John C. Danforth Papers  
(C4532)

Collection Number: C4532

Collection Title: John C. Danforth Papers

Dates: 1968-2016

Creator: Danforth, John C., 1936-


Collection Size: 202.3 cubic feet, 9 oversize volumes, 15 oversize items, 11.8 GB of born digital files, 99 film reels, 17 audio tapes, 162 audio cassettes, 129 video cassettes, 15 video tapes, 403 reels of microfilm  
(4547 folders)

Language: Collection materials are in English.

Repository: The State Historical Society of Missouri

Restrictions on Access: Collection is open for research. This collection is available at The State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center-Columbia. If you would like more information, please contact us at columbia@shsmo.org. Collections may be viewed at any research center.

Restrictions on Use: Copyright retained by the Donor during his lifetime. Upon the death of the Donor, such rights shall pass to or for the benefit of his wife, Sally D. Danforth, and his children as the Donor shall determine. Upon the death of the last to survive of Donor’s said wife and his children, such rights shall pass to the University.

Preferred Citation: [Specific item; box number; folder number] John C. Danforth Papers (C4532); The State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center-Columbia [after first mention may be abbreviated to SHSMO-Columbia].

Donor Information: The papers were donated to the University of Missouri by John C. Danforth on July 25, 1994 (Accession No. CA5455). Additions were made by Danforth in November and December 1994 (Accession No. CA5502); January and February 1995 (Accession Nos. CA5505 and No. CA5507); on March 31, 2010 (CA5455.02); and April 5, 2018
Biographical Note:

John Claggett Danforth was born to Donald Danforth and Dorothy Claggett on September 5, 1936, in St. Louis, Missouri. The youngest of four, “Jack” attended private schools before earning a B.A. from Princeton University in 1958, a B.D. from Yale Divinity School, and an LL.B. from Yale University in 1963. He worked in tax law for a firm in New York City from 1964 to 1966 before returning to practice in St. Louis. Danforth was also ordained as a deacon of the Episcopal church in 1963 and as a priest in 1964.

In 1957, Danforth married Sally Dobson and they had five children. His grandfather, William H. Danforth, was the founder of Ralston Purina, and a noticeable influence on Jack’s life. In 1968 when Danforth was elected Missouri Attorney General and became the first Republican to win statewide office in decades, his campaign slogan was “I Dare You!,” the title of his grandfather’s self-help book published in 1931. John Danforth was elected in 1968 as attorney general and served until 1976, when he was elected to the U.S. Senate following Senator Stuart Symington’s retirement. He would serve in the senate until 1995. After Danforth began working in Washington, D.C., he also became an honorary associate rector at St. Alban’s.

During Danforth’s tenure in the Senate, his work focused on his Missouri constituents, businesses with interests in Missouri, and international trade as it affected the United States. As such, his committee assignments included the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, both of which he participated for the entirety of his career. Danforth even served as Committee Chair for Commerce, Science, and Transportation during the Republican’s Senate majority of the 99th Congress in 1985 and 1986. Danforth’s third committee assignment was Governmental Affairs until 1985, when he joined the Committee on the Budget for four years. Danforth left Budget in 1989 to serve on the Select Committee on Intelligence for the remainder of his senatorial career.

After leaving the Senate in 1995, Danforth had several appointed positions. First, from 1999-2000 he served as Special Counsel for the United States Department of Justice at the behest of U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno. In that capacity, Danforth led an investigation into the FBI’s actions at the Mt. Carmel Complex in Waco, Texas, now known as the Waco Massacre. As a result, he produced the “Danforth Report” in November 2000. There are no records in the Danforth Papers pertaining to this event, but the report is publicly available. Second, in 2001 Danforth was appointed the Special Envoy to Sudan by President George W. Bush, where Danforth facilitated a peace deal to end the Second Sudanese Civil War. Finally, from 2004-2005, he served as 24th United States Ambassador to the United Nations at the request of President George W. Bush before retiring from political office for good.

Arrangement:

The collection has been arranged into the following ten series with five subseries:

Attorney General
Campaign Files
US Senate
    Legislative Files
    Staff Files
    Commerce Committee Black Books
Press Files
District Office Files
Administrative Assistant Files
Personal Office Files
Photographs
Clarence Thomas
Scrapbooks
Oversize
Audiovisual
Microfilm
Born Digital Files

**Scope and Content Note:**

**Attorney General of Missouri** series

This series includes materials from Danforth’s 1968 and 1972 campaigns for Attorney General of Missouri and contains materials documenting AG office operations; correspondence; speeches; press files; subject files; and personal files.

The bulk of the campaign materials document Danforth’s 1972 attorney general campaign. Records of his transition into the office of attorney general include correspondence with various politicians and state officials, as well as office files. The correspondence files are in chronological order, though many dates overlap. The folders may contain only outgoing correspondence or both outgoing and incoming letters. Correspondence with Missouri Governors Hearnes and Bond, and correspondence with legislators were all kept separate. The folder “Letters and release from governor relating to A.G. office” documents the 1970 feud between Danforth and Hearnes, including articles, correspondence, and press releases. Speeches are arranged first chronologically and then by type of group spoken to, while Press Files are arranged first alphabetically and then by date. The alphabetical Subject Files include research material, office files, legal cases and investigations, and political files. The small number of personal files primarily contain personal correspondence and correspondence regarding campaign donations. Donor lists were weeded for privacy. Most files are in reverse chronological order within the folders.

**Campaign** series

The Campaigns series primarily includes materials from Danforth’s 1976, 1982, and 1988 U. S. Senate campaigns, with some items from his unsuccessful 1970 U.S. Senate campaign, and from 1972, when he considered running for governor. The series includes research documents, official position papers, and extensive documentation on fundraising, events, and travel.
The 1976 campaign files include planning materials from the consulting firm Bailey, Deardourff, and Eyer as well as correspondence and other documents resulting from a payment dispute with the firm after the campaign. Materials from the 1982 election, in which Danforth narrowly defeated opponent Harriett Woods, primarily consist of subject files, with scattered media and fundraising records. Subject Files include correspondence, memos, and research. The fundraising files include post-election efforts to pay down debt incurred during the campaign. Donor lists were weeded for privacy reasons.

The bulk of the Campaigns series consists of 1988 campaign files. After his near defeat by Woods, Danforth appears to have focused intensely on opposition research during this campaign, with an entire cubic foot of materials devoted to democratic candidate Jay Nixon. Especially useful to researchers are three cubic feet of legislative subject books prepared for the 1988 campaign. The books are arranged by topic and all except the Judicial Affairs issues book contain a table of contents. The books include correspondence, copies of staff memos, legislative information, news clippings, memos on Danforth’s positions, and form letters. The series also includes Missouri polling data, 1976-1988, prepared by Market Opinion Research for the Danforth campaign and for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Additional campaign material is in the Audiovisual series.

U.S. Senate series

The U. S. Senate series contains working documents and records created during Danforth’s U. S. Senate tenure from 1976-1994. The bulk of the materials were produced by staff in in Danforth’s Washington, D.C. office. Danforth’s staff consisted of his personal secretary, an administrative assistant (AA) who also acted as chief-of-staff, an office manager, a news/press secretary, and a legislative director (LD), with multiple legislative aids (LAs), assistants and special assistants. Most of the staff files were created by LAs who were assigned specific topics, committees, or interest groups. The LD coordinated the LAs, managed intern projects and reported directly to Danforth and the AA. The AA and personal secretary managed access to Danforth, including office calls and appointment scheduling.

This series contains five sub-series: Legislative Files, Press Files, District Office Files, Administrative Assistant Files, and Personal Office Files.

Legislative Files sub-series

The Legislative Files consists of Legislative Aid, or Staff Files, and the Commerce Committee Black Books. The Staff Files are working files kept by the numerous LAs and special assistants at Danforth’s Washington, D.C. office during his career in the U. S. Senate. The staff files are composed of background research and detailed reference work for Danforth on topics and legislation that were sent to his committees and sub-committees, proposed and co-sponsored resolutions, bill drafting, amendments, and assessment of Missourians’ interests. Also included are his correspondence with politicians, lobbyists, constituents, and outgoing form letters on specific issues and bills.

Of particular interest are the files of the 102nd Congress which were labelled with the session instead of descriptive folder titles, and the Republican Senate publications and analysis of Danforth’s voting record. The analysis was created both by staff, and the Republican party, with comparisons of rollcall and voice votes between Danforth and (1) the other US Senator from Missouri, (2) members of the Republican Party, and (3) activist/lobbying organizations.
This sub-series is arranged topically, and the topics are derived from staff work assignments. The folder contents are typically in reverse chronological order, though some folders had chronological order instead, depending on the staffer who kept the files. Folders are arranged chronologically within each topic (list below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agriculture</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Appropriations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business &amp; Industry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Rights</td>
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<td>Trade</td>
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<td>Commerce</td>
<td>Health</td>
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<td>Communications</td>
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<td>Consumer Protection</td>
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<td>Crime</td>
<td>Interior</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>Judiciary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>Labor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For further clarification, these specific topics contain information on:

* Appropriations: Assignment of money to departments or programs
* Ethics: Congressional oversight and reform
* Governmental Affairs: Federal programs, holidays, regulations, census, armed services, bureaucracy, religious freedom, postal service, paperwork reduction, and freedom of information
* Interior: Indian affairs and land management
* Memos: Informative documents sent to and from Danforth’s staff on all topics

Throughout the Legislative sub-series are sponsored and co-sponsored bills proposed or supported by Danforth. The Senate Resolutions were labeled by staff as “S.,” “S.R.” or “S. Res.,” and may contain concurrent resolutions, “S. Con. Res.,” or joint resolutions, “S. J. Res.” Additionally, sign-on letters, or “Dear Colleague” letters sent to and from Danforth are contained throughout the series. Sign-on letters are lobbying efforts by members of Congress on specific issues or resolutions, which may include House Resolutions, “H.R.” and joint resolutions, “H. J. Res.” The letters may include signatures or empty lines.

The Commerce Committee Black Books contain material from the 99th-103rd Congresses (1985-1994) and serve as a record of Senator Danforth’s activities on the Commerce Committee, now called the U. S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, & Transportation. Most of the books contain issue fact sheets/memos prepared by committee staff specifically for these books. The memos document Senator Danforth’s involvement in legislation and were organized using these major headings: Explanation of Issue; What Generated Interest; Action on Bill; JCD role, position, significant quotations (citations to); Political Advantages/Problems Foreseen; and Significance of Issue. Other types of materials in the books include: press releases; excerpts from the Congressional Record; hearing transcripts; Senate record vote analyses; Danforth’s form letters; staff memos; news clippings; statements by Danforth; correspondence; and other relevant background material. The series is arranged by chronologically by congressional session and then by subject. Major committee issues are: Aviation, Communications, Consumer Protections, Science, Space and Technology, and Surface Transportation.

**Press Files** sub-series
The press files were created by Steve Hilton and Carrie Franke and include Danforth’s weekly column, “Keeping in Touch” (also referred to as KIT), from 1977-1994. These were weekly columns from Senator Danforth for Missouri newspapers, often drafted by the news secretary. Beginning in 1993 the columns were only released twice a month. The Keeping in Touch articles describe Danforth’s position and opinion on current events and legislation. Additionally, this series includes news releases, 1977-1994, speeches, 1977, media coverage of the Clarence Thomas nomination in 1991, press issues, and miscellaneous.

The files are arranged by type of record and then chronologically. The issue files are arranged alphabetically. Most of the files were kept in reverse date order.

**District Office Files** sub-series

The District Office Files series contains materials generated by Danforth’s offices in Cape Girardeau, Jefferson City, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Springfield. The Cape Girardeau office opened in 1988; files consist primarily of travel materials from 1988-1994. Schedules for Danforth’s state trips were prepared centrally in the Jefferson City office, and the Jefferson City files contain a complete set from 1980-1994, arranged chronologically. Project/grant files, which are found in all district office files except Cape Girardeau, focus heavily on flood control efforts and are arranged alphabetically by topic or project name. The St. Louis district office files are the most numerous and contain in-depth information on the history of St. Louis, most notably the cleanup and evacuation efforts in communities contaminated by Dioxin and nuclear waste; these are found in the Pollution files. The St. Louis files also include some administrative materials, including memos, and various public relations files.

**Administrative Assistant Files** sub-series

Robert D. McDonald was Danforth’s chief of staff from 1991-1994 and Alex V. “Netch” Netchvolodoff was an administrative aide from 1977-1991. This series includes the records generated by each of their offices on behalf of Danforth, including memos to Danforth and between other staff, correspondence, issue folders, phone statistics, political material, and campaign material. The campaign material includes fundraising and consultant information. This series also includes records pertaining to other republican races Danforth supported or people he ran against. The records are arranged chronologically. The issue files are arranged alphabetically in the McDonald series and by date in the Netchvolodoff series.

**Personal Office Files** sub-series

This series contains the records Danforth kept in his Washington, D.C. office and include Merit Selection Commission appointments for U.S. Western and Eastern District judges, U.S. Marshall, and U.S. Attorney positions, as well as speeches, travel records, guest books, membership and activity files, foreign policy files, personal diaries, correspondence, appointments books, and phone logs.

The Merit Selection Commission appointments include correspondence regarding candidates for open positions as well as files pertaining to the charters and revisions of the commission and date from 1981 to 1992. The speech files often do not include Danforth’s finished speeches, which
can be found in the Press Files series, but rather his notes and the details of his travel. The speeches are arranged chronologically from 1977 to 1993. The travel files include the pertinent information regarding Danforth’s travel arrangements and schedule for the trip as well as a separate schedule sub-series with vouchers, receipts, and honoraria. This section is arranged chronologically from 1977 to 1983. The guest books were kept in the front office for visitors to sign and include mostly just the name of the visitor. They are arranged by date from 1977 to 1994 and are incomplete. The membership and activity files include information, mostly correspondence, regarding Danforth’s membership in outside organizations and his work on behalf of organizations outside of Congress, such as Yale Corp. and the Washington Cathedral. The foreign policy files document Danforth’s opinions on the Soviet Union, Iraq, and the Cold War. His personal diaries were originally recorded on tape and then transcribed. These diaries offer an excellent accounting of Danforth’s day to day work in Congress and are arranged chronologically from 1977 to 1983. The correspondence section of this series contains letters of a more personal nature. Highlights are letters received from presidents beginning with Gerald Ford and ending with Bill Clinton and one folder of his correspondence with U.S. Senator Tom Eagleton. The letters are arranged by date from 1976 to 1994. A portion of the correspondence is arranged alphabetically within the years 1977 and 1978. Finally, this series includes the appointment books and phone logs kept by executive secretary Judy Dassira, from 1977 to 1994. The appointment books are not a complete accounting of Danforth’s schedule.

Photographs series

The Photograph series consists of photographs and slides from the life and career of John C. Danforth. The series is arranged chronologically beginning in 1969 documenting Danforth’s first campaign for Attorney General of Missouri. The photographs series includes pictures of his wife and children, his staff members during his time as A.G. and as a United States Senator 1978-1984, interns, and various groups of peoples from Missouri who would visit his senate office in Washington D.C. The groups included 4-H clubs, Boy Scouts, youth senate groups, farmers, Future Homemakers of America, MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving), and groups of businesspeople representing Missouri interests such as the Electric Cooperative Delegates. The series also includes photographs from Danforth’s Attorney General and Senatorial campaigns 1970-1988, and pictures of George H. W. Bush’s campaign stop in St. Louis from 1988.

The slides are arranged chronologically by topic, 1978-2001. Included subjects are Danforth’s trip to Cambodia in 1979 and his Africa trip to Senegal, Somalia, and Ethiopia in 1984, which was then presented as a slide show to President Ronald Regan; also included in the Africa trip slides is his trip to Sudan in 2001 at the request of President George W. Bush. The slides document speeches, interviews, campaign stops, family pictures of the Danforth family in 1988, and official A.G. and Senate portraits.

Clarence Thomas series

The Clarence Thomas series is arranged chronologically beginning in 1982, examining his record as chairman of the E.E.O.C as well as following his career as a judge up until 1991, when President George H.W. Bush nominated him for supreme court justice. This series contains letters and memos of support and opposition for the nomination from the public, interest groups, politicians, friends, & the media. Also included in this series are transcripts from all the public hearings that took place surrounding the nomination, as well as transcripts of telephone
interviews with some of the witnesses such as Angela Wright. Call logs detailing the dates of communication with Anita Hill, character witness testimonies from CT’s colleagues throughout his career, bullet points, reports, and background research examining Clarence Thomas’ record and rulings on certain cases, as well as his record on certain issues such as abortion, affirmative action, taxes, civil rights, discrimination, & business.

**Scrapbooks** series

This series contains nine scrapbooks documenting Danforth’s campaigns for Missouri Attorney General and the United States Senate. The scrapbooks were kept in their original order and are comprised of newspaper articles and some campaign ephemera. Volumes 1-4 include newspaper clippings regarding Danforth’s race for the United States Senate against Stuart Symington in 1970. Volume five contains newspapers clippings regarding Danforth’s run for the Senate again in 1976 against Democrat Warren Hearnes. Danforth won the election with 57% of the vote. Volume six covers Danforth’s campaign for Missouri Attorney General in 1968 and volumes seven through eight document his accomplishments in the AG office through 1970. Finally, volume nine contains some photos and coverage of Danforth’s announcement to not run for another Senate term in 1993.

**Oversize** series

The Oversize series is arranged by type of material and includes two color photographs of John C. Danforth and Clarence Thomas; a signed picture with George H. W. and Barbara Bush; certificates acquired by Danforth from different organizations; and cartoons sent to him by cartoonists, Bob Palmer, Don Hesse, and Frank Evers that cover the trade bill, oil profits, Panama Canal Treaty, and Danforth’s re-election. Also included is legislative material on the Crude Oil Windfall Profit Tax Act of 1979, Alternative Capital Cost Recovery Proposals, and Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981.

**Audiovisual** series

The audiovisual series included audio cassettes, audio tapes, video cassettes, and video tapes, as well as 16mm motion picture film. The material is arranged by media type and then chronologically. The audio cassettes include Danforth’s Weekly Radio Conference with the press and dates from 1991-1994. It also includes the series “Keeping in Touch: Weekly Radio Report to the People of Missouri,” from 1990-1992. In these radio programs Danforth answers questions posed to him by Missouri reporters regarding issues of the day. The audio cassettes dating from 1980 to 1994 include Danforth’s speeches, press conferences, radio programs, and town hall meetings. The audio tapes include recordings of Danforth’s attorney general inauguration in 1969, as well as Danforth speeches on various topics such as the Mississippi River, Truman Dam, Medicaid, and Danforth’s values and accomplishments. The video cassettes include campaign ads and events, news coverage, interviews, town hall meetings and conversations with other political leaders and dates from 1970 to 1994. The video tapes include Danforth speaking on current topics but mostly contain footage of his senate campaign in 1988. Finally, the motion picture film consists of 99 reels of largely unidentified footage. This footage seemingly pertains to Danforth’s senate campaigns, mostly in 1976. The film also includes endorsements for the senator.
**Microfilm** series

The Microfilm series consists of 403 rolls of 16 mm negative exposure microfilm. The bulk of the content is constituent correspondence microfilmed by the Constituent Management Service (CMS) used by Danforth’s Washington, D.C. office. The rolls contain the incoming mail addressed mainly to Danforth, an outgoing response or a staffer’s request form that modifies the pre-filled form letter to suit the response, the weekly mail reports, and some early-term general files that include third-party communications, invitations, thank you notes, legislation, or drafts of form letters. The weekly mail reports were kept chronologically with the year(s) the reports reference and may contain partial rolls of correspondence or form letter drafts.

Also included are the microfilmed Commerce Committee black books for the 99th-103rd Congresses and the “Keeping in Touch” column from 1977-1983. The Commerce Committee’s rolls include constituent correspondence that was removed from the physical black books at that time.

**Born Digital Files** series

The Born Digital Files series consists of documents and records that were produced and stored via computer from 1985-2016. This includes computer discs (optical CDs and DVDs) and floppy disks with index files (.ndx), text files (.doc, .docx, .txt) and video files (.vob, .mpg). The bulk of the born digital files series is drafts, including memos, constituent correspondence, position papers, press releases, speeches, editorials, and form letters.

The files were kept by topics, or by staff assignment, depending on the staffer who created or kept the files. Danforth’s staff’s files, including press files, were indexed and converted to WordPerfect by his contracted archivist in 1994 and are maintained in original order as received from Danforth’s Washington, D.C. office. The staff files were converted back to text files to ensure the ability to read the contents, while use copies of the files and the indices were made by compiling batches of the “Office Documents” into PDFs for longevity. The series is not chronological nor otherwise re-arranged during processing.

**Container List:**

**Attorney General of Missouri** Series

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f. 896-897  [Constituent Requests:] Canadian softwood lumber & Mexican bedsprings clippings, correspondence, lobbying, memos & notes, 1986-1990
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