

Jill Lepore, "The Lie Factory: How politics became a business,"  
*The New Yorker*, September 24, 2012.

### **A Note about Sources**

*N.B. For readers who'd like to read more, or who are undertaking their own research, here is a select bibliography of my sources for this piece. As with all the bibliographies for New Yorker essays that I post on my Harvard faculty website, this brief discussion mentions a good number of works consulted but it's neither an exhaustive inventory of my sources nor a survey of the scholarship in a given field. Instead, I've listed works I found most useful or especially provocative. I have generally only included manuscripts, journal and magazine articles, and books; I haven't listed interviews here at all; I've not included things like newspapers, advertisements, patents, legislation, and policy statements; and I've generally left out citations from specialized bodies of literature in fields like medicine and law. A last caveat: these brief bibliographies are all frozen in time: I do not update them, and they therefore don't include anything written on these subjects after the date on which my essay was published.*

This essay relies on the archival records of Campaigns, Inc., housed in the California State Archives in Sacramento. These records, contained in 178 boxes, include speeches by Whitaker and Baxter, internal correspondence, plans of campaign, advertising spots, and campaign and opposition literature, including pamphlets, photographs, and audio and visual material. The firm's records were given to the archives in 1991, by Clem Whitaker, Jr.; a finding aid was made available in 2009.

Some of the firm's history is recounted in an unfinished but fascinating oral history of Leone Baxter conducted by Gabrielle Morris of the University of California's Regional Oral History Office in 1972; that oral history can be found in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley. Morris also interviewed Clem Whitaker, Jr., in 1988 and 1989; that oral history can be found in the California State Archives.

Published writings by Whitaker and Baxter available outside the archive are few, but include Leone Baxter, "Public Relations' Precocious Baby," *Public Relations Journal* 6 (1950): 18, 22-23; Clem Whitaker, "Professional Political Campaign Management," *Public Relations Journal*, 6 (1950): 19-21; Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, "Election Year Coming Up! A Top Firm of Politician Management Consultants Analyzes the Opportunities for Public Relations in the World of Politics," *Public Relations Journal* 11 (1955): 11-12, 98-102; and Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, "Campaign Blunders Can Change History," *Public Relations Journal* 12 (1956): 4-6, 19.

The most important early account of Campaigns, Inc., is "Government By Whitaker and Baxter," a three-part series by Carey McWilliams in *The Nation* in 1951. McWilliams wrote more briefly about the firm in his 1949 book, *California: The Great Exception* (New York: Current Books, Inc., 1949). McWilliams' correspondence with his editors at *The Nation* can be found in the records of *The Nation*, housed in the Houghton Library

at Harvard University. (McWilliams became editor of *The Nation* in 1955.) His correspondence with Whitaker and Baxter can be found in the Whitaker and Baxter Records. Joel Gardner conducted an oral history with McWilliams in 1978; it is housed in the Center for Oral History Research at the University of California, Los Angeles. Other useful sources on McWilliams include his autobiography, *The Education of Carey McWilliams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), and an anthology, *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, ed. Dean Stewart and Jeannine Gendar (Santa Clara, CA: Santa Clara University, 2001).

*Time* ran a piece about Whitaker and Baxter ("The Partners") in 1955. Irwin Ross's account of the firm, "The Supersalemen of California Politics: Whitaker and Baxter," appeared in *Harpers* in 1959 and, that same year, as chapter 4 of Ross's book, *The Image Merchants: The Fabulous World of Public Relations* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959).

In 1956, Whitaker and Baxter were interviewed by a Special Senate Committee to Investigate Political Activities, Lobbying, and Campaign Contributions. The committee's report is *Final Report of the Special Committee pursuant to S. Res. 219 of the 84<sup>th</sup> Congress, as extended by S. Res. 47 and S. Res. 128 of the 85<sup>th</sup> Congress* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1957). An audio recording of the interview with Whitaker and Baxter can be found in the Whitaker and Baxter Records.

Regarding specific campaigns: the campaign for and opposition against Upton Sinclair is documented in four books by Sinclair himself: Upton Sinclair, *I, Governor of California: And How I Ended Poverty. A True Story of the Future* (Los Angeles: End Poverty League, 1933); Upton Sinclair, *The Lie Factory Starts* (Los Angeles: End Poverty League, 1934); *I, Candidate for Governor, and How I Got Licked* (Pasadena, CA: The author, 1935), and *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962). Especially informative is the introduction by James N. Gregory to a 1994 edition of *I Candidate for Governor*, published by the University of California Press. An extraordinarily rich and detailed book-length study is Greg Mitchell, *The Campaign of the Century: Upton Sinclair's Race for Governor of California and the Birth of Media Politics* (New York: Random House, 1992).

Earl Warren's vantage on Whitaker and Baxter, including the firm's campaigns against health insurance on behalf of the California Medical Association and later the American Medical Association, can be found in G. Edward White, *Earl Warren: A Public Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) and Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Chief Justice Earl Warren* (1977; Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 2001).

The most comprehensive study of the long history of political campaigning in the United States is Robert J. Dinkin, *Campaigning in America: A History of Election Practices* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989). An influential interpretation is Richard Jensen, "Armies, Admen, and Crusaders: Types of Presidential Election Campaigns," *The History Teacher* 2 (1969): 33-50. A useful reference work for people just beginning

research on the history of American campaigning is Thomas J. Baldino and Kyle L. Kreider, *U.S. Election Campaigns: A Documentary and Reference Guide* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2011).

The few subsequent popular and scholarly treatments of Campaigns, Inc., rely very heavily on McWilliams's 1951 account. The best scholarly study is Stanley Kelley, Jr., *Professional Public Relations and Political Power* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956). Kelley's argument is that political consultants replaced party bosses. This development, however, had been anticipated by Charles W. Van Devander in *The Big Bosses* (New York: Howell, Soskin, Publishers, 1944). Subsequent important accounts of the transformation of American elections at the hands of public relations firms include Joe McGinniss, *The Selling of the President* (New York: Trident Press, 1969); Dan Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of the Modern Election Campaign* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970); David Lee Rosenbloom, *The Election Men: Professional Campaign Managers and American Democracy* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973); David Chagall, *The New King-Makers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981); Larry J. Sabato, *The Rise of Political Consultants: New Ways of Winning Elections* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); and Stuart Ewen, *PR!: A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996). An especially shrewd investigation into the globalization of political consulting is James Harding, *Alpha Dogs: The Americans Who Turned Political Spin into a Global Business* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008).

Much concerning campaign consulting, especially from the vantage of political science, can be found in two journals, *The Journal of Political Marketing* and *Campaigns and Elections*. Notable book-length works in the field include James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson, eds., *Campaign Warriors: The Role of Political Consultants in Elections* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000); Dennis W. Johnson, *No Place for Amateurs: How Political Consultants are Reshaping American Democracy*, second ed. (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2007); Dennis W. Johnson, *Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century: A Whole New Ballgame?* (New York: Routledge, 2011); and Jason Johnson, *Political Consultants and Campaigns: One Day to Sell* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012).

Most books about campaign consulting, however, are how-to books, profiles of celebrity consultants, or election-year memoirs. These are far too many to list. One of the earliest how-to books is Herbert M. Baus and William R. Ross, *Politics Battle Plan* (New York: Macmillan, 1968). One of the most recent is Samuel L. Popkin, *The Candidate: What it Takes to Win—and Hold—the White House* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).