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Introduction

1. Nick Kotz, “King Midas of ‘the New Right,’” *Atlantic*, November 1978, 52.

2. Rich Jaroslovsky, “New-Right Cashier: Mr. Viguerie Collects Funds, Gains Influence in Conservative Causes,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 6, 1978, 1.

3. In her classic work, Kathleen Hall Jamieson analyzed presidential campaigns in the latter part of the twentieth century by narrating how presidential candidates from Dwight Eisenhower to Bill Clinton employed televised advertising. While investigating various “spins” in presidential races ranging from Theodore Roosevelt’s publicity to Barack Obama’s use of the internet, David Greenberg also looked closely at the role of television ads in US politics over the years. Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*; Greenberg, *Republic of Spin*, 276–436. For television in American politics, see Barnouw, *Tube of Plenty*; Bernhard, *U.S. Television News*; Greenberg, “A New Way of Campaigning.”

4. Hendershot, *What’s Fair on the Air?*; Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*. See also Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*; Hendershot, “God’s Angriest Man”; Hemmer, “The Dealers and the Darling”; Thrift, *Conservative Bias*; Jamieson and Cappella, *Echo Chamber*; White, *The Branding of Right-Wing Activism*; Peck, *Fox Populism*; Matzko, *The Radio Right*. While many scholars have paid attention to right-wing broadcasting, others have looked at the role of the press and print in conservative politics. See Nadler and Bauer, *News on the Right*; McPherson, *The Conservative Resurgence*; Gifford, “The Education of a Cold War Conservative”; Witwer, “Pattern for Partnership”; Hart, *The Making of the American Conservative Mind*.

5. Kenneth Godwin analyzed how direct marketing affected American politics during the 1970s and 1980s. Surveying the development of voter contacts from the 1920s to the early twenty-first century, journalist Sasha Issenberg explored “microtargeting technology” to assemble database and target prospective supporters. See Godwin, *One Billion Dollars of Influence*; Issenberg, *The Victory Lab*. See also Marshall Ganz, “Voters in the Crosshairs: How Technology and the Market Are Destroying Politics,” *American Prospect* 16 (Winter 1994): 100–109; Bosso, “The Color of Money”; Berry, *The Interest Group Society*; Johnson, “Interest Group Recruitment”; Green and Gerber, *Get Out the Vote*, 55–73; Shea and Burton, *Campaign Craft*, 144–46; Johnson, *No Place for Amateurs*, 150–56.

6. Kreiss, *Taking Our Country Back*; Karpf, *The MoveOn Effect*.

7. Matthew Rosenberg, Nicholas Confessore, and Carole Cadwalladr, “How Trump Consultants Exploited the Facebook Data of Millions,” *New York Times*, March 17, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/us/politics/cambridge-analytica-trump-campaign.html>; “Revealed: 50 Million Facebook Profiles Harvested for Cambridge Analytica in Major Data Breach,” *Guardian*, March 17, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/mar/17/cambridge-analytica-facebook-influence-us-election>.

8. For the scholarship on conservatism in Southern California, see for example McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*; Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*; Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*.

9. Bell, “The Dispossessed,” 31–32; Hofstadter, “The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt,” 68–69, 77–78.

10. Daniel Bell, “The End of American Exceptionalism,” *Public Interest*, Fall 1975, 193–224.

11. Kevin Phillips was among the first political analysts who coined the term Sunbelt when he observed a conservative realignment in national politics in the late 1960s. See Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*. For the literature of Sunbelt conservatism, see Cunningham, *Cowboy Conservatism*; Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism*. It is noteworthy that more recently several scholars challenge the perception of the Sunbelt as a conservative region. See Nickerson and Dochuk, *Sunbelt Rising*; Cadava, *Standing on Common Ground*. On the impact of racism on conservatism, see Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt*; Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*; Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*; Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*.

12. Several historians have examined the origins of modern conservatism in areas outside the Sunbelt. See Formisano, *Boston against Busing*; O’Connor, “The Privatized City”; Sullivan, *New York State*; Gadsden, *Between North and South*; Greason, *Suburban Erasure*.

13. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*; Schlesinger, “Biography of a Nation of Joiners”; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

14. Daniel Rodgers referred to the late twentieth century as the “age of fracture,” when conceptions of human nature stressed individual choice, agency, performance, and desire, rather than the aggregate aspects of human life. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture*, 3. See also Kruse and Zelizer, *Fault Lines*.

Chapter 1

1. *Republican Progress*, no. 6, June 20, 1949, box 9, folder “1949–1952—National Republican Congressional Committee—Public Relations Director (3),” Robert Humphreys Papers, DDEL.

2. “The Story of ‘Document X,’” n.d., box 10, folder “1952—Campaign and Election—Document ‘X’ by Robert Humphreys (2),” Humphreys Papers. See also Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, 1, 151.

3. Greenberg, "A New Way of Campaigning," 186.

4. Sabato, *The Rise of Political Consultants*, 8.

5. Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders*, 35. Political scientists have addressed political consultants in US politics. Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*; Sabato, *The Rise of Political Consultants*; Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*; Greenberg, *Republic of Spin*; Sheingate, *Building a Business of Politics*. See also Schneider and Teske, "Toward a Theory of the Political Entrepreneur"; Sheingate, "Political Entrepreneurship"; Friedenberg, *Communication Consultants*; Baumgartner, *Modern Presidential Electioneering*; Medvic, *Political Consultants*; Lathrop, *The Campaign Continues*; Dulio, *For Better or Worse?*; Newman and Davies, *Winning Elections*; Shea and Burton, *Campaign Craft*; Johnson, *No Place for Amateurs*. Several political consultants recounted their activities. See Baus and Ross, *Politics Battle Plan*; Shadegg, *The New How*; Strother, *Falling Up*; Rove, *Courage and Consequence*.

6. Brenton Malin delineates debates over media technology and its effects on emotion in American history. Malin, *Feeling Mediated*. On debates specifically over political consultants' media, see Godwin and Mitchell, "The Implications of Direct Mail."

7. In many studies, "political consultant" and "political entrepreneur" are used interchangeably. For example, Schneider and Teske, "Toward a Theory of the Political Entrepreneur," 737–47; Sheingate, "Political Entrepreneurship," 185–203.

8. Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism*, 233.

9. Friedenberg, *Communication Consultants*, 2–4.

10. Weston, *The Presidential Election of 1828*, 102.

11. For more detailed strategies in the 1828 election, see Friedenberg, *Communication Consultants*, 5–11; Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, 28–29; Thurber, "Introduction to the Study of Campaign Consultants," 4.

12. Holli, *The Wizard of Washington*, 40.

13. Herrnsen, "Hired Guns and House Races," 67. Political parties in the nineteenth century were a coalition of local organizations without permanent institutions. For instance, according to Thomas S. Barclay, the Democratic Party created the Executive Committee as a lasting institution for the maintenance of organization, publicity, and research for the first time in 1929. Also, as Jody C. Baumgartner said, the Democratic National Committee, which was founded in 1848, did not have a permanent headquarters until 1985, and the Republican National Committee was founded in 1854, but its headquarters was formed and disbanded in every campaign until 1970. See Barclay, "The Publicity Division"; Baumgartner, *Modern Presidential Electioneering*, 22.

14. Henry Litchfield West, "American Politics: The President and the Campaign," *Forum* 15, no. 5 (November 1908): 421.

15. Sheingate, *Building a Business of Politics*, 25–31; Lathrop, *The Campaign Continues*, 17; Herrnsen, "Hired Guns and House Races," 67.

16. Applegate, *The Rise of Advertising*, 85–98; Sheingate, *Building a Business of Politics*, 29–30.

17. Friedenberg, *Communication Consultants*, 16–17.

18. Holli, *The Wizard of Washington*, 40–41, 57–60.

19. Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, chap. 2; Sheingate, *Building a Business of Politics*, chap. 5; Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders*, 35–37; Friedenbergl, *Communication Consultants*, 18.

20. Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 247–49; Stole, *Advertising at War*, especially chaps. 5 and 6; Scott, *Comics and Conflict*, chap. 2.

21. Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, 35.

22. Adam Sheingate, for instance, pointed out Republican ties with business. See Sheingate, *Building a Business of Politics*, 152.

23. "Forward," box 14, folder "1958—Campaign and Election (1)," Humphreys Papers.

24. Letter from Charles G. Thoma to Guy G. Gabrielson, March 2, 1950, box 5, folder "Republican National Committee—Finance Committee (2)," Arthur E. Summerfield Papers, DDEL.

25. Letter from Emil Hurja to President Dwight Eisenhower, March 30, 1953, box 5, folder "Campaign 1953–7," Records of the Office of the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (Leonard W. Hall), DDEL. See also Holli, *The Wizard of Washington*, chaps. 5 and 6.

26. Minutes of Republican National Strategy Committee Meeting, December 13, 1949, box 5, folder "Republican National Strategy Committee—Minutes (1)," Summerfield Papers; News Release by the Republican National Committee, July 30, 1952, box 9, folder "1952–1953—Republican National Committee—Public Relations Director (1)," Humphreys Papers.

27. For the public relations strategy of the Eisenhower campaign in 1952, see Barnouw, *The Golden Web*, 298–99; Blake, *Liking Ike*; Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, chaps. 5 and 6; Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, chap. 2, especially 42–45; Greenberg, *Republic of Spin*, 276–85.

28. Edward Maurice Glick, "The Campaign Background," 43, box 13, folder "1956—Campaign and Election (3)," Humphreys Papers.

29. Glick, "The Campaign Background," 43.

30. Glick, "The Campaign Background," 44.

31. "Campaign Plan, 1952," 3, box 10, folder "Campaign and Election—Document 'X' by Robert Humphreys (1)," Humphreys Papers.

32. "Campaign Plan, 1952," 4.

33. "Campaign Plan, 1952," 5–12.

34. Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders*, 53.

35. "Campaign Plan, 1952," 13–15.

36. The TV Plans Board to Gov. Adams, Messrs. Summerfield, Williams and Associates, n.d., box 7, folder "Eisenhower-Lodge Campaign Materials, 1952-TV (1)," Maxwell M. Rabb Papers, DDEL. Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn (BBD&O) was the main architect of Eisenhower's telethon programs and televised speeches. For its activities in detail, see Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, 160–69; Barnouw, *The Golden Web*, 298–99; Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 42–43, 82, 87; Greenberg, "A New Way of Campaigning," 191–201; Blake, *Liking Ike*, 72–74.

37. Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, "Television and the Election," May 1953, box I:13, folder 1 "1952, presidential campaign," Democratic Study Group Records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress. This report was based on a two-year study of political behavior financed by the Carnegie Corporation. The Survey Research Center conducted the research by asking 1,714 citizens of voting age.

38. The TV Plans Board to Gov. Adams, Messrs. Summerfield, Williams and Associates, n.d., box 10, folder "Lodge Campaign Material, 1952 (6)," Rabb Papers.

39. Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 43.

40. News Release, April 8, 1952, box 158, folder "Publicity—1952 Presidential Campaign," Records of the Democratic National Committee, HSTL.

41. Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 42–43.

42. "The Operating Structure of the Republican Party Nationally: An Outline of the Functions of the Republican National, Senatorial and Congressional Committees," n.d., 1, box 12, folder "1954–1959—Republican National Committee—Campaign Director (1)," Humphreys Papers.

43. "Campaign Plan," n.d., box 13, folder "1956—Campaign and Election (1)," Humphreys Papers.

44. Tom Fitzsimmons, "Operation Huckster," *New Republic*, April 26, 1954, 5.

45. Letter from Kay Martin to Leonard W. Hall, June 17, 1954, box 6, folder "Campaign 1954–7 (2)," Records of the Office of the Chairman of the RNC (Hall).

46. "Never Underestimate the Question of a Woman," n.d., box 130, folder "Public Relations 1954–42-C (Radio, TV, Movies)," Records of Office of the Chairman of the RNC (Hall); Memo from Leonard W. Hall, July 26, 1954, Records of Office of the Chairman of the RNC (Hall).

47. Rymph, *Republican Women*, 131–59; Lichtenstein, *State of the Union*, chap. 4; Pells, *The Liberal Mind*, 119–21, 135–38, 392–98; Gerald Mayer, "Union Membership Trends in the United States," *CRS Report for Congress*, August 31, 2004, 22.

48. The expenditures on television and radio campaigns were almost the same in 1952 with \$3 million spent for television and \$3.1 million for radio. However, after the 1952 election, the cost of television always overwhelmed that of radio. Republicans surpassed Democrats in amounts of money for political broadcasts every election over the years: \$3.5 million to \$2.6 million in 1952, \$5.4 million to \$4.1 million in 1956, \$7.6 million to \$6.2 million in 1960. See Heard, *The Costs of Democracy*, 22; Alexander, *Financing the 1968 Election*, 95; Steinberg, *TV Facts*, 283.

49. "Re: Financing Your Television Shows," box 9, folder "1949–1952—National Republican Congressional Committee—Public Relations Director (3)," Humphreys Papers.

50. "Democrats Stress Strategy of Precinct Contacts for 1950," *Washington Post*, January 1, 1950.

51. *Congressional Quarterly*, November 3, 1950, 1219.

52. Robert J. McCully, "Carlton G. Ketchum: A Memorial," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 67, no. 4 (October 1984): 384–86.

53. "Fund-Raising Manual," March 1950, box 5, folder "Republican National Committee—Finance Committee (2)," Summerfield Papers.

54. Memo from Carlton G. Ketchum to State Finance Chairmen, May 4, 1950, box 5, folder "Republican National Committee—Finance Committee (1)," Summerfield Papers.

55. Minutes of Meeting of Republican National Committee, February 6, 1950, box 5, folder "Republican National Strategy Committee—Minutes (1)," Summerfield Papers.

56. "GOP Funds Triple Cash of Democrats," *Chicago Sun Times*, September 23, 1952; "Republicans' Funds Double Democrats," *New York Herald Tribune*, September 23, 1952; National Citizens For Eisenhower Congressional Committee, "Finance Committee—1954, Detailed Report of Operations," box 2, folder "National Citizens For Eisenhower Congressional Committee—Finance Committee 1954—Final Report," Campaign Series, Dwight D. Eisenhower Papers as President, DDEL.

57. "Grass Roots Plea," *Kansas City Times*, September 18, 1952.

58. Jack Turcott, "Dem Fund Forced, Say Unionists," *New York Daily News*, October 30, 1952.

59. Godwin, *One Billion Dollars*, 3; Greenberg, "A New Way of Campaigning," 198.

60. Walter Weintz, "Direct Mail," n.d., box 6, folder "Campaign 1954-7 (3)," Records of the Office of the Chairman of the RNC (Hall).

61. For the activities and importance of Citizens for Eisenhower, see Mason, "Citizens for Eisenhower."

62. National Citizens For Eisenhower Congressional Committee, "Finance Committee—1954, Detailed Report of Operations," 40-41, box 2, folder "National Citizens For Eisenhower Congressional Committee-Finance Committee 1954—Final Report," Campaign Series, Eisenhower Papers as President.

63. National Citizens For Eisenhower Congressional Committee, 5, 41-43.

64. In Illinois, direct mail fundraising was the most successful: 4,125 contributors responded to direct mails and sent \$23,010.12 to the National Citizens for Eisenhower, whereas non-direct mail solicitation raised \$31,803.00 from 95 donors in the state. In New York State, direct mail collected \$19,241.34 from 1,250 contributors, and other means raised \$238,859.68 from 957. In California, Citizens received \$5,494.14 from 501 contributors, while 201 donors contributed \$56,155.00. See box 2, folder "Contributors to NCECC-1954 Received through Solicitation Credited to State of Origin, Contributors to NCECC 1954," Campaign Series, Eisenhower Papers as President.

65. National Citizens For Eisenhower Congressional Committee, box 2, folder "Finance Committee—1954, Detailed Report of Operations," 40-41, Campaign Series, Eisenhower Papers as President.

66. Democratic National Committee Newspaper Ad, August 31, 1954, box 158, folder "Committee Finances, 1954," Records of the DNC.

67. *New York Times*, July 12, 1954, 2.

68. "A New Declaration of Independence Needs Signing," box 158, folder "Committee Finances, 1954," Records of the DNC; *New York Times*, October 18, 1954, 15.

69. Box 61, folder “Campaign Material, Sample of (1 of 3),” Stephen A. Mitchell Papers, HSTL.

70. Herbert J. Waters, “The Humphrey Story: Report of a Successful Re-election Campaign,” n.d., 5, box 61, folder “Campaign Material, Sample of (2 of 3),” Mitchell Papers.

71. Fitzsimmons, “Operation Huckster,” 7.

72. Greenberg, “A New Way of Campaigning,” 208.

73. “Campaign Plan, 1952,” 13, box 10, folder “Campaign and Election—Document ‘X’ by Robert Humphreys (1),” Humphreys Papers; McGinniss, *The Selling of the President*, 1968, 27.

74. “Political Public Relations,” n.d., box 9, folder “1952–1953—Republican National Committee—Public Relations Director (2),” Humphreys Papers.

75. “Political Salesmanship,” December 7, 1954, box 12, folder “1954—Campaign and Election (2),” Humphreys Papers.

76. “How to Sell a Candidate: 1952,” *Sponsor*, March 24, 1952, 34.

77. Fitzsimmons, “Operation Huckster,” 5.

78. Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, vii, 214–16.

79. Glick, “The Campaign Background,” 10.

80. Glick, “The Campaign Background,” 51.

81. Kelley, *Professional Public Relations*, 212.

82. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 35–38.

83. Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*; Whyte, *The Organization Man*. Other contemporary intellectuals examined the mass society in the 1950s. For instance, Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*; Bell, *End of Ideology*, 222–62; Keniston, “Alienation and the Decline of Utopia.”

84. Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, 181–200. See also Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 252–56; Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 9–13, 40–42; Blake, *Liking Ike*, chap. 5.

85. Adlai Stevenson, “Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago,” August 17, 1956, Gerhard Peters and John T. Wooley, The American Presidency Project, accessed February 19, 2022, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-democratic-national-convention-chicago-0>.

Chapter 2

1. Summerfield, *U.S. Mail*, 11.

2. Summerfield, *U.S. Mail*, 27, 202, 14.

3. “Missile Mail,” July 2008, US Postal Service, accessed September 7, 2017, <https://about.usps.com/who-we-are/postal-history/missile-mail.pdf>; Nancy A. Pope, “Regulus Missile Mail,” June 2006, Smithsonian National Postal Museum, accessed February 19, 2021, <https://postalmuseum.si.edu/collections/object-spotlight/regulus-missile-mail>.

4. US Postal Service, *The United States Postal Service*, 54–55, accessed September 7, 2017, <https://about.usps.com/publications/pub100.pdf>; Robert McGill Thomas Jr., “J. Edward Day, 82, Postmaster Who Brought In the ZIP Code,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1996, B15; Anny Curtin, “Flashing across the Country: Mr. Zip and the ZIP Code Promotional Campaign,” Smithsonian National Postal Museum, accessed February 19, 2021, <https://www.si.edu/newsdesk/releases/flashing-across-country-mr-zip-and-zip-code-promotional-campaign>; US Postal Service Office of Inspector General, “The Untold Story of the ZIP Code,” April 1, 2013, accessed February 19, 2022, https://www.uspsoig.gov/sites/default/files/document-library-files/2015/rarc-wp-13-006_0.pdf.

5. Lester Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail: Past, Present and Future, Postal Conference, Toronto,” 5, box 20, Lester Wunderman Papers, DU. Wunderman was considered the father of direct marketing because he named the new marketing strategy “direct marketing” in 1961 and detailed the idea in 1967. See Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail,” 1.

6. John R. McAlpine, *Direct Mail: Two Mediums Not One* (1951), 1, box DG11, J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Publications Collection, DU.

7. James D. Woolf, “The \$64 Question in Direct Mail Selling,” *Advertising Age*, February 25, 1952.

8. Norman H. Strouse, “Advertising Agency Answers the Challenge of Direct Mail,” September 30, 1953, box 45, folder “1952. Speech. Advertising Agency Answers the Challenge of Direct Mail,” J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Writings and Speeches, DU.

9. Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail,” 6.

10. Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail,” 15.

11. The Education Committee of the Direct Mail Advertising Association, “A Digest of Direct Mail Advertising,” January 1963, box 61, folder “Advertising—Media—Direct Mail,” J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Advertising Vertical Files, DU.

12. Charles E. Garvin, “Direct Mail’s Big Challenge: To Meet Changing Market Requirements,” *Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising*, May 1958, 57–58, box 11, folder “1958. Article. Direct Mail’s Big Challenge: To Meet Changing Market Requirements,” J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Writings and Speeches. See also Derry F. Daly, Roger Franklin, and J. Ronald Hess, “Some Important Things I Believe a Young Account Representative Should Know about Direct Mail Advertising,” October 1968, box 8, folder “1968. Other Writing. Direct Mail Advertising,” J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Writings and Speeches; McAlpine, *Direct Mail*, 3–4.

13. Lester Wunderman, “1967 Mar. 3, Mail Order: The Coming Revolution in Marketing, Advertising Club of New York,” 14–15, box 19, Wunderman Papers.

14. McAlpine, *Direct Mail*, 3–4.

15. Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail,” 6.

16. John Crichton, Speech “How to Dispel the Mystery and keep the Magic,” October 15, 1964, 2, box 61, folder “Advertising—Media—Direct Mail,” J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Advertising Vertical Files.

17. Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail,” 10–12.

18. Wunderman, “1967 Mar. 3, Mail Order,” 7–9.

19. Dan Seymour, Speech “Agency Looks at Direct Mail,” November 7, 1968, box 44, folder “1968. Speech. Agency Looks at Direct Mail,” J. Walter Thompson Company Records, Writings and Speeches.

20. Wunderman, “1995 Nov. 1, The World of Direct Mail,” 12. See also Marshall Ganz, “Voters in the Crosshairs: How Technology and the Market Are Destroying Politics,” *American Prospect* 16 (Winter 1994): 100–109.

21. Godwin, *One Billion Dollars of Influence*, 2; Issenberg, *The Victory Lab*, 9, 47–48; Viguerie, *The New Right*, 21.

22. Hendershot, *What’s Fair on the Air?*, 182.

23. A history of using mail for delivering messages to voters in American political elections dated back to the early twentieth century. According to Kenneth Goodwin, Woodrow Wilson was one of the first political candidates who employed mass mailing in his campaign. William Jennings Bryan also tried to utilize solicitation letters in search of one million contributors in his 1916 campaign, but his fundraising draft failed, obtaining only twenty thousand responses. While several politicians attempted to use mail to no avail, political scientists began to study the effects of political mail on voter turnout during the 1920s. The political scientist Harold Gosnell at the University of Chicago, for instance, tested the effectiveness of mail by sending letters that encouraged Chicago residents to vote. Gosnell found out that turnout increased 1 percent in the 1924 presidential election. In the 1950s, as the first chapter of this book indicates, the Dwight Eisenhower campaign and the Republican National Committee maneuvered direct mail for public opinion poll and fundraising. See Godwin, *One Billion Dollars of Influence*, 3, 8; Johnson, *No Place for Amateurs*, 150; Green and Gerber, *Get Out the Vote*, 60–61.

24. The Trustees of Indiana University, “Oram Group, Inc. Records, 1938–1992,” Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library, Indiana University/Purdue University, Indianapolis, Indiana, accessed February 19, 2022, <https://special.ulib.iupui.edu/collections/philanthropy/mss057>.

25. Memorandum, n.d., box 24, folder 16, “Spanish Refugee Relief Committee, 1937–1940,” Oram Group, Inc. Records.

26. Appeal from Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, January 6, 1950, box 8, folder 23 “Appeals, 1947–1950,” Oram Group, Inc. Records.

27. Memo from Fund Raising Campaign for the Citizen’s Committee for Displaced Persons, May 21, 1947, box 8, folder 29 “Correspondence, 1947–1950,” Oram Group, Inc. Records.

28. Appeal from American Association for the United Nations, September 7, 1948, box 4, folder 19 "Appeals, 1947," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

29. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, October 25, 1962, box 7, folder 19, "Appeals, 1963–1964," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

30. Appeal from the United Nations Fund of the American Association for the United Nations, Inc., n.d., box 4, folder 18, "American Association for the United Nations, Appeals, 1946," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

31. Sabato, *The Rise of Political Consultants*, 241. See also Shea and Burton, *Campaign Craft*, chap. 9.

32. Appeal from American Association for the United Nations, September 2, 1947, box 4, folder 19 "Appeals, 1947," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

33. Appeal from American Association for the United Nations, May 22, 1951, box 4, folder 23 "Appeals, 1951," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

34. Appeal from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, October 25, 1962, box 7, folder 19, "Appeals, 1963–1964," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

35. Memo from Harold L. Oram to Walter H. Judd, et al., box 4, folder 7, "Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Board Correspondence, 1952–1955," Oram Group, Inc. Records; Appeals of November 1968, April 1969, and December 26, 1969, box 11, folder 8 "Appeals, 1967–1969, 1973–1974," Oram Group, Inc. Records.

36. Cited in Gasman and Drezner, "A Maverick in the Field," 465.

37. Neal Blackwell Freeman, "The Marvin Liebman Story," *New Guard* (May 1966): 12. For the early years of Marvin Liebman's political activism, see Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 19–80; Liebman (Marvin) Interview, Transcript, July 18, 1992, box 27, folder 36, Oram Group, Inc. Records; "Marvin Liebman—Professional and Bibliographical Notes," box 139, folder "Liebman, Marvin—Biographical Sketch," Marvin Liebman Papers, HIA; Neal, "The Marvin Liebman Story," 12–14.

38. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 19–80.

39. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 80.

40. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 82.

41. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 84, 95, 102.

42. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 83–85, 94–96.

43. Appeal from Frank Kingdon, February 20, 1942, box 13, folder 7 "Appeals, 1942, 1950, 1954, 1956–1957," Oram Group, Inc. Records; Appeal from Richard E. Byrd, May 5, 1954, Oram Group, Inc. Records; Appeal from Angier Biddle Duke, April 14, 1958, box 13, folder 8 "Appeals, 1958–1961," Oram Group, Inc. Records; Appeal from Abram G. Becker, February 25, 1954, box 13, folder 14 "General Correspondence, 1949–1954, 1956–1957," Oram Group, Inc. Records; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 85–89.

44. Memo from Harold L. Oram to Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc., February 14, 1952, box 166, folder 1 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1951–1952 April," Walter Judd Papers, HIA; Memo from Ernest K. Moy, September 16, 1951, box 167, folder 4 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/Internal, 1951 Sept.–1952 April," Walter H. Judd Papers, HIA; Memo from Walter H. Judd to Alexander Grantham, n.d., box 166, folder 2 "Aid to Refugee Chinese

Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1952 May-Dec.," Judd Papers; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 92–104.

45. Letter from Walter H. Judd to university presidents, n.d., box 166, folder 1 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1951–1952 April," Judd Papers; Memo from Walter H. Judd to John F. Schwering, January 9, 1953, box 166, folder 1 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1951–1952 April," Judd Papers; Memo from Walter H. Judd to E. C. Congdon, January 23, 1953, box 166, folder 3 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1953 Jan-June," Judd Papers; Letter from Walter H. Judd to Eli Lilly, February 25, 1952, box 166, folder 1 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1951–1952 April," Judd Papers.

46. Memo from Harold L. Oram to ARCI Executive Committee, October 29, 1952, box 168, folder 1 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/Internal, 1952 Sept.-Dec.," Judd Papers; Memo from Harold L. Oram to Walter H. Judd, March 28, 1952, box 168, folder 2 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/Internal, 1953," Judd Papers.

47. Letter from Arthur H. Riss to Walter H. Judd, February 3, 1952, box 166, folder 3 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1953 Jan-June," Judd Papers.

48. Letter from Walter H. Judd to Arthur H. Riss, February 25, box 166, folder 3 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/General, 1953 Jan-June," Judd Papers.

49. Memo from Marvin Liebman to ARCI and ABMAC Executive Committees, n.d., box 168, folder 3 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Correspondence/Internal, 1954," Judd Papers; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 97.

50. Minutes of Meeting, April 9, 1953, box 170, folder 1 "Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Meeting Minutes & Agenda, 1952–1953," Judd Papers; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 102–103.

51. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 105–11. The name of the organization was initially the Committee for One Million. However, Liebman disbanded the group in January 1955 and changed its name to the Committee of One Million when he reorganized it in March 1955. See Memo, Marvin Liebman, April 1, 1960, box 38, folder "Committee of One Million, 1958/1959," Alfred Kohlberg Papers, HIA.

52. Appeal, August 1956, box 87, folder "Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations) General Information," Group Research, Inc. Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

53. Appeal from Marvin Liebman, September 23, 1964, box 78, folder "Election, mailing, 1964," Liebman Papers.

54. Appeal from Marvin Liebman, April 6, 1960, box 87, folder "Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations) Letters from Headquarters," Group Research, Inc. Records.

55. John O'Kearney, "Lobby of a Million Ghosts," *Nation*, January 23, 1960, 76; Memo to the Steering Committee of The Committee of One Million, 1958, box 9, folder 11 "General Correspondence, 1953–1963," Oram Group, Inc. Records; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 107.

56. Memo from Marvin Liebman, January 13, 1954, box 39, folder “Committee of One Million (to 1956),” Kohlberg Papers; Memo from the Steering Committee of the Committee of One Million to Harold L. Oram, March 4, 1955, box 9, folder 10 “General Correspondence, 1953–1963,” Oram Group, Inc. Records; Memo from the Steering Committee to the Friends of the Committee of One Million, box 39, folder “Committee of One Million (to 1956),” Kohlberg Papers.

57. Ad, “Shall the Chinese Communists Shoot Their Way into the United Nations?” *New York Times*, April 12, 1955, 19; Memo from Marvin Liebman to Daniel A. Poling, January 19, 1959, box 110, folder “Liebman, Marvin,” Kohlberg Papers.

58. Appeal, August 1956, box 87, folder “Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations) General Information,” Group Research, Inc. Records; O’Kearney, “Lobby of a Million Ghosts,” 76.

59. Bowen, *The Roots of Modern Conservatism*, 35–55, 193, 199; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 140–41, 146–47, 203–204.

60. For an overview of *National Review*, see Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, 197–233; Judis, *William F. Buckley*; Hart, *The Making of the American Conservative Mind*; Frisk, *If Not Us, Who?*; Nash, *Reappraising the Right*, 202–24; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 209–11.

61. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 109–10.

62. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 210.

63. For the importance of *National Review* for modern conservatism, see Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, 230; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 216. George Nash pointed to the role played by several Jewish Americans in founding *National Review*. See Nash, *Reappraising the Right*, 202–24.

64. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 235.

65. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 106, 96, 131–42.

66. For an overview of Young Americans for Freedom, see Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties*; Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*; Klatch, *A Generation Divided*. A couple of conservatives also narrated their own activities in YAF. See, for example, Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*; Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution*; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*.

67. Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 21, 28.

68. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties*, 53–74; Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 31–38.

69. Klatch, *A Generation Divided*, 97–133; Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 34.

70. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 114; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 150–53.

71. Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 47, 50–52.

72. A problem revolving around the study of Richard Viguerie’s direct mail fundraising is the shortage of primary sources. Indeed, while many researchers of conservatism have touched on Viguerie’s activism, the books and articles rely primarily on interviews with him and his autobiographies, such as Viguerie, *The New Right*, and Viguerie and Franke, *America’s Right Turn*. Alf Tomas Tønnessen monographed an exceptional

work focusing on Viguerie as a key political consultant in the conservative movement. Tønnessen, *How Two Political Entrepreneurs*. For works on Viguerie's direct mail, see Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, 128–31; Schneider, *The Conservative Century*, 143–44; Crawford, *Thunder on the Right*, 6, 42–44; Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties*, 219–20; Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 160; Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face*, 178–81; Clymer, *Drawing the Line at the Big Ditch*, 53–54, 59, 67, 69; Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 145–46, 194; Williams, *God's Own Party*, 165–66, 168–69, 171, 175.

73. Viguerie, *The New Right*, 28–30.

74. Viguerie, *The New Right*, 29–30.

75. Letter from Marvin Liebman to William A. Rusher, September 9, 1977, box 52, folder 10 “General Correspondence, Liebman, Marvin, 1972–1980,” William A. Rusher Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 153; Viguerie, *The New Right*, 30–31.

76. Klatch, *A Generation Divided*, 38–40; Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face*, 165–66.

77. Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 162–63; Viguerie, *The New Right*, 31.

78. Viguerie and Franke, *America's Right Turn*, 94–96.

79. “YAF Fundraising Packages (1960–Present),” box 46, folder 1 “Financial Records, 1970–1973,” Young Americans for Freedom Records, HIA. This material shows the overview of YAF's direct mail campaigns from fall 1961 to April 1972, documenting each appeal, the names of senders, and the issues over the years.

80. Appeal from Richard Viguerie, November 1961, box 41, folder 6 “Campaign, 1960–1969,” YAF Records (emphasis added).

81. Appeal from Richard Viguerie, March 22, 1962, box 41, folder 6 “Campaign, 1960–1969,” YAF Records (emphasis added).

82. Appeal from Richard Viguerie, December 5, 1962, box 41, folder 6 “Campaign, 1960–1969,” YAF Records.

83. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties*, 80; Schneider, *The Conservative Century*, 96; Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face*, 172–78.

84. Appeal from Richard Viguerie, n.d., box 41, folder 6 “Campaign, 1960–1969,” YAF Records.

85. Appeal from Richard Viguerie, December 5, 1962, box 41, folder 6 “Campaign, 1960–1969,” YAF Records.

Chapter 3

1. “Who Barry Goldwater Is,” *U.S. News & World Report* 57, no. 4, July 27, 1964, 37–39.

2. Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution*, 138–39; Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 174.

3. For the struggle over “respectable” conservatism, see Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, 81; Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face*, 185–208; Hendershot, *What's Fair on the Air?*, 6–7, 59–60; Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 189–97.

4. For Barry Goldwater's biography and early career, see Shermer, "Origins of the Conservative Ascendancy"; Shermer, *Barry Goldwater*, 1–8.

5. "Goldwater Aide Pushes Campaign," *New York Times*, September 2, 1962, 34. For a detailed biography of Stephen Shadegg, see "Biographical Sketch, Stephen C. Shadegg," February 6, 1958, box 3H496, folder "1958 Senate Campaign: General Files: Shadegg," Stephen Shadegg/Barry Goldwater Collection, the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, the University of Texas at Austin. On Shadegg's roles in the Goldwater campaign in 1952, see Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater?*, 18; Shadegg, *The New How*, 26–30, 53, 67; Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 24–26, 39–41.

6. Pamphlet, "The Measure of a Man," n.d., box 3H476, folder "1952 Senate Campaign: Press Release Advertisements," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

7. Advertisement, "Fear or Faith," August 11, 1952, box 3H476, folder "1952 Senate Campaign: Newspaper Advertisements," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection (emphasis in original).

8. Advertisement, "Eisenhower Will Be President of the United States," November 3, 1952, box 3H476, folder "1952 Senate Campaign: Newspaper Advertisements," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

9. Shadegg, *The New How*, 28–30.

10. Letter from Stephen Shadegg to Barry Goldwater, February 28, 1956, box 3H479, folder "Office File: Correspondence, Steve Shadegg, 1955–1958," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

11. Quoted in Donaldson, *Liberalism's Last Hurrah*, 9.

12. Shermer, "Origins of the Conservative Ascendancy," 695–702; Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 24–26; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 228–29.

13. Letter from Barry Goldwater to Stephen C. Shadegg, March 2, 1954, box 3H479, folder "Office File: Correspondence, Steve Shadegg, 1952–1954," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection; Letter from Barry Goldwater to Stephen Shadegg, May 10, 1956, box 3H479, folder "Office File: Correspondence, Steve Shadegg, 1955–1958," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

14. Letter from George G. Mitchell to Barry Goldwater, July 15, 1958, box 3H488, folder "1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Printing Rates, Solicitations, Postcards, Mailing Services, Show Cards," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

15. Appeal from Friends of Barry Goldwater, n.d., box 3H488, folder "1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings)," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection; Appeal from Physicians for Barry Goldwater, July 1958, Shadegg/Goldwater Collection; Appeal from Democrats for Arizona, August 1958, Shadegg/Goldwater Collection; Appeal from Lawyers for Goldwater Committee, n.d., Shadegg/Goldwater Collection; Appeal from Attorneys for Goldwater Committee, n.d., Shadegg/Goldwater Collection; Appeal from Bi-Partisan Small Business Committee for Barry Goldwater, Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

16. Appeal from Barry Goldwater, n.d., box 3H488, folder "1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings)," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

17. Shadegg, *The New How*, 70–71.

18. Letter from Stephen Shadegg to Barry Goldwater, February 21, 1957, box 3H480, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Correspondence, Shadegg and Goldwater, August 1957–Oct. 1958,” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

19. Letter from Stephen Shadegg to Barry Goldwater, July 25, 1958, box 3H480, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Correspondence, Shadegg and Goldwater, August 1957–Oct. 1958,” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

20. Appeal, October 25, 1958, box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

21. Appeal, John Ong, n.d., box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

22. Appeal from Barry Goldwater to John Doe, box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

23. Appeal, October 25, 1958, box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

24. Appeal from Democrats for Arizona, August 1958, box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

25. Appeal from Stephen Shadegg, March 11, 1958, box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

26. Letter from Stephen Shadegg to Barry Goldwater, June 24, 1958, box 3H480, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Correspondence, Shadegg and Goldwater, August 1957–Oct. 1958,” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

27. Appeal, Bert Fireman, October 24, 1958, box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

28. Appeal, Friends of Barry Goldwater, n.d., box 3H488, folder “1958 Senate Campaign: Campaign Literature: Campaign Letters (Mass Mailings),” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

29. Shadegg, *The New How*, 71.

30. Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater*, 25.

31. Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 126; Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 139–43; Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 61–68; Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 88.

32. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties*, 47–48, 53–74; Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 27–38; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 145–58; Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 87–93.

33. It is well-known that the “consensus” scholars, such as Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, and Seymour Martin Lipset, criticized the rise of the “radical right” in their volume. See Westin, “The John Birch Society.” See also McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 75–79; Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 315–23; Mulloy, *The World of the John Birch Society*.

34. Cited in Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 153. Epstein and Forster scrutinized the structure and membership of the John Birch Society. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, chaps. 11–15.

35. Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, 142–48; Hart, “The Truth in Time,” 98, 138; Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 169.

36. The Reminiscences of F. Clifton White, 17, box 119, folder 29 “The Goldwater Nomination, The Reminiscences of F. Clinton White,” 1965 (1 of 2),” Personal and Political Papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater, Arizona State University Library.

37. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 245–46; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 165–66; Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 99–110; William Middendorf, *A Glorious Disaster*, 12–17. On the grassroots efforts to draft Goldwater, see Brennan, “Winning the War”; Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, 115–49; McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 111–46. For the studies on the role of women in grassroots conservatism, see Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly*, chap. 5; Rymph, *Republican Women*, 160–87; Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, 157–68.

38. Letter from Stephen C. Shadegg to Ed Murray and Rex Barley, December 29, 1960; J. Edward Murray to Stephen C. Shadegg, January 6, 1961, box 3H506, folder “Correspondence, Shadegg and Goldwater, Jan.–Aug. 1961,” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

39. Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 163.

40. Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater*, 63–68.

41. Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater*, 63–64, 86–91.

42. Background Memo; Biography of Denison Kitchel; Biography of Daniel C. Gainey; Biography of G. R. Herberger; Biography of Richard G. Kleindienst, box 120, folder 25 “Background, 1960–1963,” Papers of Goldwater; “Goldwater for President Committee Organizational Structure,” box 513, folder “1964 Presidential Campaign: Handbooks, Manuals, and Kits,” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

43. *Life*, July 24, 1964, 23; “Key Men of the ‘Goldwater Team,’” *U.S. News & World Report* 56, no. 25, June 22, 1964, 20.

44. Laurence Stern, “Barry’s Men Pack Tax-Free Institution,” *Washington Post*, August 23, 1964. See also a biography of William J. Baroody, box 95, folder 10 “National Association of Manufacturers,” William J. Baroody Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress.

45. Interview with Lee Edwards, December 1964, 4–5, 10–11, box 3J9, folder “Publications: Shadegg Book, What Happened to Goldwater?: Research Notes: Conversations with and Notes from Individuals Involved in the Campaign, Lee Edwards,” Shadegg/Goldwater Collection. See also Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, 118–20; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 207–208. William Baroody himself and Stephen Shadegg in his book, *What Happened to Goldwater*, revealed that Baroody was working for Goldwater quite closely. The fact became a problem for AEI’s status as a tax-exempt institution. A pundit mentioned, “In short, Shadegg’s ‘inside-story’ of the campaign (including the ‘draft’ phase) would certainly seem to justify a careful look into AEI’s activities relative to Goldwater through 1963 and 1964. If they haven’t done so, appropriate Internal Revenue Service personnel ought to give some study to the book, and

then to AEI." See George Rucker to Harry Olsher, October 25, 1965, box 13, folder "American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research General, Washington, DC," Group Research, Inc. Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University; Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater*, 66–68.

46. "Handbook for Victory," box 513, folder "1964 Presidential Campaign: Handbooks, Manuals, and Kits," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

47. "Instructions for Organizing a Special Group Committee For Goldwater-Miller," n.d., box 513, folder "1964 Presidential Campaign: Handbooks, Manuals, and Kits, 'Citizens For Goldwater-Miller Victory Manual,'" Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

48. Lisa McGirr and Michelle Nickerson have demonstrated that women played a central role in grassroots activities for Goldwater and conservatism in Southern California. McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 3–4, 124, 138; Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, chap. 5.

49. Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, 145–56; Brenner, "Shouting at the Rain," 246–47.

50. Hart, "The Truth in Time," 219–24.

51. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 92, 143–44; McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 127, 144–45.

52. Letter from Mrs. Henry J. Cadell to Seth M. Fitchet, October 17, 1963; Letter from Seth M. Fitchet to Mrs. Henry J. Cadell, November 1, 1963, box 119, folder 18 "Finance Committee: Contributors F-J, 1963–1964," Papers of Goldwater.

53. Letter from John J. Kennedy to Mrs. R. F. Lange, September 25, 1963, box 120, folder 25 "Background, 1960–1963," Papers of Goldwater.

54. "Handbook for Victory," box 513, folder "1964 Presidential Campaign: Handbooks, Manuals, and Kits," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

55. Memo from Marvin Liebman to Rita Bree and All Concerned, July 29, 1964, box 90, folder "Goldwater—Misc.," Marvin Liebman Papers, HIA.

56. Alexander, *Financing the 1964 Election*, 73–76, 119.

57. Memo from Marvin Liebman to Jeremiah Milbank Jr., February 21, 1964, box 90, folder "Goldwater for President," Liebman Papers.

58. Memo from Marvin Liebman to Barry T. Leithead, August 26, 1964, box 92, folder "Goldwater Campaign," Liebman Papers.

59. Memo from Marvin Liebman to Finance Committee, April 9, 1964, box 88, folder "National Goldwater Rally," Liebman Papers.

60. "Campaign Manual: Goldwater for President—New York," box 91, folder "Goldwater—Confidential Reports," Liebman Papers.

61. Letter from Ernest Hillman to Harry Rosenzweig, August 7, 1963, box 119, folder 18 "Finance Committee: Contributors F–J, 1963–1964," Papers of Goldwater.

62. Letter from William C. Morris to Harry Rosenzweig, May 4, 1963, box 119, folder 19 "Finance Committee: Contributors K–M, 1963–1964," Papers of Goldwater.

63. Letter from Harry Rosenzweig to William C. Morris, July 28, 1964, Papers of Goldwater.

64. Letter from A. L. Hall to Barry Goldwater, August 26, 1964, box 119, folder 18 "Finance Committee: Contributors F–J, 1963–1964," Papers of Goldwater.

65. Letter from Leon R. Clausen to Harry Rosenzweig, June 4, 1964, box 119, folder 17 "Finance Committee: Contributors A–D, 1963–1964," Papers of Goldwater.

66. Draft Text of Statement, n.d., box 90, folder "Fighting Aces for Goldwater," Liberman Papers.

67. Letter from Doug Campbell to Reed Chambers and E. V. Rickenbacker, October 22, 1964, box 90, folder "Fighting Aces for Goldwater," Papers of Goldwater; Letter from John M. Smith to Reed Chambers and E. V. Rickenbacker, October 19, 1964, Papers of Goldwater.

68. William F. Buckley Jr., "The Question of Robert Welch," *National Review*, February 13, 1962, 87. See also Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, 58–59; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 239–40.

69. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties*, 102–104, 193; Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 42, 48–49.

70. Greenberg, *Republic of Spin*, 368–73; Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 198–203; Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 174.

71. Hendershot, *What's Fair on the Air?*, 176; Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 187–89, 193–97.

72. Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater*, 247.

73. Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 183, 208–19.

74. Letter from Ralph W. Applegate to Harry Rosenzweig, May 25, 1964, box 119, folder 17 "Finance Committee: Contributors A–D, 1963–1964," Papers of Goldwater; "To Senator Barry Goldwater," n.d., box 119, folder 15 "Finance Committee: California Supporters, 1964–1965," Papers of Goldwater.

75. McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 142–43.

76. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 162.

77. Brennan, "Winning the War," 63; McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 143.

78. Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, 23–24.

79. Alexander, *Financing the 1968 Election*, 95; Heard, *The Costs of Democracy*, 22.

80. Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders*, 63–64; Congressional Quarterly Inc., "Campaign Spending Reports for 1964," January 7, 1965, box 4, folder "Campaign Fund Raising, Campaign Costs. General 1964," Records of the Democratic National Committee, LBJL. See also Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, 219; Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 160; Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution*, 138; Middendorf, *A Glorious Disaster*, xi, 136.

81. "Handbook for Victory," box 513, folder "1964 Presidential Campaign: Handbooks, Manuals, and Kits," Shadegg/Goldwater Collection.

82. *Orange County Register*, November 11, 1964, D3.

83. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 161–62.

84. Johnson, *No Place for Amateurs*, 150.

85. Citizens for Goldwater mail, n.d., box 77, folder "Citizens for Goldwater," Group Research, Inc. Records.

86. Appeal, March 6, 1964, box 7, folder 19 "Appeals, 1963–1964," Oram Group, Inc. Records, Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library, Indiana University/Purdue University.

Chapter 4

1. Viguerie, *The New Right*, 32–33.
2. Viguerie and Franke, *America's Right Turn*, 112.
3. For the roles played by Ray C. Bliss in party organization, see Green, *Politics, Professionalism, and Power*; Hershey and Green, *Mr. Chairman*.
4. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 240. See also Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face*, 197–208; Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, 78–81; Hendershot, *What's Fair on the Air?*, 6–7, 59–60; Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 189–97.
5. "Bliss Gains Support," *New York Times*, December 29, 1964, 12.
6. "Determined Republican: Raymond Charles Bliss," *New York Times*, January 13, 1965, 38.
7. Hershey and Green, *Mr. Chairman*, 25–64.
8. "G.O.P. Can Come Back: Bliss Scoffs at Republicans Are Minority," *Chicago Tribune*, January 14, 1965, 4.
9. "Bliss Confident GOP Can Resolve Differences," *Los Angeles Times*, March 2, 1965, 3.
10. David S. Broder, "Bliss Rides the Elephant," *New York Times Magazine*, March 21, 1965, 49.
11. Don Irwin, "GOP Chairman Brewing Trouble for Democrats," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1965, 28.
12. Broder, "Bliss Rides the Elephant," 57.
13. On the role of direct mail fundraising in Bliss's model of party organization, see Bibby, "Party Leadership," 23, 27. For Republicans' fundraising in the Bliss era, see also Robert B. Semple Jr., "Skill Replaces Ideology at G.O.P. Headquarters under Bliss," *New York Times*, February 1, 1968, 24.
14. "G.O.P. Can Come Back: Bliss Scoffs at Republicans Are Minority," *Chicago Tribune*, January 14, 1965, 4.
15. David S. Broder, "G.O.P. Shifts Focus under Bliss Rule," *New York Times*, January 31, 1966, 16.
16. Broder, "Bliss Rides the Elephant," 49.
17. William F. Buckley Jr., "Bliss' Job: Keep Party Together," *Los Angeles Times*, April 7, 1965, A6.
18. William F. Buckley Jr., "Ray Bliss' Agonizing Dilemma," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1965, A6.
19. Russell Freeburg, "Bliss Starts Shuffle of G.O.P. Staff Jobs," *Chicago Tribune*, March 31, 1965, B11.

20. On the Free Society Association and other conservative splinter groups in the 1960s, see Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 221–50.

21. Cabell Phillips, “Bliss Denounces Goldwater Unit as Peril to Party,” *New York Times*, June 19, 1965, 1.

22. Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 159.

23. Memo from Kenneth Wells Parkinson to Donald C. Bruce, December 4, 1965, box 131, folder 11 “American Conservative Union, By-Laws and Constitution, ca. 1964–68,” William A. Rusher Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress.

24. Telegram from Marvin Liebman, December 5, 1964, box 57, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Marvin Liebman Papers, HIA.

25. Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 234.

26. News Release, the American Conservative Union, June 23, 1965, box 58, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Liebman Papers.

27. Proposal for the American Conservative Union, January 11, 1966, box 59, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Liebman Papers.

28. For the relationship between the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom, see Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 234; Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 158–59.

29. Confidential Proposal from David R. Jones to the Board of Directors of the American Conservative Union, February 11, 1966, box 59, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Liebman Papers.

30. Marvin Liebman, “Goals of the American Conservative Union,” n.d., box 57, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Liebman Papers.

31. Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 238–39; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 261; Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 183.

32. Bell, *The Radical Right*; Hofstadter, “The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt”; Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*.

33. Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 234.

34. Marvin Liebman, “Goals of the American Conservative Union.”

35. Memo from William A. Rusher to William F. Buckley Jr., et al., August 26, 1965, box 35, folder “Inter-Office Memo (2),” William F. Buckley Jr. Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

36. Memo from Donald C. Bruce to Marvin Liebman, January 23, 1965, box 58, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Liebman Papers.

37. American Conservative Union, Notes on Reports Filed with Clerk, House of Representatives, 1st quarter 1965, box 9, folder “American Conservative Union Financial, Washington, DC,” Group Research, Inc. Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

38. Memo, Donald C. Bruce to Directors and Members of Advisory Assembly, January 14, 1965, box 58, folder “American Conservative Union, 1962–1966,” Liebman Papers.

39. William A. Rusher to William F. Buckley, February 2, 1965, box 35, folder “Inter-office memos, Jan 1965–Jun 1965,” Buckley Papers.

40. Agenda, ACU Board of Directors Meeting, January 28, 1965, box 58, folder "American Conservative Union, 1962–1966," Liebman Papers.

41. "Fund Raising Program for the American Conservative Union," September 17, 1965, box 132, folder 5 "American Conservative Union, Fundraising Activities, 1965–70," Rusher Papers.

42. Memo from William A. Rusher to William F. Buckley, March 3, 1965, Buckley Papers.

43. Memo from William Buckley to William Rusher, March 15, 1965, Buckley Papers.

44. "Fund Raising Program for the American Conservative Union."

45. For Viguerie's remark on "ideological direct mail," see Viguerie and Franke, *America's Right Turn*, 112.

46. Robert Walters, "Conservative GOP Splinter Ignores Bliss, Asks for Funds," *Washington Star*, August 19, 1965.

47. Appeal from American Conservative Union, August 14, 1965, box 9, folder "American Conservative Union, Washington, DC, 1965–8," Group Research, Inc. Records.

48. Appeal from American Conservative Union.

49. Memo from Marvin Liebman to David R. Jones, April 26, 1966, Liebman Papers.

50. Proposal for American Conservative Union, January 11, 1966, box 59, folder "American Conservative Union, 1962–1966," Liebman Papers.

51. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai and B'rith, "The John Birch Society—1966," *Facts Domestic Report* 17, no. 1 (February 1966): 357, box 434, folder "Group Research Directory Organizations (F–P)," Group Research, Inc. Records; *National Review*, October 19, 1965, 913–28.

52. This report analyzed that 30 percent of all mail concerned the John Birch Society, while 29 percent was on ACU programs, 16 percent urged consolidation of all conservative organizations to reduce duplication of effort, 18.5 percent mentioned the possibility of a third party, and 5.5 percent made some mention to "liberals" and "commies" in the ACU. See "Report on Fund Raising Mailings, Finance Division," February 14, 1966, box 132, folder 5 "American Conservative Union, Fundraising Activities, 1965–70," Rusher Papers.

53. Memo from Frank Wucatz to *National Review*, n.d., box 39, folder "John Birch Society (correspondence, pamphlets, newsclipped)," Buckley Papers.

54. Memo from Thomas J. Davis to William F. Buckley, February 24, 1966, box 39, folder "John Birch Society (correspondence, pamphlets, newsclipped)," Buckley Papers.

55. For the denunciation and decline of the JBS by the end of the 1960s, see, for example, McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 218–23; Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 176–78; Hendershot, *What's Fair on the Air?*, 59–60.

56. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 182–83.

57. Memo from William J. Gill to Donald C. Bruce, March 17, 1965, box 132, folder 6 "American Conservative Union, General Correspondence, Jan–Spt. 1965," Rusher Papers.

58. Memo from Leo Synnestvedt to Donald C. Bruce, June 2, 1965, box 132, folder 6 "American Conservative Union, General Correspondence, Jan–Spt. 1965," Rusher Papers.

59. Memo from William F. Buckley to All Concerned, n.d., box 35, folder "Inter-office memos, Jul 1965–Dec 1965, n.d.," Buckley Papers.

60. Memo from William A. Rusher to Donald C. Bruce et al., September 10, 1965, box 135, folder 7 "American Conservative Union, Political Action Committee, Correspondence, 1965," Rusher Papers.

61. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 182. See also Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing*, 235–36, 239–40, 242.

62. Memo from William A. Rusher to Leo Synnestvedt, November 23, 1965, box 132, folder 7 "American Conservative Union, General Correspondence, Oct-Dec. 1965," Rusher Papers.

63. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 183.

64. On conservatives who requested authorization to found local chapters, see memo from John L. Jones to William A. Rusher, March 15, 1968, box 135, folder 10 "American Conservative Union, Political Action Committee, Correspondence, 1968–69," Rusher Papers. For Rusher's rejection, see William A. Rusher to Jerry Harkins, January 7, 1969, Rusher Papers; Memo from William A. Rusher to Mrs. Richard Sundeleaf, February 24, 1970, Rusher Papers.

65. Memo from William A. Rusher to Donald C. Bruce et al., September 10, 1965, box 135, folder 7 "American Conservative Union, Political Action Committee, Correspondence, 1965," Rusher Papers.

66. Memo from John Davenport to the Members of the Advisory Assembly of the American Conservative Union, February 21, 1966, box 58, folder "American Conservative Union, 1962–1966," Liebman Papers.

67. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 183.

68. Letter from Neil McCaffrey to William Rusher, January 20, 1983, box 57, folder 7 "McCaffrey, Neil, 1968–1988," Rusher Papers.

69. Letter from Neil McCaffrey to Lewis L. Strauss, March 28, 1963, box 88, folder 14 "Conservative Book Club, 1963–1965," William J. Baroody Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress.

70. Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 183–84; Lee Edwards and Anne Edwards, "How Publishers (and Readers) Learned to Love Conservative Books," *Daily Signal*, April 13, 2015, <https://www.dailysignal.com/2015/04/13/how-publishers-and-readers-learned-to-love-conservative-books/>. For the cooperation of the Conservative Book Club and the American Conservative Union in direct mail fundraising, see memo from Marvin Liebman to Donald C. Bruce, May 20, 1965, box 57, folder "ACU," Liebman Papers.

71. Neil McCaffrey to Lewis L. Strauss, March 28, 1963, box 88, folder 14 "Conservative Book Club, 1963–1965," Baroody Papers.

72. Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right*, 180, 183–85.

73. Viguerie and Franke, *America's Right Turn*, 127, 95.

74. Appeal from Richard Viguerie, n.d., box 41, folder 6 "Campaign, 1960–1969," Young Americans for Freedom Records, HIA. For the conflicts of Young Americans for Freedom and the National Student Association, see Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 60–63.

75. Appeal from David R. Jones, September 7, 1969, box 41, folder 6 "Campaign, 1960–1969," YAF Records.

76. Appeal from Herbert A. Philbrick to Jorge E. Ferrer, July 31, 1970, box 41, folder 6 "Campaign, 1960–1969," YAF Records.

77. Appeal from Clarence Manion to Maria L. Berges, October 22, 1969, box 41, folder 6 "Campaign, 1960–1969," YAF Records.

78. Memo from David R. Jones to William A. Rusher, May 13, 1968, box 132, folder 10 "American Conservative Union, General Correspondence, 1968," Rusher Papers.

79. Memo from David R. Jones to Members of the Board of Directors, July 14, 1968, box 132, folder 5 "American Conservative Union, Fundraising Activities, 1965–70," Rusher Papers.

80. Memo from David R. Jones to Members of the Board of Directors, July 14, 1968.

81. Memo from David R. Jones to Members of the Board of Directors, September 13, 1968, box 132, folder 5 "American Conservative Union, Fundraising Activities, 1965–70," Rusher Papers.

82. Joint Appeal, February 1969, box 9, folder "American Conservative Union, Washington, DC, 1969–70," Group Research, Inc. Records.

83. Memo from John L. Jones to All ACU Board Members, n.d., box 132, folder 5 "American Conservative Union, Fundraising Activities, 1965–70," Rusher Papers.

84. For an overview of the Democratic Study Group, see Democratic Study Group Records, 1912–1995, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress, accessed December 25, 2018, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mm81057125/>.

85. Campaign Activity Report, n.d., box I:56, folder 11 "Information about DSG," DSG Records.

86. "Fundraising," 1964, box I:29, folder 9 "Miscellany, 1956, 1964–1971," DSG Records.

87. Mary Meehan, "How to Shake the Money Tree," June 1970 (revised in January 1972), box II:15, folder 8 "Fund Raising, Chronological file, 1969–1979," DSG Records.

88. Viguerie, *The New Right*, 34.

89. Memo from Robert C. Odle Jr. to Jeb S. Magruder, November 24, 1971, box 18, folder 17 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [16]," Jeb Stuart Magruder Papers, Richard Nixon Presidential Library.

90. Appeal from Martin Luther King, Sr., n.d., box 11, folder 8 "Appeals, 1967–1969, 1973–1974," Oram Group, Inc. Records, Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library, Indiana University/Purdue University.

91. Appeal from J. William Fulbright, April 1969, Oram Group, Inc. Records. Harold L. Oram, Inc. mailed out another direct mailing signed by George S. McGovern in December 1969. Much of the content was the same in the two appeals with the signatures of Fulbright and McGovern, indicating that the staff of Oram, Inc., not the prominent

figures, crafted the message on the letters. See Appeal from George S. McGovern, December 26, 1969, Oram Group, Inc. Records.

92. Appeal from David Riesman, November 1968, Oram Group, Inc. Records.

93. Appeal from Bayard Rustin, n.d., box II:15, folder 8 "Fund Raising, Chronological file, 1969–1979," DSG Records.

94. Cohen, *American Maelstrom*; Donaldson, *Liberalism's Last Hurrah*.

95. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 276.

96. On the viewpoints of William Rusher and F. Clifton White, see Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, 209, 213. For Viguerie's remark, see Viguerie and Franke, *America's Right Turn*, 87.

97. Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, 23–24, 32–33, 38–39.

98. McGinniss, *The Selling of the President, 1968*, esp. 27–28.

99. McGinniss, *The Selling of the President, 1968*, 81–82, 161.

100. Greenberg, *Republic of Spin*, 386–87; Sheingate, *Building a Business of Politics*, 146.

101. Memo from Jeb S. Magruder to the Attorney General, June 30, 1971, box 10, folder 11 "(JSM) Advertising [7]," Magruder Papers; Stanley E. Cohen, "Washington Beat," *Advertising Age*, July 19, 1971, 60, Magruder Papers.

102. For an overview of the November Group, see Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 289–91.

103. Memo from Stephen H. Winchell to Robert C. Odle, April 14, 1971, box 18, folder 9 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [8]," Magruder Papers; Memo from James L. Martin to Harry S. Dent, April 27, 1971, Magruder Papers; Memo from Robert C. Odle Jr. to Lee Nunn, May 13, 1971, Magruder Papers.

104. Memo for the Attorney General, January 24, 1972, box 18, folder 8 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [7]," Magruder Papers.

105. Memo from Gregg Petersmeyer to Jeb S. Magruder, September 10, 1971, box 19, folder 1 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [17]," Magruder Papers.

106. Memo from L. Robert Morgan to Clark MacGregor, July 27, 1972, box 18, folder 2 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [1]," Magruder Papers.

107. Memo from Bob Morgan to Jeb Magruder, June 6, 1972, box 18, folder 3 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [2]," Magruder Papers; Memo from Robert H. Marik to Clark MacGregor, n.d., box 18, folder 3 "(JSM) Direct Mail & Telephone Operations [2]," Magruder Papers.

108. Miroff, *The Liberals' Moment*, 168–69; Hart, *Right from the Start*, 42–43.

109. White, *The Making of the President, 1972*, 280.

110. Hart, *Right from the Start*, 118. See also Miroff, *The Liberals' Moment*, 167–69.

111. McGovern, *An American Journey*, 19.

112. White, *The Making of the President, 1972*, 280.

113. Miroff, *The Liberals' Moment*, 65–66.

Chapter 5

1. Alexander Heard, "A New Approach to Campaign Finances," *New York Times Magazine*, October 6, 1963, 244.

2. For the observations on increasing campaign finance and big donors, see "Ike and Truman Join Bipartisan Fund Plea," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 9, 1964, 22. For the remark on advertisers in political campaigns, see Walter Pincus, "Campaign Fund Law Will Revolutionize Politics," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 27, 1966.

3. Heard, "A New Approach to Campaign Finances."

4. Mutch, *Campaigns, Congress, and Courts*; Mutch, *Buying the Vote*; Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism"; La Raja, *Small Change*. Robert Mutch's 1988 book was the first work to chronicle a history of campaign finance reform in the United States. Mutch has stressed the central significance of scandals, particularly Watergate, in accelerating the reform movement. Alternatively, Julian Zelizer has focused on the role of "the coalition of reformers," including experts, foundations, and philanthropists, in framing legal discussions. While touching on scandals revolving around political fundraising, Zelizer criticizes that Mutch dismissed a series of reform laws long before the Watergate scandal. Arguing against Zelizer's public interest model, Raymond La Raja has succinctly pointed out partisanship and factionalism in the congressional debates in the 1960s. La Raja makes his case that Congress passed campaign reform bills not when legislators were aware of public interest, but when partisanship between Democrats and Republicans or intraparty factionalism helped push for the legislations. However, generally speaking, their studies on campaign finance reform are constrained to Congress without investigating the impacts on social movements. Building on these works, my argument in this chapter and the next is that the "Democratic reforms" ironically encouraged the financial and political power of conservatives that successfully collected small money from the mass.

5. "Kennedy as a Party Fund-Raiser," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 6, 1963.

6. Joseph Young, "Federal Workers Charge Pressure on \$100 Tickets," *Washington Star*, November 6, 1962, A-1.

7. For the Hatch Act, see Azzaro, "The Hatch Act Modernization Act."

8. Young, "Federal Workers Charge Pressure on \$100 Tickets," A-4.

9. Young, "Federal Workers Charge Pressure on \$100 Tickets," A-1.

10. "Demo 'Shakedown' Probe Asked," *Indianapolis Star*, January 16, 1963.

11. Edward T. Folliard, "Party Denies Pressure in Ticket Sale," *Washington Post*, January 16, 1963.

12. Folliard, "Party Denies Pressure in Ticket Sale."

13. Jerry Klutz, "Federal Aide Scorns Bid to \$100 Gala," *Washington Post*, January 18, 1963.

14. Edward T. Folliard, "\$1 Million Salute Given to JFK!" *Boston Globe*, January 19, 1963, 1, 3.

15. For more on the Citizens' Research Foundation and Herbert Alexander, see, for example, Gloria Cornette, "Herbert E. Alexander," The Campaign Finance Institute, accessed June 21, 2018, <http://cfinst.org/HerbertEAlexander/Bio.aspx>. See also Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 80–81.

16. Letter from Alexander Heard to the President, June 24, 1964, box 110, folder "PL3 4_20_64—7_25_64," White House Central Files, LBJL.

17. Letter from Herbert E. Alexander to the President, February 6, 1964, box 110, folder "PL3 Fund Raising 11_22_63—4_19_64," White House Central Files.

18. Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 81.

19. Letter from Lyndon B. Johnson to Alexander Heard, July 13, 1964, box 110, folder "PL3 4_20_64—7_25_64," White House Central Files.

20. Memo from Herbert E. Alexander to Jack Valenti, March 5, 1964, box 110, folder "PL3 Fund Raising 11_22_63—4_19_64," White House Central Files.

21. Julius Duscha, "Parties Seek Small Gifts from Many," *Washington Post*, June 14, 1964, L3.

22. "2 Parties Plan Mail Appeal to Raise Campaign Funds," *Washington Evening Star*, June 9, 1964.

23. Chester Bulgier, "Polk & Co. Experiment to Ask Public to Share Cost of Politics," *Detroit News*, June 10, 1964.

24. "Ike and Truman Join Bipartisan Fund Plea," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 9, 1964, 1, 22.

25. James Robinson, "Ike-Adlai Campaign for Widely Based Party Gifts Flops," *Washington Post*, September 24, 1964, B2.

26. "An Important Letter," *Minneapolis Star*, June 10, 1964.

27. Robinson, "Ike-Adlai Campaign for Widely Based Party Gifts Flops."

28. "The Campaign Fund Problem Is Unsolved," *Providence Sunday Journal*, October 11, 1964.

29. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Inside Report: The Democratic Deficit," *Washington Post*, September 23, 1965.

30. Richard L. Lyons, "'Fat Cats' Leaving GOP," *Washington Post*, October 28, 1965, G5.

31. "Democrats Led in Large Donors," *New York Times*, October 26, 1965, 30.

32. On the President's Club, see Alexander, *Financing the 1964 Election*, 9; Mutch, *Buying the Vote*, 125–26; Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, 141.

33. Lyons, "'Fat Cats' Leaving GOP," G5.

34. Eileen Shanahan, "Campaign Marked by Shifts in Patterns of Fund-Giving to Republicans and Democrats," *New York Times*, October 14, 1964, 27.

35. Jerry Landauer, "Political Fund-Raising: A Murky World," *Wall Street Journal*, June 28, 1967, 14.

36. Sixty-eight corporations purchased ad pages in December 1965, then the figure increased to 168 by the next month. See Robert S. Boyd, "68 Firms Finance Johnson

Booster Book," *Washington Post*, December 8, 1965, A2; Walter R. Mears, "Political Parties Find New Source of Revenue in Magazine Advertising," *Oregonian*, January 6, 1966, 12.

37. Walter Pincus, "Democrats to Solicit Business Ads Again," *Washington Star*, September 8, 1965, A-1, A-5.

38. "Dead Letter," *Washington Post*, December 18, 1965.

39. Mears, "Political Parties Find New Source," 12.

40. Editorial, "Advertising the Great Society," *New York Times*, December 13, 1965, 38.

41. Walter Pincus, "Weltner Balks at Fund Books," *Washington Evening Star*, December 13, 1965, A-1, A-8.

42. "Democrats to Give Up \$600,000 Ad Profit," *Plain Dealer*, March 7, 1966; "GOP Abandons Ad Book Plan," *Washington Evening Star*, March 17, 1966.

43. Mears, "Political Parties Find New Source of Revenue," 12.

44. Congressional Quarterly, Inc., "Campaign Financing Reforms Sought by President," January 14, 1966, box 152, folder "Johnson, Pres. Lyndon: Campaign Finances 1966. Funds Reform Proposal in State of Union Message, Jan. 12, 1966," Records of the Democratic National Committee, LBJL. On the Republicans' endorsement of the campaign finance reform, see Editorial, "End Campaign Cheating," *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 30, 1966.

45. For Senator John J. Williams's remarks, see Joseph R. Daughen, "The Williams Amendment: Political 'Blackmail' Ends," *Evening Bulletin*, March 15, 1966, B-33. For Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen's comment, see Congressional Quarterly, Inc., "New Political Ad Law May Hurt Party Finances," March 17, 1966, box 4, folder "Campaign Fund Raising. 1966. Reform," DNC Collection. On the rescission of the Williams amendment, see La Raja, *Small Change*, 69.

46. Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 84–85.

47. La Raja, *Small Change*, 69–71; Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 84–85; Mutch, *Buying the Vote*, 128–29.

48. Walter Pincus, "Campaign Fund Law Will Revolutionize Politics," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 27, 1966.

49. Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 86.

50. "... and a Bad Signing," *New York Times*, November 15, 1966, 46.

51. Ted Knap, "No Dessert at Political Dinners?" *Washington Daily News*, August 24, 1967.

52. "Election Finances Still Under Debate," *Washington Post*, December 28, 1967. For the 1967 Ashmore–Goodell bill, see Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 76, 87.

53. Zelizer, "Seeds of Cynicism," 84.

54. McGinniss, *The Selling of the President*, 1968, 39.

55. "Daily, California Agency Chief, to Head Nixon's House Agency Setup," box 10, folder 15 "(JSM) Advertising #1 [1]," Jeb Stuart Magruder Papers, Richard Nixon Presidential Library.

56. Alexander, *Financing the 1968 Election*, 95; Heard, *The Costs of Democracy*, 22.
57. Alexander, *Money in Politics*, 60–61.
58. La Raja, *Small Change*, 45.
59. Congress, House, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, Hearing on Federal Election Reform, Ninety-Third Congress, First Session (November 29, 1973), 385, quoted in Gillon, “*That’s Not What We Meant to Do*,” 267n1.
60. McFarland, *Common Cause*. On the role of Common Cause in campaign finance reform, see also Zelizer, “Seeds of Cynicism,” 90–92; Gillon, “*That’s Not What We Meant to Do*,” 200–202.
61. Mutch, *Campaigns, Congress, and Courts*, 45; Zelizer, “Seeds of Cynicism,” 92.
62. La Raja, *Small Change*, 72–75.
63. “Conservative Fund-Raisers: New Hope for 1974,” *Congressional Quarterly*, September 7, 1974, 2437.
64. Zelizer, “Seeds of Cynicism,” 97.
65. Gillon, “*That’s Not What We Meant to Do*,” 203.
66. For key provisions of the campaign finance reforms in 1971 and 1974, see La Raja, *Small Change*, 78–79.
67. Appeal from Ronald B. Dear, April 29, 1974, box 8, folder “American Conservative Union, Washington, DC, 1974–5,” Group Research, Inc. Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
68. John Quincy Adams, “Discussion Paper: The Deficiencies of the Federal Election Campaign Act and Its Amendments,” n.a., 21, box D17, folder “Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976—American Association of Political Consultants Recommendation,” President Ford Committee Records, GRFL.
69. Adams, “Discussion Paper,” 6.
70. Adams, “Discussion Paper,” 13. The “marketplace of ideas” was a common conception in the Cold War era. Nancy Bernhard demonstrated that two assumptions, one that the commercial marketplace guaranteed free debates and the other that the US government valued a free marketplace of ideas, were closely connected. Particularly in the Second Red Scare of the 1950s, the concept had “a quality of irrefutability.” Niels Bjerre-Poulsen also pointed out that the “consensus scholars,” such as Seymour Martin Lipset, accused right-wing extremists of rejecting the belief in an open marketplace of ideas. See Bernhard, *U.S. Television News*, 7; Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face*, 197–203.
71. “Recommendations to the Federal Election Commission on the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 prepared by the American Association of Political Consultants,” n.a., 1, box D17, folder “Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976—American Association of Political Consultants Recommendation,” President Ford Committee Records.
72. Tomas Tønnessen, *How Two Political Entrepreneurs*, 73. See also Sabato, *The Rise of Political Consultants*, 224; Issenberg, *The Victory Lab*, 53.

Chapter 6

1. "The Right Wing," *AFL-CIO Special Report*, n.d., box 2, folder "AFL-CIO," Group Research, Inc. Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University; "The Right Wing: Part II," *AFL-CIO Special Report*, n.d., Group Research, Inc. Records.

2. E. J. Dionne Jr., "Labor, in Trade Battle, Sends a Bleak TV Message," *New York Times*, March 6, 1987, A16.

3. George Meany, "Danger from the Right," *AFL-CIO News*, September 10, 1977, 4, Group Research, Inc. Records.

4. "The Right Wing."

5. For an overview of the New Right, see, for example, Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 307–308, 310; Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, 128–31, 136; Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 392–94; Gottfried and Fleming, *The Conservative Movement*, 83–84.

6. The term "New Right" has been coined several times over the course of the twentieth century. According to political commentator Kevin Phillips, the "New Right" referred to seven cohorts of conservatives: (1) traditionalist intellectuals such as Richard Weaver during the 1940s, (2) supporters of McCarthyism in the early 1950s, (3) William F. Buckley Jr. and *National Review* writers, (4) the John Birch Society, (5) Irving Kristol's neoconservatives, (6) libertarians, and (7) the allies of Richard Viguerie and Paul Weyrich. For the taxonomy of the New Right, see Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 308. Additionally, in 1969, M. Stanton Evans used the phrase of the "New Right" to describe young conservatives who fought against the New Left activists. See Viguerie and Franke, *America's Right Turn*, 53.

The New Right movement often includes the Religious Right since Paul Weyrich founded the Moral Majority with Baptist minister Jerry Falwell in 1979. Evangelicals and New Right activists, including Weyrich, Viguerie, Howard Phillips, and Terry Dolan, worked intimately with each other. However, in this book, I distinguish the religious conservatives and the political New Right, regarding the Christian right as an ally, rather than part, of the New Right.

7. Gary McMillan, "What Is the New Right Up To?" *Boston Globe*, December 17, 1978, A4.

8. Christopher Buchanan, "New Right: 'Many Times More Effective' Now," *Congressional Quarterly*, December 24, 1977, 2649.

9. Memo from Stephen H. Winchell to Pete Hoke, John Daly, Robert Delay, and Ed Mayer, June 5, 1975, Paul M. Weyrich Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

10. Letter from William A. Rusher to Terry Dolan, Howard Phillips, Richard Viguerie, and Paul Weyrich, April 23, 1981, William A. Rusher Papers, Manuscript and Archives Division, Library of Congress.

11. Viguerie, *The New Right*, 50.

12. *Right Report* 3, no. 19 (October 7, 1974), Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. Gerald Ford shortly realized that Vice President Nelson Rockefeller was a major problem in his administration as Rockefeller generated resentment among right-wing Republicans. On October 28, 1975, the two met in the Oval Office and Ford convinced Rockefeller to request the president to remove himself from the 1976 ticket. Ford regretted this decision for years, confessing that it was “one of the few cowardly things I did in my life.” See Ford, *A Time to Heal*, 327–28.

13. Viguerie, *The New Right*, 51.

14. For the biography of Paul Weyrich, see Tønnessen, *How Two Political Entrepreneurs*, 27–34.

15. Paul M. Weyrich, “Weyrich on Weyrich: Here’s the Rest of the Story,” *Conservative Digest* 7, no. 10 (October 1981): 20.

16. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 310.

17. Stephen Isaacs wrote a series of articles in the *Washington Post* describing the roles played by Joseph Coors in 1970s conservatism. See Stephen Isaacs, “Coors Beer—and Politics—Move East,” *Washington Post*, May 4, 1975, A1, A4; Stephen Isaacs, “Coors Bucks Network ‘Bias,’” *Washington Post*, May 5, 1975, A1, A3; Stephen Isaacs, “Coors-Backed Unit Seeks Defeat of Hill ‘Radicals,’” *Washington Post*, May 6, 1975, A1, A6; Stephen Isaacs, “Coors’ Capital Connection,” *Washington Post*, May 7, 1975, A1, A5, A6.

18. Bob Poole, “Conservatives Already at Work,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*, April 27, 1975.

19. Stanhope Gould, “Coors Brews the News,” *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1975, 17–29; Isaacs, “Coors Beer—and Politics—Move East,” A4; Isaacs, “Coors’ Capital Connection,” A1.

20. Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 393–94; Gottfried and Fleming, *The Conservative Movement*, 97–98; Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 311.

21. Interview with Morton Blackwell, Arlington, Virginia, October 19, 2015. See also Resume, Morton Blackwell, September 10, 1975, box 9, folder “Keene, Dave—Miscellaneous, 1974–1976,” Citizens for Reagan Records, HIA.

22. Gottfried and Fleming, *The Conservative Movement*, 99–100.

23. Crawford, *Thunder on the Right*, 51.

24. Alan Ehrenhalt, “‘New Right’ Plans Move to Change Congress,” *CP Magazine*, October 23, 1976, 3027.

25. John Fialka, “The Godfather of the ‘New Right’ Feels the Torch Is Passing,” *Washington Star*, June 23, 1975.

26. Rich Jaroslovsky, “New-Right Cashier,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 6, 1978, 41.

27. Alan Crawford, “Richard Viguerie’s Bid for Power,” *Nation*, January 29, 1977, 105. For the biography of Alan Pell Crawford, see Saloma, *Ominous Politics*, 47.

28. Crawford, “Richard Viguerie’s Bid for Power,” 106.

29. Ehrenhalt, “‘New Right’ Plans Move to Change Congress,” 3027.
30. Ehrenhalt, “‘New Right’ Plans Move to Change Congress,” 3028.
31. Ehrenhalt, “‘New Right’ Plans Move to Change Congress,” 3028.
32. James M. Perry, “The Right Wing Got Plucked,” *National Observer*, November 26, 1976, 14.
33. Milton Ellerin and Alisa Kesten, “The New Right: A Background Memorandum,” n.d., box 119, folder 2 “Reference Files, New Right, 1969–81,” Rusher Papers.
34. Viguerie, *The Establishment vs. The People*, esp. 36, 55. See also Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 308.
35. Ehrenhalt, “‘New Right’ Plans Move to Change Congress,” 3028–29.
36. *American Political Report* 7, no. 3 (October 28, 1977), box 6, folder 6 “vol. 21, Aug-Dec 1977 (2 of 2),” Paul M. Weyrich Scrapbooks, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Library of Congress.
37. Crawford, “Richard Viguerie’s Bid for Power,” 106.
38. On the antielite populism of the New Right, see for example Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 398–400. For the history of American populism, see Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*; Formisano, *For the People*. While Formisano examined populist movements from the early Republic to the 1840s, Kazin delineated the tradition of populism ranging from the People’s Party in the 1890s to the New Right of the 1970s.
39. Crawford, *Thunder on the Right*, 5, 292–93, 303–10.
40. Quoted in Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 309.
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