1. Red Nightmare, Department of Defense, Directorate for Armed Forces Information and Education, Warner Brothers Studios, 1962, distributed by National Audiovisual Center, Capitol Heights, Maryland.


CHAPTER 1


4. The complexity of the origins of the Cold War has led to a long-standing historiographical debate on the subject. Historians who blame the Soviets for the conflict are referred to as traditionalists. See, for example, William H. McNeill, America, Britain and Russia: Their Co-operation and Conflict, 1941–1946 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953); Herbert Feis, Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953). Other historians, often referred to as revisionists, emphasize the U.S. role in the hostilities. See, for example, Walter La Feber, America, Russia and the Cold War 1945–1990, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991); Thomas J. McCormick, Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Gabriel Kolko and Joyce Kolko, The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy,
1945–1954 (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). In more recent years, a post-revisionist school has emerged. These historians recognize the role both sides played in the development of the Cold War but still cast the Soviets as the true bad guys. The best example of this type of scholarship is John Lewis Gaddis, We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). The opening of Eastern European and former Soviet archives has led to more interesting debates. Much of the new evidence directly contradicts the traditionalist view. See Ronn Pineo, “Recent Cold War Studies,” The History Teacher (November 2003): 79–86. For the Soviet side of the story, see Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).


15. See, for example, Lewis Mumford to editor, The New York Times, 28 March 1954, 10.


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36. See, for example, Meyerowitz, *Not June Cleaver*.

**Chapter 2**

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2. Camhi, Women against Women, 213.


8. Rymph, Republican Women, 125–130.


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15. Quotations are from these editions of the newsletter, in the order listed: “Why Clubs,” Texas Clubwoman 34, no. 3 (April 1958): 4; “Plan Your Course of Study,” Texas Clubwoman 27, no. 14 (March 1950): 5–7; Sara A. Whitehurst, “World Cooperation,” Texas Clubwoman 28, no. 30(1) (January 1952): 6–7; all in Texas Woman’s Collection, Texas Woman’s University, Denton, Texas [hereafter TWU Collection].

16. See, for example, Mrs. J. Howard Hodge, “This Is Our World,” keynote address, 13 May 1951, Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs Annual Convention, transcript in TWU Collection.

17. See newsletters of the Minute Women of the USA, Inc., Reel 76 M19, Right-Wing Collection, University of Iowa, Iowa City [hereafter Right-Wing Collection]. Quotations from January 1954, November 1952, and October–November 1953 editions. For general background, see Carleton, Red Scare, 111–125.

18. See, for example, The Minute Women of the USA, Inc., newsletters, June 1957 and March 1956.

19. The best source for information on Republican women in general and the source for most of the information in this paragraph is Rymph, Republican Women, especially chapters 3–5.

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22. Phyllis Schlafly to Henry Regnery, 29 April 1957 and 2 March 1957, in “Schlafly, Phyllis,” Box 67, Henry Regnery Papers, Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA [hereafter Regnery Papers].
23. See, for example, All American Conferences to Combat Communism, Freedom’s Facts 3, no. 5 (May 1955), Reel 56 F40, Right-Wing Collection.
24. See series of letters between Mrs. Arthur Peterson and Mrs. Kathryn Rave, 1960–1961, Mss. 40, American Association of University Women–Texas, the Woman’s Collection, Blagg-Huey Library, Texas Women’s University, Denton, TX.
27. All these newsletters are available through the Right-Wing Collection at the University of Iowa, Iowa City. The series is available on microfilm and is arranged alphabetically. Quotation from New Mexico Women Speak! 1, no. 1 (November 1955), Reel 86 N39, Right-Wing Collection.
28. Mrs. Clarence Uhl, The Farmer’s Voice 2, no. 2 (November 1958), Reel 48 F13; New Mexico Women Speak! (November and December 1955), Reel 86 N39; “We Are Dedicated To,” The Spirit (March 1964), Reel 8 A49; all in Right-Wing Collection.
30. Obviously, there could have been a number of other examples. Mary Mundt, wife of South Dakota senator Karl Mundt, had a reputation as a fervent anticommunist. Unfortunately, all of her papers were destroyed in a fire.


37. Their relationship is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

38. Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), 152–159, 417. Reeves based this biography on extensive interviews that he has donated to the Wisconsin State Historical Society. These interviews are extremely helpful to scholars, especially since some of the interviewees are deceased. See also, Jean Kerr to Wayne Hood, 30 November 1951, 3 December [1951]; Wayne Hood to Jean Kerr, 6 December 1951, all in Reel 7 microfilm, Wayne Hood Papers, WSHS [hereafter Hood Papers]; Jean Kerr to Tom Korb, 27 October 1951; Tom Korb to Jean Kerr, 29 October 1951, both in “Korb, Tom Papers,” Box 2, Reeves Files.


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43. Elizabeth Churchill Brown, draft of “Prologue,” n.d., Joe McCarthy and Other Anti-Communists, Fragments, 8.2, in Box 8, Speeches and Writings, ECB Papers.

44. Ibid.

45. There are no biographies of Doloris. Information about her early life has therefore been gathered from the public record and newspaper accounts. Most of the following information is from Irene Corbally Kuhn, “12 Senate Wives,” American Mercury (August 1955): 52–58. There is one biography of her husband, Styles. See James J. Kiepper, Styles Bridges: Yankee Senator (Sugar Hill, NH: Phoenix, 2001).


49. “Politics: Lady in the Race,” Time (19 January 1962): 22; Kuhn, “12 Senate Wives,” 54; American National Biography, 1999 ed., s.v. “Bridges, Styles,” by Gary Reichard. Reichard points out in this biography that Doloris was Bridges’s third wife. He married Ella Mae Johnston when he was young and quickly divorced her. They had one child. He then married Sally Clement, and they had two children. She died ten years after their marriage. During most of his political life, Bridges acknowledged his second wife but completely ignored his first. In fact, most people believed Sally Bridges was the mother of all three of his sons.


52. Doloris Bridges to Elizabeth Coleman, 31 July 1953; Doloris Bridges to Mrs. Howard Thompson Ball, 20 September 1954 (source of quotation); Doloris Bridges to Robert McCook, 23 October 1957, all in large envelope, “Doloris Speaking Engagements in Mid-’50s,” Box 6, DB Papers.

55. For Schlafly’s battles, see Rymph, “Neither Neutral nor Neutralized,” 504–505; Rymph, Republican Women, chapter 6.
57. Utley, The Dream We Lost, 120.
59. Utley, The Dream We Lost, 94–123, 218–275; Florinsky, “Background.”
60. Freda Utley, China at War (New York: John Day, 1939); Utley, Last Chance in China (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947); Utley, The China Story (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951); Utley, The High Cost of Vengeance (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1949); Utley, Will the Middle East Go West? (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1957); Utley, The Dream We Lost.
62. Ibid., 133.

CHAPTER 3

3. Extensive correspondence between Brown and Francesca Rhee is in Box 3, ECB Papers. Quotation from Francesca Rhee to ECB, 21 January 1960, in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1960 Jan–July,” Box 3, ECB Papers.

9. Ibid., 844.


12. Miles, *Odyssey*, 82.


15. Tananbaum’s *The Bricker Amendment* is the most complete study of the incident. For Eisenhower’s reactions, see Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, vol. 2, 68–70, 151–152, 154–155.


22. “Senator’s Wife Discusses Effect of Khrushchev Visit,” *Manchester Union Leader*, 15 October 1959, in “Clippings—esp. 1959,” File Drawer no. 4, DB Papers; Margaret Chase Smith, speech to Rumford Rotary-Lions Ladies noon meeting, 22 October 1951, in “Statements and Speeches,” vol. 8, Margaret Chase Smith Library [hereafter MCS Library], Skowhegan, ME.

24. Mrs. Philip Corson to Bud, 5 October 1955, _Alerted Americans_, Reel 13 A73, Right-Wing Collection.


26. Margaret Chase Smith, speech to Rumford Rotary-Lions Ladies noon meeting, 22 October 1951.

27. Women Investors Research Institute, Special Report no. 712, 2 December 1950, Reel 153 W52, Right-Wing Collection.


29. Elizabeth Churchill Brown to Francesca Rhee, 21 January 1958, in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1958,” and Brown to Rhee, 6 August 1959, in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1959, Aug–Dec.,” both in Box 3, ECB Papers.


36. Ibid., 84–130.
38. Freda Utley, *Japan’s Feet of Clay* (New York: Norton, 1937); Utley, *Japan’s Gamble in China* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938); Utley, *Japan Can Be Stopped!* (London: “News Chronicle” Publications Dept., 1937). The term “feet of clay” refers to Utley’s theory that Japan was bluffing during the war against China because it lacked solid economic footing. If the United States had imposed economic sanctions, Japan would have collapsed and been forced to end the war against the Chinese.
41. For a more general description of the acceptance of anticommunist theories during this period, see Powers, *Not without Honor*, 230–231.
45. Freda Utley to Albert C. Wedemeyer, 20 October 1957, in “Wedemeyer, Albert C.,” Box 13, Utley Papers. For more evidence of her financial struggles, see the correspondence between Utley and Wedemeyer concerning her work on his memoirs.
49. Ibid.
51. Ibid., xiv.
53. ECB to Henry Regnery, 20 August 1954, and Henry Regnery to ECB, 23 May 1955, both in “Brown, Constantine (Mrs.),” Box 10, Regnery Papers.
54. ECB to Alfred Kohlberg, 15 June 1955, in “Constantine Brown,” Box 20, Kohlberg Papers. She held on to some animosity; see ECB to Henry Regnery, 15 February 1957, in “Brown, Constantine (Mrs.),” Box 10, Regnery Papers; Lee Mortimer, column, *Daily Mirror*, 17 August 1955, attached to Richard Wels to William C. Lewis, 17 August 1955, in “Brown, Constantine,” Smith, Margaret Chase Correspondence, Margaret Chase Smith Papers, MCS Library, Skowhegan, ME [hereafter MCS Papers].
56. ECB to Alfred Kohlberg, 7 January 1957, in “Constantine Brown,” Box 20, Kohlberg Papers.
61. Donald T. Critchlow, “Conservatism Reconsidered: Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism,” in *The Conservative Sixties*, ed. David Farber and Jeff Roche (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 120–121; Catherine E. Rymph,
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63. Ibid., 119.
64. Phyllis Schlafly, A Choice Not an Echo (Alton, IL: Pere Marquette, 1964), 8–22, quotes on 8, 21.
65. Critchlow, Phyllis Schlafly, 125; Rymph, Republican Women, 175–176.
67. Critchlow, Phyllis Schlafly, 128.
69. Ibid., 21–42.
70. Freda Utley to Clare Boothe Luce, 21 June 1946, in “Luce, Clare Boothe,” Correspondence, Box 8, Utley Papers.
71. Rymph, Republican Women, 174.

CHAPTER 4


15. American Woman’s Party, “Open Letter”; Elizabeth Churchill Brown to Francesca Rhee, 28 June 1959, in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1959, May–August.” Rhee and Brown discussed their frustration with male leaders on numerous occasions. See also, Elizabeth Churchill Brown to Francesca Rhee, 9 November 1963, in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1963–1966,” Box 3, ECB Papers.


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20. Ibid, 100.


28. For examples, see ECB to Everett Dirksen, 4 September 1951, in “Brown (Mrs. Constantine),” Box 28, Wedemeyer Papers; ECB to Roy Howard, 14 September 1959, in “Howard, Roy W., 1950–1959,” Box 2; correspondence between ECB and Barry Goldwater, 1963, Box 2; both in ECB Papers.

29. ECB to Roy Howard, 14 September 1959, in “Howard, Roy W., 1950–1959,” Box 2, ECB Papers; ECB to Everett Dirksen, 4 September 1951, in “Brown (Mrs. Constantine),” Box 28, Wedemeyer Papers; correspondence between ECB and Barry Goldwater, 1963, Box 2, ECB Papers. For her correspondence with Butler, see ECB to John Marshall Butler, 12 November 1951, and John Marshall Butler to ECB, 18 December 1951, both in “Communism, Anti-Communism,” McCarthy, Joseph, Correspondence, 1951–1952, Box 17, ECB Papers. She also described the exchange in the draft of her book Joe
McCarthy and Other Anti-Communists, “Draft #2 Chap. 4,” 43–44, Box 10, ECB Papers.

30. ECB to Henry Regnery, 18 January 1964, in “Brown, Constantine (Mrs.),” Box 10, Regnery Papers; correspondence between ECB and Barry Goldwater, 1963, Box 2; correspondence between ECB and Roy Howard, in “Howard, Roy W., 1950–1959,” Box 2, both in ECB Papers.


32. “A Number of Readers . . .” notice, Human Events, 3 February 1958, 6; ECB to Francesca Rhee, 21 January, 5 March, and 11 February 1958 (dates match order of quotes in text), in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1958,” Box 3, ECB Papers.

33. Smith, “No Place for a Woman?” 50; Dorothy B. Frankton to “Minute Women,” The Minute Women of the USA, Inc., newsletter, December 1952, Reel 76 M19; American Woman’s Party, “MEN . . . Let us call to your attention . . . THESE FACTS,” n.d., Reel 13 A100, both in Right-Wing Collection.


37. Freeman, A Room at a Time, 22–24, quote on 23.


40. Ibid., 73–89. For information on women following their husbands into office, see Karen Foerstel and Herbert N. Foerstel, Climbing the Hill: Gender Conflict in Congress (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 1–2.

41. ECB, “Mrs. Smith Comes to Washington,” The American Mercury, 1953, 73–76, MCS Scrapbook 129, no. 194, MCS Library; Sherman, No Place for a
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Woman, 97–98. The controversy surrounding the Declaration of Conscience is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

43. Ibid., 19.
52. The Minute Women of the USA, Inc., newsletter, December 1952, Reel 76 M19, Right-Wing Collection.
54. Ibid., November 1947.
55. See all issues of The Farmer’s Voice, particularly vol. II, no. 2, November 1958, Reel 48 F13, Right-Wing Collection.


63. Ibid., 179–223.


68. “Mrs. Knowles Is Jailed 120 Days.” For a version of the detachable letter, see Corson, “The Gist of the Jeanes Library Controversary [sic].”


71. See various letters and speeches, Anne Smart, June–September 1954, Reel 127 S65, Right-Wing Collection. For a more straightforward account, see
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73. Anne Smart letter, 18 May 1956, printed in Mrs. Clarence Uhl, The Farmer’s Voice II, no. 10 (December 1959), Reel 48 F13, Right-Wing Collection.


CHAPTER 5


10. Ibid., 524–526.


14. Francesca Rhee to Elizabeth Churchill Brown, 23 April 1959, in “Rhee, Syngman and Francesca, Correspondence with the Browns, 1959, Jan.–April,” Box 3, ECB Papers; “Communists to Women,” The Spirit, November 1964, Reel 8, A49; “Minute Women Hear Princess,” The Minute Women of the USA, Inc., newsletter, June 1957, Reel 76 M19; The Minute Women of the USA, Inc., newsletter, November-December 1960, Reel 76 M19, all in Right-Wing Collection.

15. All American Conferences to Combat Communism, Freedom’s Facts 3, no. 5 (May 1955), Reel 56 F40, Right-Wing Collection.

16. BPW quoted in ibid.; also see May, Homeward Bound, 19.


18. All American Conferences to Combat Communism, Freedom’s Facts 3, no. 5 (May 1955), Reel 56 F40, Right-Wing Collection.


24. Background on Muriel Draper (1886–1952), in “Finding Aid,” Muriel Draper Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT; available on-line at [http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xm12html/beinecke.DRAPER.con.html](http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xm12html/beinecke.DRAPER.con.html); accessed January 3, 2005.


26. McCarthy, speech to the American Legion, 18 September 1950.


31. McCarthy, speech to the Young Republican State Convention, 7 May 1950; McCarthy, speech to the American Legion, 18 September 1950.


36. Oshinsky, *Conspiracy*, 311. Thomas Reeves did a significant number of interviews for his book on McCarthy. Those interviews are available in the Reeves Files, WSHS.

37. Ed Nellor, interview by Thomas Reeves, 1 January 1980, in “McCarthy Interviews III”; Francis A. Werner, interview by Thomas Reeves, 18 August

38. While grieving his death, Jean vowed to continue her crusade as primary repository of information about McCarthy. As his widow, Jean claimed to be the only person who really understood Joe and what he stood for. She made certain that people knew she was the rightful source of knowledge about her husband. See, for example, Jean McCarthy to Lyndon Johnson, 3 June 1957, in “[McCarthy, Joseph R.],” Box 48, Lyndon Baines Johnson Congressional File, LBJ Library; “Huge Sorting Task Faces Mrs. McCarthy,” Appleton *Post-Crescent*, 16 August 1957, in “July 1955–1957 + Beyond,” Box 4, Reeves Files. Despite Jean’s marriage to Democrat Joe Minetti, in 1961, she continued to try to control Joe’s memory and reputation. She promised to send Joe’s papers to Marquette University but then held on to them. See Jean Minetti to Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., 14 June 1972, in “Administrative Files for the Joseph R. McCarthy Papers,” McCarthy Papers, Marquette. She expressed her anger when derogatory images of Joe appeared in the media by writing letters to the editors of major newspapers and venting to fellow conservatives. See “McCarthy’s Widow Denounces TV Show,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, 13 February 1977, in “McCarthy Interviews I,” Box 1, Reeves Files.

39. For evidence of her willingness to give Joe the credit for her work, see Jean Kerr to Wayne Hood, 30 November 1951, 3 December [1951]; Wayne Hood to Jean Kerr, 6 December 1951, all in Reel 7 microfilm, Hood Papers; Jean Kerr to Tom Korb, 27 October 1951; Tom Korb to Jean Kerr, 29 October 1951, both in “Korb, Tom Papers,” Box 2, Reeves Papers; Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), 417; Thomas Korb, 6 September 1975, in “McCarthy Interviews I”; Ed Nellor, 7 May 1977, in “McCarthy Interviews III”; Jean McCarthy Minetti, 14 March 1977, in “McCarthy Interviews I,” all in Reeves Interviews, Box 1, Reeves Files.


44. Ibid., 1103–1128.
46. Ibid., 428–495.
47. See, for example, ibid., 156, 476, 773.
48. Ibid., 737–739.
49. Ibid., 1121–1125.
52. *Maryland Hearings*, 695.
53. Ibid., 192, 195.
54. Quoted in Reeves, *Life and Times*, 365.
55. Margaret Chase Smith to Robert E. Wood, 23 June 1950, in “Out-of-State Reactions 3 of 4”; quote to constituent from MCS to Prescott Dennett, 8 March 1950, in “Correspondence 3 of 10,” both in MCS Library.
56. MCS to Elzada Frost, 10 August 1950, in “Correspondence 5 of 10,” Communism Folders. For explanations of her anticommunism bill, see MCS to Mrs. Elif A. Johnson, 1 October 1954, in “Anti-Communist Propaganda 1 of 2”; [William Lewis?], memo, 18 August 1953, in “Bill to Outlaw the Communist Party 1 of 3”; MCS, “Washington and You” [1953], in “Anti-Communist Propaganda 1 of 2,” all in MCS Library.
59. MCS to Wood (source of the quote); MCS to Frost, MCS Library.
61. All quotations from the Declaration of Conscience speech are from the MCS Library Web site: [http://www.mcslibrary.org/program/library/declaration.htm](http://www.mcslibrary.org/program/library/declaration.htm); accessed February 15, 2005.
63. Ibid., 117–120.


68. Viola M. Blumenstock to MCS, 30 January 1951, in “Out of State Support for McCarthy,” McCarthy, Joseph Raymond Correspondence, McCarthy File; Clara Aiken Speer to MCS, 8 June 1950, in “Out-Of-State Reactions 2 of 4,” both in MCS Library.


72. Elizabeth Z. Cushing to MCS, 6 June 1950, in “Out-of-State Reactions 4 of 4”; Will Beale to MCS, 2 June 1950; Roland McDonald to MCS, 1 June 1950, both in “Maine Reactions 13 of 13,” all in MCS Library.


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78. Ibid.; Loeb, “Mrs. Bridges Was Oh, So Right!”

CONCLUSION


