas, the lights are going out. Small towns are

shriveling and dying, farmhouses stand abandoned and stark, sun-bleached mementos of an era lost in a sea of prairie grass."

Neal R. Peirce  
*The Great Plains States of America*  
1973

\* \* \*

"The Plainsmen are reminded again and again that this chunk of the continent they have taken as their own is the subject of violent, elemental force of nature, a place where man is still guest, *never* master."

Neal R. Peirce  
*The Great Plains States of America*  
1973

\* \* \*

[Passing the home towns of Jesse James, J.C. Penney, General Pershing, Mark Twain, Abe Lincoln—and Ernie Pyle]: "[U.S. 36] . . . might be called the road of great men's homes."

Ernie Pyle  
*Home Country*  
1947

\* \* \*

"We're the calm, thoughtful center. We [in the Midwest] can moderate between the extremes. We can see both sides of the argument. If you take us out of the United States, you drain all the basic common sense out of the country."

Resident  
Quoted by Jonathan Raban  
*Old Glory*  
1981

\* \* \*

"It is safe here, and there is room here, and the bad cities of the coasts, the Sodoms and Gomorrhahs, can't swallow you up."

Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

\* \* \*

"If the Midwest stays separate, then its glory would be in its failure."

Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

\* \* \*

"The heartland as a hideout: it is a theme that recurs."

Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

\* \* \*

"The heartland is in danger of having its heart cut

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the barn

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Richard Rhodes  
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1970

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Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

of having its heart cut

out. We're moving away from the horse manure in  
the barn."

Kansas City educator  
Quoted by Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

\*\*\*

"Its affectionate nicknames (the heartland; the mid-  
land; America's breadbasket) evoke a wholesomeness  
that is ballasted with complacency, a heartiness  
that comes from 'being close to the land,' a down-  
right reasonableness that is genuine but narrow. We  
mean all of this when we say, again and again, that  
the Midwest is flat."

Jon Spayde  
*The Literary Guide to the United States*  
1981

\*\*\*

"The... impression [of the Midwest] was of an  
electric energy, a force, almost a fluid of energy so  
powerful as to be stunning in its impact. No matter  
what the direction, whether for good or for bad, the  
vitality was everywhere."

John Steinbeck  
*Travels with Charley*  
1962

\*\*\*

"I really think that the Middle West is the last  
outpost. I think that the East Coast and the West  
Coast have become un-Americanized."

Richard Sticklebur, Kansas City arts patron  
Quoted by Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

\*\*\*

"Night on the prairies,  
The supper is over, the fire on the ground burns  
low,  
The wearied emigrants sleep, wrapt in their blan-  
kets;  
I walk by myself—I stand and look at the stars,  
which I think now I never realized before.

Now I absorb immortality and peace,  
I admire death and test propositions."

Walt Whitman  
*Night on the Prairies*  
1860

THE LANDSCAPE

"Come, tired little sister, run with me.  
See—I kiss your lips—soft—to entice you.  
In the still young night we begin our running,  
Stripping our clothes away.

Skirting the towns, passing the lonely houses,  
Skating away from the sleeping cities,  
Running forever—on and on—into the empire of  
the corn.

Come, tired little sister, run with me.  
Do you know my brother, the farmer?  
Now he grows discouraged and weeps.

I saw him kneeling and praying alone, by a de-  
stroyed wheat field.

It was the time of learning for me.

I fairly choked.

It was the beginning of faith in the gods for me."

Sherwood Anderson  
*Mid-American Chants*  
1918

\*\*\*

"All of the people of my time were bound with  
chains. They had forgotten the long fields and  
the standing corn. They had forgotten the west  
winds.

Into the cities my people had gathered. They had  
become dizzy with words. Words had choked  
them. They could not breathe.

On my knees I crawled before my people. I de-  
based myself. The excretions of their bodies I  
took for my food. Into the ground I went and my  
body died. I emerged in the corn, in the long  
corn fields. My head arose and was touched by  
the west wind. The light of old things, of beauti-  
ful old things, awoke in me. In the corn fields  
the sacred vessel is set up."

Sherwood Anderson  
*Mid-American Chants*  
1918

\*\*\*

"... the midwestern sensibility must surely be the  
most finely tuned of any region's, because of the  
landscape that nurtures it. Plain, squarely sectioned,  
altered only by its season, it has none of the easy  
majesty of oceans, mountains, forests. A Midwest-  
erner must look hard for his natural variety, must  
grow an appreciation for the hummocky roll of hill-  
sides, the imperceptibly varying line of land to sky."

Douglas Bauer  
*Prairie City, Iowa*  
1979

\*\*\*

"It's downright disgraceful that in most parts of the  
United States the climate is of foreign origin. Florida  
and California openly brag of their Mediterranean  
sunshine. The only place where one can get real,

THE STATE

"This state [Missouri] is a melange of peoples, occupations and resources. It would be difficult to pinpoint it, except to say that, in general, it is southern."

Pearl S. Buck  
*America*  
1971

\* \* \*

"Missouri is the abolitionist North with its belief in equal rights for all men and women. It is the plantation South with its old ideas of a leisure society. It is the industrial East, busy, noisy, mechanical, commercial. It is the grazing West, miles and miles of pasture and prize livestock in every direction."

Irving Dilliard  
*I'm From Missouri*  
1952

\* \* \*

"Illinois may have a richer soil and a more prosperous people; Iowa may have a better organized community life; and Kansas, a quicker sense of civic responsibility and political opportunity. But Missouri doesn't want to hear about it. Missourians are satisfied with here, and she is satisfied with herself. Besides, who can say that Arkansas excels her in anything?"

Manley O. Hudson  
*These United States*  
1924

\* \* \*

"I come from a state that raises corn and cotton and cockleburrs and Democrats, and frothy eloquence neither convinces nor satisfies me. I am from Missouri. You have got to show me."

Williard Vandiver, congressman  
Speech in Philadelphia  
1899

PEOPLE

[Obituary of Kansas City man who killed himself three months after moving to New York]: "He hated New York. He wanted to come home."

*Kansas City Star*  
1966

WAY OF LIFE

"He [Vice-President Harry Truman] talked about friends I should call on, who were the apple of his eye. 'They're ornery, mean folk!' he chuckled.

"They're against everybody but themselves!' I asked Mr. Truman what they were for. 'Missouri!'"

John Gunther  
*Inside USA*  
1947

\* \* \*

"Missouri would lose something if the Civil War were ever entirely settled."

*Kansas City Star*  
Quoted by John Gunther  
*Inside USA*  
1947

\* \* \*

"That peppery, independent spirit, not entirely foreign to the ornery mules who helped make Missouri famous, has surfaced again and again in Missouri history, recent decades not excepted."

Neal R. Peirce  
*The Great Plains States of America*  
1973

CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS

Kansas City

"People in Kansas City are tormented by the fact that they live here . . . 'Kansas City' sounds so bad. It commends itself to a nasal tone of voice."

Giles Fowler, Kansas City drama critic  
Quoted by Richard Rhodes  
*The Inland Ground*  
1970

\* \* \*

"Busy, boasting, and Babbitt-ful, Kansas City holds a key position in the American system of interstate commerce. . . . It has life but it lacks character."

Manley G. Hudson  
*These United States*  
1924

\* \* \*

"Kansas City stands at the eastern edge of the wheat belt, at the western edge of the corn belt, and at the northern limit of the white belt. This is not a racial remark. I am talking about the white belt, which men in Kansas City have taken to wearing with red pants."

Charles Kuralt  
*Dateline America*  
1979

\* \* \*