

Jill Lepore, "How to Steal an Election," *The New Yorker*, July 4, 2016.

### **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.*

The best introductions to the workings of the primary, caucus, and nominating system are: Elaine C. Kamarck, *Primary Politics: Everything You Need to Know about How America Nominates Its Presidential Candidates*, second edition (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2015) and Barbara Norrander, *The Imperfect Primary: Oddities, Biases, and Strengths of U.S. Presidential Nomination Politics*, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2015).

On the history of the nominating convention, see James S. Chase, *Emergence of the Presidential Nominating Convention, 1789-1832* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1973); Herb Eaton, *Presidential Timber: A History of Nominating Conventions, 1868-1960* (London: Free Press, 1964); *National Party Conventions, 1831-1984* (Fourth edition, Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1987); Gary C. Byrne and Paul Marx, *The Great American Convention: A Political History of Presidential Elections* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1976); Stan M. Haynes, *The First American Political Conventions: Transforming Presidential Nominations, 1832-1872* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2012) and Haynes, *President-Making in the Gilded Age: The Nominating Conventions of 1876-1900* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2016). There are many book-length histories of particularly notable conventions, e.g., Robert K. Murray, *The 103<sup>rd</sup> Ballot: Democrats and the Disaster in Madison Square Garden* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). Geoffrey Cowan, *Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary* (New York: Norton, 2016), is the best new discussion of the primary system.

Most reporting on nominating conventions has appeared in newspapers and magazines. Some of that reporting has been collected and anthologized. The modern conventions of the convention-reporting genre were chiefly established by the reporting of Theodore White, *The Making of the President* (1960), Norman Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of*

*Chicago* (1968), and Hunter S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72* (1973). Readers interested in sampling an earlier style of convention reporting might try Murat Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860*, edited and with an introduction by William B. Hesseltine (1860; reprint ed., Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1960); the essays on the conventions in H. L. Mencken, *A Carnival of Buncombe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956); and William Allen White, *Politics: The Citizen's Business* (1924; New York: Arno Press, 1974).

Each era of reform has produced a body of literature that includes, among other things, legislative reports, party publications, and law review articles. Excellent insight into the 1968 reforms can be found in the official report of the Commission on the Democratic Selection of Presidential Nominees, *The Democratic Choice* (Washington, DC: Democratic National Committee, 1968) and in a critique by Alexander M. Bickel, *The New Age of Political Reform: The Electoral College, the Convention, and the Party System* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1968).

--Jill Lepore, June 27, 2016