Jill Lepore, “The Lie Factory: How politics became a business,”

**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.


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).


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 84th Congress, as extended by S. Res. 47 and S. Res. 128 of the 85th 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.


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).