

Unabridged Notes for *Vote Gun*

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As noted on page 319, the amount of research material accumulated for *Vote Gun* was voluminous. To meet standard print publishing guidelines, Columbia University Press cut the print notes to just under 65,000 words. Below you will find the original unabridged notes, which totals more than 165,000 words.

Please know that any spelling, formatting, or note assignment errors are the fault of the author and unintentional. If any errors are spotted, please do notify the author so that he may correct them.

The notes are listed below sequentially by page number and align with how the chapters were originally cited.

Introduction Notes

1	<i>C.B. Lister in 1924</i> : C.B. Lister, “The Remedy,” <i>Du Pont Magazine</i> , March 1924, pp. 10, 11.
1	<i>gun rights advocates</i> : “All Together Fellows! Pull!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1, 1926, p. 21.
1	<i>urban non-white female</i> : See, e.g., Kim Parker et al, “America’s Complex Relationship with Guns,” <i>Pew Research Center</i> , June 22, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2017/06/22/americas-complex-relationship-with-guns/ ; Nate Silver, “Party Identity in a Gun Cabinet,” <i>New York Times</i> , December 18, 2012, https://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/18/in-gun-ownership-statistics-partisan-divide-is-sharp/ .
2	<i>conservatism and the Republican Party</i> : See “The Parties on the Eve of the 2016 Election: Two Coalitions, Moving Further Apart,” <i>Pew Research Center</i> , September 13, 2016, https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2016/09/13/the-parties-on-the-eve-of-the-2016-election-two-coalitions-moving-further-apart/ ; “A Deep Dive into Party Affiliation: Sharp Differences by Race, Gender, Generation, Education,” <i>Pew Research Center</i> , April 7, 2015, https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2015/04/07/a-deep-dive-into-party-affiliation/ ; Frank Newport, “Democrats Racially Diverse; Republicans Mostly White,” <i>Gallup Poll</i> , February 8, 2013, https://news.gallup.com/poll/160373/democrats-racially-diverse-republicans-mostly-white.aspx .
2	<i>liberal and Democrat</i> : Gun Policy Remains Divisive, But Several Proposals Still Draw Bipartisan Support,” <i>Pew Research Center</i> , October 18, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2018/10/18/gun-policy-remains-divisive-but-several-proposals-still-draw-bipartisan-support/ .
2	<i>liberals and the Democratic Party</i> : See, e.g., Nicole Chavez et al, “An All-Black Group is Arming Itself and Demanding Change. They Are the NFAC,” <i>CNN</i> , October 25, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/25/us/nfac-black-armed-group/index.html ;

	Benjamin Fearnow, “Armed Black Militia Challenges White Nationalists at Georgia’s Stone Mountain Park,” <i>Newsweek</i> , July 5, 2020, https://www.newsweek.com/armed-black-demonstrators-challenge-white-supremacist-militia-georgias-stone-mountain-park-1515494 .
2	<i>gun control than on gun rights</i> : See “Public Views about Guns,” <i>Pew Research Center</i> , June 22, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2017/06/22/views-on-gun-policy/ .
2	<i>bit more individualistic</i> : For more on this geographic distinction and its causes, see Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 122-65; Eric M. Ruben and Saul Cornell, “Firearm Regionalism and Public Carry: Placing Southern Antebellum Case Law in Context,” <i>Yale Law Journal Forum</i> 125 (2015): 121, 124-28.
3	<i>in those areas</i> : For more on firearms localism, see Joseph Blocher, “Firearms Localism,” <i>Yale Law Journal</i> 123 (2013): 82-146. See also Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 161-69.
3	<i>endorsed the concept</i> : See M.A. McCullough, “Conference’s Anti-Firearm Law Derided,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , December 1930, p. 71; “A National Sullivan Law,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , March 1921, p. 8; “The Sullivan Pistol Act,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , February 1912, pp. 991-92; “The Sullivan Law,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , January 1912, p. 886.
3	<i>approach to firearms regulation</i> : Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 179-90.
3	<i>commission of a crime</i> : See United States Revolver Association, “The Case Against the Anti-Revolver Law,” in <i>Hearings Before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives on the Proposed Revenue Act of 1918, Part II</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 1190-94; “The Effects of Revolver Legislation upon Hardware Dealers,” <i>American Artisan and Hardware Record</i> , May 25, 1912, p. 30; “The US Revolver Association to Take Hand in Law Making,” <i>Miami Herald</i> , March 20, 1912, p. 9. See also “Fight the Anti-Firearm Law,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , February 2, 1918, pp. 368-69.
3	<i>should go armed</i> : See <i>Handbook of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting</i> (Philadelphia, PA: n.p., 1924), p. 714; “Anti-Pistol Legislation and Its Tendencies: A Bullet-Proof Revolver Law,” <i>The Hardware Reporter</i> , March 21, 1913, p. 59. See also “A National Gun Law,” <i>Parsons Daily Sun</i> (KS), July 17, 1912, p. 6; “Effective Law Offered against Toting of Guns,” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), May 15, 1912, p. 3; “Sane Revolver Law,” <i>Reading Times</i> (PA), May 14, 1912, p. 4; “Calls on States for Better Laws,” <i>Tulsa Daily World</i> (OK), May 13, 1912, p. 16; “New ‘Revolver Law’ Campaign Started,” <i>Inter Ocean</i> (Chicago, IL), May 12, 1912, p. 12; “For a Nation-Wide ‘Bullet-Proof’ Revolver Law,” <i>Evening News</i> (Ada, OK), March 21, 1912, p. 4; “Why Should They Want To,” <i>Lead Daily Call</i> (SD), March 20, 1912, p. 3; “For a Nationwide Pistol Toting Law,” <i>Bluefield Daily Telegraph</i> (WV), March 20, 1912, p. 6; “The US Revolver Association to Take Hand in Law Making,” <i>Miami Herald</i> , March 20, 1912, p. 9; “May Take Shot at Country’s Pistol Laws,” <i>Oakland</i>

	<i>Tribune</i> (CA), March 19, 1912, p. 8; “Revolver Association to Combat Legislation,” <i>Boston Morning Journal</i> , March 19, 1912, p. 8.
4	<i>alternative to outright prohibition</i> : This compromise developed in the mid-to-late nineteenth century and subsequently “may issue” armed carriage laws expanded across the United States. See Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 158-61. For some examples of mid to late nineteenth century “may issue” armed carriage licensing laws, see Elliott F. Shepard and Ebenezer B. Shafer, ed., <i>Ordinances of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York, in Force January 1, 1881</i> (New York: M. B. Brown, 1881), 214–15; <i>Laws and Ordinances for the Government of the City of Wheeling, West Virginia</i> (Wheeling, WA: Wheeling, W. Va. Printing, 1891), 206; Charles H. Hamilton, ed., <i>The General Ordinances of the City of Milwaukee to January 1, 1896: With Amendments Thereto and an Appendix</i> (Milwaukee, WI: E. Keogh, 1896), 692–93; Eugene McQuillin, ed., <i>The Municipal Code of St. Louis</i> (St. Louis: Woodward, 1901), 73; Joseph Lippman, ed., <i>The Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City, Utah</i> (Salt Lake City: Tribune Jon Print, 1893), 283; Gardiner Lathrop and James Gibson, ed., <i>An Ordinance in the Revision of the Ordinances Governing the City of Kansas</i> (Kansas City, MO: Isaac P. Moore’s Book and Job, 1880), 264; “Offenses and Punishments: Ordinance No. 401,” <i>Concordia Blade</i> (KS), December 20, 1889, p. 7; <i>Charter and Ordinances of the City of Stockton</i> (Stockton, CA: Stockton Mail Printers and Bookbinders, 1908), 240; Champion S. Chase, ed., <i>Compiled Ordinances of the City of Omaha</i> (Omaha: Gibson, Miller and Richardson, 1881), 70; Rose M. Denny, ed., <i>The Municipal Code of the City of Spokane, Washington</i> (Spokane, WA: W. D. Knight, 1896), 310. For the constitutionality of “may issue” armed carriage laws in the late nineteenth century, see “Concealed Weapons: Judge Brannon’s Decision on this Subject,” <i>Wheeling Register</i> (WV), October 15, 1883, p. 1; Henry Brannon, <i>A Treatise on the Rights and Privileges Guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States</i> (Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson, 1901), 92, 290.
4	<i>publicly armed should do so</i> : See, e.g., H. C. Ridgely, “Why Not Carry Firearms?” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , December 1926, pp. 464, 465; “Where the Sullivan Law Fails,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), January 8, 1925, p. 6; “A Congressional Firearms Inquiry,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 15, 1924, p. 11; “The Talk of the Day,” <i>New-York Tribune</i> , July 29, 1912, p. 6. See also Calvin Goddard, “The Pistol Bogey,” <i>American Journal of Police Science</i> 1, no. 2 (March-April 1930): 178, 186-87; William P. Eno, “Arms for the Public: Permits Should Be Issued to Keep and Carry Weapons,” <i>New York Times</i> , November 3, 1931, p. 23; C.A. Richmond, “The Revolver’s Alibi,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , January 1923, p. 34.
4	<i>movement in the late 1920s</i> : See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>The American Rifleman’s Organization</i> (Washington, DC: 1927), p. 3 (“The National Rifle Association Recognizes the fact that in some localities and under some circumstances some kind of control over the sale and use of firearms is justified.”).
4	<i>limited in scope</i> : See, e.g., Remarks of Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association of America, Before the Annual Meeting of the National Society of State Legislatures, Chicago, Illinois, July 27, 1967, Harold W. Glassen Papers, box 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library)

	(hereinafter Glassen Papers); “Existing Federal Gun Controls,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1966, p. 16; National Rifle Association, <i>Basic Facts of Firearms Control</i> (Washington, DC: 1965); J. Basil, Jr. and Daniel J. Mountin, “Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, pp. 30-31; Judge Bartlett Rummel, “To Have and Bear Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1964, p. 41; “Basic Facts of Firearms Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1964, p. 14; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 4; <i>To Regulate Commerce of Firearms: Hearing Before the Committee on Commerce United States Senate</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1935), 84-104 (testimony of NRA president Karl T. Frederick).
4	<i>civil rights legislation: See, e.g.</i> , Roman L. Hruska, Press Release, [undated 1967], Roman L. Hruska Papers, box 39, folder 98 (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society) (hereinafter Hruska Papers); Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Sterling R. Bossard, October 5, 1965, Wallace F. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966 (Salt Lake City, UT: J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections) (hereinafter W. Bennett Papers); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , December 1964, p. 4 (California senator Thomas H. Kuchel). <i>See also</i> Statement of Paul J. Fannin before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, May 24, 1965, Paul J. Fannin Papers, box 27, folder 14, Firearms Legislation 1965 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University) (hereinafter Fannin Papers).
4	<i>1968 presidential campaign: Richard M. Nixon, Disarming the Criminal Class</i> (July 9, 1968), in Hubert H. Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Humphrey Papers); Statement of Richard M. Nixon, June 17, 1968, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum) (hereinafter Nixon Presidential Papers).
4	<i>and the Republican Party: Charles, Armed in America</i> , pp. 296-305; Barry M. Goldwater, Speech Before the 100th Anniversary Banquet of the National Rifle Association, April 7, 1971, Barry M. Goldwater Papers, Series 6, box 58, folder 36, Remarks Before 100th Anniversary Banquet of the NRA (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University) (hereinafter Goldwater Papers); Harlon B. Carter, “Religion and the Armed Citizen,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1971, pp. 32-33, 68. <i>See also</i> “National Assn. to Keep and Bear Arms: What and Why?” <i>Daily Courier</i> (Grant Pass, OR), May 22, 1971, p. 7 (describing the ideal political candidate as “a conservative, definitely” and “on record...believing in the Constitution...in God and country.”).
4	<i>to other constitutional rights: See, e.g.</i> , Wayne LaPierre, “America’s First Freedom,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1997, p. 8 (“I say that the Second Amendment is, in order of importance, the first amendment. It is America’s First Freedom, the one right that protects all the others. Among freedom of speech, of the press, of religion, of assembly, of redress of grievances, it is the first among equals. The right to keep and bear arms is the one right that allows ‘rights’ to exist at all.”); “Freedom!” <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , January 1971, p. 1 (“The freedom of the American People, the freedom of choice in your every day life lies in your ability to ensure that neither the State nor

	Federal government over steps the restrictions placed upon it by the United States Constitution and the ability to ensure that our God-given rights as restated in the Bill of Rights never be infringed. And fellow Americans this ability lies in the Second Amendment and in the Second Amendment alone!!”).
4	<i>protection across the United States</i> : The concept of gun rights nationalism ultimately gave rise to the 1986 Firearms Owners Protection Act, as well as the spread of model firearms preemption and “shall issue” armed carriage laws among the states. Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 306-8. Today, the concept of gun rights nationalism seeks to expand armed carriage through what is known as concealed carry reciprocity legislation. See William J. Krouse, <i>Gun Control: Concealed Carry Legislation in the 115th Congress</i> (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, January 30, 2018); Angela Stroud, <i>Good Guys with Guns: The Appeal and Consequences of Concealed Carry</i> (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Vivian S. Chu, <i>Federal Firearms Laws and Legislation on Carrying Concealed Firearms: An Overview</i> (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, November 22, 2011).

Chapter 1 Notes

6	<i>more than 282,000 votes</i> : <i>Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election of November 5, 1968</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 38-40.
6	<i>Clark lost his Senate seat</i> : In 1968, Schweiker was the only Republican voted into statewide office in all of Pennsylvania. See Ingrid Jewell, “Schweiker Carries County, Rural Areas: Maverick Ways Fatal in Clark’s Third Try,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , November 7, 1968, p. 12; “Democrats Control Most of State,” <i>Mercury</i> (Pottstown, PA), November 7, 1968, p. 1.
6	<i>even within the Democratic Party</i> : Clark did not shy away from criticizing his fellow members of Congress. See Joseph S. Clark, <i>Congress: The Sapless Branch</i> (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); Joseph S. Clark, <i>The Senate Establishment</i> (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1963).
7	<i>patriarch, Lyndon B. Johnson</i> : George R. Clark, “Joseph Sill Clark,” <i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i> , vol. 135, no. 1 (1991): 92, 95-96.
7	<i>boasting about this fact</i> : “Clark-Schweiker Contest One of the Most Important,” <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), November 5, 1968, p. 2; “Clark Deserving of Third Term,” <i>Simpson’s Leader-Times</i> (Kittanning, PA), October 31, 1968, p. 24 (making the argument that Clark was so wealthy and well-educated that he could have financially “settled down,” but decided to work for the people by going into politics); James Helbert, “Clark v. Schweiker: A Cliff-Hanger,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 22, 1968, p. 22 (“Sen. Clark is not a free-and-easy, rough-and-ready campaigner. Some Democrats believe these characteristics are necessary to convince the common fold that he is one of them.”).
7	<i>working middle-class</i> : Lee Linder, “Cliffhanger Predicted in Clark-Schweiker Race,” <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), October 15, 1968, p. 5.

7	<i>solve the problems of the '70s</i> : “Clark and Schweiker Tangle in TV Debate,” <i>Evening Standard</i> (Uniontown, PA), July 3, 1968, p. 17; Ingrid Jewell, “Dent Would Have Been Tougher He Says: Clark’s Win Pleases Schweiker,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , April 25, 1968, p. 4.
7	<i>support for firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Bonnie L. Cook, “Richard S. Schweiker, 1922-2015,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , August 4, 2015, A1, A5; Katherine Seelye, “Pa.’s Potent Gun Lobby Is Up in Arms Over Dukakis,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , October 5, 1988, p. A1, A8; Thomas Ferrick, Jr., “Edgar Facing Hunters’ Ire Over Gun Control,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , September 15, 1986, pp. B1, B8.
7	<i>believe in American freedoms</i> : Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), November 13, 1968, p. 6.
7	<i>part of their campaign</i> : Ibid.
7	<i>hunters in Pennsylvania</i> : Jerry Quincy, “Gun Power,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 29, 1969, p. 16.
7	<i>became the norm</i> : See, e.g., William Ringle, “Gun Lobby Favored to Win Senate Round,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), September 25, 1969, p. 3 (“The wrath of hunters and target shooters is considered largely responsible for [Clark’s] defeat.”); Jerome S. Cahill, “Sportsmen’s Votes in Senate Election,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 27, 1969, p. 30 (“A new study of the U.S. Senate race in [Pennsylvania] last year not only confirms the existence of a potent sportsmen’s vote but strongly suggests that any office seeker who ignores it does so at his own peril.”).
8	<i>albeit in a limited capacity</i> : The issue of firearms controls was raised during the 1966 reelection campaigns of Montana representative James F. Battin and New Jersey senator Clifford P. Case. However, the issue was not very prevalent given that both Battin and Case had already voiced opposition to restrictive firearms controls. For supporting documentation, see “Sportsmen Are Opposed to Wilentz Over Gun Law,” <i>Central New Jersey Home News</i> (New Brunswick, NJ), October 25, 1966, p. 30; “Sportsmen Recommend Vote Against Wilentz,” <i>Daily Journal</i> (Vineland, NJ), October 26, 1966, p. 5; “Montana Lawmakers Reply on Firearms Legislation,” <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT), September 2, 1966, p. 4 (includes letter by Montana representative James F. Battin); “Melcher Offers Alternative to Legislation Against Guns,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), August 29, 1966, p. 12.
8	<i>party affiliation</i> : See Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 296. These efforts go back as early as the 1930s. See, e.g., “Why Gun Laws?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1933, p. 4 (“Why do we have gun laws? We have them, not <i>in spite of</i> the sportsman, but <i>because of</i> the sportsman. Because the sportsman marks his ballot blindly or not at all; because he has never taken the trouble to get acquainted with the men who represent him on law-making bodies”); “How Will They Vote?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1932, p. 6 (“The time to ask your candidates what they will do...before they are elected, and to cast your vote accordingly...It is up to the sportsmen of America to make their wants known in no unmistakable terms, and to prove to candidates and office holders alike that there are

	<p>more red-blooded, clear-thinking Americans than there are weak-kneed, muddle-headed reformers, even though the latter type may occasionally command more space in the public press. If there is elected for sheriff, governor, Representative, Senator or President a man who is opposed to the interests of the sportsmen, and if he is elected with the aid of the votes of those sportsmen, these latter surely have no one to blame for the situation but themselves.”); “High Hats and Riding Breeches,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1932, p. 4 (“The sportsmen of this country this year should go to the polls with the individual records of the candidates for all offices clearly before them, and if the welfare of the sportsmen is to be considered by those who will go into office during the next few months, the sportsman himself, as a voter and campaigner among his friend who are voters, must consider the problems of the sportsman along with those other problems which normally cause him to vote for one candidate or another.”); “Hysteria in High Places,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1932, p. 4 (“It is the American shooter who had always bore the brunt on the field of battle in fighting with bullets for the principles of Americanism. It is time for him against to take the offensive in a bloodless battle of ballots with his own politicians for the upholding of these same principles of representative government.”). <i>See also</i> Bill Kaczor, “On the Sidelines: Pistol Packing Politics,” <i>Journal Gazette</i> (Mattoon, IL), November 3, 1966, p. 7 (urging sportsmen and hunters to vote against the “bad guy” firearms control supporting lawmakers and vote for the “good guy” firearms control opposing lawmakers); C.B. Lister, “Beware Wing and Mirage,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1944, p. 5 (“Your ballot is a bullet fired in the battle for American constitutional government.”); C.B. Lister, “Dear Mr. Congressman,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1943, p. 7; C.B. Lister, “When in the Course...of Human Events...,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1942, pp. 6-7; “Politics and Propaganda,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1940, p. 4; “The Campaigns Get Under Way,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1936, p. 2; C.B. Lister, “Firearms Laws in the 73d Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1934, pp. 5, 17-18; “Quiet Efficiency,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1933, p. 6; “Tyros on the Hill,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1932, p. 6.</p>
9	<p><i>political lightning rod</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 194-230.</p>
9	<p><i>defeat its passage</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, Hal H. Harrison, “Life Afield: Sportsmen Do Not Want Free Licenses,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, March 31, 1959, p. 18; Johnny Mock, “All Outdoors,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, January 20, 1952, p. 42; “Pending Legislation Affecting Sportsmen Called ‘Screwball’,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), March 22, 1951, p. 8; Johnny Mock, “All Outdoors: Firearms Legislation to Require Registration of Firearms Sought,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, December 22, 1946, p. 21; Michael Seaman, “Sportsmen Oppose Firearms Bill,” <i>Harrisburg Telegraph</i> (PA), March 15, 1941, p. 17; “Sportsmen Oppose Attempt to Hamper Firearms Use,” <i>Daily Courier</i> (Connellsville, PA), February 17, 1941, p. 7; “Listing of Arms Is Opposed By State Sportsmen,” <i>Evening News</i> (Harrisburg, PA), February 13, 1941, p. 5; John G. Mock, “Firearms Measure Same Old Tune,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, January 19, 1941, section 3, p. 10; Boynton and Coal Run and Gun Club of Boynton, “Sportsmen Issue Warning!” <i>Republic</i> (Meyersdale, PA), May 4, 1939, p. 8; John G. Mock, “Solution for ‘Gun-Toting’ Is Law Enforcement,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, April 26, 1936, p. S2.</p>

9	<i>how to use a firearm</i> : Jim Varner, “Sportsmen, Help Crush Anti-Firearms Propaganda,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , July 1963, pp. 61, 64.
9	<i>un-American groups</i> : Ibid., p. 61.
9	<i>in every way</i> : Ibid.
10	<i>be applied to others</i> : Ibid., p. 64.
10	<i>attention to the practice</i> : Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 234-40.
10	<i>state and local assemblies</i> : Ibid., pp. 236-40, 245-46.
10	<i>politically fight back</i> : Ibid., pp. 231-36.
10	<i>from 1931 to 1933</i> : Ibid., pp. 195, 197.
10	<i>dismay of gun rights community</i> : For some examples of sportsmen, hunters, and gun owners writing in opposition to Philadelphia’s law, see Jerry Kenney, “Fishing and Hunting,” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), April 26, 1965, p. C27; Thomas Wolfgang, “Gun Laws Seen as Threat to Our National Security,” <i>Republican and Herald</i> (Pottsville, PA), March 27, 1965, p. 8; Thomas Wolfgang, “Gordon Man Presents Views on Controversial Gun Laws,” <i>Republican and Herald</i> (Pottsville, PA), March 26, 1965, p. 14. <i>See also</i> “Why Philadelphia’s ‘Wonder Law’ On Guns Doesn’t Work,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, pp. 24-27; “The Gun Law’s Deadly Recoil,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , November 1965, pp. 11-14; Charles H. Nehf, “Sportsmen Must Bypass Philadelphia,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , July 1965, pp. 7-8; “Shooters Warned on Philadelphia Law,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , June 1965, p. 43.
12	<i>in the Philadelphia area</i> : Television Interview Transcript, June 1965, Raymond P. Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Control Law 1965-68 (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania State Archives) (hereinafter Shafer Papers).
12	<i>interviewed on the matter</i> : Memorandum from Robert McCormick to Raymond P. Shafer, September 22, 1965, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Control Law 1965-68.
12	<i>firearms control related questions</i> : Ibid.
12	<i>win the governorship</i> : “Staisey Expects Greatest Year in Conservation,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 16, 1966, section 1, p. 20; “Sportsmen Split Ticket: Shafer-Staisey,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 2, 1966, section 2, p. 5. For Shafer’s official 1966 position, see “Anti-gun Laws Tie Hunters, Criminals, Opponents Say,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> , March 31, 1967, p. 13 (quoting a 1966 letter from Shafer to <i>Outdoor People of Pennsylvania</i> , where Shafer wrote, “As a former chief law enforcement officer of Crawford, County, I am convinced that legislating against the weapon will never prevent crimes of violence. While it is true that some sort of Federal legislation banning indiscriminate mail-order sales of firearms to known criminals, minors and the mentally disturbed may be necessary, such legislation to engage in one of the most enjoyable sports (hunting, and target shooting)—a sport, incidentally, in which Pennsylvania also leads the rest of the Nation.”).

12	<i>denouncing all firearms controls</i> : Unsigned Memorandum to Robert McCormick, [March] 1967, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Control Law 1965-68.
12	<i>with real guts in it</i> : Ibid.
12	<i>double meaning, etc.</i> : Ibid.
12	<i>PFSC in Harrisburg</i> : “Shafer Urges Strong Support for \$500 Million Bond Issue,” <i>Oil City Derrick</i> (PA), March 20, 1967, p. 9.
12	<i>Philadelphia’s firearms registration ordinance</i> : “Shafer Opposes Gun Restrictions, Sportsmen Told,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), March 22, 1967, p. 28.
12	<i>pledged to veto it</i> : “Gun Law Discussed at Stoystown Meeting,” <i>Somerset Daily American</i> (PA), April 7, 1967, p. 8.
13	<i>lawful users of guns in Pennsylvania, stated Shafer</i> : “Shafer Against Firearms’ Ban on Sportsmen,” <i>Republican and Herald</i> (Pottsville, PA), March 22, 1967, p. 1. <i>See also</i> “Transcript: Conversation with the Governor,” February 27, 1967, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Control Law 1965-68 (“my general feeling has been in line with what our sportsmen believe; namely, that we shouldn’t have undue local restrictions made—that there should be some Federal regulation, for example, of mail order sales of guns, and things like that. But the idea of registering every weapon used by our sportsmen in their recreational activities, to me, goes much too far, and I am wholeheartedly in favor of the recommendations made by our Pennsylvania sportsmen in this regard.”); Letter from Raymond P. Shafer to Joseph J. Kulha, February 3, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 2, Firearms Control (“Thank you for your letter protesting against legislation that would prohibit law-abiding citizens from obtaining firearms...I agree with you that the sportsmen and others should not be penalized because of a criminal minority.”).
13	<i>praise of the Pennsylvania gun rights community</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from Alan S. Krug, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Club legislative director, to Raymond P. Shafer, March 2, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control (“The Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association would like to express its gratitude for the stand you have taken on the subject of firearms legislation and for the support you are giving the sportsmen of this Commonwealth. We are well aware of the courage and conviction necessary for a person in your high office to face the issue before the general public as you did recently in Pittsburgh. Please be assured that we shall not forget what a friend we have in you. We are proud to have you lead our state.”).
13	<i>into a frenzy</i> : Patrick Boyle, “Shafer Seeks Tough State Gun Law,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , March 12, 1967, section 1, p. 28; Saul Kohler, “Shafer Backing Stronger Law to Control Guns,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 12, 1967, section 2, p. 1.
13	<i>low-down proposals</i> : Letter from Leonard A. Green, Pennsylvania Federal of Sportsmen’s Clubs vice president, to Raymond P. Shafer, March 13, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control.

13	<i>unforgiveable blow</i> : Telegram from Leonard A. Green, Pennsylvania Federal of Sportsmen’s Clubs vice president, to Raymond P. Shafer, March 12, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control.
13	<i>shock and dismay</i> : Letter from Alan S. Krug, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Club legislative director, to William C. Sennett, March 13, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control; Letter from James N. Spicer, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Club legislative director, to William C. Sennett, March 14, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control (“Pennsylvania’s sportsmen are more numerous and better organized than in New Jersey and we will not permit this type of law to be forced upon us. As you know, we are working for better firearms laws, but we do not want unreasonable and harassing legislation like New Jersey now has...We do not need more laws. What we need is more strict enforcement of existing laws. We need an all-out war on crime and strict enforcement with severe penalties.”).
13	<i>position on firearms legislation</i> : Letter from Alan S. Krug, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Club legislative director, to William C. Sennett, March 13, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control.
13	<i>willing to endorse</i> : Ibid.
13	<i>anti-sportsmen firearms law</i> : Ibid.
14	<i>PFSC meeting</i> : Copies of some of the letters can be found in Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 1, Firearms Control.
14	<i>government to another</i> : “Shafer Against Firearms’ Ban on Sportsmen,” <i>Evening Herald</i> (Shenandoah, PA), March 22, 1967, p. 1.
14	<i>guns in Pennsylvania</i> : Ibid. To those in the Pennsylvania gun rights community, Shafer responded as follows: “Despite what was reported in the newspapers, I do not favor a change in Pennsylvania’s laws involving the sale or possession of firearms. I do believe that the Federal Government should look closely into the methods of controlling the sale of firearms by mail.” <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from Raymond P. Shafer to Andrew M. Ridilla, March 23, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control.
14	<i>effectively quashed them</i> : “Gov. Shafer Denies News Reports; Reaffirms Support for Sportsmen,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 7, 1967, p. 1; Letter from Neal Knox, editor of <i>Gun Week</i> , to Robert McCormick, March 24, 1967, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68; Letter from L. James Bashline, assistant managing editor of <i>Field and Stream</i> , to Robert McCormick, March 30, 1967, Shafer Papers, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68.
14	<i>for legitimate purposes</i> : Shafer’s form letter responses on gun control essentially mirrored the position of gun rights organizations. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from Raymond P. Shafer to Gerald J. Porter, January 17, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control (“While it is true that some sort of Federal law may be necessary to curb the abuses of mail order guns, Pennsylvania already has workable legislation to keep these weapons out of the hands of known criminals,

	<p>minors and the mentally disturbed. On the other hand, I do not favor any legislation at either the local, State or Federal level which would be restrictive to sportsmen and other law-abiding citizens who wish to purchase firearms for legitimate purposes.”); Letter from Raymond P. Shafer to Glenn O. Baker, July 19, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 1, Firearms Control (“While it is true that some sort of Federal law may be necessary to curb the abuses of mail order guns, Pennsylvania already has workable legislation to keep these weapons out of the hands of known criminals, minors and the mentally disturbed. On the other hand, I do not favor any legislation at either the local, State or Federal level which would be restrictive to sportsmen and other law-abiding citizens who wish to purchase firearms for legitimate purposes.”).</p>
14	<p><i>with Shafer’s staff</i>: Interoffice Note to Robert McCormick, [May] 1967, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Control Law 1965-68 (noting that Alan S. Krug, Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen’s Clubs legislative director, stopped by to talk with Shafer about organizing opposition to Senator Thomas Dodd’s gun control bill); Letter from George McCann, Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen’s Clubs, to Raymond P. Shafer, May 18, 1967, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control (urging the government to appoint a “sportsmen representative” to the Pennsylvania Crime Commission to protect the “sportsmen’s views and interests”).</p>
14	<p><i>alter Shafer’s position either</i>: In the wake of Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination, Democratic Pennsylvania state representative Herbert Fineman introduced firearms legislation. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Bill Fidati, “Fineman to Introduce New Gun Control Bill,” <i>Philadelphia Daily News</i>, April 16, 1968, p. 5; Mason Denison, “Gun Control,” <i>Somerset Daily American</i> (PA), April 16, 1968, p. 4; “New Gun Control Bill ‘Goes Out of the Way’ to Help Owners,” <i>Express</i> (Lock Haven, PA), April 15, 1968, p. 4. The Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association denounced Fineman’s legislation as “28 pages of the worst legislative mess ever produced in this Commonwealth” and as the “first step toward a police state.” <i>See</i> James N. Spicer, “On the Legislative Scene,” <i>Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association Newsletter</i>, Spring 1968.</p>
14	<p><i>restrictive firearms legislation</i> : Herbert Fineman, “State House Leader Explains Proposed Gun-Control Bill,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, May 24, 1968, p. 26; “Tougher Road Laws Urged in Shafer’s 4th Message,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), May 1, 1968, p. 2; Letter from James R. Doran, editor of the <i>Patriot Evening News</i>, to Raymond P. Shafer, September 18, 1967, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68 (criticizing the “self-contradiction” of the Pennsylvania Republican Party’s “anti-crime campaign” and its “opposition to gun control legislation”).</p>
15	<p><i>reaching for a gun</i>: William E. Deibler, “Gun Law Not Answer—Shafer,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, June 6, 1968, p. 6; “Shooting of Bobby Kennedy an ‘Unconscionable Tragedy’,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), June 6, 1968, p. 2; “State Leaders Shocked, Saddened by Shooting,” <i>Latrobe Bulletin</i> (PA), June 5, 1968, p. 27. <i>See also</i> “The Right Approach,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, April 1968, p. 43 (quoting Shafer, stating, “I am convinced that legislation against the weapon will never prevent crimes of violence. It would be far better to legislate against the misuse of the gun rather than</p>

	<p>the gun itself.”). Shafer’s view was undoubtedly accordance with the gun rights community. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Bob Bell, “Do We Need 35,000,001,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, April 1968, p. 1 (“Too many people believe that the solution to any problem is just a matter of passing another law. Unfortunately, that isn’t how life works. If it were, all our problems could be solved simply. But perhaps it does explain another incredible fact; that in this country we have some 35,000,000 laws—trying to enforce the Ten Commandments. Do we need any more?”).</p>
15	<p><i>suddenly reversed course</i>: Shafer would later claim that he never changed his position. Rather, he “advanced” his existing position. <i>See</i> “Gov. Shafer Denies Gun Curb Reversal,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, July 1, 1968, p. 7; “Shafer Reports Mail Favors Gun Controls,” <i>Republican and Herald</i> (Pottsville, PA), July 1, 1968, p. 1; “Shafer Denies Reversing Gun Control Stand,” <i>Philadelphia Daily News</i>, July 1, 1968, p. 6. <i>See also</i> Letter from Hugh Flaherty, Secretary of Legislation and Public Affairs, to James N. Spicer, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association legislative chairman, July 12, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control (stating Shafer “reaffirms his position not to do anything to harm sportsmen and sportsmen’s organizations”).</p>
15	<p><i>firearms-related violence</i>: “County Legislators Split on New Gun Control Law,” <i>Gazette and Daily</i> (York, PA), June 14, 1968, pp. 1, 43. At this press conference, Shafer rebuked the Pennsylvania Game Commission’s recommendation. <i>See</i> Memorandum from Glenn L. Bowers, executive director Pennsylvania Game Commission, to William C. Sennett, June 11, 1968, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68 (“we presently have sufficient laws to provide adequate firearms control. <i>These laws, both State and Federal, should be rigidly enforced.</i> In some instances, more severe and mandatory penalties should be provided. With proper enforcement, any situation concerning illegal traffic, use, etc., of firearms could be handled without introduction of new laws.”).</p>
15	<p><i>Republican Platform Committee</i>: Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, “Dirksen as Platform Chief Riles Governors,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), June 24, 1968, p. 4; “GOP Governors Urge Gun Curbs,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), June 16, 1968, p. 3; “GOP Governors May Differ on Gun Control in Platform,” <i>Times</i>, (Shreveport, LA), June 15, 1968, p. 4A; “Governors Shy Off Guns,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, June 15, 1968, p. 5; Walter R. Mears, “Rocky Says He’ll Overtake Nixon,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), June 15, 1968, p. 18; “Weapon Issue Promises GOP Fight,” <i>Mercury</i> (Pottstown, PA), June 15, 1968, p. 2; “Gun Control Laws Topic of Governors,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), June 15, 1968, p. 2. The Republican Party ultimately included gun control in the “crime” section of their 1968 plank. <i>See</i> “Excerpts from Text of Republican Party Platform as Approved at Miami Convention,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i>, August 5, 1968, p. A4 (“Enactment of legislation to control indiscriminate availability of firearms, safeguarding the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, retaining primary responsibility at the state level, with such federal laws as necessary to better enable the states to meet their responsibilities.”). <i>See also</i> National Shooting Sports Foundation Press Release, “Short Shorts,” Autumn 1968, William E. Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 11</p>

	(Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburg Special Collections) (hereinafter Guckert Papers); "GOP Adopts Mild Gun Law Plank," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 23, 1968, p. 1.
15	<i>state's firearms laws</i> : Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Dirksen as Platform Chief Riles Governors," <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), June 24, 1968, p. 4. Pressure was also brought to bear by the National Association of Attorneys General, which adopted a resolution urging the state to enact strict gun controls. <i>See</i> "Attorney General Urges State Gun Control Laws," <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> , June 11, 1968, p. 12A.
15	<i>vote was taken today</i> : Thomas L. Kimball, "Firearms and Control Legislation," June 11, 1968, Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 11.
15	<i>disarm the country</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from John R. Charles to Raymond P. Shafer, June 27, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 1, Firearms Control; Memorandum from Glenn L. Bowers to Robert McCormick, "Gun Control Legislation," June 23, 1968, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68. The letters received by Shafer were on par with those letters received by State Representative Herbert Fineman after having introduced firearms legislation a year earlier. <i>See</i> William Ecenbarger, "Angry Mail Pours Down on Gun Control Author," <i>Simpson's Leader-Times</i> (Kittanning, PA), May 18, 1968, p. 6 (detailing letters sent to Fineman accusing him of being a Nazi and Communist).
15	<i>publicly criticizing him</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Gun Control Opponents 'Pot Shot' Gov. Shafer," <i>New Castle News</i> (PA), June 27, 1968, p. 2; "Sportsmen Leader Calls Gun Control Proposal Ridiculous," <i>Kane Republican</i> (PA), June 26, 1968, p. 1; "Spokesman for State Sportsmen Raps Bill," <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> (PA), June 25, 1968, p. 20.
15	<i>drafting the legislation</i> : Memorandum from William C. Sennett to Hugh E. Flaherty, Secretary of Legislation and Public Affairs, June 27, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 2, Firearms Control. <i>See also</i> Memorandum from Glenn L. Bowers, Pennsylvania Game Commission Executive Director, to Raymond P. Shafer, July 3, 1968, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68. By 1968, it had become common practice for sporting, hunting, and shooting organizations to draft model firearms legislation. <i>See</i> Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association, P.R.&P.A. Bill No. 66-3, "Firearms Ownership, Safety and Lawful Transport Bill," January 1, 1967," Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10; Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association, P.R.&P.A. Bill No. 66-4, "An Act to Consolidate, Amend and Revise the Penal Laws of the Commonwealth," September 1966," Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10; Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association, P.R.&P.A. Bill No. 66-1, "An Act Regulating the Issuance of Hunting Licenses to Persons Under the Age of 16 Years and Providing for the Giving of Instruction in the Safe Handling and Use of Firearms and Bow and Arrow to Such Persons; and Fixing Effective Date," August 1966," Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10; Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association, P.R.&P.A. Bill No. 66-2, "An Act to Consolidate, Amend and Revise the Penal Laws of the Commonwealth," August 1966," Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10. For some background as to why sporting, hunting, and shooting organizations, particularly in Pennsylvania, drafted such legislation, see Alan S. Krug, Keynote Address Before the 1966 Convention of the Pennsylvania Sportsmen's Clubs, "Firearms Legislation: A Perspective," March 25, 1966, Guckert Papers, box 6,

	folder 10; Franklin L. Orth, Address Before the Northeast Fish and Wildlife Conference, "The Sportsman and the Law," January 18, 1965, Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10.
15	<i>declined their overtures</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Hugh Flaherty, secretary of legislation and public affairs, to James N. Spicer, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association legislative chairman, July 12, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control; Press Release, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Governor's Office, June 21, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 1, Firearms Control.
16	<i>strict firearms controls</i> : "Gun Register Law Sought for State," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , July 30, 1967, section 1, p. 11.
16	<i>weapons for lawful purposes</i> : Press Release, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Governor's Office, July 13, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 1, Firearms Control.
16	<i>firearms identification card</i> : Ibid.
16	<i>five-dollar fee</i> : Ibid.
16	<i>cooling off period</i> : Ibid. For more on the history of Shafer's compromise legislation, see "Shafer Backs Compromise on Gun Controls," <i>Republican and Herald</i> (Pottsville, PA), July 15, 1968, p. 1; "Fineman, Sennett Disagree: Gun Bill Status Debated," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , July 11, 1968, p. 4; Burton W. Siglin, "State Gun Controls Nearing Final Vote," <i>Republican and Herald</i> (Pottsville, PA), July 11, 1968, p. 1; "ID Cards Proposed in State Gun Law," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 28, 1968, p. 19; "Gun Control Bill S. 917 is Outlined," <i>Potter Enterprise</i> , June 26, 1968, p. 3; William E. Deibler, "State Debates Gun Law Plan," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , June 25, 1968, p. 4; "Sennett Asks Immediate Action on Gun Control," <i>Latrobe Bulletin</i> (PA), June 25, 1968, p. 7; "Stiff Gun Control Measures Face Uphill Battle in House," <i>Gazette and Daily</i> (York, PA), June 24, 1968, p. 2; "Strict Gun Registration State Target," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 23, 1968, p. 1.
16	<i>George C. Wallace</i> : "Gun Bill Opponents Slate Rally," <i>Latrobe Bulletin</i> (PA), July 16, 1968, p. 5; "Group at Rally Protests Gun Control Laws," <i>Daily Notes</i> (Canonsburg, PA), July 3, 1968, p. 10; "Rally Protests Gun Controls," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), July 3, 1968.
16	<i>firearms control legislation</i> : "900 Persons Attend Gun Control Rally," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), July 17, 1968, p. 14.
16	<i>3,500 people attended</i> : "3,500 Protest Gun Control at Johnstown," <i>Daily Republican</i> (Monongahela, PA) July 18, 1968, p. 2.
16	<i>I say no</i> : "Battle Lines Drawn on Congress Fight Over Gun Control," <i>Kane Republican</i> , July 18, 1968, p. 1 (emphasis added); "NRA Spokesman Says Battle Lines Drawn on Gun Control," <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), July 18, 1968, p. 3 (emphasis added).

16	<i>proved effective: See, e.g.,</i> “Opposition Increases in Final Tabulation of Gun Control Bill,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> , July 24, 1968, p. 1.
16	<i>handily defeated: See, e.g.,</i> “House Defeats Stiffer Gun Bill,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), July 17, 1968, p. 1.
16	<i>crime with a firearm: “Senate Oks Stiffer Gun Crime Bill,”</i> <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , July 18, 1968, p. 7.
16	<i>permit was enacted: Press Release, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Governor’s Office, July 30, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 1, Firearms Control; “Assembly Approves Firearms Measure Dealing with Crimes,”</i> <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), July 20, 1968, p. 3; “6 L.V. Legislators Reverse Stand on Gun-Control Bill,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), July 20, 1968, p. 16; “On Gun Bill, L.V. Legislators Cast Identical Votes,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), July 18, 1968, p. 7.
16	<i>kill people, people do: See, e.g.,</i> John C. Duncan, “Victory for Guns,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 21, 1968, editorial section, p. 4; Roger Latham, “In Defense of Guns: Sportsmen Don’t Shoot to Kill People,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 16, 1968, section 4, p. 8; Roger Latham, “Congress Fires Empty Talk...Misses Gun Law Target,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , February 4, 1968, section 4, p. 6.
17	<i>right direction: “Gun Controls Are Still Needed,”</i> <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 20, 1968, editorial section, p. 1; “Veto Threatened on Bill Exempting Teachers Struck from Pay Penalty,” <i>Gazette and Daily</i> (York, PA), July 18, 1968, p. 36.
17	<i>legislative session: Saul Kohler, “Shafer Signs Bills to Increase Gun Penalties,”</i> <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 31, 1968, p. 1.
17	<i>supported firearms controls: In the case of State Representative Herbert Fineman, the warnings escalated to death threats. See, e.g.,</i> Saul Kohler, “Police Guard Fineman After Phone Threats Over Gun Control Bill,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 22, 1968, p. 1; “Fineman’s House Under Guard,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , July 22, 1968, p. 1.
17	<i>hot potato: Letter from Roger M. Latham, outdoor editor of</i> <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , to Raymond P. Shafer, July 8, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 2, Firearms Control.
17	<i>Clark this fall: Ibid.</i>
17	<i>particularly for handguns: Letter from Raymond P. Shafer to Roger M. Latham, outdoor editor of</i> <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , July 17, 1968, Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 2, Firearms Control (“Thank you for your remarks about gun control. The comprehensive measure that I am supporting in the General Assembly, which would require registration for handguns only, is a good and workable gun control measure which does not infringe on responsible citizens, especially the sportsmen. I call your attention to a story...which contradicts your position that careful study of the gun law shows no correlation with reduced crime. I am attaching a statistical chart that analyzes the article for your information.”).

17	<i>firearms control issue</i> : “Pennsylvania Sportsmen to Oppose Clark,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 23, 1968, p. 2; “Sportsmen of State Oppose Clark,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , January 30, 1968, p. 39; “State Sportsmen Oppose Sen. Clark,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), January 30, 1968, p. 5; “Federation Hits Clark,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , January 30, 1968, p. 15.
17	<i>be worked out</i> : Memorandum from Bernard E. Norwitch to Senator Joseph S. Clark, January 9, 1968, Clark Papers, box 114, folder Schweiker File.
17	<i>on the record</i> : Ibid.
17	<i>staying the political course</i> : Ibid.
17	<i>state or federal elections</i> : Twice, in 1960 and 1964 respectively, the editors of <i>Guns Magazine</i> reached out to Clark about his position on the Second Amendment and firearms controls. In both instances Clark did not provide any substantive response. See “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1964, p. 4 (“Thank you for asking me for a general statement for publication in <i>Guns Magazine</i> . If at any time you wish my views on specific legislation before the Congress affecting your readers, I will be happy to give them to you.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1960, p. 4 (“Senator Clark has asked me to acknowledge your letter requesting an expression of his views on the Second Amendment...The Senator has nothing of special interest to say on this subject...Bernard E. Norwich, Secretary to Senator Clark.”). It was not until mid-1967 that Clark staked out a firm position. See, e.g., “Sen. Clark Proposes National Gun Curbs,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 11, 1967, p. 5.
17	<i>attention of the press</i> : Thomas P. Snyder, “Enmity of Various Groups Cited: Shapp Predicts ‘Uphill Fight’ for Sen. Clark,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , February 26, 1968, p. 19; Thomas P. Snyder, “Dent Making Rounds: Clark Facing Rough Primary,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , February 23, 1968, p. 5.
18	<i>anti-Clark resolutions</i> : See, e.g., “Clark’s Stand on Firearms Irks Sportsmen,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), February 29, 1968, p. 26.
18	<i>opposition to firearms controls</i> : James N. Spicer, “The Political Scene and How It Affects Your,” <i>Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association Newsletter</i> , Winter 1968; “Sportsmen Oppose Clark’s Firearms Bill,” <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), April 17, 1968, p. 4.
18	<i>Vietnam War</i> : Robert A. Dobkin, “Dent Promises Strong Fight Against Clark,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), February 14, 1968, p. 12. See also Robert A. Dobkin, “Congressman Filed as Clark Opponent in Dems’ Primary,” <i>Kane Republican</i> (PA), February 14, 1968, p. 1.
18	<i>gun rights community</i> : See, e.g., “Democrats...Nominate John H. Dent for U.S. Senate,” <i>Fulton Democrat</i> (McConnellsburg, PA), April 18, 1968, p. 2.
18	<i>outside the law</i> : Ibid.
18	<i>sportsmen are protected</i> : Memorandum to Harry Schwartz, February 27, 1968, Clark Papers, box 114, folder Schweiker File.

18	<i>hoods and the addicts</i> : Ibid.
19	<i>strict firearms controls</i> : Letter from Edward T. Balderston, Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs president, to Joseph S. Clark, March 28, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File.
19	<i>appearance</i> : Ibid.
19	<i>Balderson</i> : "Sportsmen Get Letter: Sen. Clark Explains President's Gun Bill," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , March 22, 1968, p. 22.
19	<i>firearms control proponents</i> : After receiving a letter from an NRA member supporting his position on firearms controls, Clark was of the opinion that most NRA members felt the same way, and it was the NRA's proliferation of false and misleading propaganda that was the problem. See "Sen. Clark Claims NRA Members Don't Agree with Leaders' Politics," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 12, 1968, p. 5.
19	<i>state to state</i> : Press Release from Senator Joseph S. Clark, March 22, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File.
19	<i>destructive devices</i> : "Sportsmen Get Letter: Sen. Clark Explains President's Gun Bill," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , March 22, 1968, p. 22.
19	<i>national interest</i> : "Your Senators Report" Transcript, July 17, 1967, Shafer Papers, Press Room File 1963-71, carton 4, folder 12, Gun Law 1965-68. See also "Dent Making Rounds: Clark Facing Rough Primary," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , February 23, 1968, p. 5; "Sen. Clark Proposes National Gun Curbs," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 11, 1967, p. 5.
19	<i>to sell it</i> : Press Release from Senator Joseph S. Clark, March 22, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File. See also Press Release from Senator Joseph S. Clark, April 21, 1968, Clark Papers, box 271, folder News Releases ("nothing in the gun control legislation that I support would prevent Pennsylvania's hunters and sportsmen from acquiring and using firearms for lawful and appropriate purposes, or from carrying them from state to state. The bill does not prohibit interstate mail order sale of handguns and rifles. It would also prohibit over-the-counter sale of handguns to non-residents of a state and help control juvenile delinquency... This is a reasonable, moderate, and modest measure. A sportsman need not register his gun, nor will it infringe on his right to sell firearms.").
20	<i>all the people</i> : Prepared Statement to the Editors of <i>Pennsylvania's Outdoor People</i> , March 24, 1968, Clark Papers, box 271, folder S.1. Clark also ran several radio advertisements across Pennsylvania outlining his moderate gun control position. See Jerome S. Cahill, "Clark's Support of Gun Curbs Threatens His Political Future," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , April 15, 1968, p. 17.
20	<i>mentally ill</i> : For sources supporting the content within this paragraph, see "Sen. Clark Seeks Gun Control Law," <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), April 6, 1968, p. 2; "Emotionalism on Gun Controls," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , April 2, 1968, p. 10; Steve Szalewicz, "Local Sportsmen Oppose Oil Drilling In Lake Erie," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), March 26, 1968, p. 12; "Parley Bugged, Sportsmen Say," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , March 24, 1968, p. 2; Speech of John Dent Before the Pennsylvania Federation

	of Sportsmen’s Clubs, March 22, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File; Speech of Richard S. Schweiker Before the Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen’s Clubs, March 22, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File; “Rizzo Supports Johnson Bill on Gun Control,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 22, 1968, p. 8.
20	<i>defeat him</i> : “Clark Charges ‘Gun-Sellers’ Try to Beat Him,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , April 18, 1968, p. 5.
20	<i>dope addicts</i> , he stated: Ibid. Here, Clark was trying to distinguish between what he viewed as gun rights extremists from the average, run-of-the-mill gun owner. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Sen. Clark Claims NRA Members Don’t Agree with Leaders Policies,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 12, 1968, p. 5 (“I am convinced that many NRA members are extremely worried over the uncontrolled sales of firearms in America...The majority of hunters and sportsmen are aware that the Administration’s gun control bill protects their interests They recognize that the bill was drafted to prevent firearms from falling into the wrong hands, not to deny rifles or sports guns to hunters and sportsmen.”).
20	<i>not going away</i> : Fred Jones, “Hunters Rip Clark at Polls,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , April 29, 1968, p. 18.
20	<i>holding him back</i> : The final primary election tally was 442,135 votes for Clark and 383,946 votes for Dent. Despite the closer than expected primary race, out of the 67 Pennsylvania counties, Clark won of 54 them. For the full county-by-county breakdown of votes, see “Clark-Dent Senate Vote,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , April 25, 1968, p. 6.
20	<i>him on the issue</i> : Press Release from Senator Joseph S. Clark, undated 1968, Clark Papers, box 174, folder Gun Control File.
20	<i>with law enforcement</i> : Ibid.
20	<i>policy statement</i> : Ingrid Jewell, “Clark Win Pleases Schweiker,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , April 25, 1968, p. 4.
21	<i>gun lobby</i> : “People Back Gun Control, Clark Says,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , May 1, 1968, p. 5; Press Release from Senator Joseph S. Clark, May 1, 1968, Clark Papers, box 271, folder News Releases (“I regret that my Republican opponent is being supported by the gun lobby. I fear that many bona fide sportsmen and hunters have been misled by false statements that their right to own guns and shoot game would be prejudiced by the proposed bill.”).
21	<i>proponents another</i> : Memorandum to AFS, May 14, 1968, Clark Papers, box 100, folder Schweiker File 1968. This plan was initially devised in February 1968 earlier but was not actually executed until May 1968. <i>See</i> Memorandum from Harry Schwartz to MJB, February 13, 1968, Clark Papers, box 114, folder Schweiker File.
21	<i>sportsmen and hunters</i> : Jay Sharbutt, “Clark Swaps Barbs with Schweiker,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), May 2, 1968, p. 22.
21	<i>firearms collectors</i> : Letter from Richard S. Schweiker to Mrs. Del DiFeo, May 17, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File; Letter from Richard S.

	Schweiker to S. Wilkins, May 17, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Gun Control File (same).
21	<i>commit a crime</i> : News Release from Congressman Dick Schweiker, June 4, 1968, Clark Papers, box 114, folder Schweiker File.
21	<i>better solution</i> : Ibid.
22	<i>strict firearms controls</i> : It is worth noting that Clark also briefly called out Schweiker for flip-flopping on gun control in the first debate. See Joseph H. Miller, "Clark-Schweiker Friendly Debate Winds Up in a Draw," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , June 22, 1968, p. 5; "Clark, Schweiker Swap 'Flip-Flop' Charges," <i>Delaware County Daily Times</i> (Chester, PA), June 22, 1968, p. 2; pp. Ted Mellin, "Clark, Schweiker Argue—On Means, Not Ends," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), June 22, 1968, pp. 5, 9. For information on the Clark-Schweiker debate schedule, see "Schweiker to Announce Gun Position," <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), June 15, 1968, p. 14.
22	<i>mail order of handguns</i> : James Helbert, "Schweiker Asks Ballot for 18s, Gun Controls," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 29, 1968, p. 8; "Schweiker Backs Tough Gun Bill," <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), June 21, 1968, p. 6; Jerome S. Cahill, Sustained Support for Gun Controls," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , June 13, 1968, p. 26.
22	<i>flip-flopped on firearms controls</i> : "Clark, Schweiker to Debate on Radio, TV," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 15, 1968, p. 3.
22	<i>strong gun controls</i> : Transcript of Debate Between Richard S. Schweiker and Senator Joseph Clark, July 2, 1968, Richard S. Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 34 (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Special Collections) (hereinafter Schweiker Papers), p. 3.
22	<i>violate the law</i> : Ibid., p. 11.
22	<i>crime using a gun</i> : Ibid.
22	<i>politically neutralized</i> : Ibid.
22	<i>political moderate</i> : Ibid., pp. 11-12. For some newspaper reports on this debate, see "Schweiker, Clark Exchange TV Barbs," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 3, 1968, p. 12; "Clark-Schweiker Debates Opened," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , July 3, 1968, p. 2; "Clark Thinks He Won First Debate with Schweiker," <i>Evening Times</i> (Sayre, PA), July 3, 1968, p. 5; Lee Linder, "Clark Claims Victory in First Debate with Schweiker," <i>Indiana Gazette</i> (PA), July 3, 1968, p. 3.
22	<i>flip-flopper</i> : Clark first flip-flopped on firearms registration nearly a month earlier. See Douglas Smith, "Clark Joins Dodd Fight on Gun Bill," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 12, 1968, p. 44.
22	<i>confiscate all firearms</i> : ¹ Gerald L. Lichty, "Firearms Registration is Communist Program," <i>Republic</i> (Meyersdale, PA), June 27, 1968, p. 4.
23	<i>communist invasion</i> : Ibid.

23	<i>right to write</i> : Citizens Opposed to Further Firearms Legislation, "Necessity is the Plea for Every Infringement of Human Liberties...It is the Argument of Tyrants," <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), July 5, 1968, p. 19.
23	<i>registration of firearms</i> : Venango County Federal of Sportsmen's Clubs, "Quotations from People Whose Names You Will Remember," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), August 3, 1968, p. 8.
23	<i>downfall by doing</i> : Ibid.
23	<i>this killing</i> : Citizens Committee for Sane Gun Legislation, "Has Registration Stopped This Killing?" <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), July 27, 1968, p. 6.
23	<i>killing with a firearm</i> : Ibid.
23	<i>writing their representatives</i> : Ibid.
24	<i>shooting organizations</i> : See Joseph S. Clark, "Eighteen Points for Democrats: A Proposal for the Democratic Platform," August 13, 1968, Clark Papers, box 116, folder News Releases; Transcript, "Television Spot for Senator Clark on Gun Control," undated, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Joseph S. Clark Campaign Literature; Joseph S. Clark, "Clark Defends Position on Guns," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , August 3, 1968, p. 6; Fran Fry, Jr., "Sen. Clark Visits Franklin, Discusses Gun-Bill, War," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), July 18, 1968, p. 2; Frank M. Matthews, "Clark to Stay Neutral in Pick for President," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , July 13, 1968, p. 4; "Clark 'Scared' in Reelection Race," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), July 13, 1968, p. 2; "Stiffer Gun Law Seen by Scott," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , July 5, 1968, p. 5.
24	<i>intentions known</i> : See, e.g., "Sportsmen Unit for Schweiker," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 20, 1968, section 3, p. 2; "About Face," <i>Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association Newsletter</i> , fall 1968, p. 10; "New Gun Laws Hinted at Mass Rally," <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), October 2, 1968, p. 1. See also "Clark's Last Stand," <i>Pennsylvania's Outdoor People</i> , May 27, 1968, p. 2.
24	<i>law-abiding sportsmen</i> : "Sportsmen Say TV, Movies Lead to Gun Violence," <i>Shamokin News-Dispatch</i> (PA), July 18, 1968, p. 13.
24	<i>must go</i> : Black Forest Conservation Association, "Think-Act," <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), September 25, 1968, p. 3.
24	<i>acquire firearms</i> : See Letter from Michael J. Byrne, Joseph S. Clark Executive Assistant, to Edward F. Cooke, September 17, 1968, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Joseph S. Clark Campaign Literature; "Scott, Clark Back Gun-Control Bill," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , September 17, 1968, p. 28; Talking Points, "Questions and Answers on Senator Clark's Views on Gun Control," September 12, 1968, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Joseph S. Clark Campaign Literature; Memorandum from Edward Cooke to Fred Frank, "Senator Clark's Gun Control Position," September 9, 1968, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Joseph S. Clark Campaign Literature. See also Memorandum from Michael J. Byrne to Herb Ringold and Bernie Norwitch, "Comments on the General Brochure," July 29, 1968, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Joseph S. Clark Campaign Literature ("In view of the fact that this brochure is going to be sent all over the state...I do not think emphasis on the Gun Control Bill would be good in

	many of the smaller counties. In a number of these counties, gun control should be de-emphasized. However, it should be emphasized for S.E. Pennsylvania.”); Pamphlet, “Portrait of a Leader: Joseph S. Clark, Senior Senator from Pennsylvania,” undated, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Joseph S. Clark Campaign Literature (listing Clark’s support for “strict gun control legislation” as the fourth and last talking point against crime).
25	<i>virtually identical to his</i> : See “Clark Says Opponent Zig-Zags,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), September 17, 1968, p. 2; James Helbert, “Clark Makes Pitch to Democrats Here,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , September 13, 1968, p. 14; “Clark Fires Barrels at Schweiker,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , September 13, 1968, p. 7; “Clark Blasts Richard Nixon, Schweiker,” <i>Kane Republican</i> , September 13, 1968, p. 6.
25	<i>wind is blowing</i> : “Statement of Senator Joseph S. Clark on the Senate Campaign,” [September 13, 1968], Clark Papers, box 116, folder News Releases.
	<i>argument unappealing</i> : See, e.g., “Sportsmen Unit for Schweiker,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 20, 1968, section 3, p. 2; “About Face,” <i>Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association Newsletter</i> , fall 1968, p. 10; Roger Latham, “Sportsmen Fight ‘Nuisance’ Gun Legislation,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 27, 1968, section 4, p. 10; “Sportsmen Unite Against Sen. Clark,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , October 18, 1968, p. 5; Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), September 25, 1968, p. 11. It is worth noting that in late September the campaign committee Outdoorsmen for Schweiker was formed with purpose of touting Schweiker’s stance on gun control. See, e.g., Schweiker Campaign Committee Formed,” <i>Warren Times-Mirror</i> , September 26, 1968, p. 17.
26	<i>Schweiker did not</i> : See, e.g., Press Release from Richard S. Schweiker, September 9, 1968, Clark Papers, box 100, folder Schweiker File; “Your Next Senator Speaks on Gun Control,” <i>Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association Newsletter</i> , fall 1968, p. 11.
26	<i>in November</i> : “Schweiker Raps Clark,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , September 14, 1968, p. 6.
26	<i>clouding issues</i> : Ibid.
26	<i>supports strong gun controls</i> : Memorandum from Michael J. Byrne to Harry K. Schwartz, “Re: Anti-Clark Ad in ‘Outdoor People’,” October 1, 1968, Clark Papers, box 99, folder Election—Public Relations 1968.
26	<i>licensing and registration</i> : See “Clark Defends Gun Controls,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 24, 1968, p. 18; Remarks of “Clark Asks Schweiker for ‘Gun’ Stand,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Hanover, PA), October 22, 1968, p. 18; “Clarify Stand on Gun Control, Clark Asks Foe,” <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), October 22, 1968, p. 5; Press Release from Senator Joseph S. Clark Before Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association, October 23, 1968, Clark Papers, box 116, folder News Releases; Senator Joseph S. Clark, “Senator Clark Challenges Schweiker to Clarify His Gun Control Stand,” October 21, 1968, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Campaign Releases 1968; “Keep Clark in the Senate,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), October 18, 1968, p. 4; Television Spots for Senator Clark on Gun Control, undated, Clark Papers, box 98, folder Campaign TV and Radio 1968. Hereto, Schweiker called out Clark for “deliberately disguising

	his gun control record.” See “Gun Control Record Disguised,” <i>Indiana Gazette</i> (PA), November 2, 1968, 20. See also “Dick Schweiker Talks About Farm Problems,” <i>Pennsylvania Farmer</i> , October 26, 1968, p. 14 (quoting Schweiker as stating, “I take strong issue on this point with Mr. Clark. He has sponsored a bill that would provide for federal registration, licensing, mugging and fingerprinting of all gun owners. And that’s his bill. I’m against it. I think it’s dead wrong.”); “Clark Lashed by Schweiker in Bomb Halt,” <i>Morning Herald</i> (Uniontown, PA), November 4, 1968, pp. 1, 6.
	<i>shotguns and hunting rifles</i> : Black Forest Conservation Association, “Prevent Gun Registration!” undated, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Firearms; Outdoorsman for Schweiker of Venango County, “Prevent Gun Registration!” <i>Oil City Derrick</i> (PA), November 2, 1968, p. 6; Outdoorsman for Schweiker of Venango County, “Prevent Gun Registration!” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), November 2, 1968, p. 16.
26	<i>political scalp</i> : Ibid.
28	<i>repeal of Gun Control</i> : See “The Truth About the Gun Control Law,” <i>Morning Herald</i> (Uniontown, PA), November 4, 1968, p. 23; “The Truth About the Gun Control Law,” <i>Simpson’s Leader-Times</i> (Kittanning, PA), November 2, 1968, p. 11; “The Truth About the Gun Control Law,” <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), November 1, 1968, p. 14; “The Truth About the Gun Control Law,” <i>Evening Times</i> (Sayre, PA), November 1, 1968, p. 15.
28	<i>issue in this campaign</i> : See, e.g., “Sportsmen,” <i>Oil City Derrick</i> (PA), November 4, 1968, p. 5.
28	<i>sporting chance</i> : Ibid.
28	<i>phony issue</i> : “Both Clark, “Schweiker Winners,” <i>Indiana Gazette</i> (PA), November 5, 1968, p. 5.
28	<i>his election defeat</i> : James Helbert, “Clark Lost Touch, Staisey Says,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , November 8, 1968, p. 34; Ingrid Jewell, “Maverick Ways Fatal in Clark’s Third Try,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , November 7, 1968, p. 12; “Clark Was Own Enemy—Foerster,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , November 7, 1968, p. 5. See also Bill Kulp, “Demo Electors Voting Anyway,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), November 10, 1968, p. B7 (stating Schweiker credited the gun control issue for his victory).
28	<i>embraced and amplified</i> : See, e.g., “Gun Control Issue Elects Senators,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , January-February 1969, p. 4; “Effect of Gun Issue Seen in Vote Results,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1969, pp. 28-29; Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), November 13, 1968, p. 12; John J. Goldman, “Hunters United to ‘Gun Down’ Clark in Pennsylvania Election,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , November 9, 1968, part 1, pp. 1, 7; “Tribute to Sportsmen,” <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), November 8, 1968, p. 4.
28	<i>swept the state</i> : Letter from Waynard Stahl to Joseph S. Clark, November 7, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Firearms.
28	<i>for public office</i> : Ibid.

28	<i>upset your election</i> : Letter from Richard Zawacki to Joseph S. Clark, November 8, 1968, Clark Papers, box 173, folder Firearms.
30	<i>170,000 votes</i> : <i>Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election of November 5, 1968</i> , p. 38.
30	<i>such a wide margin</i> : Gun rights supporters, of course, claimed otherwise, and some even argued that gun control was the key reason for the defeat of Hubert H. Humphrey. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Bill R. Davidson, “Gun Law Espousal May Have Hurt HHH,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), November 16, 1968, p. 7.
32	<i>up in the first</i> : Transcript of Debate Between Richard S. Schweiker and Senator Joseph Clark, July 2, 1968, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 34.
32	<i>stamps, and civil rights</i> : Transcript, Domestic Affairs Debate Between Senator Joseph S. Clark and Congressman Richard S. Schweiker, October 20, 1968, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 34; Transcript, Third TV Debate Between Senator Joseph S. Clark and Congressman Richard S. Schweiker, Held at WCAU-TV, Philadelphia, October 1, 1968, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 34; Transcript, WTAE Television and Radio in Pittsburgh Presents the Second in a Series of Four Live Debates Between Senator Joseph S. Clark and Congressman Richard S. Schweiker, July 27, 1968, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 34. <i>See also</i> Questions for Clark on Vietnam War, undated, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 8 (prepared for July 27, 1968 debate with Clark); Questions for Clark on Foreign Aid, undated, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 8; Questions for Clark on Peace, the United Nations, Etc., undated, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 8; Questions for Clark on the Middle East, undated, Schweiker Papers, box 34, folder 8; Questions for Clark on National Defense Policy, box 34, folder 8.
32	<i>defeat Joe Clark</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “About Face,” <i>Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association Newsletter</i> , fall 1968, p. 10; “GOP Speaker Says Team Effort Needed for GOP Team Victory,” <i>Warren Times-Mirror and Observer</i> (PA), September 9, 1968, p. 3.
32	<i>ballpark of 50,000</i> : Mary Walton, “Once Again, Gun Lobby Rolls Out the Big Guns,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , October 19, 1975, pp. 1A, 14A; “Sportsmen Unite Against Sen. Clark,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , October 18, 1968, p. 5.
32	<i>halls of Congress</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , William Ringle, “Gun Lobby Favored to Win Senate Round,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), September 25, 1969, p. 3; Jerome S. Cahill, “Sportsmen’s Votes in Senate Election,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 27, 1969, p. 30; Letter from Jack L. Conmy, press secretary of Senator Richard S. Schweiker, to Gene Cowan, Administrative Assistant to Senator Hugh Scott, March 26, 1969, Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58.
32	<i>controls was immediate</i> : Interview with Joseph Tydings by Patrick J. Charles, July 12, 2018, Part 2, 7:55-10:21 (on file with author) (acknowledging that Clark’s defeat made advocating for firearms controls on Capitol Hill “much more difficult,” for if “Clark could be defeated, anybody could be defeated”).
32	<i>media often suggested</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Paul Wilkes, “The N.R.A.—A Study in Power,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , June 23, 1968, p. D1; Donald M. Rothberg, “Gun Bill Foe Urges Mail

	Flood,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> , June 17, 1968, p. 1; Carl Bakal, “A Forgotten Lesson of the Assassination,” <i>Harper’s Weekly</i> , December 1964, pp. 62-68.
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Chapter 2 Notes

34	<p><i>vehemently denounced it: See, e.g.,</i> National Rifle Association, <i>Americans and Their Guns</i>, James E. Serven ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1967) (“The NRA did not [in the 1930s], nor has it since, employed anyone to lobby for or against legislation. It merely has provided the facts and an appraisal of the bill in question and left further action up to the discretion of individual members.”). <i>See also</i> Louis F. Lucas, “This Very Day,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1959, p. 16 (accusing a journalist that associated the NRA as a “lobby” of being “biased” and pushing “vicious propaganda”).</p>
	<p><i>National Firearms Act of 1934: See, e.g.,</i> “Words of Wisdom,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1967, p. 14 (“Neither citizens [that have fought in past or current wars] nor the NRA, their organization, would put personal pastime with firearms ahead of the national welfare. The record in that respect is crystal clear. Many of the truly effective firearms regulations in this country...were passed with NRA support and counsel. The NRA always has been and always will be ready to do what is best for America. It is the first of all patriotic organizations of good conscience.”); Merritt A. Edson, “As Allowed by Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1953, p. 16 (“The NRA has never opposed <i>reasonable</i> regulation of the traffic in firearms. Its official representatives assisted materially in the drafting and enacting of the National Firearms Act of 1934...and the Federal Firearms Act of 1938...”); <i>see also</i> “Statement of Franklin L. Orth, Executive Vice President, National Rifle Association of America; Accompanied by Harlon Carter, President,” <i>Federal Firearms Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate</i>, 90th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 195-97; “Rifle Association Opposes Gun Registration, But Favors Control of Sales,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>, December 12, 1963, p. 18; “Doesn’t Oppose Legislation: National Rifle Group Voices Disapproval of Gun Licensing,” <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), December 12, 1963, p. 22; “Covering Gun Misuse: NRA Favors Some Curbs,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), December 11, 1963, p. 24. For some instances where the NRA espoused support for “reasonable” regulations, see Franklin L. Orth, “The Sportsman and the Law,” Northeast Fish and Wildlife Conference, January 18, 1965, William E. Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10 (Pittsburgh; University of Pittsburgh Special Collections) (hereinafter Guckert Papers); National Rifle Association, “Where Does the NRA Stand on Firearms Legislation?” undated, James V. Bennett Personal Papers, Subject File, 1933–1966, box 11, National Rifle Association Literature (Boston: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereinafter Bennett Papers); “Realistic Firearms Controls,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1964, p. 14; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 2; Raymond R. Camp, “Wood, Field and Stream,” <i>New York Times</i>, November 7, 1938, p. 35 (outlining the NRA’s support for reasonable firearms controls);</p>

	<p>“Congratulations, Gentlemen,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1930, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “All in a Day’s Work,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1928, pp. 31-32 (“This Association in entirety in accord with the idea of an occasional check-up on pistol permits when it appears that an unduly large number appear to be outstanding. We have conducted a consistent campaign against the sale of junk revolvers and pistols by mail, and the bill which passed the last Congress prohibiting the mailing of pistols and revolvers had our approval. Regulations prohibiting the immediate delivery of rifles and pistols to purchasers, the handling of guns by pawn shops and similar sensible provisions looking toward the keeping of guns out the hands of irresponsible should certainly be enforced.”); “Resisting the Anti-Gun Crank,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1927, p. 10 (“the National Rifle Association is not fanatically opposed to reasonable regulation that will keep dangerous weapons out of the hands of irresponsible persons and penalize the crook, but that, on the contrary, approves of a sensible amount of control.”); “Guarding the Mails,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1, 1926, p. 8 (acknowledging that “anti-firearms laws should be amended to prohibit the use of machine-guns, howitzers, and field artillery by civilians—honest or otherwise.”).</p>
34	<p><i>liberty-loving Americans</i>: “A Paul Revere Organization,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1958, p. 14. <i>See also</i> Merritt A. Edson, “Our Common Interests,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1954, p. 6; Merritt A. Edson, “In Their Own Keeping,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1952, p. 14.</p>
34	<p><i>hunting, and shooting industry</i>: The National Rifle Association was formed in 1871 by two Union officers—Colonel William C. Church and General George Wingate. According to news releases at the time, the NRA was formed for two purposes: “providing a suitable range for long-range rifle practice, and for the promotion of marksmanship among the National Guard.” “Local News in Brief,” <i>New York Times</i>, November 21, 1871, p. 8; “The News,” <i>Buffalo Commercial</i> (NY), November 21, 1871, p. 2; “Local News in Brief,” <i>New York Times</i>, November 17, 1871, p. 8. The National Rifle Association was not an original organizational concept but borrowed from the well-known National Rifle Association in England which had been in existence since 1859. “The New Rifle Club,” <i>New York Times</i>, September 28, 1871, p. 4.</p>
35	<p><i>NRA-affiliated shooting ranges</i>: “1974 Oral History of Milton Reckord,” undated, Milton Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 10 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Library) (hereinafter Reckord Papers), pp. A1-37; B1-22; C1-25.</p>
35	<p><i>purchase or ownership of firearms</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, Richard Harris, “Annals of Legislation: If You Love Your Guns,” <i>New Yorker</i>, April 20, 1968, pp. 56, 57; “Aimless,” <i>Time Magazine</i>, September 9, 1966; “A Paul Revere Organization,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1958, p. 14. Information regarding the NRA’s income revenue and its sources can be found in the organization’s annual operating report. On average, two-thirds of the NRA’s income came from individual membership dues, one-quarter came from advertising from firearms manufactures, sellers, and dealers, and the remainder from a variety of sources and investments. From this income revenue, the NRA spent roughly half on distributing organizational literature, most of which contained anti-firearms legislation propaganda. <i>See, e.g.</i>, National Rifle Association, <i>1969 Operating Report</i> (Washington, DC: 1970), 11-17; <i>National Rifle Association, 1966 Operating Report</i></p>

	(Washington, DC: 1967), 4-11; National Rifle Association, <i>1961 Operating Reports</i> (Washington, DC: 1962), 5-8.
35	<i>annual advertising contracts</i> : See M.A. Reckord, National Rifle Association executive vice-president, to W.F. Roper, Smith & Wesson advertising manager, April 16, 1929, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Amherst Special Collections) (hereinafter Smith & Wesson Records); M.A. Reckord, National Rifle Association executive vice-president, to W.F. Roper, Smith & Wesson advertising manager, April 12, 1929, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association; Letter from M.A. Reckord, National Rifle Association executive vice-president, to W.F. Roper, Smith & Wesson advertising manager, October 10, 1928, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association; M.A. Reckord, National Rifle Association executive vice-president, to W.F. Roper, Smith & Wesson advertising manager, March 19, 1927, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association; Letter from M.A. Reckord, National Rifle Association executive vice-president, to W.F. Roper, Smith & Wesson advertising manager, December 7, 1926, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association.
35	<i>economic bottom line</i> : See, e.g., “Firearms Bill Passed in House is Favored Here,” <i>Fitchburg Sentinel</i> (MA), December 18, 1924, p. 1; “Firearms Legislation Defeated in Pennsylvania Legislature,” <i>American Artisan</i> , July 7, 1917, p. 28. See also “Pistol is Curse of Nation, Sale Ban is Needed,” <i>New Castle News</i> (PA), January 3, 1927, p. 2 (referring to the manufacturers, dealers, importers, and mail order houses in pistols as the “best organized and most clever lobbies”); “License to Carry Pistols Suggested,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , December 31, 1926, p. 2 (“Efforts to enact national legislation making it illegal to transport revolvers through the mails...have been met by one of the cleverest lobbies in existence, maintained by mail order houses.”); “Lawyers Oppose Stronger Crime Law, Says McAdoo,” <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , October 14, 1926, pp. 1, 2 (“Magistrate McAdoo bitterly assailed the pistol manufacturers and said were it not for the lobby at Albany and Washington a bill preventing their sale through the mails could be passed.”); “Crime in US is Blamed on Sale of Pistol,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , November 24, 1925, p. 15 (McAdoo stating that “the best organized lobby in the world is fighting” senator Royal S. Copeland’s federal firearms legislation).
35	<i>federal, state, or local level</i> : See Letter from Smith & Wesson to George F. Brooks, Harrington & Richardson Arms Co., December 8, 1927, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 16, Gun Legislation; Letter from John W. Harrington, Harrington & Richardson Arms Co. treasurer, to Smith & Wesson, November 9, 1926, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 15, Gun Legislation; Letter from George F. Brooks, Harrington & Richardson Arms Co., to Smith & Wesson, February 2, 1926, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 15, Gun Legislation; Letter from George F. Brooks, Harrington & Richardson Arms Co., to Smith & Wesson, January 13, 1926, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 15, Gun Legislation; Letter from Smith & Wesson to Vanderbilt R. Olmstead, June 29, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Letter from Letter from Vanderbilt R. Olmstead to Douglass Wesson, June 26, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Telegram from Smith & Wesson to George D. Chamberlain, Massachusetts senator,

	<p>April 13, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association; Letter from Smith & Wesson to L.M. Norwood, February 27, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association; Letter from L.M. Norwood to Smith & Wesson, February 23, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 3, folder 9, National Rifle Association; Letter from Smith & Wesson to L.E. Polhemus Arms Co., February 21, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Letter from L.E. Polhemus Arms Co. to Smith & Wesson, February 16, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Telegram from L.E. Polhemus Arms Co. to Smith & Wesson, February 12, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Letter from Smith & Wesson to J. Lovell Johnson, Iver Johnson's Arms & Cycle Works president, January 19, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Letter from Colt's Patent Fire Arms Mfg. Co., to J. Lovell Johnson, Iver Johnson's Arms & Cycle Works president, January 13, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Letter from Frank H. Hanson to Smith & Wesson, January 11, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, January 11, 1925, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Memorandum accompanying January 11, 1925 letter from Frank H. Hanson to Smith & Wesson, "Legislation," undated, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Memorandum accompanying January 11, 1925 letter from Frank H. Hanson to Smith & Wesson, "Why is this Thus?" undated, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation; Letter from F.H. Phillips, Jr. to Smith & Wesson, December 11, 1924, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 13, Gun Legislation; Letter from C.M. McCutchen to Smith & Wesson, "In re Senate Bill 270—Colorado," April 26, 1923, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 13, Gun Legislation.</p>
35	<p><i>Sullivan Law in 1911</i>: Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 179-91.</p>
35	<p><i>anti-pistol legislation</i>: For a useful example of this cooperation, see "Pistol Protection vs. Pistol Prohibition," <i>Adventure</i>, September 30, 1923, pp. 178-80 (reprint of pamphlet co-written by the USRA and the editors of <i>Field and Stream</i> urging sportsmen, hunters, and firearms owners to become politically involved in fighting anti-pistol legislation). For articles and editorials in sporting, hunting, and shooting magazines supporting the USRA's gun rights advocacy efforts, see Peter P. Carney, "Regarding Uniform Revolver Law," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, March 1925, p. 175; Henry Morris, "Will Anti-Pistol Laws Decrease Crime?," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, July 1924, pp. 71-72; Joe Taylor, "The Price of Murder," <i>Field and Stream</i>, May 1924, pp. 28-29; "The Anti Anti-Pistol Situation," <i>Field and Stream</i>, September 1923, pp. 28-29; J.A. McGuire, "That Proposed Revolver Law," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, April 1923, p. 249; George M. Dudley, "An Appeal to Sportsmen," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, February 1923, p. 93; Eltinge F. Warner, "The Anti Anti-Pistol Fight," <i>Field and Stream</i>, October 1922, p. 640. For an example of a letter written by a sportsman opposing "anti-firearms" legislation as a result of reading an <i>Outdoor Life</i> article, see Letter from Frank E. Brown to Lorraine M. Gensman, January 7, 1923, Lorraine M. Gensman Papers, box 4, folder 50, General Correspondence (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center).</p>

35	<p><i>model firearms legislation</i>: Although USRA was the first to advocate for model firearms legislation affecting all firearms owners, the editors of <i>Field and Stream</i> were seemingly the first to advocate for “sane” and “uniform” legislation as it pertained to hunting and conservation. See E.T. Warner, “Field and Stream’s Platform,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, December 1907, p. 2; “The Sportsman and Politics,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, July 1902, p. 244; “To Beat the Legislators,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, July 1897, pp. 78-79; “Uniform Game Laws,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, September 1896, p. 114. It was not until 1916, four years after the USRA began advocating for model firearms legislation, that the organization’s efforts received regular exposure in sporting, hunting, and shooting magazines. The first mention of the USRA’s role in combatting restrictive firearms legislation appeared in a 1912 edition of <i>Field and Stream</i>. See “National Disarmament,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, August 1912, pp. 360-61. For subsequent instances where the USRA’s role in this regard was mentioned in sporting, hunting, and shooting magazines, see Kenneth F. Lockwood, “Lawmakers and Sport,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, December 1921, p. 76; G.C. Brown, “Get Together and Fight,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, February 23, 1918, pp. 429-30; Shooter, “Urges Union Against Anti-Pistol Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, February 15, 1917, p. 415; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part I,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 16, 1916, pp. 145-46. There were several sportsmen, hunters, and firearms owners that were completely unaware of the USRA’s efforts. See, e.g., “Report on Field And Stream’s Campaign to Prevent Anti-Pistol Legislation,” <i>Field and Stream</i> May 1923, pp. 36, 127 (“the only way by which this anti-pistol movement can be fought successfully is by bringing together some sort of organization”); G.P. Gleason, “To Combat the Non-Gun-Toting Law,” <i>Outdoor Life</i>, December 1922, p. 441 (“Can’t we...get together and form an association, the object of which will be to preserve our constitutional right to bear arms and to make popular the carrying of arms for the purpose of defense against the criminal element which never has and never will hesitate to tote a gun or other weapon?”); E.F. Warner, “Who Is to Blame?,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, June 1921, p. 143 (“Why don’t’ you sportsmen get together and organize and fight for your rights in your wonderful heritage of the great outdoors?”).</p>
37	<p><i>accomplish four objectives</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 192-93. In an informational pamphlet, the USRA listed six reasons why the organization “encourage[d] Legislation which is designed to suppress lawlessness and...combat ill advised measures, designed to disarm the public in the hope that it may do something to stop the crime wave.” The six reasons were as follows: “1. The revolver has a place in the hands of the law abiding public. 2. A thug would rather attack an unarmed pedestrian, motorist or householder than an armed one. 3. To prohibit the manufacture and sale of revolvers in order to prevent crime would be equivalent to prohibiting the manufacture and sale of automobiles to put an end to automobile accidents. 4. The use of a revolver or any form of concealed weapon in committing a crime should demand an increased sentence, with no possibility of probation or suspended sentence. 5. A swift, sure punishment for crime is the only proper means for reducing crime. 6. The 2nd Amendment to the Constitution of the United States means just what it says: ‘The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.’” United States Revolver Association, <i>The Governing Body of Revolver and Pistol Marksmen</i> (2nd ed., January 1929), in Mansfeld Family Papers, box 5, folder 53 (Tucson, AZ: Arizona</p>

	<p>Historical Society) (hereinafter Mansfeld Papers). In subsequent editions of the USRA's informational pamphlet, the first five reasons remained unchanged. <i>See</i> United States Revolver Association, <i>The Governing Body of Revolver and Pistol Marksmen</i> (3rd ed., January 1931), Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53; United States Revolver Association, <i>The Governing Body of Revolver and Pistol Marksmen</i> (5th ed., April 1934), <i>in</i> Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53; United States Revolver Association, <i>The Governing Body of Revolver and Pistol Marksmen</i> (6th ed., August 1936), <i>in</i> Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53. Beginning with the fourth edition, however, the sixth reason changed slightly to read: "And in spite of legal advice to the contrary, we still believe that the Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States means just what it says: 'The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.'" United States Revolver Association, <i>The Governing Body of Revolver and Pistol Marksmen</i> (4th ed., April 1932), Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53.</p>
37	<p><i>training and familiarity</i>: "States are Asked to Pass Uniform Revolver Laws," <i>Albuquerque Morning Journal</i> (NM), May 19, 1912, p. 6. <i>See also</i> United States Revolver Association, "Application for Membership," undated 1926, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53 ("We appreciate your support in the work which we are doing successfully in spite of the opposition which would disarm and leave us a Nation of unarmed and untrained citizens, unable to defend ourselves, our property or our Country.").</p>
37	<p><i>myriad of local firearms restrictions</i>: "The U.S. Revolver Association to Take Hand in Law Making," <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), March 20, 1912, p. 9.</p>
37	<p><i>own and use firearms</i>: "States are Asked to Pass Uniform Revolver Laws," <i>Albuquerque Morning Journal</i> (NM), May 19, 1912, p. 6.</p>
37	<p><i>from anti-gun propagandists</i>: Memorandum accompanying January 11, 1925 letter from Frank H. Hanson to Smith & Wesson, "Why is this Thus?" undated, Smith & Wesson Records, box 1, folder 14, Gun Legislation.</p>
37	<p><i>possess a pistol or revolver</i>: United States Revolver Association, "Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales: Why Revolver Sales Should be Uniform," Bulletin No. 2, January 24, 1923, <i>in</i> Charles Lewis Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Gilman Papers), p. 1. For other sources discussing the proposed contents of the USRA's model legislation, see "The Gun-Toting Criminal," <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 1, 1922, p. 12; "For Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales," <i>Chillicothe-Tribune</i> (MO), October 14, 1922, p. 2; "Work Against Passage of Anti-Revolver Laws," <i>American Artisan</i>, March 25, 1916, p. 24; "Anti-Pistol Legislation and It's Tendencies: A Bullet-Proof Revolver Law," <i>Hardware Reporter</i>, March 21, 1913, pp. 59-60; "National Revolver Laws," <i>American Artisan</i>, August 31, 1912, p. 16; "The Effects of Revolver Legislation Upon Hardware Dealers," <i>American Artisan</i>, May 25, 1912, p. 30; "Pistol Association Asks for Laws," <i>Vinita Daily Chieftain</i> (OK), May 11, 1912, p. 1.</p>
37	<p><i>books for decades</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 156-57, 172.</p>

37-39	<i>carry deadly weapons in public places</i> : Ibid., pp. 157-61. See also Patrick J. Charles, “The Faces of the Second Amendment Outside the Home, Take Two: How We Got Here and Why It Matters,” <i>Cleveland State Law Review</i> 64 (2016): 373, 419-22 n.245.
39	<i>before obtaining a license</i> : See United States Revolver Association, “Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales: Why Revolver Sales Should be Uniform,” p. 2; “A Bill to Provide for Uniform Revolver Sales: Based upon Senate Bill 4012 Introduced in the U.S. Senate,” September 22, 1922, § 8, Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence. See also <i>Handbook of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting</i> (Philadelphia, PA: n.p., 1924), 714 (noting how the USRA advocates that “[g]reat care should be exercised in the drafting of a provision concerning the carrying of concealed weapons,” and “convincing evidence of necessity should be required before such a permit is granted.”); United States Revolver Association, “The Case against the Anti-Revolver Law,” <i>Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives on the Proposed Revenue Act of 1918, Part II</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 1190–94; “Anti-Pistol Legislation and Its Tendencies: A Bullet-Proof Revolver Law,” <i>Hardware Reporter</i> , March 21, 1913, p. 59 (noting that the USRA, arms manufacturers, and a “great majority of dealers” favored “laws which prohibit the carrying of firearms, except by those persons who have secured permits from the proper authorities”); “The Effects of Revolver Legislation Upon Hardware Dealers,” <i>American Artisan</i> , May 25, 1912, p. 30 (“That any citizen may procure from the mayor, chief of police or any magistrate a license to carry a firearm provided he can show cause why he should go armed.”). In accord with the overwhelmingly majority of lawmakers, law enforcement officials, members of the press, and the public, the USRA wanted to stop the precarious practice of habitual or promiscuous gun toting. For the broad range of support against habitual or promiscuous gun-toting, see Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 162-65, 171-74. For some example of gun rights supporters espousing support for armed carriage restrictions and the legal requirement that one be sufficiently trained before going armed in public, see H.C. Ridgely, “Why Not Carry Firearms?,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , December 1926, pp. 464, 465 (“The untrained are never safe when handling firearms, but are dangerous to themselves and to others.”); “A Congressional Firearms Inquiry,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 15, 1924, p. 11 (arguing that Congress should require “every law officer, federal and municipal, to prove proficiency in the practical use of firearms before a weapon is issued to him as a prerequisite to his privilege of going legally armed”); “Uniform Law—Purchase License,” undated, Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence (Charles L. Gilman, a sporting and hunting writer, and NRA supporter, noting that a “license to carry should be granted only upon satisfactory proof of necessity”); Letter from Charles L. Gilman to Nels T. Moen, March 17, 1923, Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence (discouraging gun-toting and noting that the “novice gun-owner had better be left where he will keep his gun at home and get acquainted with it.”); “National Revolver Laws,” <i>American Artisan</i> , August 31, 1912, p. 16; “The Talk of the Day,” <i>New York Tribune</i> , July 29, 1912, p. 6 (detective William J. Burns, who later became head of the FBI, stating, “It is no exaggeration to claim that three-fourths of our pistol homicides can be prevented by checking ‘gun-toting.’ Pass laws enabling responsible citizens

	<p>who can show cause for arming themselves to obtain licenses to carry revolvers.”); <i>The Pistol as a Weapon of Defense: In the House and on the Road</i> (New York, NY: The Industrial Publication Company, 1875), 9-10 (“It is not every one that has the right to carry an instrument which may at any moment be so used to cause the death of others; without hesitation we exclude from this category children and imbeciles, but the further question arises: Shall every man that in ordinary business matters is accounted of sound mind, be allowed to carry a pistol, when he chooses to do? So far as legal enactments are concerned, nothing can be done to discriminate between the most nervous individual, and the coolest and bravest man in existence. But upon those with whom moral and prudential considerations have as great weight as the laws of the statute book, we would urge that no man has a right to carry such a terribly efficient instrument of destruction unless he is perfectly assured of his power of self control, and of his ability to use the weapon without incurring the danger of injuring friends and innocent persons. Nervous and excitable persons; those who in any trying emergency are liable to lose their self control, and to fire at random, should never carry a pistol under any circumstances whatever.”)</p>
39	<p><i>more restrictive legislation</i>: The USRA claimed that if their model firearms legislation was “passed nationally” it “would do away with the flood of ‘Thou Shall Nots’ which is nullifying our title of the land of liberty and home of the brave.” <i>U.S.R.A. Bulletin</i>, vol. 11, No. 11, August 1926, p. 4, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53. <i>See also</i> United States Revolver Association, “Prohibiting Pistols,” <i>Bulletin</i> No. 6, February 21, 1923, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53 (“What this country needs in connection with this matter is not prohibitory laws nor unduly restrictive laws, but a uniform law in all States which will make it plain to the criminal that while every reputable citizen has the legal right to obtain and keep in his home or place of business a pistol or revolver, the criminal has no such right. The law should further provide that no pistol or revolver may be carried concealed on the person or in a vehicle unless its owner shall have obtained a license from a designated authority...If is for the purpose of preventing the unauthorized carrying of pistols and revolvers and, as far as possible, keeping such weapons out of the hand so criminals that the United States Revolver Association is endeavoring to have a Uniform Law enacted by all of the States.”).</p>
39	<p><i>avoid this difficulty</i>: United States Revolver Association, “Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales: Why Revolver Sales Should be Uniform,” <i>Bulletin</i> No. 2, January 23, 1923, <i>in</i> Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence. <i>See also</i> United States Revolver Association, “Sane Revolver Regulation,” <i>Bulletin</i> No. 1, undated, Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence.</p>
39	<p><i>criminal use of these weapons</i>: United States Revolver Association, “Disarming the Criminal,” <i>Bulletin</i> No. 3, January 31, 1923, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53. <i>See also</i> United States Revolver Association, “An Incorrect Theory,” <i>Bulletin</i> No. 11, March 28, 1923, <i>in</i> Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53 (“The way to curb the use of pistols and revolvers by criminals is not by making it difficult for the reputable citizen to buy and possess such weapons, but by surrounding the sale of these weapons with restrictions which will operate only against the crook.”); United States Revolver Association, “Criminals Not Made by Pistols,” <i>Bulletin</i> No. 5, February 15, 1923, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53 (“The criminal fears punishment. If he knows that</p>

	<p>the use of a weapon in the commission of crime means the certainty of an added term of imprisonment, he will hesitate to use one. Likewise, if he knows that all citizens have the right to possess weapons and presumably have availed themselves of that right and are therefore in a position to defend themselves, he will hesitate to attack.”).</p>
39	<p><i>firearms laws in U.S. history</i>: Adam Winkler, <i>Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America</i> (W.W. Norton & Co., 2011), 208; “Criminals Don’t Like It,” <i>Reading Times</i> (PA), January 23, 1924, p. 4; “Concealed Weapons,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), August 18, 1923, p. 4; “A Tightening Up of Crime Laws,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), April 4, 1923, p. 4; “Wants Pistols Sold Here Under License,” <i>New York Times</i>, February 14, 1923, p. 5; “Asks Regulation of Pistol Sale,” <i>Gettysburg Times</i> (PA), November 4, 1922, p. 1. For some examples of the USRA’s model legislation, see “A Bill to Provide for Uniform Revolver Sales: Based upon Senate Bill 4012 Introduced in the U.S. Senate,” September 22, 1922, §§ 1-17; “Assembly Bill No. 263,” June 12, 1923, <i>Handbook of the National Conference of Commissioners</i>, pp. 733-42; “S.B. No. 256,” March 7, 1923, <i>Laws Passed at the Eighteenth Session of Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota</i> (Bismarck, ND: Knight Printing Co., 1923), 379-83.</p>
39	<p><i>NRA entered the political fray</i>: In the February 1, 1926, edition of <i>American Rifleman</i>, the NRA stated it was prompted to join the movement after the USRA’s 1926 annual meeting, which was held a month earlier. The NRA also stated there had been some inter-organizational jealousies with the USRA, but they quickly “vanished” upon the NRA offering to join forces. See “All Together Fellows! Pull!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1, 1926, p. 21. More than a decade later, in a 1941 editorial in the <i>American Rifleman</i>, C.B. Lister claimed that the NRA joined the USRA’s efforts because they sensed “something more was at stake” than just regulating pistols. To the NRA, that something more was that the strict regulation of pistols would eventually lead to the strict regulation of all firearms. See C.B. Lister, “Awakening,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1941, p. 6. Although the NRA did not officially join the USRA in fighting anti-firearm legislation until 1926, the NRA was already on record opposing restrictive firearms legislation. See, e.g., “The Police Panacea,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, May 15, 1923, p. 10; “The Gun-Toting Criminal,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 1, 1922, p. 12; “Anti-Firearm Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, October 1, 1922, p. 14; “The Annual Anti-Firearm Wave,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, March 15, 1921, p. 8; “Watch the Anti-Firearm Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, December 15, 1919, p. 8; “Firearms and Crime Prevention,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, February 8, 1919, p. 318; “Anti-Firearm Legislation,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, December 21, 1916, pp. 248-49. Also, it is worth noting that as early as 1923, the NRA claimed that its efforts were crucial in securing the passage of “sane” firearms legislation and defeating the attempts of “propagandists” and “pacifists” to “disarm the citizens of the country.” See National Rifle Association, <i>National Matches and International Matches 1923: September 1 to September 27</i> (Camp Perry, OH: 1923), 14-15. See also National Rifle Association, <i>The National Matches: August 22 to September 20</i> (Camp Perry, OH: 1925), 7 (“The fourth project has been the guiding of legislation along sane lines insofar as restrictions on the sale and possession of firearms are concerned. The Association has</p>

	<p>not at any time attempted to hinder the passage of intelligent legislation along these lines, but by pointing out obviously unfair or unwise provisions in the motley collection of restrictory bills which have been called to its attention from all part of the country it has been possible to amend many of the bills so as to not deprive honest citizens of their right to own and learn how to use a gun for their protection and recreation.”). However, the truth of the matter is that until 1926 the NRA did not involve itself in the fight against “anti-firearms” laws. In fact, from 1916 to 1925, the NRA repeatedly provided one to two responses to those members that wanted the organization to fight against “anti-firearms” laws. The first was the place the onus on the members—as well as every sportsman, hunter, and firearms owner—to fight. <i>See, e.g.</i> “Who’s to Blame?” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, January 15, 1923, p. 14; “Anti-Firearm Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, October 1, 1922, p. 14; “Watch the Anti-Firearm Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, December 15, 1919, p. 8; <i>see also</i> Eltinge F. Warner, “Who is to Blame?” <i>Field and Stream</i>, June 1921, p. 143. The second was to defer to the USRA. <i>See, e.g.</i>, “Fight the Anti-Firearm Law,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, February 2, 1918, pp. 368-69; Kendrick Scofield, “U.S.R.A. Names New Officers,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, January 26, 1918, pp. 345-46; Another Shooter, “More Concerning Anti-Pistol Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, March 22, 1917, p. 515; Shooter, “Urges Union Against Anti-Pistol Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, February 15, 1917, p. 415; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 3,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 30, 1916, pp. 184, 187; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 2,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 23, 1916, pp. 165-66; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 1,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 16, 1916, pp. 145-46; <i>see also</i> C.B. Lister, “The Remedy,” <i>Du Pont Magazine</i>, March 1924, pp. 10-11 (noting that in 1924 the NRA’s response to “advocates to anti-firearms legislation” was four-fold; 1) train local police departments in rifle marksmanship; 2) train local police departments in pistol marksmanship; 3) form and organize additional civilian rifle clubs; and 4) to “urge the installation of rifle galleries in educational institutions...”).</p>
39	<p><i>alongside the USRA</i>: The cooperation between the USRA and NRA came following the National Conference of Commissioners (NCC) decision to explore model firearms legislation of its own. <i>See</i> “N.R.A. Directors Hold Sixty-First Annual Meeting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1932, pp. 7-9; C.B. Lister, “N.R.A. Policies for ’28 Outlined at Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1928, pp. 5-6; Henry Morris, “The National Crime Commission Anti-Gun Bill,” <i>Outdoor Life</i>, June 1927, pp. 28-29, 80-81; Jack Rohan, “N.R.A. Directors Meet,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1927, p. 5; “Urges Control of Traffic in Machine Guns,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), February 6, 1927, p. 9; “To Ask All States for Ban on Pistols,” <i>New York Times</i>, January 30, 1927, p. 4; “Uniform Statute on Firearms Planned,” <i>Reno Gazette-Journal</i> (NV), January 14, 1927, p. 8; Charles V. Imlay, “The Uniform Firearms Act,” <i>American Bar Association Journal</i> 12 (1926): 767, 767-69 (1926); “Pistol Law Another on Program of National Conference on Uniform State Laws,” <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> (MI), August 25, 1925, p. 17.</p>
39	<p><i>movement as its very own</i>: It seems this takeover began on March 26, 1932, in the wake of New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt having vetoed the USRA’s and NRA’s attempt at repealing and replacing the Sullivan Law with the USRA’s model</p>

	<p>firearms legislation. See Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 194-203. The primary reason for the NRA takeover was the USRA was unable to attract new members and clubs like the NRA. Still, in the years that followed, USRA officials tried to recruit new members by highlighting the organization's historic role in fighting "punk legislation in regards to handguns..." Letter from S.J. Mansfeld, USRA vice president, to Dick Cunningham, November 10, 1932, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53. As a side note, it is worth noting that in 1941 C.B. Lister, NRA treasurer and the managing editor of <i>American Rifleman</i>, proffered a revisionist history as to the origins of gun rights movement. Lister inaccurately claimed that while "[s]portsmen's organizations and outdoor magazines...displayed little interest in the legislative attempts to bring the reputable pistol shooter under control of the political authorities," the NRA was involved in fight against anti-firearms legislation. C.B. Lister, "Awakening," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1941, p. 6. Years later, the NRA once again advanced this revisionist history in an informational pamphlet. See National Rifle Association, <i>Questions and Answers: Facts About the N.R.A.</i> (1946) ("Since 1871, the year N.R.A. was established, the Association has hammered away on the right of honest gun owning citizens to own and enjoy firearms. For three quarters of a century, the Association has led the fight against legislation aimed at infringing that privilege, as guaranteed in the American Bill of Rights! The N.R.A.'s work in this respect alone has fully justified its existence.").</p>
39	<p><i>NRA's tutelage</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 204-5. For some examples of where the NRA outlined its policies on firearms regulations, see "More on Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1937, p. 6; C.B. Lister, "Governor Roosevelt Upholds Sullivan Law," <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1932, pp. 20-21; Karl T. Frederick, "Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History, Part 1," <i>American Journal of Police Science</i> 2 (1931): 440-51; Karl T. Frederick, "Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History, Part 2," <i>American Journal of Police Science</i> 3 (1932): 72-82; Karl T. Frederick, "Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History, Part 3," <i>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</i> 23 (1932): 531-42; "Merry Christmas—and Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1929, p. 6; C.B. Lister, "All In a Day's Work," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1928, pp. 31-2; Milton A. Reckord, "The Truth About the Firearms Situation and a Suggestion for its Practical Solution," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1927, p. 4; "Guarding the Mails," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1, 1926, p. 8.</p>
39	<p><i>a negative light</i>: In most cases, these so-called "reformers" or "do-gooders" were merely advocating for firearms restrictions because they believed such restrictions would be in the best interest of public safety. See, e.g., Nicholas Albano, <i>Good Morning Judge!</i> (Newark, NJ: D.S. Colyer, 1932), 189-211; John R. Thomson, "Put the Revolver Away!" <i>Continent</i>, October 6, 1921, p. 1121; Matthew J. Eder, "The Urgent Need of Anti-Pistol Legislation," <i>National Police Journal</i>, November 1917, pp. 6, 26-27; Frederick L. Hoffman, "The Increase in Murder," <i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> 125 (May 1926): 20-29; George P. Le Brun, "Fatalities in Manhattan," <i>World Almanac and Encyclopedia</i> (Press Publishing Co. 1916), p. 844; Frederick L. Hoffman, "The Homicide of American Cities for 1914," <i>Spectator</i>, December 23, 1915, pp. 388-90; Frederick L. Hoffman, "The Suicide Record of 1914," <i>Spectator</i>, November 25, 1915, pp. 327-29; Edward</p>

	Marshall, "Guarding New York Against Death By Violence," <i>New York Times</i> , March 1, 1914, p. 44; Frederick L. Hoffman, "Homicide Records of American Cities," <i>Spectator</i> , November 6, 1913, pp. 204-6; "Is the Pistol Responsible for Crime?," <i>Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology</i> 1 (1911): 793-94; "Homicide and the Carrying of Concealed Weapons," <i>Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology</i> 2 (1911): 92; William McAdoo, "The Concealed Weapon: How to Prevent Fifty Thousand Crimes a Year," <i>New-York Tribune</i> , July 2, 1905, p. B11.
39	<i>not the first to utilize this tactic</i> : See, e.g., Henry Morris, "The Folly of Anti-Gun Laws," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , November 1922, pp. 337-38; Horace Kephart, "The Right to Bear Arms," <i>Outing</i> , May 1922, pp. 70-71.
39	<i>ignorant of firearms</i> : See, e.g., "Make This Another Banner Shooting Year..." <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1938, insert, p. 1; "How Will They Vote?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1932, p. 6; "Practical 'Peace Conference,'" <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1931, p. 6; "Resisting the Anti-Gun Crank," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1, 1927, p. 10; "Watch the Anti-Firearm Laws," <i>Arms and the Man</i> , December 15, 1919, p. 8. See also "Against Firearms Act," <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), March 7, 1938, p. 6; L.P. Aker, "Firearms," <i>Courier Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), February 17, 1938, p. 6; "The Criminal and Firearms," <i>Santa Ana Register</i> (CA), June 17, 1936, p. 18; Ray P. Holland, "Anti-Gun Mania," <i>Field and Stream</i> , May 1936, p. 19; Elizabeth S. Hall, "A Lady Speaks," <i>Field and Stream</i> , January 1936, p. 5; "The Sinister Influence," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1935, p. 6; Eltinge F. Warner, "You Have No Constitutional Rights!" <i>Field and Stream</i> , March 1932, p. 15; "Bricks and Guns," <i>Kane Republican</i> (PA), February 17, 1931, p. 4.
40	<i>petticoated</i> : See, e.g., Otto R. Keiter, "Anti-Legislation Complaint," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1939, p. 36 ("Seriously, what can be the line of reasoning of these reformers. We know it is not common sense. It is not manhood. It is not patriotism, and we know it can never be the deliberate protection of the gangsters. Could it be just a little discolored with cowardice? Could they, perhaps, fear that many some time an open season might be declared on their kind?"). See also Elizabeth S. Hall, "A Lady Speaks," <i>Field and Stream</i> , January 1936, p. 15; Harry McGuire, "Behold, the Popgun Crusaders!" <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1932, p. 16; Harry McGuire, "Farewell to the Popgun Crusaders," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , December 1931, pp. 20-21; Harry McGuire, "The Good Women of the Friday Morning Club," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , April 1929, p. 1; W.T. Burrell, "Pocket Disarmament and Reformers," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1921, p. 208; Ernest Coler, "About Gun Cranks," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , August 1911, p. 182.
40	<i>traitor to their country</i> : This was partly because the NRA did not shy away from referring to "anti-firearms" laws as "un-American." See, e.g., "Anti-Firearm Laws," <i>Arms and the Man</i> , October 1, 1922, p. 14; "Firearms and Crime Prevention," <i>Arms and the Man</i> , February 8, 1919, p. 318.
40	<i>compulsory military training</i> : Sheldon served as the editor of the "Guns and Game" department of <i>The Sportsman</i> , and subsequently for <i>Country Life</i> and <i>Outdoors Magazine</i> . Sheldon also wrote articles for several sporting, hunting, and shooting publications, including <i>Forest and Stream</i> , <i>Field and Stream</i> , <i>Shooting Times</i> , and the

	NRA's flagship magazine, <i>American Rifleman</i> . See, e.g., Colonel H.P. Sheldon, "Simon's Breeches," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1940, pp. 5-9; Colonel H.P. Sheldon, "An Armed Citizenry," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1940, pp. 5-8; Colonel H.P. Sheldon, "Parson Byroade's Sermon," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1940, pp. 3-7, 34; Colonel H.P. Sheldon, "The Rifle is Finished," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1940, pp. 5-9; Colonel H.P. Sheldon, "New Acquaintances," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1940, pp. 7-10, 37; Colonel H.P. Sheldon, "The New Rifle," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1940, pp. 5-10.
40	<i>helped combat crime</i> : "A Nation of Riflemen," undated 1944, Harold P. Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 13 (Barre, VT: Vermont Historical Society) (hereinafter Sheldon Papers) ("A Nation of Riflemen" was written for <i>American Legion Magazine</i> , but due to budget constraints was never published); "Un-American Activities," undated, Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 26; "[Untitled Writing]," undated, Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 37.
41	<i>intentionally traitorous</i> : "A Nation of Riflemen," undated 1944, Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 13.
41	<i>arrogant later on</i> : "[Untitled Writing]," undated, Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 41.
41	<i>make the speeches</i> : Ibid.
41	<i>good guy or hero</i> : See, e.g., Karl T. Frederick, "Are You Men or Mutton?" <i>Field and Stream</i> , February 1932, p. 13; Archibald Rutledge, "What Sportsmen Bring Home," <i>Field and Stream</i> , October 1936, p. 17.
41	<i>divide was historicism</i> : It is worth noting that the USRA also invoked historicism in advocating for gun rights. However, the USRA's invocation of historicism was tempered compared to that of the NRA. See United States Revolver Association, "An Unreasonable Comparison," Bulletin No. 8, March 7, 1923, in Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53 (arguing against strict firearms controls on the grounds that American history is intertwined with firearms).
41	<i>defenders of the nation</i> : See, e.g., Joe McCann, "A Case for Minute Men," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1942, pp. 22-24; Joe McCann, "A Case for Minute Men," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1942, pp. 27-29; Joe McCann, "A Case for Minute Men," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1942, pp. 12-15; "The Individual Rifleman," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1942, p. 11; "Our Responsibility," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1941, p. 5; H.P. Sheldon, "An Armed Citizenry," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1940, pp. 5-8; "Pendulum," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1939, p. 4; "Take Pride in Your Job," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1937, p. 4; "Constitution Week," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1935, p. 6; "Editorial," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1932, p. 6; "Hysteria in High Places," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1932, p. 4; "Don't Kid Yourself," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 15, 1926, p. 8.
41	<i>Revolution era Minutemen</i> : See Merritt A. Edson, "Is the Rifleman Outmoded?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1954, p. 16; Donald L. Jackson, "The Man With a Rifle," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1951, pp. 13-16; "Truth—Self Evident," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1949, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "History vs. Histrionics," <i>American Rifleman</i> ,

	<p>May 1943, p. 13; “Minute Man 1942,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1942, pp. 26-28; Raymond Stan, “A New American Militia,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1942, pp. 5-6; “—Ism,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1939, p. 2; Stephen D. Butts, “A Letter,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, December 1933, 15; “Fight!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1932, p. 4; “Make the Spirit of ’76 the Spirit of ’32,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1932, p. 6; “George Washington Inspires Sportsmen,” <i>Tyrone Daily Herald</i> (PA), February 19, 1932, p. 7; “A Memorial—A Heritage,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1932, p. 4; “The Palladium of Our Security,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1930, p. 6; “The Spirit of ’76,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1929, p. 6.</p>
41	<p><i>Nation of Riflemen</i>: In 1927, the motto read, “America—Once Again—A Nation of Riflemen.” See “Barriers Burned Away!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 15, 1926, back cover. In 1947, the motto read, “Make American Again a Nation of Riflemen.” See “Target for 1947,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1947, p. 3.</p>
41	<p><i>firearms controls were not</i>: See, e.g., “Fight!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1932, p. 4.</p>
41	<p><i>firearms was eliminated</i>: See “The Clearing Picture,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1933, p. 4; “Federal Firearms Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1933, p. 4; “We Forget,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1933, p. 6; “Our Business is Everybody’s Business,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1933, p. 6; “Tyros on the Hill,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1932, p. 6; “Lawless (?) America,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1931, p. 6. See also Eltinge F. Warner, “Firearm Laws and the Constitution,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, October 1946, p. 41 (“The anti-gun people will never be satisfied until they have in one way or another, made it unlawful or impossible for the private citizen to have and use a gun of any kind, even for sport.”).</p>
41	<p><i>when making this argument</i>: See “NRA Head Scoffs at Gun License Law in New York,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), January 7, 1955, p. 14; C.B. Lister, “Invasion,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1943, p. 11; “Suggest Training in Use of Small Arms By Citizens,” <i>Oshkosh Daily Northwestern</i> (WI), June 25, 1940, p. 9; “C.B. Lister Assails Cummings Speech,” <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), November 29, 1935, p. 3; “The Sinister Influence,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1935, p. 6; “Stick to the Issue, Mr. Alco!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1934, p. 6; “Powder Smoke,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1934, p. 4; “Shades of the Pioneers!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1934, p. 4; “Gun Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1934, p. 4; Karl T. Frederick, “Are You Men or Mutton?” <i>Field and Stream</i>, February 1932, p. 13. See also “The Plot to Take Your Guns Away,” <i>Outdoor Life</i>, April 1941, p. 20; Arthur Grahame, “The Plan to Disarm Sportsmen,” <i>Outdoor Life</i>, July 1938, pp. 17, 19; Ray P. Holland, “Guns,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, January 1934, p. 15; “So This is America!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 15, 1926, p. 8.</p>
42	<p><i>socialism, and communism</i>: See William Fulton, “Sullivan Law, Boon to Thugs, 40 Years Old,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i>, November 1, 1951, p. 6F; C.B. Lister, “A Soldier Speaks,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1949, p. 8; C.B. Lister, “Simple Arithmetic,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1949, p. 10; C.B. Lister, “Matter of Proportion,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, “Optimist – Or Sucker?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1948, p. 12; C.B. Lister, “State of Mind,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1948, p. 8; C.B. Lister, “Pattern in Red,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April</p>

	<p>1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Passion for Crisis," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "The Opium Eaters," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1947, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "War and Peace," <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, "Straightening the Record," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, "For Disarming the Bourgeoisie," <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1947, p. 7; C.B. Lister, "The History of Liberty," <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1946, p. 9; C.B. Lister, "Pious Subterfuge," <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1946, p. 9; C.B. Lister, "Invasion," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1943, p. 11; "Zero Hour," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1940, p. 4; "'National Defense' Decoy," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1940, p. 4; "Why Firearms Control," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1939, p. 36; "Gun Editor Sharpe on Anti-Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1934, p. 36; "The Clearing Picture," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1933, p. 4; "Why Gun Laws?" <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1933, p. 4; "The Senate Sets an Example," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1929, p. 6; "Practical 'Peace Conference'," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1934, p. 6; "Winter Sports," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1928, p. 6; "Everybody's Business," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1928, p. 6. <i>See also</i> C.B. Lister, "Which Flag?" <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1941, p. 4 (insinuating that communists are working to undermine American nationalism and patriotism); "The 'Debunkers'," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1931, pp. 6, 45 (claiming there is an attempt by "debunkers" to replace "internationalism" for "patriotism," and use "debunked" histories to achieve disarmament); Charles L. Gilman, "Forest, Stream and Target," <i>Minneapolis Star</i>, September 12, 1925, p. 11 (hypothesizing that senator Royal S. Copeland's federal firearms legislation could be part a "deep laid scheme of vicious men to invade the safety and liberty of the country.").</p>
43	<p><i>controls there were the better</i>: The NRA often held up British firearms laws as an example of what could happen if strict firearms regulations were ever instituted in the United States. <i>See, e.g.</i>, "The Most Uncommon Thing," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1941, p. 4; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i>, pp. 13-14.</p>
43	<p><i>America with less law</i>: "Lawless (?) America," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1931, p. 6. <i>See also</i> Karl T. Frederick, "Anti-Pistol Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1928, p. 12.</p>
43	<p><i>increase in crime</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, C.B. Lister, "Safer Shooting," <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1941, p. 6; "A New Spring Song," <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1940, p. 4; W.F. Shadel, "Gun Accidents," <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1939, p. 39; "Safety First," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1937, p. 4; "The Challenge of Open Season," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1936, p. 4; "Another Vicious and Unnecessary Firearm Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1936, p. 2; "Random Shots," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1934, p. 4; "Gun Registration," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1934, 4; "Cover Page," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1932, p. 1; C.B. Lister, "The Remedy," <i>Du Pont Magazine</i>, March 1924, pp. 10-11; "The Police Panacea," <i>Arms and the Man</i>, May 15, 1923, p. 10; "The Gun-Toting Criminal," <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 1, 1922, p. 12; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., "Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 3," <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 30, 1916, pp. 184, 187. <i>See also</i> "Passage of Firearms Control Law Opposed," <i>Fresno Bee</i> (CA), September 7, 1934, p. 22; P.G. Platt, "Hands Up!"</p>

	<p><i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>, April 30, 1934, p. 8; “Disarming the Citizen Arms the Crook,” <i>Harrisburg Telegraph</i> (PA), April 14, 1934, p. 2; Ollie Baus, “In the Big Outdoors,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i>, February 11, 1934, p. 2; Harold F. Dawes, “Logic on Pistol Laws,” <i>Outdoor Life</i>, July 1932, pp. 72-73; Paul V. Wakefield, “Anti-Firearms Measures,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, February 14, 1931, p. 6; L.S. Day, “The Anti-Pistol Bogey,” <i>Anniston Star</i> (AL), January 25, 1931, p. 4; B.G.L., “Dear K.C.B.,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), July 9, 1930, p.24; “Amendments May Be Worse Than Useless,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, March 30, 1929, p. 20; “Pampering the Law Breaker,” <i>Lancaster Eagle-Gazette</i> (OH), October 9, 1928, p. 6; “Don’t Disarm the Citizen,” <i>Morning Register</i> (Eugene, OR), September 13, 1925, p. 12; “Guns for Protection,” <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), September 24, 1925, p. 6.</p>
43	<p><i>injuries and deaths: See, e.g.,</i> “Tyros on the Hill,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1932, p. 6; “The Best Defense,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1932, p. 6; “Bandit Menace is Best Ended with Bullets,” <i>Daily Courier</i> (Connellsville, PA), November 18, 1931, p. 3; F. Theodore Dexter, “Facing an Armed Crook,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1930, pp. 24, 38; “—And They Thought He Wouldn’t Fight!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1928, p. 18; Allyn H. Tedmon, “Boys and Rifles,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1927, pp. 8-9; “Opposes Firearms Laws,” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), April 6, 1927, p. 4; “Page Magistrate McAdoo,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1, 1926, p. 8.</p>
43	<p><i>support these claims: See, e.g.,</i> Calvin Goddard, “The Pistol Bogey,” <i>American Journal of Police Science</i> 1 (1930): 178, 179-87; Frederick, “Pistol Regulation, Part 1,” pp. 450-51. In 1934, the NRA advanced the specious claim that jurisdictions which adopted the NRA sponsored Uniform Firearms Act (UFA) experienced less homicides than those jurisdictions that adopted more restrictive firearms controls. <i>See</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the Alco Bill</i> (1934), 4-5, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52. There three clear evidentiary problems (and undoubtedly more) with the NRA’s claim. First, the NRA failed to provide any evidence that connected the passage of the UFA with the homicide rate. <i>Ibid.</i>, p. 4. Second, as it pertained to state homicide rates, the NRA selectively pulled its data to support a desired conclusion. <i>Compare, ibid.</i>, p. 4, <i>with</i> Department of Justice, <i>Uniform Crime Reports</i>, vol. 5, no. 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934), 8. Third, as it pertained to city homicide rates, in addition to selectively choosing cities to support a desired conclusion, the NRA appears to have fabricated the homicide rates altogether. <i>Compare</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the Alco Bill</i>, p. 4, <i>with</i> Department of Justice, <i>Uniform Crime Reports</i>, vol. 5, no. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934), 10.</p>
43	<p><i>per capita than less: See</i> “Russia is Learning to Shoot,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1935, p. 38; “Another Phase of the Gun Problem,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1932, p. 48; C.B. Lister, “Governor Roosevelt Upholds Sullivan Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1932, pp. 20-21; “Bandits Fear Armed Resistance,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1931, p. 36; “Who Says Armed Resistance is Futile?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1931, p. 34; “One More Instance of Armed Resistance,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1931, p. 30; “A Lesson for America,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1930, p. 39; Calvin Goddard, “Gang Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January</p>

	<p>1930, pp. 16, 38; “A ‘Big’ Newspaper Makes a Discovery,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1929, pp. 6, 28; Jack Rohan, “No Freedom for Crooks,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1, 1927, pp. 9-11; Philip B. Sharpe, “Thug Medicine,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 15, 1926, pp. 5-6; “A Day in Chicago,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 15, 1926, p. 8 (“The armed citizen who knows how to handle his weapon and keeps it where it is handy always is more than a match for the outlaw.”); A. Dumbell, “Reactions to an Editorial,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1, 1926, p. 11 (“While I am free to admit that a revolver is no protection to anyone who carries them, still and all they do make one feel better when you have them.”); C.B. Lister, “The Remedy,” <i>Du Pont Magazine</i>, March 1924, pp. 10-11. <i>See also</i> Rowland Thomas, “Unlimited Gun-Toting,” <i>New York World</i>, September 20, 1925, reprinted in <i>Outlawing the Pistol</i>, Lamar T. Behman ed. (New York, NY: H.W. Wilson Company, 1926), 37-47 (summarizing and analyzing the political debate over the ‘more guns, less crime’ argument circa 1925); William McAdoo, <i>When the Court Takes a Recess</i> (New York, NY: E.P. Dutton Co. 1924), 96-131 (summarizing and analyzing the ‘more guns, less crime’ debate circa 1924).</p>
43	<p><i>thwarting armed criminals</i>: The NRA also pushed this message when promoting itself and the shooting sports. <i>See, e.g.</i>, William S. Dutton, “Why Not Become a Crack Shot?” <i>Elks Magazine</i>, August 1924, pp. 16-17, 80.</p>
43	<p><i>sanction vigilantism</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, “Shades of the Pioneers!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1934, p. 4 (informing NRA members to recall the “days when the pioneer vigilantes with the aid of the Peacemaker established law and order” to the see the “value” of having a “pistol in the hands of an honest citizen”); “The Best Defense,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1932, p. 6; E.V. Menefee, “Indiana Vigilantes Alert,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1932, p. 43; “Talks Value of Training With Pistol, Rifle,” <i>Evening Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), March 23, 1932, p. 25 (statement of C.B. Lister) (“Skilled marksmen have been proved to be the best asset in the war against crime...Every day we read of holdups or burglaries being frustrated by intended victims who knew how to use a pistol. And it is of note that the States which do not have unreasonably stringent laws against possession of firearms are the States where there are fewer major crimes and are the States least infested with gangs.”); Major W.D. Frazer, “The Future of American Pistol Shooting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 15, 1926, pp. 3, 5 (“Let us organize and train the forces at our command and prove...that educating and training the police forces and citizenry in the proper and efficient use of pistols more will be accomplished toward the suppression of banditry, burglary, murder and similar crimes than by the passage of all the anti-pistol laws that ever have been or will be proposed and forced on the nation.”). <i>See also</i> Ray P. Holland, “Your Gun and Mine,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, January 1939, p. 13 (“No one can believe that a law which prevents only law-abiding citizens from owning and carrying firearms can ever restrain the thug.”); Horace Kephart, “The Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Outing</i>, May 1922, pp. 70, 71 (“There are four million registered sportsmen in this country licensed to use firearms in the field. They know how to shoot. There are four million ex-service men who were taught how to shoot, if they did not already know. There are other millions who could and would give good account of themselves in an encounter with arms. There stands our real safeguard against anarchy—back of</p>

	the police and the standing army, those millions of good civilians <i>who have arms and who know how to use them</i> . If we must pass a nation-wide law about pistols let it be a law that encourages reputable citizens to get the best ones and train themselves to use them right, and that makes it difficult as possible for disreputable citizens to get arms equally good.”).
43	<i>no work for the jury</i> : “Vigilante Method Short and to the Point,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1928, p. 30.
43	<i>the Vigilantes</i> : “The Attorney General is Inconsistent,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1934, p. 4.
43	<i>thwarting criminal activity</i> : The column started off monthly and then appeared sporadically. See “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1941, p. 36; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1939, p. 36; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1939, p. 34; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1939, p. 38; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1938, p. 39; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1938, p. 38; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1937, p. 39; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1937, p. 44; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1937, p. 45; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1936, p. 38; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1936, p. 42; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1936, p. 40; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1936, p. 45; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1935, p. 44; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1936, p. 38; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, p. 25; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1934, p. 40; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1934, p. 40; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, pp. 26-7; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1934, p. 28; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1934, p. 40; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1933, p. 28; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1933, p. 30; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1933, p. 32; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1933, p. 27; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1933, p. 28; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1933, p. 28; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1933, p. 28; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1932, pp. 28-29; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1932, p. 28; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1932, p. 31; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1932, p. 37; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1932, p. 39; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1932, p. 36; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1932, p. 31; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1932, p. 45; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1932, p. 37; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1932, p. 36 “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1932, p. 36.
43	<i>fallacy of an unarmed citizenry</i> : “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1939, p. 36.
43	<i>discontinued in 1941</i> : For the column’s last appearance, see “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1941, p. 36.

44	<i>defend himself with a gun</i> : Walter J. Howe, “The Armed Citizen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1958, p. 32.
44	<i>crime without bloodshed</i> : “The Silent Protectors,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1971, p. 28. <i>See also</i> “The Armed Citizen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1965, p. 16 (“To the law-abiding gun owner,” being an armed citizen “means the wherewithal to protect himself, his family, and his property...The law-abiding citizen who elects to defend himself and his loved ones, in the case of need arises, should learn proper gun handling and, also, should establish in his own mind the exact conditions under which his firearms will be used. By so doing, he better prepares himself to apply the fundamental right of self-defense and joins the ranks of <i>the armed citizen</i> .”).
44	<i>or habitually armed</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Merritt A. Edson, “The Right to Bear Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1955, p. 14 (“We [the NRA] do not hold, nor have we ever held, that the right to keep and bear arms carries with it the right to go about armed without reason...It is to say that certain controls such as those which now exist over the ‘wearing’ of concealed weapons are clearly constitutional and their being so does not affect the basic <i>right</i> to bear arms. Going about armed with a concealed weapon is a privilege which the community properly reserves for those possessed of good reason. The fact that we are required to show reason for being granted the privilege of going armed with a concealed weapon should not be interpreted as an infringement upon the right to keep and bear arms.”); Merritt A. Edson, “The Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Maryland Conservationist</i> , March 1956, pp. 14-17 (same).
44	<i>trained to do so</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , <i>National Firearms Act: Hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means House Resolution</i> , 73rd Congressional Record (Washington, DC: 1934), 59; Goddard, “The Pistol Bogey,” p. 187; “Our Friends—the Policemen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1930, p. 6 (“Regulate the sale of arms, and license those who wish to carry them.”); “A Day in Chicago,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 15, 1926, p. 8; “You Can’t Fool the Editors All the Time,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 15, 1925, p. 14 (“The <i>American Rifleman</i> does not oppose wise regulatory measures with regard to powerful weapons in crowded communities. No body of men in the country understands the need for wise regulation better than this staff.”); “The Question of Intent,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 15, 1925, p. 13; “The Police Panacea,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , May 15, 1923, p. 10; “The Gun-Toting Criminal,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , November 1, 1922, p. 12. <i>See also</i> “Laws Won’t Cut Hunting Deaths, Officials Agree,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> , October 29, 1949, p. 8 (NRA Executive Director C.B. Lister stressing that “a man who isn’t familiar with his gun has no right to be out among hundreds of hunters.”); C.B. Lister, “The Nazi Deadline,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1942, p. 7 (“The only person who can be trusted to handle a gun safely in an emergency is a person who has learned to subconsciously handle that gun safely through practice when no emergency existed.”).
44	<i>deny armed carriage licenses</i> : <i>See</i> Fred W. Strong, “We Favor Good Gun Laws,” <i>Victoria Advocate</i> (TX), March 21, 1965, p. 13 (NRA executive vice-president Franklin L. Orth, stating, “We support legislation which reasonably and clearly regulated the carrying of concealed handguns.”); National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> , p. 4; “Merry Christmas—And Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1929, p. 6. <i>See also</i> Eltinge F. Warner, “Gun

	Prohibition,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , August 1940, p. 13; Ray P. Holland, “Pistols,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , September 1936, p. 17; “Shall We Abolish the Hammer?” <i>Field and Stream</i> , September 1922, p. 557; Eltinge F. Warner, “Hand Over Your Gun!” <i>Field and Stream</i> , May 1930, p. 19.
44	<i>hunting grounds</i> : See, e.g., “NRA Basic Policy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, p. 31 (“The NRA is opposed to the theory that a target shooter, hunter, or collector, in order to transport a handgun for lawful purposes, should be required to meet the conditions for a permit to carry a concealed weapon.”); “NRA Policy Statement on...Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1958, p. 35 (“The NRA is opposed to the theory that a target shooter, hunter, or collector, in order to transport a handgun for lawful purposes, should be required to meet the conditions for a permit to carry a weapon concealed on his person.”); Frank C. Daniel, “The Gun Law Problem,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1953, pp. 18, 46 (objecting to “proposals...to license the privilege of bearing a firearm openly and unconcealed for legitimate purposes.”); Merritt A. Edson, “To Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1952, p. 6 (“The right to own a personal weapon amounts to little without the corresponding right to carry it from place to place—from home to range, from tournament to tournament, in the upland country in search for birds, or in the deepest wilds in the hunt for carrying game.”); see also Patrick J. Charles, “The Second Amendment and the Basic Right to Transport Firearms for Lawful Purposes,” <i>Charleston Law Review</i> 13 (2018): 125, 159-67; Norm Nelson, Jr., “Gun Transportation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1973, pp. 17-19.
44	<i>without an armed carriage license</i> : This provision was contained in both the USRA’s and NRA’s model state firearms legislation. See “A Bill to Provide for Uniform Revolver Sales,” § 7 (noting the armed carriage licensing requirement “shall not apply to...organizations by law authorized to purchase or receive such weapons from the United States [i.e. NRA clubs and their members], or this State, nor to duly authorized military or civil organizations when parading, nor to the members therefor when at or going to or form their customary place of assembly.”); <i>Uniform Firearms Act: Drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws</i> (Chicago, IL: 1930), 4, § 6 (noting the armed carriage licensing requirement “shall not apply to...the regularly enrolled members of any organization duly authorized to purchase or receive such weapons from the United States or from this state, provided such members are at or are going to or from their places of assembly or target practice”). See also National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the Alco Bill</i> , p. 4 (noting that UFA was designed to permit “any reputable citizen to purchase a pistol or revolver from a licensed dealer, keep the gun in his home or place of business for defense purpose and carry it to or from a target range for purposes of practice without a permit from the police. If it is desired to carry a weapon <i>concealed</i> under any other circumstances, a police permit is necessary.”).
44	<i>indiscriminately armed</i> : See, e.g., Lucilius A. Emery, “The Constitutional Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Harvard Law Review</i> 28 (1915): 473, 477 (“Granting that the individual may carry weapons when necessary for his personal defense or that of his family or property, it is submitted that he may be forbidden to carry dangerous

	weapons except in cases where he has reason to believe and does believe that it is necessary for such defense.”).
44	<i>preparatory armed carriage</i> : See, e.g., “War on Gun Toting,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , July 26, 1940, p. 10; “Curb on Firearms,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , August 3, 1938, p. 8; “Gun Toting Must Stop Stroup Says,” <i>Gaffney Ledger</i> (SC), June 30, 1936, p. 1; “Gun-Toting and Murder,” <i>Daily Independent</i> (Murphysboro, IL), May 19, 1936, p. 2; Mrs. Walter Ferguson, “Better Than Guns,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , October 12, 1933, p. 12; “Ban on Murder Weapons,” <i>Evening News</i> (Wilkes-Barre, PA), August 17, 1933, p. 6; “Against Gun Toting,” <i>Bluefield Daily Telegraph</i> (WV), June 16, 1931, p. 6; “Gun Toting Bill Passed By Senate, 40 to 1,” <i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> , June 11, 1931, p. 5; “Limiting Gun Toting,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), December 21, 1930, p. 43; “Prohibit Gun Toting,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), November 9, 1930, p. 54; “Gun Toting and the Courts,” <i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> , October 9, 1930, p. 12; “Gun Toting,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), February 14, 1930, p. 11. Sometimes tragedies resulting from gun toting were used to advocate against the practice. See “Pistol Toting Tragedy,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , February 10, 1939, p. 10; “Another Victim of Gun Toting,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , September 19, 1932, p. 8.
44	<i>not press the matter</i> : See “Merry Christmas—and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1929, p. 6 (“We have no objection to legislation requiring a man to obtain a permit to carry a gun concealed as long as proper provision is made in the law to enable any honest citizen who is a member of a properly organized target-shooting club to carry his gun to and from the target range. We do not believe that the necessity of a permit to carry concealed weapons will have any appreciable effect on the use of guns by criminals; but if the police believe that such a law will help them, we have no objection to its passage.”).
44	<i>mentality of lawmaking</i> : See “A New Spring Song,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1940, p. 4; “Winter Sports,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1928, p. 6; “There Ought to Be a Law,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), December 30, 1928, p. 26; “Editorial Points to Peril of Anti-Pistol Bills Before Congress,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), December 13, 1928, p. 3; Karl T. Frederick, “The Outlook as Regards Anti-Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1928, p. 7; John Edwin Hoag, “There Ought to Be a Law,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1926, p. 242. See also “A Knowledge of Existing Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1963, p. 12; “Legislation by Regulation?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1957, p. 16; “There Ought to Be a Law!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1956, p. 16; C.B. Lister, “Taking No Chances?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1941, p. 11; Ray P. Holland, “The Anti-Gun Mania,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , December 1935, p. 15; “Everybody’s Business,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1928, p. 6.
45	<i>ownership, training, and safety</i> : See, e.g., C.B. Lister, “Taking No Chances?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1941, p. 11; “A New Spring Song,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1940, p. 4; “Talks of Value of Training with Pistol, Rifle: Factor in Preparedness for War, Against Banditry Lister Says,” <i>Evening Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), March 23, 1932, p. 25; “Value of Pistol, Rifle Shooting is Cited by Lister,” <i>News Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), March 23, 1932, p. 2. No NRA President utilized this tactic more effectively than Merritt A. Edson. See Merritt A. Edson, “Education

	<p>Versus Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1955, p. 16 (“A gun, just like an automobile, can be dangerous unless the operator has been taught how to handle it safely. A gun, just like an automobile, can be used for unlawful purposes unless the operator has been convinced that crime does not pay. These are the essential truths on which gun legislation should be based.”); Merritt A. Edson, “Education Versus Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1953, p. 12 (“Just as crime cannot be eradicated by passing laws aimed at the gun rather than at the criminal, neither can shooting accidents be wiped out by a similar approach...The real answer to gun accidents, just as has been found in traffic accidents, is education.”); Merritt A. Edson, “A Sense of Responsibility,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1952, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “A Realistic Approach,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1951, p. 16 (asserting the answer to hunting accidents is not to “pass a law,” but “gun safety education, just as driver education and training has been found to be the proper approach to the automobile accident problem.”).</p>
45	<p><i>financed by gangsters</i>: C.B. Lister, “The Remedy,” <i>Du Pont Magazine</i>, March 1924, p. 10.</p>
45	<p><i>petty bureaucrat</i>: “The Sinister Influence,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1935, p. 6.</p>
46	<p><i>ten times of that of the USRA</i>: In 1922, the USRA reported having 3,000 members. See “For Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales,” <i>Chillicothe-Tribune</i> (MO), October 14, 1922, p. 2. In 1928 and 1929, the NRA’s membership was 25,424 and 30,335, respectively. See “Summary of Report of the Executive Vice-President of the N.R.A. for the Year 1929,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1930, p. 24. By 1931, NRA membership grew to 37,634. See “N.R.A. Directors Hold Sixty-First Annual Meeting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1932, pp. 7, 8.</p>
46	<p>more than 1,700: In 1929, the total number of NRA affiliated rifle and shooting clubs was 1,776. See “Summary of Report of the Executive Vice-President of the N.R.A. for the Year 1929,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1930, p. 24. By 1931, this number grew to 1,958. See “N.R.A. Directors Hold Sixty-First Annual Meeting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1932, pp. 7, 8. In some states, the local rifle and shooting clubs were unified under an NRA affiliated state association. See “Let’s Have More State Associations,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1931, p. 28.</p>
46	<p><i>shooting ranges and conservation</i>: See, e.g., Milton A. Reckord, “The Present Situation with Respect to National Rifle Association Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1930, p. 28; Milton A. Reckord, “Members of the National Rifle Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1928, p. 8; Milton A. Reckord, “To All Members of the National Rifle Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 15, 1926, p. 7; “The Longest Step Forward,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1, 1926, back of front cover; National Rifle Association, <i>National Matches and International Matches 1923: September 1 to September 27</i> (Camp Perry, OH: 1923), 14; War Department, <i>Shooting News: Monthly Bulletin of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice in the United States</i> (January 1916), 11 (outlining the NRA’s role in “getting the War Department either to initiate [beneficial] legislation or back up any bill which our Association might oppose”).</p>

46	<p><i>relay its political message</i>: Initially, <i>American Rifleman</i> was not circulated to all NRA members. NRA members had to opt-in and pay an additional fee, on top of the annual membership fee, to receive it. However, on November 1, 1926, given the “barrage of crazy anti-gun bills” and the lack of funding for the 1926 national rifle matches, the NRA’s executive committee decided that cost of the <i>American Rifleman</i> subscription would be automatically included in the annual membership fee. Now, with every NRA member being steadily informed of “fanatical anti-gun laws and the like,” the NRA felt that the “anti-gun crank will be up against an organization that can function as a unit because all of its members know what is going on.” See “A Tie That Will Bind,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1, 1926, p. 8. See also “Barriers Burned Away!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 15, 1926, back of front cover. From 1926 to 1927, this more than doubled circulation from 10,500 to 26,600 readers. See “N.R.A. Policies for ’28 Outlined at Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1928, p. 5.</p>
46	<p><i>shooting publications</i>: Given this modest circulation, tracking down copies of the USRA’s bulletins proved rather difficult. However, this author was able to locate a handful in the private papers of two early twentieth-century gun rights advocates. For copies, see Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53; Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence.</p>
46	<p><i>ramp up its lobbying efforts</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 198-203. See also C.B. Lister, “Governor Roosevelt Upholds Sullivan Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1932, pp. 20-21.</p>
46	<p><i>pages of the American Rifleman</i>: Despite advertising itself as a lobby intent on fighting anti-firearms legislation, the NRA did not change its mission statement to reflect it. See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>Shooting Rules</i> (Washington, DC: 1933), 1 (“The objects of this Association shall be to educate the youth of the nation in marksmanship, to encourage marksmanship throughout the United States, particularly among civilians, both as a sport and for the purposes as qualifying as finished marksmen those individuals who may be called upon to serve in time of war; to encourage competition in marksmanship between teams and individuals in all parts of the United States; to encourage legislation for the establishment and maintenance of suitable ranges; to secure the issuance of arms and ammunition to those practicing on such ranges; and to create a public sentiment for the encouragement of rifle practice both as a sport and as a necessary means of national defense.”).</p>
46	<p><i>holding itself out as a lobby</i>: Beginning with the June 1932 issue of <i>American Rifleman</i>, on the cover page, the NRA listed ten organizational objectives. The first objective was providing “[a]ssistance to legislators in drafting laws discouraging the use of firearms for criminal purposes.” The second objective was the “[p]revention of the passage of legislation unnecessarily restricting the use of firearms by honest citizens.” The remaining eight objectives related to firearms safety and education. See “Why?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1932, p. 3.</p>
46	<p><i>NRA advertisements</i>: Indeed, as early as 1926, the NRA began advertising its role in fighting anti-gun legislation. However, these advertisements were far less extreme than those published from 1932 onward. See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>The National Matches: August 26 to September 16</i> (Camp Perry, OH: 1928), 11 (“The</p>

	<p>Association is non-sectarian, non-political and free from commercial domination. Unhampered by these things...the National Rifle Association is in the position to effectively fight the shooter's battles for him. How well it succeeds has been demonstrated time and again, one striking instance being the fact that ninety-six so-called 'anti-firearms' bills were killed in various State legislatures last year."); National Rifle Association, <i>Program of the Gallery Outdoor Rifle and Pistol Competitions</i> (Washington, DC: 1928), 6 ("The N.R.A....has prevented the passage of many so-called 'Anti-Firearms' bills in State Legislatures and throughout the country where the effect of such bills would have been to deprive honest citizens of their guns."); <i>The National Matches: August 21 to September 18</i> (Camp Perry, OH: 1927), 7 ("The N.R.A....has prevented the passage of many so-called 'Anti-firearms' bills in State Legislatures throughout the country where the effect of such bills would have been to deprive honest citizens of their guns."); "7 Reasons Why Your Friends Should Be Members of the Association," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1927, p. 147 ("2. Because the N.R.A. is the organization that stands between the shooters and the fanatics who are trying by means of legislation to, not only prevent the purchase of arms for protection and sport, but who would also confiscate the guns now in the shooter's possession."); "Listen Gun Bugs!" in National Rifle Association, <i>Program of the Thirty-Third Annual Sea Girt Interstate Tournament</i> (Sea Girt, NJ: 1926) ("The people who don't like guns make plenty of noise. They control publications with circulation running well over the 100,000 mark. If we are to hold our own we've got to make as much noise as they do.").</p>
46	<p><i>outlaw firearms</i>: "Wanted—Another 50,000 Sportsmen," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1932, p. 54. In another advertisement, the NRA made a similar plea, asking for others to join the organization to "carry on the battle against organized antigun fanatics." See "More People Mean More Power," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1932, p. 56.</p>
46	<p><i>outstanding N.R.A. service</i>: "This Service Warrants the Support of Every Gun-Loving Sportsman," <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1933, p. 2. See also "Helping California Now Means Self-Help Later," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1934, p. 2 ("The open season on guns has arrived. The statements of Assistant U.S. Attorney General Smith and California Prison Board Chairman Alco...indicate clearly the trend of thought concerning the kind of anti-gun legislation that will be introduced in Congress...Here is an opportunity for you to help your fellow shooters in California and to prevent a similar attack on your own guns."); "Fifty-Eight Reasons Why Your Support is Needed Now," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1933, p. 38 ("The open season on guns has just started. During the next few weeks pacifist-minded and ill-advised legislators will propose scores of <i>additional</i> anti-gun laws. There is only one side of this anti-gun question in so far as the N.R.A. is concerned. That side is the position of the honest sportsman. Good firearms laws <i>recognize</i> the shooters' rights. Bad firearms proposals are written around the assumption that every man who <i>owns</i> a gun is a crook."). For more instances in 1933 where the NRA touted its lobbying activities, see "We Do Our Part," <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1933, p. 4; "We Do Our Part," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1933, p. 3; "Quiet Efficiency," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1933, p. 6.</p>
47	<p><i>entire past generation</i>: "Tyros on the Hill," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1932, p. 6.</p>

47	<i>matter quickly accomplished</i> : “The Clearing Picture,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1933, p. 4. <i>See also</i> “Quiet Efficiency,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1933, p. 6 (“There has never been a year in which the National Rifle Association has been more successful in taking care of the legislative interested of its members. There has never been a year when the work has been accomplished so quietly. <i>There has never been a year when the members have stood in greater need of the guardianship of the Association in legislative needs.</i> ”); “Our Business is Everybody’s Business,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1933, p. 6 (making the argument if “only 1 in every 10” of the estimated 8 million sportsmen in the United States “could be rolled into the compact, aggressive, experienced ranks of the N.R.A., there would be an end to the ever-broadening efforts to make an outlaw of every man in the country who loves a gun.”).
47	requiring such permits: “N.R.A. Service,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1934, p. 3.
47	<i>bill through the American Rifleman</i> : The NRA first began reporting in detail on state and local firearms legislation in 1933. <i>See</i> “Roll Call of 1933 Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1933, p. 30; “Roll Call of 1933 Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1933, p. 38; “The Roll Call of 1933 Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1933, pp. 20-21.
47	<i>lawmakers opposing the bill</i> : For some of the earliest examples of these bulletins and press releases, see <i>To Regulate Firearms in Commerce: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce United States Senate</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 65-75; National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the Alco Bill</i> (1934), Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52.
47	<i>enactment of firearms controls</i> : For more detailed information on how the legislative division worked or how the NRA urged members to become politically active, see Calvin Goddard, “How Illinois Organized to Fight Anti-Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1934, pp. 9, 19; “Random Shots,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1934, p. 4; “Keep Those Telegrams Coming,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, p. 6.
48	<i>state and local firearms policy</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to Mr. Kasper, June 15, 1934 (on file with author) (“Besides these and other tangible benefits you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you are an active member of the only national organization in America which is successfully fighting those gun laws which seek to disarm the honest citizen. At the same time we are constantly assisting the authorities to frame sensible fire-arm laws.”).
48	<i>only ones that could stop it</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Lawless (?) America,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1931, p. 6; “A New Year—A New Start,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1931, p. 6; ¹ <i>See, e.g.</i> , National Rifle Association, <i>The American Rifleman’s Organization</i> (Washington, DC: 1927), p. 3.
48	<i>laws the NRA supported</i> : The system relied on the letters, telegrams, and telephone calls of NRA members to “set in motion a large train of events” to defeat restrictive firearms legislation or promote firearms friendly legislation. “Quiet Efficiency,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1933, p. 6. The NRA in turn educated its membership on

	<p>how to effectively influence legislators to vote for or against legislation. See J.J. Basil, Jr. and Daniel L. Mountain, "Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner: A Guide to Sound Action by the Individual for Preventing Restrictive Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1964, p. 30-32; "The Positive Approach," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1961, p. 16; John F. Soubier, "Before It's Too Late: Learn What is Required to Fight Local Antigun Legislation, and Be Ready," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1958, pp. 17-19, 32; Elizabeth T. Cornish, "Your Gun and the Non-Shooter," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1955, p. 4; Michael Nadel, "What Can We Do?" <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1954, p. 19; Frank C. Daniel, "The Gun Law Problem," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1953, pp. 16-18, 46.</p>
48	<p><i>comprehensive federal firearms legislation</i>: For a brief 1940 account of this history published by the NRA, see National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i>, p. 9. For a brief 1968 account of this history published by the NRA, see National Rifle Association, <i>The Gun Law Problem</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), 4-6. For some useful accounts of this history, see Alexander DeConde, <i>Gun Violence in America: The Struggle for Control</i> (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 140-5; Lee Kennett and James L. Anderson, <i>The Gun In America: The Origins of a National Dilemma</i> (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 206-11.</p>
48	<p><i>criminal access and use of firearms</i>: The first attempt at federal firearms legislation occurred in the 1920s with the introduction of the Capper Bill and continued with the spread of UFA. See, e.g., "Curb Gangsters Buying Guns is Object of Bill," <i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i>, April 12, 1930, p. 7; "Tight Ban on Gun Buying is Proposed in Senate," <i>Baltimore Sun</i>, April 12, 1930, p. 6; "'Anti-Crook' Gun Bill Up; 'Hit Honest Citizens!' is Complaint," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>, April 12, 1930, p. 10; "A 'Big' Newspaper Makes a Discovery," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1929, p. 6. See also Buford Dunn, "Gun Toting," <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), March 19, 1932, p. 6; Harry McGuire, "Good Women of the Friday Morning Club," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, April 1929; F.M. Barker, "The Home Gun Man," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, January 1925, pp. 42-43, A.W. Payne, "Anti-Firearm Menace Renewed," <i>Outdoor Life</i>, March 1924, p. 178; <i>Outlawing the Pistol</i>, pp. 53-70 (containing a collection of newspaper articles and editorials regarding the need for a federal law curbing the mail order sale of pistols).</p>
48	<p><i>Roosevelt as president</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 212-3. While governor of New York, Roosevelt urged Congress to take up federal firearms legislation. See "Two Bills Amending the Penal Law, in Relation to Possession and Sale of Dangerous Weapons," March 26, 1932, <i>Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt: Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, Second Term 1932</i> (Albany, NY: J.B. Lyon, 1939), 135-37. Roosevelt's call for federal firearms legislation did not go unnoticed by USRA and NRA official, nor the broader gun rights community. See Letter from Pima Pistol Club to Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 17, 1932, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53; Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to S.J. Mansfeld, USRA vice president, October 27, 1932, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53; "High Hats and Riding Breeches," <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1932, p. 4.</p>
48	<p><i>stop organized crime</i>: See "American Yard Crime Nemesis?" <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), August 28, 1933, p. 1; John L. Coontz, "Rubbing Out the Gangster," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer Sunday Magazine</i>, August 27, 1933, p. 1; "U.S. Drive on Kidnaper, Gangster and Racketeer Begins to Show Results," <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), August 10, 1933, p. 1; "Roosevelt is Fifth Presidential Target for Assassination," <i>Evening Herald</i> (Klamath Falls, OR), February</p>

	21, 1922, p. 2. New York senator Royal S. Copeland and the Senate Committee on Racketeering had advocated for federal firearms legislation well before the Justice Department made its announcement. <i>See</i> “The Increase of Crime,” <i>Daily Messenger</i> (Canandaigua, NY), July 26, 1933, p. 4; “America’s Crime Bill,” <i>Decatur Daily Review</i> (IL), July 17, 1933, p. 6; “Look to Federal Agencies to Wipe Out Racketeering,” <i>Mount Carmel Item</i> (PA), July 15, 1933, p. 2; P.H. McGowan, “Staid Capital Gets Laugh at Jiggs’ Dinner,” <i>Greenville News</i> (SC), January 31, 1932, p. 13.
48	<i>Congress were held on the subject:</i> <i>See</i> “Revamping of Anti-Crime Laws Is Being Considered,” <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), December 31, 1933, p. 6; “Better Control of Firearms to Aid Crime War,” <i>Belvidere Daily Republican</i> (IL), December 30, 1933, p. 1; “Copeland Outlines Crime Curbing Program,” <i>Greenville News</i> (SC), December 17, 1933, pp. 1, 8; “Ban on Murder Weapons,” <i>Evening News</i> (Wilkes-Barre, PA), August 17, 1933, p. 6.
48	<i>firearms bill:</i> <i>See</i> “Firearms for Criminals,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Record</i> (PA), January 11, 1934, p. 6; “Seeks Tightening Up on Criminals,” <i>Gazette and Daily York</i> (PA), January 6, 1934, p. 4; “Tighten Law’s Grasp on Crime, Cummings’ Plea,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), January 6, 1934, p. 2; “Broaden Anti-Crime Powers is Plea of Atty. Gen. Cummings,” <i>Ludington Daily News</i> (MI), January 5, 1934, p. 3. <i>See also</i> “Early Action on Bills to Curb Gangs Sought by Roosevelt,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , April 24, 1934, p. 1.
48	<i>Justice’s efforts:</i> <i>See</i> Stuart Cameron, “Drive Against Firearms Bill Gets Underway,” <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), January 31, 1934, p. 9; “National Rifle Group Seeks Defeat Federal Firearms Legislation,” <i>Daily Capital Journal</i> (Salem, OR), January 31, 1934, p. 3; “Rifle Association Protests Law that Will Hit Sportsmen,” <i>Decatur Daily Review</i> (IL), December 1, 1933, p. 10. The NRA started its preparations to oppose federal firearms legislation in late 1933. <i>See</i> “Why Gun Laws?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1933, p. 4; “Federal Firearms Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1933, p. 4.
48	<i>prove ineffective:</i> “The Attorney General is Inconsistent,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1934, p. 4. <i>See also</i> “Directors Name New President at Annual Meeting,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, pp. 23, 24 (noting that the NRA Board of Directors passed a resolution denouncing such legislation); “Firearms in the Senate,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1934, p. 4.
48	<i>more people to be armed:</i> “The Attorney General is Inconsistent,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1934, p. 4.
49	<i>weapon on democracy:</i> Ibid.
49	<i>criminal abuser:</i> Ibid.
49	<i>crime with a firearm:</i> Ibid.
49	<i>for nearly a decade:</i> Senator’s Copeland early attempts at federal firearms legislation ultimately went nowhere in large part to the organized opposition of sportsmen. <i>See</i> “That Non-Sensical Gun Bill,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , May 1926, p. 363; Charles L. Gilman, “Forest, Stream and Target,” <i>Minneapolis Daily Star</i> (MN), September 12, 1925, p. 11; E.L. Stevenson, “The Copeland Anti-Pistol Bill,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , October 1924, pp. 292-94; “The Sawed-Off Gun in Lieu of Pistol,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), August 16, 1924, p. 10; Henry Morris, “Will Anti-Pistol Laws Decrease Crime?” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , July 1924, pp. 71-73; “A Challenge to the Author of the Copeland Anti-Pistol Bill,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , June 1924, p. 492; Joel Shomaker, “Shall We Legislate Americanism Out of Americans?” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , May 1924, p. 345; Edward A. Leonard, “Anti-Pistol Toting Law,” <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), May 24, 1924, p. 6; A.W. Payne, “Anti-Firearm Menace Renewed,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , March 1924, p. 178; “Wild Lifers Give

	\$25 to Campaign of Women’s Club,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), March 20, 1924, p. 2. It appears that Copeland’s early attempts at federal firearms legislation were at the request—and drafted by—then New City chief magistrate William McAdoo. See McAdoo, <i>When the Court Takes a Recess</i> , pp. 131-32.
49	<i>criminals—handguns</i> : “U.S. Control of Firearms Plan to Check Crime,” <i>Evening News</i> (Wilkes-Barre, PA), December 29, 1933, p. 2; “Copeland Bill to Ask Control Firearms Sale,” <i>Evening Report</i> (Lebanon, PA), December 28, 1933, p. 7; “Laws to Fight Crime Drafted: Copeland Offers 21-Point Program,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , December 23, 1933, p. 7; “President Hears Congress’ Plan to Battle Crime,” <i>Battle Creek Inquirer</i> (MI), December 17, 1933, pp. 1, 2.
49	<i>Capitol Hill was mixed</i> : See, e.g., “1974 Oral History of Milton Reckord,” undated, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 10, pp. A23-31; “Will We Stay in High?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1927, p. 22; “\$100,000 for Civilian Clubs,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1927, p. 8; “The Budget and You,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 15, 1926, p. 12.
49	<i>for sporting purposes</i> : National Rifle Association, Press Release, “Sportsmen Assail Anti-Pistol Laws as Help to Crime,” January 19, 1934, <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , p. 66 (emphasis added).
49	<i>leading the fight</i> : National Rifle Association, Press Release, “[Untitled],” January 24, 1934, <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , p. 68.
50	<i>commission of a crime</i> : Ibid., p. 69.
50	<i>criminal power</i> : “National Rifle Association, Press Release, “Sportsmen Assail Anti-Pistol Laws as Help to Crime,” January 19, 1934, <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , p. 66.
50	<i>penitentiary sentence</i> : Ibid.
50	<i>transportation of firearms</i> : Ibid.
50	<i>federal firearms legislation</i> : For some examples of the NRA’s press releases, or modified versions of them written by outdoors editors in newspapers across the country, see Ray P. Holland, “Guns,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , May 1934, p. 15; Eltinge F. Warner, “Senators, We Ask You!” <i>Field and Stream</i> , May 1934, p. 32; “Warner Decries Firearms Bill,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , April 22, 1924, sports section, p. 6; Ollie Baus, “In the Big Outdoors,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , February 11, 1934, part 5, p. 2; “Sportsmen Oppose Bill to Disarm All Citizens,” <i>Evening Times</i> (Sayre, PA), February 9, 1934, p. 7; “Sports of all Sorts,” <i>Bradford Evening Star and Daily Record</i> (PA), February 9, 1934, p. 8; “The Right to Own Guns,” <i>Newark Advocate</i> (OH), February 8, 1934, p. 4; “Firearms in the Senate,” <i>Daily Current-Argus</i> (Carlsbad, NM), February 7, 1934, p. 2; Stuart Cameron, “Sportsmen Map Fight to Defeat U.S. Firearms Bill,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), January 31, 1934, p. 17; “American Sportsmen Fight Copeland’s Firearms Bill,” <i>Green Bay Press-Gazette</i> (WI), January 31, 1934, p. 9; “Sportsmen Assail Anti-Pistol Laws as Help to Crime,” <i>Monmouth Democrat</i> (Freehold, NJ), January 25, 1934, p. 6. For some examples of the Pennsylvania Game Commission redistributing the NRA’s message, see “Attention Sportsmen!” <i>Elizabethville Echo</i> (PA), February 15, 1934, p. 2; “Firearms Bill Big Handicap to Sportsmen,” <i>Jeffersonian-Democrat</i> (Brooksville, PA), February 8, 1934, pp. 1, 3. For some examples of the Izaak Walton League opposing federal firearm legislation, see Letter from Kenneth A. Reid, Izaak Walton League executive secretary, to Lyle H. Boren, April 13, 1942, Lyle H. Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Boren Papers) (includes resolution opposing firearms registration); Bert Claflin, “Izaak Waltons Foremost in Conservation

	Program,” <i>Post-Crescent</i> (Appleton, WI), May 8, 1934, p. 2; Bert Claflin, “Blazed Trails for Sportsmen,” <i>Green Bay Press-Gazette</i> (WI), May 5, 1934, p. 14; “Anti-Firearms Bills Opposed at Convention,” <i>Sheboygan Press</i> (WI), April 21, 1934, p. 17. For some opinion editorials written by sportsmen, hunters, and firearms owners opposing federal firearms legislation, see “Left-Handed Wisdom Disclosed in Copeland Firearms Measure,” <i>Salt Lake Telegram</i> (UT), March 23, 1934, p. 4; Sherley C. Hulsen, “Files and Hacksaw Blades,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , March 20, 1934, p. 12; Iver T. Henriksen, “Arm Every Descent Citizen,” <i>Sioux City Journal</i> (IA), March 16, 1934, p. 4; Marksman, “The Copeland Firearms Bill...,” <i>News-Messenger</i> (Fremont, OH), March 15, 1934, p. 3.
50	<i>NRA’s American Rifleman</i> : See “Gun Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1934, p. 4; “Keep Those Telegrams Coming,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, p. 6; “Firearms in the Senate,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1934, p. 5.
50	<i>NRA officials</i> : “Keep Those Telegrams Coming,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, p. 6.
50	<i>honest citizen</i> : Ibid.
50	<i>Second Amendment</i> : See, e.g., “Arms Bill Scored, Salem Rifle Club,” <i>Statesman Journal</i> (Salem, OR), March 9, 1934, p. 11; “Rock River Club Opposes Firearms Ban,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), March 7, 1934, p. 11; “Sportsmen’s Club Adopts Resolution,” <i>Scranton Republican</i> (PA), February 8, 1934, p. 11.
50	<i>congressional hearing</i> : See “Hunting Clubs and Sportsmen Send Messages,” <i>News-Messenger</i> (Fremont, OH), March 7, 1934, p. 3; “Gun Control Plan Opposed by Sportsmen,” <i>Bradford Evening Star and Daily Record</i> (PA), March 7, 1934, p. 12.
51	<i>obtain a permit</i> : For the full bill, see “H.R. 9066,” undated, <i>National Firearms Act: Hearings Before the Committee on Ways and Means</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 1-3. See also “Cracking Down on Gunmen,” <i>Reading Times</i> (PA), April 23, 1934, p. 4; “Cracking Down on Gunmen,” <i>Kokomo Tribune</i> (IN), April 16, 1934, p. 4.
51	<i>merely local authorities</i> : “Statement of Honorable Homer S. Cummings, Attorney General of the United States,” April 16, 1968, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , p. 5.
51	<i>Congress saw fit</i> : Ibid., p. 5.
51	<i>H.R. 9066</i> : “Statement of Adjutant General Milton Reckord, Adjutant General of the State of Maryland, Executive Vice President of the National Rifle Association,” April 18, 1934, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , pp. 36-38. See also “Directors Name New President at Annual Meeting,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, pp. 23, 24 (reporting that NRA officials privately met with Keenan about federal firearms legislation).
51	<i>obstructionists in any way</i> : “Statement of Adjutant General Milton Reckord,” April 18, 1934, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , p. 36.
51	<i>excluded from the bill</i> : “Statement of Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney General,” April 18, 1934, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , pp. 64-66.
51	<i>directed at handguns</i> : “Statement of Karl T. Frederick, President National Rifle Association,” April 18, 1934, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , pp. 38-50.
51	<i>limited he stated</i> : Ibid., p. 50.
51	<i>firearms law</i> : “1974 Oral History of Milton Reckord,” undated, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 10, pp. B15-19.

52	<i>thought-provoking counterpoint</i> : “Statement of Karl T. Frederick, President National Rifle Association,” April 18, 1934, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , pp. 51-62.
52	<i>Department of Justice</i> : Ibid., pp. 62-64, 81-82.
52	<i>NRA’s request</i> : Ibid., p. 82.
52	<i>NRA rejected it</i> : “Disarmament by Subterfuge,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1934, p. 4.
52	<i>bad faith</i> : See C.B. Lister, “Firearms Laws in the 73d Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1934, pp. 5, 17.
52	<i>was the problem</i> : Consider that in one press release that NRA audaciously claimed that while it was working on behalf of “sportsmen...and all other law-abiding citizens,” the Department of Justice was working on behalf of “armed criminals.” See National Rifle Association, Press Release, “[Untitled],” May 1, 1934, <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , pp. 69-70. Then in an <i>American Rifleman</i> editorial, the NRA claimed the “viciousness of H.R. 9066 lies not in what appears on the surface of the bill, but in the <i>intent</i> that lies behind the language which the bill contains”—the intent being “disarmament by subterfuge.” See “Disarmament by Subterfuge,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1934, p. 4. See also Monroe H. Goode, “The New Federal Firearms Bill (H.R. 9066),” <i>Sports Afield</i> , June 1934, pp. 20-21 (reprinting the NRA’s objections to H.R. 9066). The NRA also distributed a bulletin opposing H.R. 9066 that is not contained in the congressional record. For a copy of that bulletin, see “Reckord Again Hits Bill on Firearms,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 15, 1934, pp. 23, 34.
52	<i>willingness to concede</i> : See generally <i>National Firearms Act</i> , pp. 83-166.
52-53	<i>catch a few crooks</i> : “Keenan Clashes with Reckord at Gun Hearing,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 14, 1934, p. 30.
53	<i>shouted at Keenan</i> : Ibid.
53	<i>but not now</i> : Ibid.
53	<i>H.R. 9066</i> : Copies of S. 885, S. 2285, and S. 3680 can be found in the committee hearings. See <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , pp. 1-8.
53	<i>sent out over the country</i> : Ibid., p. 8.
53	<i>further from the truth</i> : Ibid.
53	<i>lobbying activities</i> : For a contemporaneous account of the contentious nature of the hearing, see Frederick R. Barkley, “Reckord Again Hits Firearms Control Plan,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 28, 1934, pp. 4, 30.
53	<i>subcommittee members</i> : <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , p. 10.
53	<i>claiming in its literature</i> : In one newsletter, the NRA not only celebrated the tabling of Copeland’s firearms bills, but also criticized Copeland as having little to no knowledge on firearms. See National Rifle Association, “The Proposed Federal Firearms Law, H.R. 9066,” undated, <i>National Firearms Act</i> , p. 72.
53-54	<i>critical of Copeland</i> : <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , pp. 10-12.
54	<i>worked out</i> : Ibid., p. 16.
54	<i>interstate commerce</i> : Ibid., pp. 17-20.

54	<i>stop armed criminals</i> : Ibid., pp. 20-21.
54	<i>pistols and revolvers</i> : Ibid., p. 22.
54	<i>which it is shipped</i> : Ibid.
54	<i>to obtain firearms</i> : Ibid., pp. 23-31.
55	<i>minimal restrictions</i> : Ibid., pp. 22-23.
55	<i>H.R. 9741</i> : Ibid., pp. 57-60.
55	<i>would be negligible</i> : Ibid., p. 60.
55	<i>should accept</i> : Ibid., p. 61.
55	<i>difficult to get pistols</i> : Ibid., p. 63.
55	<i>such a bill</i> : Ibid., p. 64.
56	<i>useless or unworkable</i> : Ibid., pp. 84-104.
56	<i>bill of their choosing</i> : C.B. Lister, "Firearms Laws in the 73d Congress," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1934, p. 18. <i>See also</i> Ray P. Holland, "Before Election," <i>Field and Stream</i> , September 1934, p. 15.
56	<i>through interstate commerce</i> : M.A. Reckord, "Senate 3," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1938, pp. 10-11; <i>Firearms: Hearing Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce House of Representatives</i> , (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1937), 4 (hereinafter <i>Firearms House Hearing</i>); <i>To Regulate Commerce of Firearms: Hearing Before the Committee on Commerce United States Senate</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1935), 1. <i>See also</i> DeConde, <i>Gun Violence in America</i> , p. 146; Kennett and Anderson, <i>The Gun in America</i> , p. 211.
56	<i>National Firearms Act</i> : 48 U.S. Stat. 1236 (1934). After the passage of the National Firearms Act, the NRA sent out a nationwide press release explaining its provisions, particularly the fact that it did not touch upon pistols and revolvers. <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Rifles and Pistols Exempt Under Law from Registration," <i>Monmouth Democrat</i> (Freehold, NJ), August 23, 1934, p. 3; "More About the Firearms Registration Law," <i>Cassville Republican</i> (MO), August 16, 1934, p. 8.
56	<i>not possess arms</i> : "Random Shots," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1934, p. 2.
56	<i>California Assembly</i> : <i>See</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the Alco Bill</i> (1934), Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 5; "Stick to the Issue Mr. Alco!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1934, p. 6; "Powder Smoke," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1934, p. 4; "Shades of Pioneers!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1934, p. 5. <i>See also</i> "An Exploded Theory," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1935, p. 38; Chas W. Fricke, "A Judge Examines the Alco Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, pp. 12-13.
56	<i>federal compromise</i> : As early as mid-December 1934, in a press release, the NRA expressed support for senator Copeland's bill which had not yet been introduced to Congress. <i>See</i> "Arms Possession Ban Advocated: Rifle Association Asks Severe

	Penalty for Toting by Criminals,” <i>Evening Star</i> (Washington, DC), December 16, 1934, p. E14.
56	<i>may be arrested</i> : “Congress Must Choose,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1935, p. 4.
57	<i>reputable citizen alone</i> : Ibid.
57	<i>in drafting it</i> : The NRA failed to disclose this fact to NRA members and NRA affiliated rifle clubs in the <i>American Rifleman</i> . See “Third Progress Report on Firearms Legislation for 1935,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1935, pp. 30-31; “Annual Meetings Open Association’s New Year,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1935, pp. 13, 17; “Progress Report on Firearms Legislation for 1935, pp. 20-21; “S. 3,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, p. 5; “Recently Proposed Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, p. 26; “S. 3,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, p. 5; “Congress Must Choose,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1935, p. 4. See also Brien McMahon, Milton A. Reckord, and Sydney R. Montague, “How Can We Stop the March of Crime?” <i>Bulletin of America’s Town Meeting of the Air</i> 3, no. 22 (April 4, 1938): 1, 21 (statement by Milton A. Reckord) (“[Assistant Attorney General Brien] McMahon did me the honor of calling [S. 3] my bill; it isn’t my bill, it is the bill presented by the Crime Committee of the United States Senate”).
57	<i>sensible voice</i> : See, e.g., <i>To Regulate Commerce of Firearms</i> , pp. 8-9; “Sportsmen Want to Disarm Criminals,” <i>Piqua Daily Call</i> (OH), January 2, 1935, p. 8.
57	<i>firearms legislation passed</i> : See Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 222-25. For some 1935 examples of how the NRA’s literature and messaging accomplished these objectives, see “Board Delays Ruling on New Firearms Law,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), September 24, 1935, p. 5 (discussing how sportsmen defeated a firearms permit ordinance pending before the San Bernardino County Board); Vernon Hagelin, “Sportsmen Must Fight Anti-Firearms Bills,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), May 8, 1935, p. 14 (calling upon sportsmen to defeat a pending firearms bill in the Illinois Assembly); “Repeal Firearms Law,” <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), February 14, 1935, p. 6 (calling upon the gun rights movement to repeal the undesirable sections of Pennsylvania’s Uniform Firearms Act); “Attention Sportsmen!” <i>Journal and Courier</i> (Lafayette, IN), January 24, 1935, p. 6 (calling upon the gun rights movement to lobby the Indiana legislature in defeating several proposed firearms bills). For examples where Massachusetts sportsmen organized an NRA backed legislative association, see “Massachusetts Organizes Legislative Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1936, p. 33; “Sportsmen Hit Fingerprinting: Claim Firearms Bill is Invasion of Rights,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , February 13, 1936, p. 3; “Machine Gun Bill Opposed,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , January 17, 1933, p. 17.
57	<i>S. 3’s adoption</i> : Very few of these letters and telegrams have survived. Fortunately, examples can be found in the papers of Charles W. Tobey. See, e.g., Letter from Nashua Rifle and Revolver Club to Charles W. Tobey, March 4, 1935, Charles W. Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935 (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Rauner Special Collections Library) (hereinafter Tobey Papers); Letter from Belknap County Sportsmen’s Association, Inc. to Charles W. Tobey, March 1, 1935, Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935; Letter from Merrimack County Fish and Game Club to Charles W. Tobey, February 14, 1935, Tobey Papers,

	box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935; Letter from Edward R. Stanley, Jr. to Charles W. Tobey, January 11, 1935, Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935.
57	<i>NRA's endorsement:</i> One letter went so far as to call S. 3 a “radical firearms bill” that undoubtedly contained a few “jokers” meant to disarm law-abiding citizens. <i>See</i> Letter from Erwin A. Rowe to Charles W. Tobey, March 7, 1935, Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935. <i>See also</i> Letter from Robert E. Stanley to Charles W. Tobey, January 11, 1935, Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935; Letter from John H. Boathman, Jr. to Charles W. Tobey, January 10, 1935, Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935; Letter from Harvey A. Strout to Charles W. Tobey, January 8, 1935, Tobey Papers, box 5, folder 6, Firearms Legislation 1935.
57	<i>handguns included:</i> <i>See, e.g., To Regulate Commerce of Firearms</i> , pp. 4, 22; “U.S. Firearms Control Sought,” <i>Reading Times</i> (PA), January 3, 1935, p. 18.
58	<i>Postal Service:</i> <i>See To Regulate Commerce of Firearms</i> , pp. 4, 22. The NRA defended repealing these laws on the grounds that they were “drastic.” <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 45-46. The NRA’s argument proved unavailing and was subsequently removed. <i>See Firearms House Hearing</i> , p. 3.
58	<i>they already were:</i> <i>To Regulate Commerce of Firearms</i> , pp. 8-16, 44-46.
59	<i>formalities of the law:</i> <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 23-24.
59	<i>this can be enacted:</i> <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 20.
59	<i>wrong approach:</i> <i>See</i> “Cummings Asks Firearms Listing,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), January 6, 1936, p. 12; “Again—The Attorney General,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1935, p. 6; “Laws to Disarm Gangster Urged by Justice Department,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> (PA), November 20, 1935, p. 12; “Crime,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , November 3, 1935, part 2, p. 10; “Cummings Urges Arms Registration,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), October 29, 1935, p. 2. <i>See also</i> “Attention!” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , March 1937, p. 31; “National Rifle Group is Urging New Firearm Bill to Foil Wily Crooks,” <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> (CA), February 10, 1937, p. 11.
59	<i>political victory:</i> Charles W. Groves, “Firearms Bill Hits Criminals,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , February 26, 1936, p. 3; “Senate Passes Anti-Firearms Measure to Check Criminals,” <i>Wausau Daily Herald</i> (WI), February 20, 1936, pp. 1, 4.
59	<i>more than a year:</i> For more information, see “National Rifle Group is Urging New Firearm Bill to Foil Wily Crooks,” <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> (CA), February 10, 1937, p. 11; “Rifle Association Approves Copeland Bill,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), February 8, 1937, p. 12; John G. Mock, “Federal Firearms Registration? Five Times No!” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , February 7, 1937, sports section, p. 2; “Federal Firearms Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1937, p. 4; “Cummings Asks Law for Listing of All Pistols,” <i>St. Louis Star and Times</i> (MO), January 6, 1937, p. 2; “Legislation in 1937,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1937, p. 4; “To Disarm the Underworld,” <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), December 14, 1936, p. 16; “U.S. Forging New Weapons to Curb Crime,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September

	9, 1936, p. 7; “Another Vicious and Unnecessary Firearms Bill,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1936, p. 3; “Progress Report on State and Federal Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1936, pp. 38-39; “Why Honest Citizens Object,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1936, p. 4.
59	<i>firearms in the country</i> : See, e.g., “Cummings Asks Firearms Law,” <i>Tampa Times</i> (FL), August 25, 1937, p. 1; “Firearms Registration Proposed by Cummings,” <i>Green Bay Press-Gazette</i> (WI), May 4, 1937, 2; “Regulation of All Firearms by U.S. Asked,” <i>Evening Times</i> (Sayre, PA), May 4, 1937, p. 1. For some newspaper opinion editorials supporting the registration of all firearms, see “Registration of Firearms,” <i>Reno Gazette-Journal</i> (NV), October 8, 1937, p. 4; “Registration of Firearms,” <i>Dayton Herald</i> (OH), May 10, 1937, p. 8; “Registration of Firearms,” <i>Greenville News</i> (SC), May 8, 1937, p. 4. For an editorial opposing the registration of all firearms, see “Regulating Firearms,” <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), October 8, 1937, p. 10.
59	<i>traffic of firearms</i> : Homer Cummings, <i>Firearms and the Crime Problem</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1938), 1-5. For an example of how the press reported on Cumming’s speech, see “Cummings Asks Registration of All Firearms,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), October 5, 1937, p. 36.
59	<i>registration of all firearms</i> : Cummings, <i>Firearms and the Crime Problem</i> , p. 9.
59	<i>immediately disarm criminals</i> : Ibid.
59	<i>firearms more difficult</i> : Ibid. The NRA often recited the Department of Justice’s admission that criminals would not immediately register their firearms as an argument against any firearms registration law. See, e.g., “Federal Firearms Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1937, p. 4; “Disarmament by Subterfuge,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1934, p. 4. What the NRA omitted, however, was that registration would make it somewhat more difficult for criminals to acquire firearms. See, e.g., McMahon, Reckord, and Montague, “How Can We Stop the March of Crime?” p. 9 (statement by assistant United States attorney general Brien McMahon) (“Tomorrow’s supply of guns for the underworld is today in the hands of legitimate dealers and honest citizens. If the honest man will transfer his gun only in accordance with the law, then the crook will never get that gun unless he steals it.”); J. Weston Allen, <i>Government Control of Firearms</i> (1937), 36 (“No one will be so foolhardy as to contend that any laws can be devised which will prevent the criminal from obtaining firearms, but legislation can go a long way (1) to make it difficult for the criminal to get a gun, and (2) make it hazardous for him to possess a gun.”).
60	<i>in the American Rifleman</i> : See “Wanted! 2,000 Members This Month,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1938, insert; “Make This Another Banner Shooting Year...,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1938, insert; “Congress Convenes This Month,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1938, insert; “What Will the Next Congress Say About Anti-Firearms Legislation?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1937, insert.
60	<i>further taxation</i> : “What Will the Next Congress Say About Anti-Firearms Legislation?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1937, insert, pp. f-g.

60	<i>manufacturers' lobby</i> : "Congress Convenes This Month," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1938, insert, p. 1.
60	<i>shall not be infringed</i> : Ibid.
60	<i>was ill-advised</i> : C.B. Lister, "Federal Firearms Registration," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1938, p. 27.
60	<i>apprehension of the criminal</i> : Ibid.
60	<i>across the country</i> : "Progress Report of Firearms Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1938, p. 8.
60	<i>deceitful and unethical</i> : "An End to Innuendo!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1938, p. 4.
60	<i>law-abiding citizens</i> : See, e.g., McMahon, Reckord, and Montague, "How Can We Stop the March of Crime?" pp. 13-14; Earl C. Call, "On the Firing Line," <i>Muncie Evening Press</i> (IN), February 22, 1938, p. 8; "NRA Pledges to Battle Cummings," <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), February 13, 1938 p. 12A; John G. Mock, "No More Guns: National Sportsman's Magazine Attacks Proposal Requiring Registration," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , January 28, 1938, p. 36.
60	<i>would be heard</i> : See, e.g., H.R. Baukhage, "Cummings Gets Set for Fight on His Gun Bill," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), February 28, 1938, p. 3; H.R. Baukhage, "Cummings Pushes Drive for Arms Registration Bill," <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), February 27, 1938, part 2, p. 5.
60	<i>federal firearms registration</i> : McMahon, Reckord, and Montague, "How Can We Stop the March of Crime?" pp. 1-29.
60	<i>NRA opposed them</i> : Ibid., pp. 10-11 (statement of Milton A. Reckord).
60	<i>firearms per se</i> : Ibid., p. 29 (statement of Milton A. Reckord) ("I do not object to registering...I do not object to the control of the flow of pistols even to honest citizens. I object to a registration feature required by the Federal Government of all honest citizens, because registering the honest citizens will not get the guns that are in the hands of the crooks.").
60	<i>control floodgates</i> : C.B. Lister, "Problems as Well as Progress Expected in 1937," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1937, pp. 5, 6. See also Arthur Grahame, "The Plan to Disarm Sportsmen," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , July 1938, pp. 17, 79 ("From the sportsmen's viewpoint, however, any kind of anti-gun law is to be feared. Laws have a disturbing way of outgrowing their swaddling clothes, and becoming giants to strangle individual rights. The issue is up to sportsmen themselves. Powerful forces are behind anti-firearms laws. To combat them, sportsmen can merely speak their minds.").
60	<i>from ever happening</i> : Lister, "Problems as Well as Progress Expected in 1937," p. 6. See also "S. 3," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, p. 5.
60	<i>National Firearms Act</i> : See, e.g., "A New Federal Anti-Crime Move," <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , May 6, 1937, p. 14; "Cummings Asks Registration of Small Arms," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 4, 1937, p. 3; "Curbing Machine Gun Sales," <i>Indianapolis</i>

	<i>Star</i> (IN), November 8, 1936, p. 14; “Records Show Federal Firearms Act is Being Violated,” <i>Gazette and Daily</i> (York, PA), November 7, 1936, p. 16.
60	<i>existing federal laws</i> : See Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Joseph B. Keenan, “Re: Further Suggested Changes in the National Firearms Act,” May 14, 1935, Homer Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence of the Attorney General and Post-Attorney General, 1933-1956 (hereinafter Series 4: Correspondence), box 103 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Special Collections) (hereinafter Cummings Papers); Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Harold M. Stephens, September 10, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Joseph B. Keenan, October 8, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Gordon Dean to Joseph B. Keenan, October 28, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Homer Cummings to J. Edgar Hoover, November 7, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Homer Cummings, November 9, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Gordon Dean to Joseph B. Keenan, November 20, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Joseph B. Keenan to Homer Cummings, “In re: National Firearms Act,” November 20, 1935, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103.
60	<i>penetrability of bullets</i> : See Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Homer Cummings, “Re: Recent Developments in Highly-Powered Pistols and Revolvers,” March 19, 1936, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103, pp. 1-3; Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Homer Cummings, February 5, 1936, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Brian McMahon, April 4, 1936, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103.
61	<i>misleading information</i> : See, e.g., Rex Collier, “An Interview of the Honorable Homer Cummings Attorney General of the United States,” April 25, 1968, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Speeches, 1886-1950 and Articles, 1918-1945, box 215, p. 4; Department of Justice, “A Statement Concerning the Proposed National Small Arms Act,” March 23, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Homer Cummings, “Firearms and the Crime Problem,” October 5, 1937, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Speeches, 1886-1950 and Articles, 1918-1945, box 215, p. 6.
61	<i>federal firearms registration</i> : See McMahon, Reckord, and Montague, “How Can We Stop the March of Crime?” pp. 5-29; Letter from Gordon Dean to Homer Cummings, February 14, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Homer Cummings to Gordon Dean, February 21, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Alexander Holtzoff to Homer Cummings, February 14, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Department of Justice, “A Statement Concerning the Proposed National Small Arms Act,” March 23, 1938, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Gordon Dean to Homer Cummings, “Re: Firearms,” April 2, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from J. Weston Allen to Homer Cummings, “Re: Conference with Eugene Meyer,” April 5, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103. See also C.E. Butterfield, “Radio Around the Clock,”

	<i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), April 25, 1938, p. 16 (listing the time and date for Attorney General Homer Cummings broadcast titled “Firearms Control”).
62	<i>survey on the subject</i> : See Letter from J. Weston Allen to Homer Cummings, April 5, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Alexander Holtzoff to Homer Cummings, April 26, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103; Letter from Homer Cummings to John Tibby, May 2, 1938, Cummings Papers, Series 4: Correspondence, box 103.
62	<i>stop its publication</i> : Neal Peirce, “Gun Control: The Issue That’s a Non-Issue,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , October 6, 1980, p. 9A.
62	<i>unethical behavior</i> : Ibid.
62	<i>respondents supported registration</i> : The findings of the survey were printed across the United States. See, e.g., Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), May 2, 1938, p. 11; Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), May 1, 1938, p. F1; Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (FL), May 1, 1938, p. 29; Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Lincoln Star</i> (NE), May 1, 1938, p. 13; “Public Willing to List Pistols,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), May 1, 1938, p. 70; Institute of Public Opinion, “Registration of Guns Approved by 4 to 1 Survey,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , May 1, 1938, Society Section, p. 2.
62	<i>favor of S. 3</i> : See, e.g., Harold Knutson, “Congressman’s Letter,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), January 26, 1938, p. 4 (Member of Congress, Sixth District, Minnesota) (“During the past week I have received a great many letters protesting against the proposal of Attorney General Cummings that all firearms be registered. These protests came from individuals as well as sportsmen’s organizations. Personally, I cannot see where any good can be accomplished through the registration of firearms...”).
63	<i>over the latter</i> : Examples of these letters can be found in a variety of sources. See Sylvester Rabadan, “A Letter,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , May 1938, p. 23; Letter from J.C. Berger to Lyle H. Boren, April 5, 1938, Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control; Letter from Bruce Cooper to Robert L. Doughton, February 18, 1938, Robert L. Doughton Papers (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library) (hereinafter Doughton Papers). For examples of resolutions adopted by a sportsmen’s organization, see Letter from Wendell A. Teague, Connecticut State League of Sportsmen’s Clubs secretary-treasurer, to Francis T. Maloney, Doughton Papers; Letter from David C. Ermoud, Greenville Sportsmen’s Club secretary, to Charles W. Tobey, April 2, 1938, Tobey Papers, box 6, folder 35, Firearms Legislation 1938; Letter from P.S. Glasson, White Mountain Sportsman’s Club secretary, to Charles W. Tobey, March 26, 1938, Tobey Papers, box 6, folder 35, Firearms Legislation 1938; see also Letter from E.G. Bennett, First Security Corporation president, to William E. Borah, May 11, 1937, William E. Borah Papers, box 93, folder Firearms Legislation (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division). For more on resolutions adopted by sportsmen, hunting, conservation, and shooting organizations, see “Sportsmen Protest U.S. Firearms Bill,”

	<i>Tampa Sunday Tribune Magazine</i> (FL), March 13, 1938, p. 2; Earl C. Call, "On the Firing Line," <i>Muncie Evening Press</i> (IN), March 8, 1938, p. 6; "Against Firearms Act," <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), March 7, 1938, p. 6; "Blair Sportsmen to Fight Cummings Firearms Bill," <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), March 5, 1938, p. 1; "District Sportsmen in Session Here to Oppose Firearms Act," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), January 26, 1938, p. 5; "Sportsmen Against the Cummings Firearms Bill," <i>Evening Standard</i> (Uniontown, PA), January 26, 1938, p. 12.
63	<i>supported firearms registration: See, e.g.,</i> J. Weston Allen to <i>New York Herald Tribune</i> , May 10, 1938, reprinted in <i>Congressional Record</i> 83, part 10 (1938), 1948. Letter from Homer Cummings to Robert L. Doughton, April 11, 1938, Doughton Papers (outlining support for federal firearms registration from the American Federation of Labor, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the American Bar Association); "Guns and the Law," <i>Boston Globe</i> , May 13, 1938, p. 22.
63	<i>community to action: See, e.g.,</i> F.M. Hakenjos, "Firearms Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1938, pp. 30-31; Milton A. Reckord, "Mr. Cummings Proposes," <i>Field and Stream</i> , April 1938, p. 21.
63	<i>firearms legislation: "Sportsmen's Victory," American Rifleman</i> , August 1938, p. 4.
63	<i>claimed the NRA: Ibid. See also</i> Milton A. Reckord, "Senate 3," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1938, pp. 10-11.
63	<i>access to firearms: 53 U.S. Stat. 1250 (1938).</i>
63	<i>importers, and dealers: Ibid.</i> As it pertained to the shipment of firearms by manufacturers and dealers, S. 3 was arguably not worth the paper it was written on. For by S. 3 requiring manufacturers and dealers to either have direct knowledge of or "reasonable cause to believe" the recipient of the firearm was a criminal made prosecution almost impossible. In fact, for the first thirty years that S. 3 was in force, to the embarrassment of DOJ officials, the federal government was unable to prosecute a single case where a dealer had direct knowledge or "reasonable cause to believe" the recipient of the firearm was a criminal. <i>See</i> Robert Sherrill, <i>The Saturday Night Special</i> (New York, NY: Charterhouse, 1973), 65-66.
63	<i>purchasing a firearm: The Federal Firearms Act did nothing to supersede state and local laws requiring a permit to purchase a firearm. See "Pistol Permit Laws," American Rifleman</i> , November 1938, pp. 29-31, 34; "Questions and Answers on the Federal Firearms Act," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1938, p. 64.
63	<i>did not happen: "Directors Meeting, 1939," American Rifleman</i> , March 1939, pp. 9, 11.
63	<i>proposal after another: See "Sportsmen! Up in Arms to Protect Your Arms!!" Harrisburg Telegraph</i> (PA), April 15, 1939, supplement, p. 3; "Gun-Owning," <i>Miami News</i> (FL), April 10, 1939, p. 3B; "Firearms Legislation 1939," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1939, p. 31.
63	<i>Federal Firearms Act: See, e.g.,</i> C.B. Lister, "Just Grass Roots Stuff!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1947, p. 6; "Progress Report: Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March

	1947, p. 29; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> , pp. 2-4, 9-15. <i>See also</i> Eltinge F. Warner, “Firearms Law and the Constitution,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , October 1946, p. 41; David M. Newell, “Shall We Register Our Guns?” <i>Field and Stream</i> , March 1946, p. 25; Eltinge F. Warner, “Gun Prohibition,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , August 1940, p. 13.
63	<i>side of patriotism: See, e.g.,</i> C.B. Lister, “The Backdoor Approach,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1945, p. 5. <i>See also</i> Bob Nichols, “In Times Like These,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , March 1941, p. 19; “I Protest!” <i>National Sportsman</i> , April 1930, p. 2.
64	<i>complete disarmament: See, e.g.,</i> C.B. Lister, “The History of Liberty—,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1946, p. 9 (“The registration of firearms privately owned by reputable citizens is one of the steps toward ‘concentration of power’ which the thinking citizen of a democracy will resist to the end.”); C.B. Lister, “A Foot in the Door,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1946, p. 13 (“The end result of registration can only be requisition or confiscation. We want no Gestapo boot in the doorway of the American home!”); C.B. Lister, “Registration—Confiscation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1946, p. 9 (“But there is a greater reason of the ‘howl’ about gun registration. Confiscation of arms owned by individuals of the opposing parties is <i>always</i> the essential step in the imposition of the will and government of the minority upon the will of the majority.”); C.B. Lister, “Pious Subterfuge,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1946, p. 9 (“What finer example of the ‘national police’ (Gestapo) theory could there be than to place in the hands of any federal law enforcement agency a list of all the <i>reputable</i> gun owners in America?...As we have said so often in the past, the whole effort to disarm the reputable American citizen has, for lack of logic to support it, been based on half-truths, lies, innuendo, and hysteria.”). <i>See also</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> , p. 14.
64	<i>political action—sensationalism and fearmongering: See, e.g.,</i> C.B. Lister, “Straightening the Record,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “For Disarming the Bourgeoisie,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “Invasion,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1943, p. 11; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> , p. 15.
64	<i>resort to sensationalism and fearmongering:</i> For a short post-World War II summary of the NRA’s view on fighting firearms legislation during this period, see C.B. Lister, “Mission Accomplished!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1945, p. 9.
64	<i>real or fictional: See</i> “Politics and Propaganda,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1940, p. 4; “‘National Defense’ Decoy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1940, p. 4. <i>See also</i> “A Matter of Viewpoint,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1941, p. 4.
64	<i>in favor of fearmongering and sensationalism: See</i> “Rifle Club,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , June 29, 1940, part 1, p. 10; “Will Sell No More Rifles,” <i>Wisconsin State Journal</i> , June 25, 1940, p. 4; “Denies Selling Rifles to Bunds,” <i>Gazette and Daily</i> (York, PA), June 14, 1940, p. 20; “Rifle Association Membership Eyed,” <i>Statesman Journal</i> (Salem, OR), May 22, 1940, p. 1.
64	<i>discounted prices:</i> The War Department program was crucial in expanding the NRA’s membership from the early to mid-twentieth century. The NRA often touted the

	<p>program to enlist new members. <i>See, e.g.</i>, “Every Club Member Should Read the Rifleman,” undated 1938, Canaan Rifle Club, New York Papers (owned by author) (hereinafter Canaan Rifle Club Papers) (“Club members who desire the privilege of purchasing government rifles from the War Department...should join the Association”); National Rifle Association, <i>The Typical American Sport</i> (Washington, DC: 1935), 15 (outlining the benefits associated with becoming a NRA rifle club, including the “<i>privilege of purchasing from the War Department through the Director of Civilian Marksmanship the Service Springfield, the .22 caliber Springfield, ammunition, and such other items of equipment as my become available from time to time.</i>”). For an NRA member to purchase surplus military rifles or ammunition all that was required was proof of NRA membership and said member be in “good standing.” NRA affiliated rifle clubs could not purchase the surplus military rifles. NRA affiliated rifle clubs were, however, able to loan rifles from the War Department. All that was required was the NRA affiliated rifle club “promptly” submit an Annual Return of United States Property report to the War Department. Letter from Major R.H. Lord, Office of the Director of Civilian Marksmanship, to Sylvester E. Walker, Canaan Rifle Club secretary, December 10, 1937, Canaan Rifle Club Papers; Letter from Captain R.H. Lord, Office of the Director of Civilian Marksmanship, to Sylvester E. Walker, Canaan Rifle Club secretary, December 10, 1934, Canaan Rifle Club Papers; Canaan Rifle Club, Annual Return of United States Property, December 31, 1938, Canaan Rifle Club Papers; Canaan Rifle Club, Annual Return of United States Property, December 31, 1937, Canaan Rifle Club Papers; Canaan Rifle Club, Annual Return of United States Property, December 31, 1936, Canaan Rifle Club Papers; Canaan Rifle Club, Annual Return of United States Property, December 31, 1934, Canaan Rifle Club Papers; Canaan Rifle Club, Annual Return of United States Property, December 31, 1933, Canaan Rifle Club Papers.</p>
64	<p><i>firearms and ammunition: See</i> Steven J. Ross, <i>Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America</i> (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2017), 230, 241, 270; Laura B. Rosenzweig, <i>Hollywood’s Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles</i> (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2017), 126-27. <i>See also</i> John Roy Carlson, “Under Cover,” <i>Long Beach Independent</i> (CA), November 19, 1943, p. 11; “Fighting Nazi Propaganda,” <i>Daily Times</i> (Davenport, IA), January 26, 1942, p. 3; “Gets Warning of Fifth Column Attempt to Obtain Rifles Here,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgegewater, NJ), October 22, 1940, p. 4.</p>
64	<p><i>NRA members: See</i> “German Born Defendant Vows He’d Die for U.S.,” <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i>, May 7, 1940, pp. 1, 8; “Fr. Coughlin Backs ‘Front’ Men Accused of Revolt Conspiracy,” <i>Boston Globe</i>, January 22, 1940, pp. 1, 9; “U.S. to Sift Alleged Coughlin Link to ‘Front,’ Washington Indicates,” <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i>, January 19, 1940, pp. 1, 3; “Reveal Probe of Front Recruiting Among Cops,” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), January 17, 1940, p. 4. <i>See also</i> “Suspect Given Big Post in Christian Front by Priest, is Charge,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>, April 25, 1940, p. 6.</p>
64	<p><i>about the NRA: C.B. Lister, Facts or Innuendo? An Answer to an Unjust Attack by Congressman Dickstein</i> (Washington, DC: National Rifle Association, June 1940), 3, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52. This NRA special bulletin was summarized in a</p>

	few newspapers. <i>See, e.g.,</i> “N.R.A. Brands Dickstein Words Wholly as ‘Lie’,” <i>Oshkosh Northwestern</i> (WI), June 27, 1940, p. 5.
65	<i>enrollment practices</i> : Lister, <i>Facts or Innuendo</i> , p. 3.
65	<i>New York City policemen</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 3. For some similar news reports, see “30 Newark Police Reported Tied in ‘Christian Front’,” <i>News</i> (Paterson, NJ), April 17, 1940, p. 21A; “407 New York Cops Had Joined Christian Front,” <i>Evening News</i> (Harrisburg, PA), February 15, 1940, p. 21.
65	<i>it’s overall membership</i> : Lister, <i>Facts or Innuendo</i> , p. 3.
65	<i>corrective approach</i> : This is not to say that the NRA’s writing campaign did not lead some members of Congress to urge the War Department to lift the suspension. <i>See, e.g.,</i> “Washington News from Congressman L.C. ‘Les’ Arends,” <i>Ford County Press</i> (Melvin, IL), July 26, 1940, p. 1 (stating that the charges of the NRA arming extremists are “unfounded” and urging the Secretary of War to reinstate the NRA’s “old status in regard to the sale of arms, components, and ammunition to its members.”). <i>See also</i> Message from Secretary of War, September 11, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, Personal Files, part 11, folder National Rifle Association (hereinafter President Roosevelt Papers) (Representative Robert Crosser relaying how the NRA is urging members of Congress to reinstate the sale of government arms to NRA members); Message from Secretary of War, June 19, 1940, President Roosevelt Papers, Personal Files, part 11, folder National Rifle Association (Representative Francis Case relaying NRA message “protesting against the suspension of the sale of rifles and ammunition to the Association”).
65	<i>institutional reforms</i> : Prior to this, the NRA issued a separate special bulletin cautioning NRA affiliated rifle clubs to “be sure of the men you admit to membership in your clubs.” “Fifth Column Drive Spreads,” <i>Daily Times</i> (New Philadelphia, OH), June 7, 1940, p. 1.
65	<i>time of war</i> : “Important Decisions,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1940, p. 22.
65	<i>Constitution of the United States</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> <i>See also</i> “The Most Effective Answer,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1940, p. 2 (stating that the NRA’s establishment of an oath of allegiance was due to “the nationwide concern about so-called Fifth Column activities, and in view of misleading propaganda which recently was disseminated regarding the Association’s activities”). In addition to the reports of Nazi sympathizers planning to join the NRA to acquire government rifles and ammunition, there was another report of the Christian Front members having joined the NRA with a criminal purpose in mind. <i>See</i> Wendell Hammer, “German-Born Defendant Vows He’d Die for U.S.,” <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , May 27, 1940, pp. 1, 8; “Fr. Coughlin Selected ‘Christian Front’ Head, Defendant Tells FBI,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , April 25, 1940, p. 5; “Suspect Given Big Post in Christian Front by Priest, is Charge,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), April 25, 1940, p. 6; “Coughlin Defends Christian Front,” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), January 22, 1940, p. 4; “Terrorist Plot Widens,” <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), January 15, 1940, pp. 1, 2.
65	<i>threat of a fifth column</i> : <i>See</i> “Wiretapping Please Renewed by Jackson: Federal Registration of Firearms Urged,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), January 4, 1941,

	<p>p. 2; "U.S. to Seek National Registration of Guns," <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), January 1, 1941, Brooklyn section, p. 20; "Jackson Asks Law for Registration of All Firearms," <i>Evening Star</i> (Washington, DC), May 29, 1940, p. 1; <i>Proceedings of the Federal-State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 29, 30, 35; "Defense Data Sent to State Prosecutors," <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), August 24, 1940, p. 3; "Government Prepares to Crack Down on Bundists," <i>Courier</i> (Waterloo, IA), July 7, 1940, p. 4.</p>
66	<p>would mitigate this threat: See Herbert W. Slater, "Rod and Gun," <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), March 6, 1941, p. 9; "Medina Club Opposes Bill on Firearms," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), March 3, 1941, p. 13; Howard Kemp, "Sportsmen in the Area Aim to Halt Impending 'Gun' Legislation," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), February 23, 1941, p. 2B; "Listing of Arms is Opposed by Sportsmen," <i>Evening News</i> (Harrisburg, PA), February 13, 1941, p. 5; John G. Mock, "Firearms Measure Same Old Tune," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, January 19, 1941, section 3, p. 10; "Victor Sportsmen to Fight Gun Registration Measures," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), December 5, 1940, p. 21; Phil Sharpe, "Watch Out! Mr. Sportsman: Anti-Firearms Fanatics are Trying to Put Something Over on You," <i>National Sportsman</i>, December 1940, pp. 12-14; Bill Backus, "Rod and Gun: Watch for Attempt to Snatch Guns," <i>Record</i> (Hackensack, NJ), September 17, 1940, p. 17; "Checking of Guns Fought at Redlands," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> (CA), September 17, 1940, part 2, p. 20; "Ordinance Proposed to Make Registration of Firearms Compulsory," <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), September 8, 1940, p. 15.</p>
66	<p>more nominal than real: "Important Decisions," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1940, p. 22. See also "'National Defense' Decoy," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1940, p. 4 (asserting that the "real Fifth Columnists" are the "demagogues" using the national defense as a "sounding board" to assassinate the character of gun-loving Americans and groups like the NRA).</p>
67	<p>hysteria for reason: "Zero Hour," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1940, p. 4. See also "Gun Owners, on the Alert!: Antisportsman Fanatics are Moving in on State and Local Lawmakers in an Attempt to Grab Your Firearms!" <i>Outdoor Life</i>, June 1941, p. 35; "Danger Ahead!! Help!!" <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1941, insert, p. 2 (noting there are "groups who are cheap enough to seize on the existing 'Fifth Column' hysteria to attempt to do what they have been unable to do in years of calmer thinking."); A.D. Rathbone IV, "An Editorial: Shall Not Pass!" <i>Game Breeder & Sportsman</i>, November 1940, pp. 194-95, 198; Eltinge F. Warner, "Disarmament for Defense?" <i>Field and Stream</i>, October 1940, p. 15; "'National Defense' Decoy," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1940, p. 4.</p>
67	<p>not firearms registration, the organization argued: "Suggest Training in Use of Small Arms by Citizens," <i>Oshkosh Northwestern</i> (WI), June 25, 1940, p. 9.</p>
67	<p>arms of individual citizens: C.B. Lister, "An Open Letter: To the Chairman of Local Civilian Councils," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1942, p. 29.</p>
68	<p>subsequently defeat the United States: See, e.g., "The Nazi Deadline," <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, May 1942, pp. 24-25; Eltinge F. Warner, "Gun Registration?" <i>Field and</i></p>

	<i>Stream</i> , April 1941, p. 21; Francis A. Marvin, Jr., “The Latest Plot to Take Your Guns Away,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , April 1941, pp. 20-22.
68	<i>Un-American Activities underway: See, e.g.,</i> Bruce Catton, “The Spotlight on Fifth Column Diplomacy!” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), November 24, 1940, p. 4D; “Has the Dies Committee Inquiry Been of Benefit to the U.S.?” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> (MI), June 9, 1940, p. 5; “The American Forum: Has the Dies Committee Inquiry Been of Benefit to the U.S.?” <i>Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph</i> , June 2, 1940, part 4, p. 2.
68	<i>menace of the Fifth Column: “Fifth Column Activities,” Foreign Service Magazine</i> , October 1940, p. 42.
68	<i>all-out sensationalist one: Not every gun rights advocate made this switch right away. See, e.g.,</i> Bob Nichols, “In Times Like These,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , March 1941, p. 19 (“This is no time for sentimental hysteria. This is the time to see our problem of survival in the hard, white light of practical necessity.”). Despite having embraced the fifth column sensationalism, at times, the NRA still made sure to distribute “common sense” arguments against firearms controls. <i>See, e.g.,</i> C.B. Lister, “Awakening,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1941, p. 6; “The Most Uncommon Thing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1941, p. 4.
68	<i>coerced by fifth columnists: See, e.g., “Outdoors,” St. Louis Dispatch</i> (MO), January 12, 1941, p. 4A (reprinting the NRA’s claims that firearms registration bills are the work of fifth columnists); “Lent Tells Rifle League About Pending Bills,” <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), December 5, 1940, p. 9 (NRA official stating the varying firearms registrations bills were the “work of Fifth Columnists”). <i>See also</i> Letter from W.A. Ryan to Charles W. Tobey, March 21, 1941, Tobey Papers, box 18, folder 24, Firearms Legislation 1941 (constituent letter arguing against firearms registration on the grounds that sportsmen are “not the fifth column,” but “Americans...ready to defend our country when called”).
68	<i>most assuredly wanted: See, e.g.,</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> , p. 14.
68	<i>Let’s Fight the Fifth Column Trap: An original copy of Let’s Fight the Fifth Column Trap</i> does to appear to have survived—at least not that this author could find after years of searching. Fortunately, the newspaper <i>Brooklyn Citizen</i> reprinted the entire special bulletin in two parts. <i>See</i> Al Seidler, “The Outdoor Sportsman,” <i>Brooklyn Citizen</i> , December 24, 1940, p. 11; Al Seidler, “The Outdoor Sportsman,” <i>Brooklyn Citizen</i> , December 23, 1940, p. 11. For other instances where the special bulletin was quoted, summarized, or reprinted in part, see Herbert Corg, “Washington and Your Business,” <i>Nation’s Business</i> , October 1941, p. 38; John S. Bowman, “All Out Offensive: Sportsmen Oppose Gun Laws,” <i>Pantagraph</i> (Bloomington, IL), March 28, 1941, p. 10; A.D. Rathbone, IV, “Your Firearms and Fishing Tackle,” <i>Scientific American</i> , February 1941, p. 116; “Fifth Column,” <i>Ohio Conservation Bulletin</i> , January 1941, p. 23; “Outdoors,” <i>St. Louis Dispatch</i> (MO), January 12, 1941, p. 4E; “Allegiance Oath Will Be Taken By Sportsmen,” <i>Fitchburg Sentinel</i> (MA), January 4, 1941, p. 2; Edith M. Thompson, “The American Sportsmen Versus the Fifth Column,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), December 19, 1940, p. 2; Arthur G. Snyder, “Editorial Comment on Legion Affairs,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), December 8, 1940, p.

	46; “Victor Sportsmen to Fight Gun Registration Measures,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), December 5, 1940, p. 21; “Sporting Arms and National Defense,” <i>Game Breeder & Sportsman</i> , December 1940, p. 221; “Firearms in Private Hands,” <i>Marshfield News-Herald</i> (WI), November 28, 1940, p. 4; R.H.K., “Current Comment,” <i>Campbell Press</i> (CA), November 28, 1940, pp. 1, 4.
68	<i>political buccaneer: Let’s Fight the Fifth Column Trap</i> , reprinted in Al Seidler, “The Outdoor Sportsman,” <i>Brooklyn Citizen</i> , December 23, 1940, p. 11.
68	<i>half-truths and distorted facts: Ibid.</i>
68	<i>military preparedness: Ibid.</i>
68	<i>leads to the firearms confiscation: Ibid.</i>
68	<i>Sweet nothings: Ibid.</i>
69	<i>sportsmen and local groups: Let’s Fight the Fifth Column Trap</i> , reprinted in Al Seidler, “The Outdoor Sportsman,” <i>Brooklyn Citizen</i> , December 24, 1940, p. 11.
69	<i>oppose firearms registration: At times, the NRA went so far as to use one unsubstantiated fifth column claim to manufacture another. For instance, in an August 1941 recruitment mailing to NRA members and NRA affiliated clubs, it was audaciously claimed that the NRA was responsible for saving the country from “legislation intended to aid the national defense” that really would have led to the “practical confiscation of privately owned firearms...” Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to NRA members, August 26, 1941, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52. The “confiscation” legislation that the NRA referenced in the recruitment mailing was the 1941 Property Requisition Act, which at no point contained such a provision. 55 Stat. 742 (1941). For examples of how the NRA and other gun rights advocates used the 1941 Property Requisition Act to rouse the gun rights community to action, see “The Property Seizure Act,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1942, p. 11; Eltinge F. Warner, “Sportsmen Win—254 to 51,” <i>Field and Stream</i>, October 1941, p. 17; C.B. Lister, <i>U.S. Senate Bill No. 1579—The “Draft Property Act” or “Property Seizure Bill</i> (Washington, DC: National Rifle Association, August 26, 1941), Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52. <i>See also</i> Bill Ackerman, “Outdoors: Firearms Registration Defeated Again; Long Drought Puts in Hunting,” <i>Evening Star</i> (Washington, DC), October 7, 1941, p. A14; “Act Now—Save your Guns!” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, October 1941, p. 1; Letter from Alcott Farrar Elwell to Charles W. Tobey, September 25, 1941, Tobey Papers, box 18, folder 24, Firearms Legislation 1941; Letter from Colonel Roy D. Jones, USRA secretary-treasurer, to S.J. Mansfeld, USRA vice president, August 27, 1941, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52; Letter from Colonel Roy D. Jones, USRA secretary-treasurer, to S.J. Mansfeld, USRA vice president, August 25, 1941, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52.</i>
69	<i>fifth column scheme: C.B. Lister, “The Nazi Deadline,” American Rifleman</i> , February 1942, p. 7.
70	<i>under penalty of death: Ibid.</i>
70	<i>gun rights community to political action: Given the NRA’s frequent use of propaganda and misinformation, it was common for sportsmen, hunters, and firearms</i>

	owners to write their member of Congress with false claims of prospective federal legislation that would lead to disarmament and confiscation. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from Grace Lynch, Secretary to Robert M. La Follette, to A.G. Anderson, July 31, 1942, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division) (hereinafter La Follette Family Papers); Letter from A.G. Anderson to Robert M. La Follette, July 28, 1942, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from Robert M. La Follette to George A. Stuesser, Badger State Sportsmen Club secretary, May 5, 1941, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from George A. Stuesser, Badger State Sportsmen Club Secretary, to Robert M. La Follette, April 3, 1941, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from Robert M. La Follette to W.J. Warkley, May 18, 1941, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from Robert M. La Follette to Walter Goldsworthy, May 3, 1941, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from Walter Goldsworthy to Robert M. La Follette, March 22, 1941, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from Robert M. La Follette to Wallace Wilke, May 5, 1941, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms; Letter from Wallace Wilke to Robert M. La Follette, March 29, 1941, La Follette Family Papers, box 296, folder Firearms.
70	<i>should be watched</i> : “Untitled,” undated, Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 41.
71	<i>Hitler tells them to</i> : Letter from E.E. Torbett to John William “Elmer” Thomas, March 21, 1941, John William “Elmer” Thomas Papers, box LG 48, Folder 63, Firearms Control Act (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Thomas Papers); Letter from Walter J. Seeliger to John William “Elmer” Thomas, March 21, 1941, Thomas Papers, box LG 48, folder 63, Firearms Control Act.
71	<i>against it as a fifth column trap</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Arthur B. Harlow, “Your Right to a Gun,” <i>Wisconsin Conservation Bulletin</i> , May 1941, pp. 54-56; “Sportsmen Fight Move to Control Firearms,” <i>Marion Star</i> (OH), April 30, 1941, p. 12; Herbert W. Slater, “Rod and Gun,” <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), March 6, 1941, p. 9; “Medina Club Opposes Bill on Firearms,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), March 3, 1941, p. 13; “Rifle Association Hits Registration,” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), February 23, 1941, p. 12; Howard Kemp, “Outdoor Circuit...Sportsmen in the Area Aim to Halt Impending ‘Gun’ Legislation,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), February 23, 1941, p. 2B; “Listing of Arms is Opposed by State Sportsmen,” <i>Evening News</i> (Harrisburg, PA), February 13, 1941, p. 5.
71	<i>perpetration of vicious crimes</i> : Letter from Arthur G. Baraw, Los Angeles City Council secretary, to the Los Angeles City Council, April 17, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small (Los Angeles, CA: City of Los Angeles Office of the City Clerk).
71	<i>NRA’s organized opposition</i> : Letter from Walter C. Peterson, Los Angeles City Council clerk, to Los Angeles City Council Police and Fire Committee, November 8, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small; Report from Los Angeles City Council Police and Fire Committee, April 30, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small; Letter

	from R.E. Davis, Los Angeles City Council clerk, to Los Angeles City Council, undated, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small.
71	<i>criminals from acquiring firearms</i> : Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to Los Angeles City Council, November 4, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small Registration.
71	<i>large cities of the United States</i> : Ibid.
71	<i>crime rate in Los Angeles</i> : Ibid. For other NRA affiliated letters in opposition, see Letter from Howard L. Hubler to Los Angeles City Council, November 4, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small Registration; Letter from H.J. Burkhard to Los Angeles City Council, November 4, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small Registration; Letter from I.Y. Johnson, Burbank Rifle and Revolver Club president, to Los Angeles City Council, October 24, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small Registration; Letter from J.E. Cornell, Glendale Rifle and Revolver Club secretary-treasurer, to Los Angeles City Council, October 23, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small Registration.
71	<i>firearms registration ordinance</i> : Letter from Walter C. Peterson, Los Angeles City Council clerk, to Los Angeles City Council Legislative Committee, November 23, 1940, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small.
71	<i>local issue, but a state one</i> : Letter from Walter C. Peterson, Los Angeles City Council clerk, to Los Angeles City Council Legislative Committee, March 26, 1941, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms-Small.
71	<i>won the political fight</i> : See, e.g., J.R. Stewart, "Right to Bear Arms," <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), April 24, 1941, p. 44; "Game Association Opposes Bills to Restrict Firearms," <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> , March 27, 1941, p. 4; "Petitions Hit Proposed Bills Regulating Guns," <i>Signal</i> (Santa Clarita, CA), March 14, 1941, p. 1; Gun Owner, "Firearms Restrictions," <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), March 12, 1941, p. 12; E.B. Anderson, "Arming Our People," <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), February 17, 1941, p. 24.
72	<i>full-scale rioting</i> : For a useful history of the Zoot Suit Riots, see Eduardo Obregon Pagan, <i>Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race, & Riot in Wartime L.A.</i> (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 145-90.
72	<i>issue of firearms registration</i> : Memorandum from C.B. Horrall, Los Angeles Chief of Police, to Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners, "Registration, Regulation and Control of Firearms," undated, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms.
72	<i>assuredly a contributing factor</i> : Ibid.
72	<i>black-market in firearms</i> : Ibid. See also "Horrall Urges New Law on Firearms," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 14, 1943, part I, p. 13.

72	<i>before the Los Angeles City Council</i> : Letter from Arthur G. Baraw, Los Angeles City Council secretary, to Los Angeles City Council, August 4, 1943, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms; “New Law Would Curb Gun Traffic,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 21, 1943, part II, p. 12.
72	<i>registration was a fifth column trap</i> : See, e.g., “Deer Season: Van Nuys Sportsmen Attend Conference,” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), August 31, 1943, p. 1; “Protest Gun Registration,” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), August 27, 1943, p. 2; “Registration of Guns Opposed,” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), August 20, 194, p. 1; “Plan to Register All Owners of Guns Opposed,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , August 8, 1943, part II, p. 2; Letter from W.A. Windas to Los Angeles City Council, July 19, 1943, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms.
72	<i>one of whom was Horrall</i> : Report of the Los Angeles City Council Public Safety Committee, September 21, 1943, Los Angeles City Council Minutes 1940-1944, vol. 1, folder Firearms.
72	<i>testimony—were opposed</i> : “Gun Owners Protest Curb,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , September 16, 1943, part 2, p. 1.
72	<i>Los Angeles Communist Party</i> : See, e.g., Jim Day, “Pipefuls,” <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> , October 30, 1943, p. 7; “Can’t Be Done,” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), October 15, 1943, p. 1; “Red Raider?” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), October 1, 1943, p. 1; “Kill Proposed Gun Ordinance,” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), September 28, 1943, p. 2; “Council Kills Plan Involving Firearms Owners,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> (CA), September 24, 1943, part 2, p. 10.
73	<i>for the Zoot Suit Riots</i> : Richard Griswold del Castillo, “The Los Angeles ‘Zoot Suit Riots’ Revisited: Mexican and Latin American Perspectives,” <i>Mexican Studies</i> 16 (2000): 367, 382-84.
73	<i>connecting the two</i> : Ibid., pp. 384-85.
73	<i>their possession of arms</i> : Carl Winter, “Registering Firearms,” <i>Van Nuys News</i> (CA), October 15, 1943, part 2, p. 10.
73	<i>scheme to disarm the country</i> : See, e.g., C.B. Lister, “For Disarming the Bourgeoisie,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “Mission Accomplished!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1945, pp. 6, 9. See also C.B. Lister, “War and Peace,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1947, p. 6 (outlining the broader dangers pertaining to communism). This continued into the 1960s. See, e.g., Judge Donald Martin, “National Suicide?” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , October 1960, pp. 18, 21 (“Sixteen or seventeen years ago the Los Angeles Communists offered and supported a proposal before the City Council that all guns in the city be registered. At that time Commies were respectable and the Nazis in the dog house. For all that the Reds were, as always, conspiring against the government and the people. With registered guns, if they were able to get control of the Police Department for a few days they could disarm the City, greatly enhancing their chances of retaining control. It was a logical move from their end.”).

73	<i>Communitistic move</i> : Walter Frank, "Outdoor Sportsmen: Sportsmen Protest Arms Registration," <i>Central New Jersey Home News</i> (Brunswick, NJ), March 14, 1948, p. 21.
73	<i>repeated the performance since</i> : National Rifle Association, <i>Annual Report of the Executive Director and Secretary to the Board of Directors for the Calendar Year</i> (Washington, DC: 1947), 20.
74	<i>Vermont gun rights community</i> : <i>Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of Vermont: Sesquicentennial Issue for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1940</i> (Springfield, VT: Springfield Printing Co. 1940), 13; "Bar is for Registration of Foreign Political Party Members," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), October 3, 1940, p. 2; "Changing Constitution," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), September 19, 1940, p. 6.
74	<i>disarm the populace</i> : Vermont Bar Association, <i>Report of the Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting October 7 and 8, 1941</i> , vol. 35 (1942), 94. See also L.A. Cain, "Registration of Firearms," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 10, 1941, p. 7; John E. Austin, "Opposes Restrictions on Arms," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), January 7, 1941, p. 7.
74	<i>reject Jones's amendment</i> : "No Amendments," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 27, 1941, p. 6; "Four Suggested Changes Buried Under Big Vote," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 26, 1941, p. 3.
74	<i>automobiles and planes</i> : See, e.g., <i>To Regulate Commerce in Firearms</i> , pp. 19-20, 22-23, 59, 66, 69; <i>National Firearms Act</i> , pp. 54-55, 81.
74	<i>became migrants</i> : As it pertained to immigrant restrictions, the NRA was piggybacking on the recommendations of the Department of Justice and the Joint Federal-State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense. See "To Head Session on Defense Laws," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , July 29, 1940, p. 20; <i>Proceedings of the Federal-State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense</i> , pp. vii, 4-5, 14, 16-17, 29.
74	<i>not a U.S. citizen</i> : Nearly two decades earlier, the USRA had recommended that state governments enact legislation prohibiting non-citizens from purchasing firearms. See United States Revolver Association, "Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales: Why Revolver Sales Should be Uniform," Bulletin No. 2, January 24, 1923, Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence.
74	<i>blow at the fifth columnist</i> : National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> , p. 14.
74	<i>from its membership ranks</i> : National Rifle Association, <i>From Tyro to Master</i> (Washington, DC: 1946), 63 (requiring all NRA members to be a "good U.S. citizen," take the Pledge of Allegiance, and certify they are "not a member of any organization or group pledged to or working for a program aimed at the aimed at the destruction of our present system of government"); National Rifle Association, <i>How to Obtain N.R.A. Rifle and Pistol Instructors' Ratings</i> (Washington, DC: 1945), 3, in Mansfeld Papers, box 4, folder 51.

74	<i>to the proper authorities:</i> See “300,000 in Rifle Association Told to Watch 5th Columnists,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), June 7, 1940, p. 1; “U.S. Closes Canadian and Mexican Border to Passage of Aliens,” <i>Kane Republican</i> (PA), June 7, 1940, p. 1.
74	<i>proposal in the country:</i> National Rifle Association, <i>Annual Report of the Executive Director and Secretary to the Board of Directors for the Calendar Year</i> , p. 20.
75	<i>formidable lobbying organization:</i> For some examples of the NRA supporting the war effort, see C.B. Lister, “Mission Accomplished!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1945, pp. 6-9; “500 Members Missing from the N.R.A. Firing Line This Month!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1943, p. 2; C.M. Palmer, Jr., “Target for Today,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1943, pp. 8-10; C.B. Lister, “Home for Orders,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1943, p. 11; “Take an Active Patriotic Part,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1943, p. 2; C.B. Lister, “National Service Act,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1944, p. 7. For the NRA’s support of home guards and local defense councils, see National Rifle Association, <i>Practical Home Guard Organization for Reserve Militia or “Minutemen”</i> (Washington, DC: 1942); National Rifle Association, <i>Practical Home Guard Organization: Supplementary Bulletin Covering Application of the “Minutemen” Plan to Large Cities</i> (Washington, DC: 1942). For the NRA’s urging of sportsmen, hunters, and firearms owners to engage in grassroots activity, see “Call to Action,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1949, p. 12; C.B. Lister, “Just Grass Roots Stuff!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1947, p. 6.
75	<i>Department of the Army:</i> Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 232-34. See also George O. Van Orden, “Retraining the Returning G.I.,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1945, pp. 10-13 (showing the overlap between the NRA and Marine Corps marksmanship training during World War II). The NRA made sure to tout its involvement World War II. See, e.g., C.B. Lister, “Important and Urgent,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1945, 1 (“No sportsmen’s organization in American has directly contributed so much to our victory in World War II as has our own National Rifle Association. Both as a national organization and as individual citizens we have contributed heavily of technical knowledge, manual skills, manpower, and, unfortunately, of the lives of our friends and loved ones.”).
75	<i>281,800, respectively:</i> National Rifle Association, <i>Annual Report of the Executive Director and Secretary to the Board of Directors for the Calendar Year</i> , p. 21.
75	<i>firearms and explosives:</i> See, e.g., W.H.B. Smith, “Souvenir Firearms of World War II,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1945, pp. 26-29 (“The number and variety of weapons reaching this country from abroad is astonishing to anyone unfamiliar with the manufacturing methods and the police psychology of prewar Europe.”). See also W.H.B. Smith, “Souvenir Firearms of World War II,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1945, pp. 25-27; “Shipping ‘Liberated’ Weapons Home,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1945, p. 35.
75	<i>crimes, homicides, and injuries:</i> See, e.g., “Theft of Pistol Prompts Plea on Souvenirs,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), December 27, 1945, p. 3; Anne LoPresti, “List Automatic Weapon Souvenirs, U.S. Warns,” <i>Dayton Herald</i> (OH), December 15, 1945, p. 14; Robert C. Ruark, “Death in the Duffle Bags—

	Souvenir War Guns Give Police Headache as Crime Increases,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , December 9, 1945, p. 18; “U.S. Seizing Enemy Weapons in This Area,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), December 3, 1945, p. 5; “Chiefs Urge Close Check on Firearms,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), October 31, 1945, p. 1; “State Police Push Gun Registry to Check Crime Wave as Watchman Dies of Injuries,” <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), September 18, 1945, p. 1; Elmer Gaede, “Guns: War Souvenirs Can Run You Afoul of the Law,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , August 12, 1945, p. 12. <i>See also</i> “Battlefield Trophies,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1947, p. 42.
75	<i>into the wrong hands</i> : Harry S. Truman, President’s News Conference, January 15, 1946, Public Papers of Harry S. Truman 1945-1953, <i>available at</i> https://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=1457 .
76	<i>noncompliant with the National Firearms Act</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Anne LoPresti, “List Automatic Weapon Souvenirs, U.S. Warns,” <i>Dayton Herald</i> (OH), December 15, 1945, p. 14; “U.S. Seizing Enemy Weapons in This Area,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), December 3, 1945, p. 5.
76	<i>non-sporting firearms</i> : “Proposed Registration of Firearms Opposed,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), January 12, 1946, p. 13; “Bill for Arms Registration Rouses Anger of Sportsmen,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , January 12, 1946, p. 9; “Hawkes Firearms Bill Awaits Action,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), January 4, 1946, p. 2.
76	<i>Mussolini and Hitler</i> : C.B. Lister, “Pious Subterfuge,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1946, p. 9. Even before President Truman addressed the issue or a bill was proposed, the NRA railed against it as a “Gestapo” idea, built on the “legislative dictum on which Mussolini, Hitler, and every dictator before, rode into power.” <i>See</i> C.B. Lister, “The Backdoor Approach,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1945, p. 5. The NRA characterized contemporaneous state attempts at firearms registration in the same vein. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Bailey Urged to Veto Firearms Registration,” <i>Clarion-Ledger</i> (Jackson, MS), February 19, 1946, p. 8 (summarizing and quoting letter from NRA secretary-treasurer C.B. Lister to Mississippi governor Thomas L. Bailey).
76	<i>innuendo, and hysteria</i> : Lister, “Pious Subterfuge,” p. 9.
76	<i>keep and bear arms</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
76	<i>exclaimed the NRA</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
76	<i>more forceful than ever before</i> : For evidence that firearms manufacturers, particularly Remington Arms Company, were involved in issuing legislative warnings against Hawkes’s bill, see Letter from Hopkins Sporting Goods Company to Bourke Hickenlooper, January 8, 1946, Bourke Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder Gun Control 1946 (West Branch, IA: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hickenlooper Papers).
76	<i>anti-gun cranks</i> : For the quotations used, see Mike Dwyer, “Line on the Sportsman,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), February 12, 1946, p. 11; Milford K. Smith, “Stray Shots and Short Casts,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), February 4, 1946, p. 8; Rudolph O. Prosser, “Gun Registration,” <i>Herald-News</i> (Passaic, NJ), January 30, 1946, p. 10; Johnny Mock, “New Firearms Bill Recalls Drive in 1940 Which Failed,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> ,

	<p>January 15, 1946, p. 28; “Proposed Law Would Classify Sportsmen as Criminals,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), January 15, 1946, p. 4. For other NRA literature opposing Hawkes’s bill, see C.B. Lister, “The History of Liberty—,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1946, p. 9; C.B. Lister, “A Foot in the Door,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1946, p. 13; C.B. Lister, “Registration—Confiscation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1946, p. 9; <i>see also</i> National Rifle Association, <i>Help Secure Our Security</i> (1946), in Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52 (“THIS YEAR ours is an all-out fight for the right to ‘keep and bear arms’! For now, more than ever before, many gun-shy politicians believe that Americans should be disarmed in a foolish attempt to disarm unAmericans. They choose to forget that nearly all of the people of Europe and Asia were first disarmed, then regimented or subdued. The situation demands greater vigilance, even more wide-spread contacts, a larger N.R.A. Membership.”); David M. Newell, “Shall We Register Our Guns?” <i>Field and Stream</i>, March 1946, p. 3. For examples of sportsmen articles and editorials opposing Hawkes’s firearms registration bill, see Johnny Mock, “Firearms Laws Fail in Purpose,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, May 14, 1946, p. 12; “Fight Firearms Registration,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), March 4, 1946, p. 13; “Fight “Firearms Registration,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), February 16, 1946, p. 4; “Sportsmen Protest Gun Registration,” <i>News-Record</i> (Neenah, WI), February 15, 1946, p. 2; Doug Baldwin, “Doug Outs,” <i>Californian</i> (Salinas, CA), February 4, 1946, p. 10; “Firearms Bill Hit,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), January 31, 1946, p. 3. For examples of letters and telegrams by the gun rights community opposing Hawkes’s bill, see Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder Gun Control 1946.</p>
76	<p><i>NRA’s talking points</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, Letter from Lyle H. Boren to B.R. Elliott, February 15, 1946, Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control; “One More Restriction,” <i>Portsmouth Herald</i> (NH), February 12, 1946, p. 4; Form letter from Bourke Hickenlooper to constituents, January 17, 1946, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder Gun Control 1946.</p>
76	<p><i>firearms registration bill</i>: “Firearms Registration,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i>, January 25, 1947, p. 3.</p>
76	<p><i>agreed to sponsor it</i>: “Clark Will Seek Tighter Firearms Laws,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), December 8, 1946, p. 12.</p>
77	<p><i>handily defeated</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, Ted Trueblood, “Mid-Summer Miscellany,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, June 1947, pp. 14, 38.</p>
77	<p><i>for having ever sponsored it</i>: For NRA literature opposing senator Wiley’s bill, see “Progress Report: Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1947, p. 29; C.B. Lister, “Straightening the Record,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “For Disarming the Bourgeoisie,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1947, p. 7. For some letters and telegrams opposing senator Wiley’s bill, see Letter from W.T. Webb to Toby Morris, March 20, 1947, Toby Morris Papers, box 3, folder 95, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center); Letter from J.E. Mountjoy to Carl Albert, February 13, 1947, Carl Albert Papers, box LG 4, folder 28, Firearms Registration (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center); Tobey Papers, box 52, folder 18, Firearms Bill 1947 (includes over 200 pages of correspondence against Wiley’s bill); George E. MacKinnon Papers, box 4,</p>

	<p>Firearms Bill 1947 (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (includes 10 pages of correspondence against Wiley’s bill); Clare E. Hoffman Papers, box 29, folder Firearms (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Hoffman Papers) (contained 4 pages of correspondence against Wiley’s bill). For examples of sportsmen articles and editorials opposing Wiley’s bill, see Jack Connor, “Expert Assails Firearms Bill,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), February 13, 1947, p. 36; “Lone Pine Hunters’ Club is Opposed, Arms Registration,” <i>Nahua Telegraph</i> (NH), February 7, 1947, p. 13; Dick Jones, “Hunting and Fishing,” <i>St. Joseph News-Press</i> (MO), February 6, 1947, p. 13; “Sports Federation Opposes Registration of All Firearms,” <i>Times-Tribune</i> (Scranton, PA), February 7, 1947, p. 27; Russell S. Orr, “Outdoor Lore,” <i>Journal Herald</i> (Dayton, OH), February 6, 1947, p. 14; Arnold J. Stewart, “Hunting & Fishing,” <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), January 3, 1947, p. B13; Johnny Mock, “Federal Legislation to Require Registration of Firearms Sought,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, December 22, 1946, p. 21. For reports of senator Wiley’s apology, see “Firearms Registration,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, May 1947, p. 16; “Bill Recalled,” <i>Winona Daily News</i> (MN), February 22, 1947, p. 2 (noting that other “senators probably will be careful in the future not to step on the toes of 9,000,000 hunters in the United States” after the defeat of Wiley’s bill); “Sen. Wiley Sets a New High in Weaseling,” <i>Capital Times</i> (Madison, WI), February 21, 1947, p. 20; “Senator Wiley Withdraws Bill,” <i>News-Record</i> (Neenah, WI), February 21, 1947, p. 1; “Wiley Withdrawal’s Bill on Firearms,” <i>Sheboygan Press</i> (WI), February 18, 1947, p. 9.</p>
77	<p><i>withdrawing the bill</i>: Tubby Toms, “Out in the Open,” <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), February 21, 1947, part 2, p. 20. For the NRA’s memorandum announcing this development, see C.B. Lister, Memorandum to NRA Directors, Referees and Club Secretaries, undated 1947, in Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52; <i>see also</i> “Firearms Bill Letter Sent,” <i>Plain Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), March 5, 1947, p. 15 (reprint of letter from C.B. Lister, NRA executive director, to J.L. Neiger, Pennsylvania Fish Commissioner on defeat of Wiley’s firearms registration bill). For another example of how the NRA’s writing campaign influenced lawmakers to accept a pro-gun stance, see Letter from Clare E. Hoffman to Jack E. Renner, Hoffman Papers, box 29, folder Firearms (“[I will not be] voting for a law which would restrict the citizen in arming himself. The gangster and the criminals always seem able to get the best kind of gun, and they apparently know how to use it, while the private citizen, who is law-abiding, wants to live a decent and orderly life, is deprived the means of protecting himself.”).</p>
77	<p><i>Virginia Military Institute</i>: C.B. Lister, “A Gun-Shy Texan,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1947, p. 6.</p>
77	<p><i>range at V.M.I.</i>: Ibid.</p>
77	<p><i>golden age of gun rights</i>: It turns out that the true golden age of gun rights did not begin until the late twentieth century, a decade after the famed 1977 Cincinnati Revolt. <i>See</i> Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 273-310.</p>
77	<p><i>influencing firearms legislation</i>: Ibid., pp. 231-35.</p>
77	<p><i>care of the situation themselves</i>: “Opinions on the Sale of Guns,” <i>New York Herald Tribune</i>, May 18, 1958, p. 24.</p>

77	<p><i>regulating war trophies</i>: See Letter from Irving Perlmeter, Head of Public Relations, Department of Treasury, to Charles W. Jackson, Director of Advertising Liaison, Office of Government Reports, July 23, 1947, John T. Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies (Independence, MO: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library) (hereinafter Gibson Papers); Circular from Carroll E. Mealey, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Treasury, "Registration of Machine Pistols and Machine Guns Imported by Members of the Armed Forces," July 10, 1947, Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies; Circular from G.F. Hussey, Jr., Chief of Bureau of Ordnance, "Public Safety in Handling Explosive-type War Trophies," July 1, 1947, Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies; Circular from Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief of Staff, War Department, "War Trophies: Explosive Type," June 20, 1947, Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies; Press Release, Department of Treasury, No. S-332, May 18, 1947, Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies; Circular from R.J. Stann, Director of Public Relations, National Rifle Association, untitled, undated, Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies.</p>
77	<p><i>exhibiting them proudly</i>: Enclosure to Circular from Carroll E. Mealey, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Treasury, untitled, April 30, 1947, Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies.</p>
78	<p><i>Navy, and the NRA</i>: Memorandum from Henry Schneider, War Trophy Safety Committee, to President Harry S. Truman, July 24, 1947, Harry S. Truman Papers, White House Central Files: President's Personal File, box 630, folder 2177, National Rifle Association of America (Independence, MO: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library). See also "Gun Bill Withdrawn," <i>St. Louis Star and Times</i> (MO), March 7, 1947, p. 27; Joe M. Butler, "Action of Firearms Registration Bills," <i>Times-Tribune</i> (Scranton, PA), March 3, 1947, p. 16.</p>
78	<p><i>rendering them safe</i>: "Battlefield Trophies," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1947, p. 42; "Drive Under Way to 'Pull Teeth' of Wartime Trophies," <i>Journal News</i> (White Plains, NY), June 18, 1947, p. 7; "Government Cracks Down on Weapons," <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), May 19, 1947, p. 8.</p>
78	<p><i>education over legislation</i>: In a circular on the NWTSP, the NRA informed affiliated clubs that participation was highly encouraged because "from an NRA standpoint even a few unfortunate accidents due to the carelessness in the handling and use of an explosive-type weapons have a profound adverse effect on public opinion." Circular from R.J. Stann, Director of Public Relations, National Rifle Association, untitled, undated, <i>in</i> Gibson Papers, box 4, folder War Trophies. President Truman issued the following statement: "It has been brought to my attention that the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments and the National Rifle Association have joined in a campaign of instruction to prevent the loss of life and destruction of property resulting from the possession of explosive-type war souvenirs. One need but scan the papers to see that such a safety program is badly needed. The problem is primarily one of education. It is regrettable that a step of this kind was not taken after past wars. This neglect has cost us thousands of lives and millions of dollars. Three Government agencies and a nonprofit sportsmen's organization hand banded together in a public service. I trust the public will hear them—and heed." See "Battlefield Trophies," <i>American Rifleman</i>,</p>

	November 1947, p. 42. <i>See also</i> “Souvenir Hazards Campaign Endorsed,” <i>Spokane Chronicle</i> (WA), July 25, 1947, p. 2.
78	<i>Carcano M91/38 rifle</i> : For the history of Oswald’s rifle, see Keith Wheeler, “‘Cursed Gun’—the Track of C2766,” <i>Life</i> , August 27, 1965, pp. 62-65; <i>Report of the President’s Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 118-21.

Chapter 3 Notes

79	<i>legislative overreach</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “A Sullivan Law for D.C.?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1963, p. 23; “Crime and Punishment,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1963, p. 16; Jac Weller, “The Sullivan Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1962, p. 33; Robert Dymont, “The People vs. Sullivan Law,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1960, pp. 24-25, 49, 51-52, 54; William B. Edwards, “Why Not Have a PRO Gun Law?” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1957, pp. 23, 24; C.B. Lister, “The Shooter’s No. 1 Problem,” <i>Official Gun Book</i> , Charles R. Jacobs ed. (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1950), 4; Memorandum from C.B. Lister, NRA executive director, to NRA members in New York State, “New York State Legislature—Firearms Legislation,” February 2, 1948 (on file with author); C.B. Lister, “Invasion,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1943, p. 11; Francis A. Marvin, Jr., “The Plot to Take Your Guns Away,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , April 1941, p. 20; Karl T. Frederick, “Too Many Teeth in Law,” <i>New York Times</i> , March 24, 1932, p. 20; Karl T. Frederick, “Are You Men or Mutton?” <i>Field and Stream</i> , February 1932, p. 13; E.C. Crossman, “Anti-Firearms Legislation,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , December 1923, p. 925; Allyn H. Tedmon, “A Law for the Outlaw,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1, 1923, p. 4.
79	<i>one step at a time</i> : Oscar Godbout, “Shooters and Legislative Group Will Zero in on Sullivan Law Thursday,” <i>New York Times</i> , November 17, 1963, p. S17.
79	<i>public or the press</i> : Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 234-36. This is not to say, however, that several lawmakers and government officials were unaware of the NRA’s opposition. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Memorandum from James V. Bennett to attorney general William P. Rogers, “Re: Proposal for Gun Registration,” October 19, 1959, James V. Bennett Personal Papers, Subject Files, 1933-1966, box 10, folder 6 (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereinafter Bennett Papers) (“The objection to federal legislation on this subject has heretofore come from the firearms manufacturers, collectors, sportsmen, and members of the National Rifle Association who claim that any restriction is an infringement of the constitutional right to keep and bear arms and points the finger of suspicion upon the man who wants a gun to protect his property.”); Letter from James V. Bennett to Paul H. Douglas, March 12, 1958, Bennett Papers, Subject Files, 1933-1966, box 10, folder 6 (“As you know, we don’t have much control over firearms, and what little we have is being eroded away by various firearms manufacturers, the National Rifle Association, and others who want no control whatsoever over any kind of firearms.”).

80	<i>carried concealed or not</i> : McCandlish Phillips, “Legislators Ask Arms Law Change,” <i>New York Times</i> , November 23, 1963, p. 30.
80	<i>firearms controls was underway</i> : See “Guns in the City,” <i>New York Times</i> , June 26, 1964, p. 28; “Rockefeller Signs Bill on Firearms,” <i>New York Times</i> , April 7, 1964, p. 27; “New Restrictions on Firearms Quickly Voted by State Senate,” <i>New York Times</i> , February 20, 1964, p. 31.
80	<i>proponent of firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Nicholas Kristof, “It’s Time to Talk About the N.R.A.,” <i>New York Times</i> , October 29, 2018; Michael S. Rosenwald, “The NRA Once Believed in Gun Control and Had a Leader Who Pushed for It,” <i>Washington Post</i> , February 22, 2018; Arica L. Coleman, “When the NRA Supported Gun Control,” <i>Time</i> , July 29, 2016; Steven Rosenfeld, “The NRA Once Supported Gun Control,” <i>Salon</i> , January 14, 2013; Adam Winkler, “The Secret History of Guns,” <i>Atlantic</i> , September 2011.
80	<i>myth than on substance</i> : See, e.g., Memorandum from C.B. Lister, NRA executive director, to NRA board of directors, “Keeping ‘On the Beam,’” September 19, 1949, Merritt A. Edson Papers, box 27 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division) (hereinafter Edson Papers).
80	<i>firearms controls has overlooked</i> : See Jennifer Carlson, <i>Citizen-Protectors: The Everyday Politics of Guns in an Age of Decline</i> (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 61–62; Michael Waldman, <i>The Second Amendment: A Biography</i> (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2014), 87–107; Adam Winkler, <i>Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America</i> (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2011), 8–9, 63–68; Joan Burbick, <i>Gun Show Nation: Gun Culture and American Democracy</i> (New York, NY: New Press, 2006), 67–84; Kristin A. Goss, <i>Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control</i> (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 172–73.
80	<i>view of Second Amendment history</i> : For a detailed examination of the NRA’s role in rewriting the history of the Second Amendment, see Patrick J. Charles, “The Second Amendment in Historiographical Crisis: Why the Supreme Court Must Reevaluate the Embarrassing ‘Standard Model’ Moving Forward,” <i>Fordham Urban Law Journal</i> 39 (2012): 1727-1865. For some NRA-centric views of Second Amendment historiography, see Don B. Kates, “A Modern Historiography of the Second Amendment,” <i>UCLA Law Review</i> 56 (2011): 1211-32; Randy E. Barnett, “Under Fire: The New Consensus on the Second Amendment,” <i>Emory Law Journal</i> 45 (1996): 1139-1259; Glenn Harlan Reynolds, “A Critical Guide to the Second Amendment,” <i>Tennessee Law Review</i> 62 (1995): 461-511.
81	<i>support for reasonable firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “The Illegal Use of Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1964, p. 16; “Realistic Firearms Controls,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1964, p. 14; “There Ought to be a Law!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1956, p. 16; “This is Our Stand,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1965, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “As Allowed by Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1953, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “Education Versus Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1955, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “Education Versus Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1953, p. 12; “Congratulations, Gentlemen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1930, p. 6. See

	<p>also Patrick J. Charles, “The ‘Reasonable Regulation’ Right to Arms: The Gun Rights Second Amendment Before the Standard Model,” <i>A Right to Bear Arms?: The Contested Role of History in Contemporary Debates on the Second Amendment</i>, Jennifer Tucker, Barton C. Hacker, and Margaret Vining eds. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 2019), 167-84.</p>
81	<p><i>access to firearms</i>: See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the National Rifle Association</i> (Washington, DC: 1961), 4 (“The National Rifle Association of America must take the leadership in meeting and in turning the tide of uninformed anti-firearms public opinion which manifests itself today. We need the voice and we need the support of every patriotic American citizen who appreciates and believes in the fundamental concept of the right to keep and bear arms.”).</p>
81	<p><i>minority groups</i>: “Minutes of the Meeting of Directors of the National Rifle Association of America,” February 1, 1946, Edson Papers, box 7.</p>
81	<p><i>bad and unreasonable</i>: For examples of what qualified to the NRA as “good” or “reasonable” firearms legislation at different points in history, see “NRA Policy Statement on Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1958, p. 35; “There Ought to Be a Law!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1956, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “Education Versus Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1955, p. 16; Lister, “The Shooter’s No. 1 Problem,” <i>Official Gun Book</i>, p. 6; Frank C. Daniel, “The Gun Law Problem,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1953, pp. 16-18; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 2-3; “More on Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1937, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “Governor Roosevelt Upholds Sullivan Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1932, pp. 20-21; Karl T. Frederick, “Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History, Part 1,” <i>American Journal of Police Science</i> 2 (1931): 440-51; Karl T. Frederick, “Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History, Part 2,” <i>American Journal of Police Science</i> 3 (1932): 72-82; Karl T. Frederick, “Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History, Part 3,” <i>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</i> 23 (1932): 531-42; “Merry Christmas—and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1929, p. 6; C.B. Lister, “All In a Day’s Work,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1928, pp. 31-2; Milton A. Reckord, “The Truth About the Firearms Situation and a Suggestion for its Practical Solution,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1927, p. 4. For what the NRA constituted as “good” or “reasonable” firearms legislation prior to entering the political fray in 1926, see “The Police Panacea,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, May 15, 1923, p. 10 (“Severe penalties instead of short workhouse or jail sentences with the alternative of comparatively light fines, to be imposed upon all persons which police records found carrying weapons will accomplish far more than prohibitory legislation of the negative type. If the laws cease to regard ‘pistol toting’ as a misdemeanor and treat it as a serious offense with an adequate punishment, this habit of the lawless will speedily lose popularity.”); “The Gun-Toting Criminal,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, November 1, 1922, p. 12 (“<i>Arms and the Man</i> recognizes the need for regulating the sale of firearms and favors such laws as require dealers to keep a record of, and report their sales to the constituted authorities. Above all, <i>Arms and the Man</i> and every rifleman and pistol shooter will heartily support legislation tending to decrease crimes against the persons and property of citizens... Given a law which compels a record of sales, and which</p>

	<p>prohibits the carrying concealed of deadly and dangerous weapons, any community can give teeth to such legislation by providing penalties which will apply according to ‘intent,’ a factor which can as easily be proven in a gun-toting case as in one of assault or murder, and which will discourage the criminal while protecting the citizen.”); “The Annual Anti-Firearm Wave,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, March 15, 1921, p. 8 (“Bills which seek to regulate the sale of firearms to the extent of requiring dealers to sell only to those of legal age, and requiring them to report to the police the make and serial number of the weapon sold, together with a description of the purchaser, serve a very useful purpose—that of often aiding in the apprehension of criminals. Bills which require the citizen to obtain a permit, file a bond, and frequently renew his license, accomplish no more than the simpler form of regulation, and do a great deal more harm, since they keep many a reputable citizen from owning a weapon for perfectly legal purposes, yet in no way prevent the criminal from obtaining weapons by illegal means.”); “Anti-Firearm Legislation,” <i>Arms and the Man</i>, December 21, 1916, pp. 248-49 (“Proper regulations are not only to be advocated but are necessary. It is right that a dealer should be required to report his sales to the police of the city in which he is doing business. Such a policy enables the central detective office to trace the ownership of weapons used in the commission of crimes.”).</p>
81	<p><i>education and training</i>: “A Busy Legislative Year Ahead,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1955, p. 47. <i>See also</i> Louis F. Lucas, “Good-by Guns?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1960, p. 14; “What the Lawmakers are Doing,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1958, pp. 15-16; “Well-Meaning, but Without Understanding,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1957, p. 14. In a 1961 article appearing in the <i>American Rifleman</i>, the third question was omitted, and therefore the test was consolidated to four questions. <i>See</i> “Inform Your Legislator,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1961, p. 8. However, at times, the original five-part test periodically appeared in post-1961 literature. <i>See, e.g.</i>, National Rifle Association, <i>Standing Firm: Against Efforts to Disarm American Sportsmen by Restrictive Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1968); “Test of a Gun Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1963, p. 13. If an NRA member or gun rights supporter was unsure whether a law was in fact “reasonable,” they were advised to reach out to their local NRA representative, state shooting representative or local shooting representative. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Tom Siatos, “Editorially Speaking,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, June 1961, p. 6.</p>
81	<p><i>reader’s personal interpretation</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, National Rifle association, “<i>Be it Enacted</i>” <i>May Mean Goodbye Guns!</i> (Washington, DC: 1961), p. 6 (“If the proposed legislation is good, support it. If it is bad—unduly discriminating against honest sportsmen—oppose it vigorously and intelligently by letter, telegram or telephone call to your elected representatives or by personal appearance at open hearings.”); National Rifle association, “<i>Be it Enacted</i>” <i>May Mean Goodbye Guns</i> (Washington, DC: 1953), p. 2 (“Carefully consider the proposed law—its purpose, its method, its authority, its penalties. If it’s good, support it. If it’s bad—unduly discriminating against honest sportsmen—oppose it vigorously and intelligently by letter, telegram, phone s or personal appearance at open hearings.”); Merritt A. Edson, NRA executive director, “National Rifle Association’s 1951 Annual Convention Executive Director’s Message,” October 8, 1951, Edson Papers, box 15 (“The business of anti-gun</p>

	<p>legislation or legislation concerning who shall own and who shall have the right of owning or carrying or firing firearms is of vital interest to all of us...I think the NRA sometimes is put in the position of always opposing this bill or that bill. We do that. We watch the legislatures. We try to catch those bills or those ordinances that are proposed which we think are contrary to the best interests of the country and the best interests of law-abiding citizens. But I don't think we go quite far enough in picking out what we think are good pieces of legislation, gun-wise, and lending our support to them.”).</p>
82	<p><i>burdened law-abiding citizens: See, e.g.,</i> “Rifleman Spokesmen Refute New Control,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), May 5, 1963, p. 10C (quoting NRA vice president Franklin L. Orth stating: “The crime problem will not be solved by denying to reputable people the right to keep and bear arms. Existing laws should be strictly enforced with severe punishment for criminals and hoodlums who use guns for illegal purposes.”); Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, “Appreciate Support of Firearms Views,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), May 8, 1958, p. 16 (“We [at the NRA]...believe that severe penalties, applied by the courts, to the action of armed violence is a better answer to that problem [of gun violence] than efforts to control all gun ownership and use regardless of its legitimacy. The customary gun-control law does not hurt the criminal at all while it does discriminate against the law-abiding sportsman.”); Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, “Controlling Firearms,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), January 21, 1958, p. 8A (“We can certainly agree that every proper means should be taken to discourage the criminal use of firearms. We believe further that severe penalties should apply when firearms are used for illegal purposes. At the same time, we strongly contend that a firearm, of itself, is not a criminal weapon. The right of the honest citizen to purchase, own and use personal weapons for recreation and for his own and the national defense must not be infringed by regulations which attempt futilely to prevent a criminal or person with criminal intent from obtaining a firearm.”); Merritt A. Edson, NRA executive director, “Asks: Why Blame Gun?” <i>Rock Island Argus</i> (IL), October 31, 1953, p. 4 (“Laws can and should be written to take the profit out of armed crime by punishing severely those who use firearms for criminal purposes. No law can prevent the criminal from getting a weapon since illegal sources are always available and since laws are obviously obeyed only by the law-abiding.”).</p>
82	<p><i>always a failed grade: See, e.g.,</i> Earl Shelsby, “Outdoor Living,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i>, January 18, 1965, p. S16; Robert Charles, “Review Gun Laws Already on Books,” <i>Boston Globe</i>, February 8, 1964, p. 6; “Proposed Firearms Laws Must Be Effective, Necessary,” <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), December 14, 1963, p. 18; Jerry W. Perkins, “Anti-Gun Law Proposals Hit,” <i>Tulare Advance Register</i> (CA), December 10, 1963, p. 10; “Protect What Makes Us Strong!” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1963, pp. 40, 61-62; “Propose Action against Use, Not Possession of Firearms,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazelton, PA), July 10, 1962, p. 20; Bob Walsh, “Observations: Outlaw Guns?” <i>Warren County Observer</i> (PA), December 7, 1960, p. 4; “A Gun Law Test,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), December 4, 1960, p. 6; C. Richard Rogers, “Rifleman Asks Questions about Any Legislation to Restrict Firearms,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), October 11, 1959, p. 22; Howard J. Smith Jr., “Guns and the Law,” <i>New York Herald</i></p>

	<p><i>Tribune</i>, September 28, 1959, p. 20; Statement of C.R. Gutermuth, director Wildlife Management Institute, Relating to Interstate Traffic in Firearms and Ammunition, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division,” August 27, 1957, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society) (hereinafter Metcalf Papers); William Daniel Dalton, “Letter to the Editor: Anti-Gun Bill Before State Legislature Called Ridiculous by Rifle Association Member,” <i>Bedford Daily-Times Mail</i> (IN), January 28, 1957, p. 10. In one instance, an NRA member wrote to Montana Representative Lee Metcalf about the test, but added a sixth question: “Does this law infringe on the Second Amendment of the Constitution, the right of American citizens to keep and bear arms?” See Letter from Don Welch to Lee Metcalf, February 14, 1953, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms. Metcalf responded that he agreed that the Second Amendment protected an individual right. However, Metcalf cautioned: “[T]his does not mean that we may possess and use arms in whatever way we see fit and under whatever circumstances we think desirable. Government may impose reasonable controls in the public interest. What this means in the context of our constitutional system is that these controls recognize the responsibility of the individual on the one hand and the duty and authority of government on the other.” Letter from Lee Metcalf to Don Welch, February 20, 1963, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms.</p>
82	<p><i>disease but a symptom</i>: “National Rifle Association Convention Supplement,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1948, pp. 24, 30.</p>
82	<p><i>reared its ugly head</i>: Ibid. See also Donald Du Bois, “What Do You Know About Guns Laws?” <i>Outdoor Life</i>, April 1965, pp. 12-14 (providing sportsmen, hunters, and gun owners with the pro-gun “facts” about restrictive firearms legislation); “There Ought to Be a Law!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1956, p. 16 (“Why are guns so singularly seized upon as the subject of legislation? Why does the most experienced councilman or legislator feel competent to write firearms legislation, apparently confident that a law must be effective if only it is restrictive enough? The answer is partly prejudice. A prejudice which comes from ignorance of guns and the people who use them for sport and as a vital part of our defense. This prejudice is often carefully exploited by those who, for selfish reasons, would like to see fewer Americans in possession of private arms.”); “Let’s Sound Off!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1956, p. 16 (“What is wrong, then, that we hear so much of this idle, incompetent, anti-gun propaganda? We think the biggest fault is ignorance—ignorance of the lessons of history, ignorance of guns and the joys of shooting and outdoor living, ignorance of the millions of sportsmen who own guns and use them safely and well... We are all to blame, all of us—all shooters—if this ignorance continues to breed prejudice and fear and opposition to guns and shooting.”).</p>
82	<p><i>fight against firearms controls</i>: See, e.g., Memorandum from C.B. Lister, NRA executive director, to NRA board of directors, “Keeping ‘On the Beam’,” September 19, 1949, Edson Papers, box 27 (noting that maintaining the NRA’s legislative service is crucial to creating a “more favorable legislative situation...which gives [NRA members] a powerful <i>incentive</i> to continue their support of local clubs and the national organization...which [will] help create a more favorable public sentiment.”).</p>

82	<i>right versus wrong terms</i> : Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , p. 207.
82	<i>virtuous and rightminded</i> : See, e.g., Louis F. Lucas, "This Very Day," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1959, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, "The Greatest Dangers," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1955, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, "Education Versus Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1955, p. 16; "A Busy Legislative Year Ahead," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1955, pp. 47, 80.
82	<i>antient liberties</i> : John D. Dingell, "Criminals, Guns and the Gun Law Controversy!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , April 1964, pp. 22, 23.
82	<i>disarmament and confiscation</i> : See William Fulton, "Sullivan Law, Boon to Thugs, 40 Years Old," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , November 1, 1951, p. F6; C.B. Lister, "Simple Arithmetic," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1949, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Matter of Proportion," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Optimist – Or Sucker?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1948, p. 12; C.B. Lister, "Pattern in Red," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Passion for Crisis," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "The Opium Eaters," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1947, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "War and Peace," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, "Straightening the Record," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1947, p. 6; C.B. Lister, C.B. Lister, "The History of Liberty," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1946, p. 9.
82	<i>totalitarian police state</i> : See, e.g., C.B. Lister, "A Solider Speaks," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1949, p. 8; C.B. Lister, "Number One Problem," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1948, p. 8; C.B. Lister, "State of Mind," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1948, p. 8; C.B. Lister, "For Disarming the Bourgeoisie," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1947, p. 7; C.B. Lister, "As Ye Think," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1944, p. 7. See also H.E. Miller, "Legal Restrictions," <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , September 1962, p. 3; "A Nation of Riflemen," undated 1944, Harold P. Sheldon Papers, document 303, folder 13 (Barre, VT: Vermont Historical Society) (hereinafter Sheldon Papers).
82	<i>defended gun rights</i> : See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>Americans and Their Guns</i> , James E. Serven ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1967) ("The founding fathers of our nation realized the importance of the gun in our form of society and provided a clear-cut right to unfettered ownership of private arms by the law-abiding. Down the years the National Rifle Association of America has shown an undeviating determination to defend this right..."); National Rifle Association, <i>Your NRA: Information for Members of the National Rifle Association of America</i> (1959) (on file with author) ("The function of the [NRA] Legislative Service is two-fold. It suggests and aids in the drafting of intelligent laws which prove effective against the criminal, yet do not hinder the right of reputable citizens to possess and use firearms for legitimate purposes. It also assists in combatting unwise gun control measures which would impose severe restrictions or prohibitions on the law-abiding member of the community."); National Rifle Association, <i>Questions and Answers: Facts About the N.R.A.</i> (1946) ("Since 1871, the year N.R.A. was established, the Association has hammered away on the right of honest gun owning citizens to own and enjoy firearms. For three quarters of a century, the Association has led the fight against legislation aimed at infringing that privilege, as guaranteed in the American Bill of Rights! The

	<p>N.R.A.’s work in this respect alone has fully justified its existence.”); Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to NRA members, August 26, 1941, Mansfeld Family Papers, box 5, folder 52 (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Historical Society) (hereinafter Mansfeld Papers) (“The unexpected twists and turns which have been taken by legislation intended to aid the national defense but at the same time providing restrictions, registration, or practical confiscation of privately owned firearms should, by now, have convinced every sportsman of the vital need of an organization to guard against such laws. There <i>is</i> one, and only one, organization in America which has been doing this job for many years... This organization is <i>your</i> organization—the National Rifle Association of America!”); National Rifle Association, <i>I Am the N.R.A.</i> (1936) (on file with author) (noting that one of the “indirect benefits” of NRA membership is the “very important [legislative] battles” waged, to include ensuring only firearms laws that are “reasonable and acceptable to gun owning citizens” are passed).</p>
82	<p><i>associate the organization with: See, e.g.,</i> “The NRA of America,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1961, p. 16 (“No other organization outside the Armed Forces is so vitally concerned with the national preparedness and the training of our people in the use of the basic weapon of national defense as the NRA... The small investment for dues will return to each individual members... the personal satisfaction derived from being part of this great patriotic American association.”); Memorandum from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to NRA members, “Important and Urgent!” undated, reprinted in <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1945, p. 1 (“No sportsmen’s organization in America has directly contributed so much to our victory in World War II as has our own NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION.”); National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i>, p. 16-17 (projecting to lawmakers that the NRA is a distinct “American” institution); “He Profits Most Who Serves Best,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1938, p. 4 (claiming that no other American organization “enjoys a prestige in legislative bodies and in conferences of national citizens’ groups and sportsmen’s groups”). <i>See also</i> C. Richard Rogers, “The NRA Story,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, April 1962, pp. 16, 46-47.</p>
82	<p><i>succeeded in its effort: Charles, Armed in America</i>, pp. 231-38.</p>
83	<p><i>misleading propaganda: Ibid.</i>, pp. 195-97, 254.</p>
83	<p><i>radio personalities: See, e.g.,</i> “Directors Meeting, 1939,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1939, pp. 9, 11 (“Largely as a result of personal contacts, we have for the first time been able to secure the active cooperation of several of the nationally known writers of syndicated sports columns.”). <i>See also</i> C.B. Lister, “Your NRA Dollars... What They Accomplished,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1949, pp. 30-31 (highlighting the importance and success of the NRA’s Public Relations department); “Merchandising,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1939, p. 4 (explaining the importance of “[c]arefully planned national advertising” and utilizing “[n]ewspaper, radio, and magazine advertising” to distribute the NRA’s message).</p>
83	<p><i>talking points verbatim: See, e.g.,</i> Franklin L. Orth, “Report of the Executive Vice President for 1961,” in National Rifle Association, <i>1961 Operating Reports</i> (Washington, DC: 1961) p. 2 (on file with author) (“One method selected to create a</p>

	<p>more favorable public opinion for guns and shooting was to strengthen and expand our public relations efforts in order to emphasize the true value of our programs relating to all aspects of shooting”); Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to NRA members, August 26, 1941, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52 (“[The NRA’s] wide-spread contacts extend from city councils to the Federal Congress. Its reports to members on proposed or pending ordinances and bills are the only similar reports regularly sent to sportsmen by any organization. Its logical presentation of the basic facts and principles involved in firearms legislation have changed the viewpoint of editors, public officials and law-makers all over America. It has provided the leadership and rallying point for the ever-increasing number of organizations, outdoor magazines and individuals who are now waging an effective campaign against unwise anti-firearms laws.”). For some examples where the NRA’s press and media allies relayed the organization’s message, sometimes verbatim, see “The Firearms Issue,” <i>Missoulian</i> (Missoula, MT), January 17, 1960, p. 4; Ben Avery, “Rod and Gun: Anti-Gun Story Full of Holes,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), June 28, 1959, sec. 3, p. 7; Milt Phillips, “Cluttered Corner: Federal Firearms Rules Irks Hugh Cornelison,” <i>Seminole Producer</i> (OK), September 5, 1957, p. 14; Grant Loftin, “Rifle Association Presents Reasons for Opposition to Firearms Legislation,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), January 6, 1955, p. 12; “Keep to the American Way,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), October 25, 1949, p. 6; Clint Dunathan, “Good Evening: Guns and Crime,” <i>Escanaba Daily Press</i> (MI), March 21, 1949, p. 4; “The Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i>, March 16, 1949, part 2, p. 4.</p>
83	<p><i>positive image</i>: This including writing letters of gratitude or thanks to newspapers that published editorials and articles that aligned with the NRA’s “anti-firearms” legislation policy. <i>See, e.g.</i>, C. Richard Rogers, “Rifle Assn. Says Education on Firearms is Answer,” <i>Tyler Courier-Times</i> (TX), January 24, 1960, sec. II, p. 4 (Letter from NRA director applauding the newspaper’s publication of pro-gun editorial); Floyd L. Parks, “Appreciate Support of Firearms Views,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), May 9, 1958, p. 16 (letter from NRA executive director applauding the newspaper’s publication of a pro-gun editorial). <i>See also</i> “Local Club Answers Pistol Critic,” <i>Princeton Daily Clarion</i> (IN), February 20, 1949, p. 4 (publishing a response by NRA executive director C.B. Lister to a newspaper’s editorial endorsing firearms control).</p>
83	<p><i>firearms and the shooting sports</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, “Club Press Relations,” <i>NRA Junior Club Guide</i> (1961) (on file with author); “When to Write a News Story,” <i>NRA Junior Club Guide</i> (1961) (on file with author); Daniel K. Stern, “Winning Public Support for Shooting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1960, p. 53; B. Poe, “Before You Write that Letter,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1960, p. 46; Daniel K. Stern, “How to Get that Match Publicized,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1957, pp. 31-33; James J. Aiello, Jr., “So You Want More Club Members,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1955, pp. 37-39; Thad Spinola, “Get in the Public Eye,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1955, pp. 30-31; Fred Luks, “It Won’t Pass,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1954, pp. 36-37; Michael Nadel, “What Can We Do?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1954, p. 19; Edmund McLaurin, “Club Promotion,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1945, pp. 19-21; H. DeWitt Erk, “Let’s Go...To Press,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1940, pp. 20-21. <i>See also</i> <i>You and Your Lawmaker: A Citizenship Manual for Sportsmen</i> (Riverside,</p>

	CT: Shooting Sports Foundation, 1966); George W. North, "Support Your Right to 'Keep and Bear Arms': Here's What You Can Do!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1963, pp. 18, 69; B.F. Samuels, "The Right to Keep and Bear Arms: Legislation and the Value of Letters," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , December 1962, pp. 20-21; William B. Edwards, "How You Can Get Good Publicity," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1961, pp. 22-24, 58-59.
84	<i>audience and unbelievable support</i> : Daniel K. Stern, "Tell the People!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1955, pp. 39, 40.
84	<i>especially during World War II</i> : See "NRA 'Mission Accomplished,'" <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1945, pp. 6-9. See also Osha Gray Davidson, <i>Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control</i> (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 1993), 27-28.
84	<i>National Defense Act of 1916</i> : See, e.g., "The National Rifle Ass'n," <i>Sports Afield</i> , January 1920, p. 44 (NRA touting its work with the United States military, the NBPRP, and referring to itself as a "semi-military organization"). By 1961, the NRA stated in its annual operating report that its relationship with the Department of Defense was "on a most friendly and cooperative basis" and working with the NBPRP "closer...than ever before." National Rifle Association, <i>1961 Operating Reports</i> , p. 4.
84	<i>comprised of NRA officials</i> : For more on background on the information contained in this paragraph, see <i>Americans and Their Guns</i> , pp. 102-227; Robert M. Ujevich, Legislative Attorney, Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, "Legislative History of 10 U.S.C. 4308," April 21, 1965, in Charles S. Joelson Papers, box 187, folder Firearms (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division) (hereinafter Joelson Papers); Grover S. Williams, Legislative Attorney, Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, "Federal Assistance to Rifle Clubs," June 22, 1964, in Joelson Papers, box 187, folder Firearms; Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, "Civilian Marksmanship in Countries Other than the United States," October 31, 1960, in Carl T. Hayden Papers, box 433, folder National Rifle Association (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Library) (hereinafter Hayden Papers); Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, "Legislative History—National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice," October 31, 1960, in Hayden Papers, box 433, folder National Rifle Association; Legislative Bulletin from Merritt A. Edson, NRA executive director, to NRA members, "[Appropriations for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice], April 14, 1952, in Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; C.B. Lister, "You Ought to Know...the Director of Civilian Marksmanship, the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1950, pp. 32-33.
84	<i>increasing membership rolls</i> : See, e.g., "The National Rifle Association of America," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1940, p. 64 (membership advertisement touting that "civilian rifle teams are sent to the National Matches at government expense" and that only NRA members are afforded the "privilege" of buying military surplus equipment from the War Department); "The Committee Cooperates," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1938, p. 4 (noting the critical importance of the appropriations in holding the NRA's National Matches at Camp Perry, for without said appropriations the NRA does not know if the matches "will be held or on what scale they will be conducted"); National Rifle Association, <i>The Typical American Sport</i> (Washington, DC: 1935), 15 (outlining

the benefits associated with becoming a NRA rifle club, including the “*privilege of purchasing from the War Department through the Director of Civilian Marksmanship the Service Springfield, the .22 caliber Springfield, ammunition, and such other items of equipment as my become available from time to time.*”); “Merry Christmas—And Gun Laws,” *American Rifleman*, December 1929, p. 6 (noting NRA “favor” for the “Congressional appropriation” of the “National Rifle Matches” and the continued “support by the War Department for civilian rifle clubs and the *granting of such increased appropriations* from time to time as may be necessary in order to *continue this assistance to the steadily increasing number of such clubs.*”) (emphasis added); “The Battle for 1928,” *American Rifleman*, December 1927, p. (noting that the NRA is lobbying from the “President of the United States downward” to provide “adequate funds” for both the National Matches and “civilian rifle practice,” and urges NRA members to write “Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to the War Department so that properly organized civilian rifle clubs *may receive Government assistance* during the coming year.”) (emphasis added); “7 Reasons Why Your Friends Should Be Members of the Association,” *American Rifleman*, April 1927, p. 147 (membership enrollment advertisement that touts the NRA’s fight to get sportsmen “Government aid”); “\$100,000 for Civilian Clubs,” *American Rifleman*, February 1927, p. 56 (describing congressional appropriations as something the “civilian shooter” is “entitled” to); “The Budget and You,” *American Rifleman*, December 15, 1926, p. 376 (describing congressional appropriations as “an annual allotment of ammunition without charge”); “National Board Drafts Regulations for Rifle Practice Fund,” *Arms and the Man*, January 25, 1917, p. 343-44 (outlining the benefits each NRA affiliated rifle club will receive under the defense appropriations); “The Civilian Rifle Practice Appropriation,” *Arms and the Man*, August 17, 1916, p. 409 (noting the benefits of the defense appropriations and referring to it as “government aid”). *See also* C.B. Lister, “Call to Action,” *American Rifleman*, March 1949, pp. 10, 38 (urging NRA members to write their representative in Congress to lobby for an increase in NBPRP appropriations); “A New Year—A New Start,” *American Rifleman*, January 1931, p. 6 (noting how NRA membership rolls have increased “tenfold in less than a decade” in part to the defense appropriations for National Matches and privilege to purchase military surplus equipment from the War Department); “The Budget,” *American Rifleman*, January 1930, p. 6 (urging NRA members to write their representative in Congress to obtain appropriations for the National Matches); “A New Era?” *American Rifleman*, September 1929, p. 6 (outlining the connection between congressional appropriations, the National Matches, and how the NRA is lobbying federal, local, and state governments for appropriations that benefit the civilian shooter). In 1928, with inclusion of an amendment to the NDA codifying the National Matches, the NRA was confident that appropriations for said matches would be budgeted annually. For more background on this, see Milton A. Reckord, “National Matches Secured Annually,” *American Rifleman*, July 1928, p. 14; “A Victory,” *American Rifleman*, July 1928, p. 6; Milton A. Reckord, “National Matches Definitely Secured for Fall of 1928,” *American Rifleman*, April 1928, pp. 19, 32; “Tell Them!” *American Rifleman*, April 1928, p. 6; “The Lesson of the National Match Fight,” *American Rifleman*, March 1928, p. 22; “Time for a Show-Down,” *American Rifleman*, February 1928, p. 74; Milton A. Reckord, “To Members of the National Rifle Association,” *American*

Rifleman, January 1928, p. 8; “Shall the National Matches Be Held Each Year?” *American Rifleman*, August 1927, p. 355. However, the events of the Great Depression wakened the NRA to the reality that even though federal law required the War Department to budget appropriations for the National Matches, there was no guarantee that said appropriations would be forthcoming. It was not until the mid-twentieth century, following the lessons learned from the congressional appropriations process during the Great Depression, as well as the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration’s decision to pause the sale of surplus military equipment to NRA affiliated clubs and members after news reports of said equipment falling into the hands of Nazi sympathizers, that the NRA changed the manner in which it described the appropriations or “government aid” that ultimately benefited the NRA, its affiliated clubs, and members. “Regional Matches to Take Place of National Matches,” *American Rifleman*, July 1932, pp. 14-15 (informing how the Great Depression has caused Congress to not fund appropriations for the National Matches, and that only regional matches would be held as a result); *Americans and Their Guns*, pp. 231-32. Therein, NRA officials began consistently messaging that the organization did not at all benefit financially from defense appropriations or the continued existence of the NBPRP. See, e.g., National Rifle Association, *Bylaws of the National Rifle Association of America* (Washington, DC: March 29, 1957), i (“[The NRA] receives no appropriations from Congress.”); Merritt A. Edson, “Tis Education Forms the Common Mind,” *American Rifleman*, October 1952, p. 20 (“There are some Congressmen who believe that the appropriation for the National Board is actually an appropriation for the National Rifle Association of America. Of course this is not true...Not one penny accrues to the NRA or to any of its affiliated clubs or members.”); “Congress Votes Funds for National Board,” *American Rifleman*, August 1952, pp. 20, 34 (“Some have alleged that the National Rifle Association is the beneficiary of this program. Nothing could be further from the truth. The club is merely the organizational vehicle through which a responsible accountability for equipment is made and it is the means of reporting the progress and qualifications of individuals in the marksmanship training.”); Merritt A. Edson, “Hangman or Healer!” *American Rifleman*, May 1952, p. 12 (“Contrary to the belief of many, not one cent of the funds appropriated by Congress for the promotion of rifle practice accrues to the National Rifle Association.”). See also National Rifle Association, *I Am the N.R.A.* (1936 pamphlet noting that although Congress does “not appropriate a penny” directly to the NRA, the organization uses membership dues to lobby Congress for “adequate appropriations to the National Board and Director of Civilian Marksmanship so these government agencies can continue their service to shooters.”). While the NRA was not wrong in denying a *direct* financial benefit, the truth of the matter was the NRA materially benefited, whether it was measured via the continued growth in NRA membership rolls, the NRA maintaining its connections and affiliation with the United States military, or the NRA using the NBPRP as a political springboard for other lobbying efforts. See, e.g., C. Richard Rogers, “The NRA Story,” *Guns Magazine*, April 1962, pp. 16, 47; “Rifle Club Boondoggle,” *American Rifleman*, January 1958, p. 14; J.A. Harper, “Can’t We Awaken the National Board?” *American Rifleman*, April 1952, pp. 13-15. See also “Rifle Ranges for Civilian Marksmanship,” *American Rifleman*, March 1962, p. 16 (highlighting how increased

	NBPRP appropriations will benefit the improvement of existing and establishment of new ranges); Edsel L. Hilton, "Letter to the Editor," <i>Kingsport Times</i> (TN), April 29, 1952, p. 4 (urging every hunter and sportsmen to write Congress for appropriations that benefit the NRA); "Will We Stay in High?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1927, p. 22 (acknowledging that without federal funding "from Congress, the [National] Matches can not be held and we are off on another detour in or efforts to interest the American public in rifle and pistol shooting as a wholesome sport.").
84	<i>force of Minute Men</i> : "Modern Minute Men Proposed as Guard Against Red Threat," <i>Jefferson City Post-Tribune</i> (MO), October 21, 1942, p. 1; "Home Guard of Sportsmen Receives Additional Support," <i>News Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), June 3, 1942, p. 1. <i>See also</i> Joe McCann, "The Case for the Minute Men, Part III," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1942, pp. 22-24; Joe McCann, "The Case for the Minute Men, Part II," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1942, pp. 27-29; Joe McCann, "The Case for the Minute Men, Part I," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1942, pp. 12-15; "Where Would the U.S.A. Be if He Had Been Forbidden to 'Bear Arms'?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1942, p. 4; "Minute Man, 1942," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1942, pp. 26-28; Raymond J. Stan, "A New American Militia," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1942, pp. 5-6; C.B. Lister, "Gun-Shy Defense," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1942, p. 7; Raymond J. Stan, "The N.R.A. and National Defense," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1941, pp. 7-9.
85	<i>needed shooting ranges</i> : "U.S. Home Defense Need Cited: Rifleman Training Urged," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), June 14, 1961, p. 40.
85	<i>training in public schools</i> : Ibid.
85	<i>ancestors once did</i> : Ibid. <i>See also</i> "Help for 'A Nation of Riflemen'," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1961, p. 6 (editorial supporting the NRA's million-dollar appropriations request).
85	<i>quasi-governmental institution</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , August P. Beilmann, "For Gun Enthusiasts," <i>Washington Citizen</i> (MO), March 27, 1961, p. 6; Bill Allen, "Outdoor Georgia: NRA Firearm Instruction Program Eases Parental Anxiety Over Children's Guns," <i>Atlanta Constitution</i> , July 25, 1953, p. 8; "Rifle Training Pays Dividends for Teenagers," <i>Waco Tribune-Herald</i> (TX), April 27, 1952, sec. 4, p. 8; C.B. Lister, "You Ought to Know...the Director of Civilian Marksmanship, the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1950, pp. 32-33; Memorandum from C.B. Lister, NRA executive director, to Major General Merritt A. Edson, "Notes Regarding the National Rifle Association of America," January 3, 1950, Edson Papers, box 27; "Pistol and Rifle Shooting Popular American Sport," <i>Morning Call</i> (Paterson, NJ), April 4, 1944, p. 16.
85	<i>monument near Capitol Hill</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Outdoors Questions," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , March 31, 1963, sec. VI, p. 4; Al Bennett, "Outdoor Life," <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), February 17, 1963, p. D5.
85	<i>there wasn't any</i> : National Rifle Association and Department of the Army, <i>The Right to Keep and Bear Arms</i> (Washington, DC: Army Pictorial Center, 1962) (the film can be found on YouTube).

85	<i>firearms recreation and shooting</i> : Ibid.
85	<i>good sport and good shooting</i> : Ibid.
85	<i>the military services</i> : The coproduction of films with the United States military was in part driven by the NRA's congressional allies. See Letter from Carl T. Hayden to Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, September 24, 1962, Hayden Papers, box 422, folder 10, National Rifle Association (requesting that appropriations be used to "publicize and document in motion pictures and by all other means of communication" the NRA sponsored national matches).
85	<i>quasi-governmental status</i> : See, e.g., "88th Annual Meetings," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1959, p. 18; John Scofield, "Armed, Alert, and Peaceful," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1950, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "It is Good—For a Free America," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1947, p. 10. See also "How FDR Really Felt About Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1966, p. 36.
86	<i>connections with the military services</i> : Often the NRA offered free memberships to military officers that served in either presidential administrations or in other, high ranking capacities to gain access. See Colonel Robert L. Schultz Papers, box 88, folder National Rifle Association (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library); Robert B. Anderson Papers, box 47, folder National Rifle Association Speech (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library); Curtis E. LeMay Papers, box B122, folder National Rifle Association (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division).
86	<i>personal assistant and son</i> : Letter from Milton A. Reckord, NRA executive vice-president, to Colonel James Roosevelt, January 4, 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, Personal Files, part 11, folder National Rifle Association (hereinafter President Roosevelt Papers).
86	<i>message is justified</i> : Memorandum from William D. Hassett, White House Assistant, to Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring, January 25, 1938, Roosevelt Papers, Personal Files, part 11, folder National Rifle Association.
86	<i>laudatory message</i> : Letter from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to Milton A. Reckord, NRA executive vice-president, February 1, 1938, Roosevelt Papers, Personal Files, part 11, folder National Rifle Association; Letter from Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring to William D. Hassett, White House Assistant, January 29, 1938, Roosevelt Papers, Personal Files, part 11, folder National Rifle Association.
86	<i>Annual Meeting</i> : "President Commends Association at Annual Meeting," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1938, p. 22.
86	<i>out to the White House</i> : Letter from Jim Berryman, <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Charles G. Ross, secretary to President Harry S. Truman, October 19, 1945, President Harry S. Truman Papers, Personal Files, box 630, folder National Rifle Association (Independence, MO: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library) (hereinafter Truman Papers).
86	<i>brief pat-on-the-back</i> : Ibid.

86	<i>same as the NRA's</i> : "The President of the United States," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1945, p. 10; Letter from President Harry S. Truman to C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, November 14, 1945, Truman Papers, box 630, folder National Rifle Association; Letter from Jim Berryman, <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Eben Ayers, press secretary to President Harry S. Truman, Truman Papers, box 630, folder National Rifle Association.
87	<i>primarily one of education</i> : For the information and quotes contained in this paragraph, see Truman Papers, Official File, box 339, folder War Trophies; John T. Gibson Files, box 4, folder War Trophies (Independence, MO: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library).
87	<i>drafted them all</i> : For the information contained in this paragraph, see President Dwight D. Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library) (hereinafter Eisenhower Papers).
87	<i>of his own volition</i> : Letter from President Dwight D. Eisenhower to Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, May 18, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association; Letter from President Dwight D. Eisenhower to Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, May 7, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association; Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, May 4, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association; Memorandum from Colonel Robert L. Schulz to Ann Whitman, May 1, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association; Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, to Colonel Robert L. Schulz, military aide to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, April 25, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association.
87	<i>much like John F. Kennedy</i> : See "...An Important Role in Our National Defense," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1961, pp. 26-27; Letter from Frank C. Daniel, NRA official, to President John F. Kennedy, April 19, 1961, John F. Kennedy Presidential Papers, President's Office Files, Personal Secretary's Files, Memberships, December 1960-April 1961 (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereinafter Kennedy Presidential Papers); Letter from President John F. Kennedy to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, March 20, 1961, Kennedy Presidential Papers, President's Office Files, Personal Secretary's Files, Memberships, December 1960-April 1961; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to President John F. Kennedy, March 7, 1961, President John F. Kennedy Papers, President's Office Files, Personal Secretary's Files, Memberships, December 1960-April 1961; Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 242-44.
87	<i>and Richard M. Nixon</i> : Nixon disavowed his gifted NRA life membership upon assuming the presidency. See "Concerning President Nixon," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1969, p. 16; "Rifle Unit Membership is Disavowed by Nixon," <i>New York Times</i> , February 23, 1969, p. 48.
87	<i>to name just two</i> : See generally Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 7, book 6.

87	<i>in the final message</i> : Message of the President to be Read by the Honorable Bryce N. Harlow at the Annual Banquet of the National Rifle Association, March 23, 1960, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association; Markup of NRA Drafted Letter, undated, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA Executive Vice President, to Bryce N. Harlow, Deputy Assistant to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, February 15, 1960, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association.
88	<i>true-blue NRA members</i> : See, e.g., Milton Reckord, "Speech #1," undated 1967, Milton Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Library) (hereinafter Reckord Papers) ("Among the many outstanding public personages who have been members of the National Rifle Association are five Presidents and two Chief Justices of the United States Supreme Court.").
88	<i>enthusiastic Life Member</i> : Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, to Colonel Robert L. Schulz, April 25, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association. See also Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, May 4, 1956, Eisenhower Papers, Personal Files, box 845, folder National Rifle Association.
88	<i>invested in the organization</i> : The principal evidence against the NRA's assertion can be found in Chief Justice Earl Warren's papers. Therein is detailed the various organizations in which Warren was truly active. See generally Earl Warren Papers, boxes 754-86 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division). The NRA is not listed.
88	<i>constantly afoot</i> : See, e.g., John M. Schooley, "An Address by the Retiring President," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1963, pp. 27, 28; "A Busy Legislative Year Ahead," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1955, p. 47; C.B. Lister, "Dangerous Minority," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1950, p. 10; "National Rifle Association Convention Supplement," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1948, pp. 24, 30; C.B. Lister, "State of Mind," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1948, p. 8; C.B. Lister, "Right to Bear Arms," <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> , May 22, 1944, p. 12; "Politics and Propaganda," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1940, p. 4; "'National Defense' Decoy," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1940, p. 4; "200,000—for What?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1930, p. 6 (querying whether the campaign for "anti-gun laws" is in part financed by congressional appropriations). See also Arthur Grahame, "Gun Owners Should Switch to the Offense," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , November 1963, pp. 10-11, 88; "Sportsmen, Help Crush Anti-Firearms Propaganda," <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , July 1963, p. 61-64; Eltinge F. Warner, "Firearms Laws and the Constitution," <i>Field and Stream</i> , August 1946, p. 41; Francis A. Marvin, Jr., "The Plot to Take Your Guns Away," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , April 1941, p. 20; Eltinge F. Warner, "The Pistol Situation," <i>Field and Stream</i> , November 1926, p. 15; Eltinge F. Warner, "It's Up to You!" <i>Field and Stream</i> , January 1926, pp. 34-35; Stephen Trask, "Fighting the Devil With Fire," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1, 1924, pp. 9-10; "Pistol Protection vs. Pistol Prohibition," <i>Adventure</i> , September 30, 1923, pp. 178-80; "The Anti Anti-Pistol Situation," <i>Field and Stream</i> , December 1922, p. 827. At several times, the NRA also audaciously claimed that

	prospective firearms legislation was being advanced by the “Communist-front.” See, e.g., “Know Your Enemy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1959, p. 8.
88	<i>political strawmen</i> : See, e.g., C.B. Lister, “Well, Well!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1948, p. 10; National Rifle Association, <i>The Story of the Alco Bill</i> (1934), 4-5, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder.
88	<i>their civic duty</i> : See, e.g., “Consent of the Governed,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1961, p. 16 (“The basic rights guaranteed to the people...including the right to keep and bear arms, are a priceless heritage. Reputable citizens who own and use firearms for lawful purposes have special responsibilities to see that this right is not impaired.”); Louis F. Lucas, “The Price of Individual Rights,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1960, p. 16 (“Each of us must keep abreast of current developments and trends in government and be ready to express our views on such matters to our elected representatives, our associates, and our personal friends. The right to keep and bear arms is a vital element of the American way of life. Reputable citizens who own and use firearms have special responsibilities to see that this right is not lost.”); Louis F. Lucas, “Firearms and Public Opinion,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1960, p. 14 (“The [NRA]...stands as a bastion against countless attempts to disarm the citizen of this country. The strength of its members is in [the] NRA and the strength of the NRA is in its membership. Its greatest influence is due to the unselfish efforts of its members in the field of firearms legislation and it is here that the missions of gun owners have a responsibility to take an active part in the protection of their own interests. The important thing is that we bring into play the full potential of all those who have a vital interest in the right to keep and bear arms.”); “Let’s Take the Offensive,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1958, p. 16 (“The right of the people to keep and bear arms, as well as other individual rights, is effective only to the degree that the people are willing to meet the obligations of freedom. Only by eternal vigilance can those rights be protected and our nation remain free. We who have the greatest stake in preserving the right to keep and bear arms are to blame if this ignorance continues to breed prejudice and fear and opposition to guns and shooting.”); “A Busy Legislative Year Ahead,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1955, p. 47, 80 (“Not only is eternal vigilance the price of liberty; dedicated individuals must be prepared and willing to take action as individuals and groups. If the right to keep and bear arms is to be preserved from infringement, the individual shooters of this country who known and believe in the importance of the private ownership of personal weapons must take the initiative in their home communities.”). For the earliest attempts at placing the onus on sportsmen, hunters, and gun owners as having a duty to fight restrictive firearms legislation, see “Who’s to Blame?” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , January 15, 1923, p. 14; “Anti-Firearm Laws,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , October 1, 1922, p. 14; E.F. Warner, “Who Is to Blame?” <i>Field and Stream</i> , June 1921, p. 143.
88	<i>tempered approach</i> : See, e.g., “The Positive Approach,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1961, p. 16; “Telling Our Story,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1961, p. 16 (“Those who prize the ownership and use of firearms must join together and convey their ideas and beliefs to the general public. The great need is for more enthusiastic persuasion by word and by deed. The time has come to make a positive effort to overcome the ignorance and misunderstanding about firearms and the people that use them.);

	<p>“Gallup Poll Hits Gun Owners,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1959, p. 12 (“NRA members...must constantly demonstrate to the public that there is a positive, lawful, and beneficial side to firearms.”); “Let’s Take the Offensive,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1958, p. 16 (“The time has come to make a positive nation-wide effort to overcome the ignorance and misunderstanding about firearms and the people who use them for pleasure.”). <i>See also</i> Al Johnson, “How to Stop Gun Accidents,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1961, pp. 12, 47 (“It is our constitutional right to own guns. But every right carries with it a responsibility. With the right to own property goes the responsibility to respect property ownership. Parents are duty-bound to teach children not to steal, nor to destroy property, to respect the rights of others. Parents should be duty-bound also to teach their children how to handle guns properly...Gun ignorance and gun recklessness, like juvenile delinquency, begin at home. The cure must start there also. It is not a state problem, either to correct or prohibit. It is a problem each of us must face at home.”); “We Must Be Alert,” <i>Gun Report</i>, February 1961, p. 3.</p>
88	<p>wrote the NRA: “Let’s Sound Off!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1956, p. 16. For some examples of NRA members writing editorials to educate newspapers on the pitfalls of “anti-firearms” laws, see R.A. Kittrell, Jr., “Anti-Gun Legislation Criticized,” <i>Florence Morning News</i> (SC), September 10, 1959, p. 4 (editorial using NRA talking points to criticize the outcome of the Gallup Poll strongly in favor of additional firearms controls); Walter E. Billings, “Sportsman Appeals to Senator Berger to Use Influence to Vote Down Anti-Gun Bill,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), April 2, 1959, p. 11 (editorial both citing the NRA and restating six common NRA talking points to urge a state senator to vote down a pending firearms bill); Charles R. Checkley, “Should Everyone Own a Gun?” <i>Herald-News</i> (Passaic, NJ), August 2, 1957, p. 10 (editorial seeking to educate readers and the benefits of the armed citizen and, citing the NRA, linking “anti-gun” laws with “Communists and other subversive groups”); R.E. Stones, “Disarming the Citizen,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), March 18, 1955, p. 2C (editorial urging that Missouri not go the route of New York’s Sullivan Law and instead seek the assistance of the NRA in “framing” legislation that is “equitable and protect[s] the civil rights of the honest citizenry”); A.F. Beilmann, “Right to Carry Arms,” <i>St. Louis Globe-Democrat</i> (MO), January 30, 1955, p. 2F (editorial utilizing NRA talking points to argue that an “armed citizens is one of the main supports of democracy” and reduces crime); F.K. Spetnagel, “Taking Exception,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), May 15, 1951, p. 4 (editorial chastising the <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> for praising New York’s Sullivan Law and calling upon the editors to “oppos[e] these foolish anti-firearms laws”).</p>
88	<p>aggressive action: Louis F. Lucas, “This Very Day,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1959, p. 16.</p>
89	<p>passage of firearms controls: <i>See, e.g.</i>, John F. Soubier, “Before It’s Too Late...” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1958, pp. 17-19; “A Busy Legislative Year Ahead,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1955, pp. 47, 80; Frank C. Daniel, “The Gun Law Problem,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1953, pp. 16-18; “Second Annual NRA Convention,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1949, pp. 21, 22. <i>See also</i> James E. Serven, “Protect What Makes Us Strong!” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1963, pp. 40-42; E.B. Mann, “The Editor’s Corner,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1961, p. 3. The earliest</p>

	instance that this author could find in which sportsmen, hunters, and gun owners were provided with express talking points and guidance in defeating restrictive firearms legislation was written by Nathaniel C. Nash in 1916, who would go on to serve as a USRA official and later as NRA president. <i>See</i> Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 3,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , November 30, 1916, pp. 184, 187; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 2,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , November 23, 1916, pp. 165-66; Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr., “Anti-Revolver Legislation: Part 1,” <i>Arms and the Man</i> , November 16, 1916, pp. 145-46.
89	<i>community to political action</i> : “A Paul Revere Organization,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1958, p. 14. <i>See also</i> “87th Annual Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1958, pp. 19, 24, 25; Merritt A. Edson, “Our Common Interests,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1954, p. 6; Merritt A. Edson, “In Their Own Keeping,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1952, p. 14.
89	<i>opposed and defeated it</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Hayden Papers, box 285, folder 10, Firearms Registration, 1959-1963 (containing letters from NRA members and the gun rights community opposing Emanuel Celler’s handgun registration bill); Carl Albert Papers, box LG 52, folder 44, Judiciary-Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Albert Papers) (containing letters from NRA members opposing Victor Anfuso’s firearms registration bill); “Crime and Punishment,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1963, p. 16; “A Knowledge of Existing Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1963, p. 12; “Logic and Reason,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1962, p. 14; “Foreign Military Arms Embargo,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1960, p. 6; Louis F. Lucas, “On Our Guard,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1960, p. 14; “Proposed Controls of Firearms Imports,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1958, p. 6; “Final Action on Federal Firearms Act Regulations,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1958, p. 6; “Latest on Firearms Act,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1958, p. 12; John F. Kennedy Papers, Pre-Presidential, Senate Files, folder 066612 (containing letters from NRA members and former NRA president Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr. opposing the 1957 Internal Revenue Service’s (IRS) proposed firearms rules); Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms (containing letters from NRA members opposing the 1957 proposed firearms rules); Robert S. Kerr Papers, box DP 19, folder 6, Treasury-Internal Revenue Service 1957 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Kerr Papers) (same); Warren Magnuson Papers, box 97, folder 19, Treasury-IRS-Firearms Regulations (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Special Collections) (hereinafter Magnuson Papers) (same); Wayne Morse Papers, box 14, folder 14 (Eugene OR: University of Oregon Special Collections) (hereinafter Morse Papers) (same); “The Power to Make Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1957, p. 16; “A Report on the Hearings on the Proposed Federal Firearms Regulations,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1957, pp. 32-41; “The Proposed Federal Firearms Regulations,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1957, pp. 23, 88; “Legislation by Regulation?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1957, p. 16; Legislative Bulletin from Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, to NRA members, “Proposed Revision of the Internal Revenue Service Regulations for the Implementation of the Federal Firearms Act,” July 29, 1957, in Magnuson Papers, box 97, folder 19, Treasury-IRS-Firearms Regulations. <i>See also</i> Pete Brown, “Blueprint

	for Peace—A Threat to Gun Ownership?” <i>Sports Afield</i> , August 1963, pp. 19-21, 72, 74; “Propose Registration of All Pistols,” <i>Gun Report</i> , April 1960, p. 37.
89	<i>part in drafting</i> : The first proposal was an amendment to the 1938 Federal Firearms Act (FFA) prohibiting the shipment, transportation, or receipt in interstate or international commerce of any firearm by any person who was convicted or under indictment for a crime punishable for a term exceeding one year. See United States Treasury Department Internal Revenue Service, “News Release: IR-404,” October 4, 1961, Bennett Papers, Subject Matter Files, 1933-1966, box 11, folder 8; “Crime Legislation Sent to the White House,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , September 20, 1961, p. 4; “Senate Broadens Federal Firearms Act,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), June 14, 1961, p. 6; “Tough Laws to Battle Crime Urged,” <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), April 7, 1961, p. 11. The second proposal was also an amendment to the FFA that repealed and replaced the phrase “crime of violence” with “crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year.” See An Act to Strengthen the Federal Firearms Act, Public Law 87-342, October 3, 1961; “New Public Law Amends Arms Shipment Regulations,” <i>Valley News</i> (Van Nuys, CA), October 15, 1961, p. 19A. The phrase “crime of violence” had been defined in the NRA sponsored UFA as the crimes of “murder, manslaughter, rape, mayhem, assault to do great bodily harm, robbery, burglary [housebreaking, breaking and entering, kidnapping and larceny].” <i>Uniform Firearms Act: Drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws</i> (Chicago, IL: 1930), 3, § 1. Although the NRA was behind the amended language and intended it to define more narrowly who was prohibited from receiving, shipping or transporting a firearm in interstate or foreign commerce, some gun rights supporters expressed concern that it could be used to disarm more people, not less. See, e.g., Ben Avery, “Rod and Gun: New Anti-Gun Law Could Disarm U.S.,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), April 8, 1962, p. C9.
89	<i>became commonplace</i> : See, e.g., “Gun Sales by Mail Said to Spur Crime,” <i>New York Times</i> , January 30, 1963, p. 9; Helen B. Shaffer, “50 Million Firearms; Does the Situation Call for Controls?” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), November 14, 1959, p. 14; Helen B. Shaffer, “Firearms Pose Big Problem,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), November 14, 1959, p. 12; Edward G. McGrath, “Life in Hub Gangs—III: One in Ten Has a Gun,” <i>Daily Boston Globe</i> , September 19, 1959, p. 15; “Moorhead Fires on Mail Order Guns,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , August 25, 1959, p. 19; Joseph H. Trachtman, “Mail-Order Guns Tied to Crime Rise,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , August 14, 1957, p. 1; “Blanc Urges Curb on Guns Sent in Mail,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), May 1, 1957, p. 12; Lawrence M. Campbell, “Blanc Urges Curbs on ‘Death-by-Mail’ Guns to Hoodlums,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , May 1, 1957, p. 1; Frank A. White, “Easy to Obtain Guns in Indiana By Mail,” <i>Franklin Evening Star</i> (IN), February 6, 1957, p. 1.
89	<i>if any difficulty</i> : See, e.g., “Getting Tougher with Criminals,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), March 1, 1960, p. 12; Roscoe Drummond, “‘Easy Acquisition’ of Firearms Helps Juvenile Criminals?” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), December 31, 1959, p. 32; Roscoe Drummond, “Juvenile Problem: Weapons in the Wrong Hands,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , December 30, 1959, p. 8; Roscoe Drummond, “Firearms Possession Law Is Problem for Congress,” <i>New York Herald Tribune</i> , December 28, 1959, p. 15;

	<p>“Juvenile Gangs and Firearms Control,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), November 14, 1959, p. 5; Peter Kihss, “US Urged to Curb Flow of Weapons to Street Gangs,” <i>New York Times</i>, September 24, 1959, p. 1; George Gallup, “Public Would Deny Teenagers Guns,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), September 4, 1959, p. 7.</p>
89	<p><i>through the mail</i>: This prohibition was a key provision in the NRA sponsored Uniform Firearms Act (UFA) and the USRA sponsored Capper Bill. <i>See Uniform Firearms Act</i>, p. 5, § 8 “(No person shall deliver a pistol to any person under the age of eighteen or to one who he has reasonable cause to believe has been convicted of a crime of violence, or is a drug addict, an habitual drunkard, or of unsound mind.”); “A Bill to Provide for Uniform Revolver Sales: Based upon Senate Bill 4012 Introduced in the U.S. Senate,” September 22, 1922, §§ 9-10, <i>in</i> Charles Lewis Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Gilman Papers) (prohibiting the sale or delivery of handguns to minors, “unnaturalized foreign-born person,” or a person “convicted of a felony”).</p>
91	<p><i>mail-order firearms</i>: “Riflemen Spokesmen Refute New Control,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), May 5, 1963, p. 15C; “Right to Own Gun Warmly Defended,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, May 3, 1963, p. 4; “Curb on Weapons for Law-Abiding Persons Opposed,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), May 2, 1963, p. 2; “Crime and Punishment,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1963, p. 16; “A Knowledge of Existing Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1963, p. 12.</p>
91	<p><i>de minimis bill</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, E.B. Mann, “The Editor’s Corner,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1961, p. 6 (“Granted that many of you, and many of us who shared in the discussion, would prefer no gun legislation to any gun legislation, this legislation is at least well-intentioned and well-considered by representatives of your interests.”). It is worth noting that—much like the NRA leveraged its involvement in both the UFA and the 1934 National Firearms Act (NFA) to obtain political credibility—the NRA leveraged its cooperation with Dodd to lobby for beneficial defense appropriations. <i>See</i> Statement of Franklin L. Orth, Executive Vice President National Rifle Association of America to the Defense Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate, May 23, 1962, p. 8, Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder NRA Correspondence, 1957-1963 (West Branch, IA: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hickenlooper Papers). Months later, after President Kennedy’s assassination, the NRA claimed that it cooperated with Dodd to stop the “relative ease” in which “unscrupulous dealers” sold and minors purchased handguns “through advertisements in cheap, pulp magazines and their subsequent delivery by common carrier...” <i>See</i> Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Hugh Scott, December 7, 1963, Hugh Scott Papers, box 78 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Special Collections) (hereinafter Scott Papers).</p>
91	<p><i>and firearms purchasers</i>: “Mail-Order Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1963, p. 16.</p>
91	<p><i>purchaser’s affidavit</i>: <i>Ibid.</i></p>
91	<p><i>could have hoped for</i>: Carl Bakal, <i>The Right to Bear Arms</i> (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), 194-95. This is not to say, however, that the NRA did not</p>

	maintain reservations with proceeding forward with Dodd's S. 1975 as written. <i>See</i> Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Robert F. Sikes, November 20, 1963, Robert F. Sikes Papers, box 197, folder Firearms (Pensacola, FL: University of West Florida Special Collections) (hereinafter Sikes Papers) (outlining the NRA's policy on firearms controls and stating formal objections to Dodd's S. 1975).
91	<i>mail-order firearms bill</i> : Kenneth G. Brown, "Is Control Over Guns Needed?" <i>La Crosse Tribune</i> (WI), February 23, 1964, p. 24; "Gun Control Law Planned," <i>Albany Democrat-Herald</i> (OR), December 5, 1963.
91	<i>tempered, positive approach</i> : <i>See</i> "J.J. Basil and Daniel J. Moutin, "Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, pp. 30-32; "Reasonable and Informed Citizens," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1964, p. 16; Misuse of Firearms," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1964, p. 16; "Basic Facts of Firearms Control," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1964, p. 14; "Realistic Firearms Controls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1964, p. 14; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, and Louis F. Lucas, NRA executive director, to NRA members, [January] 1964, in James G. O'Hara Papers, box 2, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter O'Hara Papers); E.B. Mann, "The Second Amendment is <i>NOT</i> Enough!" <i>Guns Magazine</i> , January 1964, pp. 16-18. Franklin L. Orth, "Right Upheld to Bear Arms," <i>New York Times</i> , December 3, 1963, p. 42.
91	<i>more than hysteria</i> : "Law and Order," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, p. 16. The NRA was joined in opposition by its media allies and the wider gun rights community. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Ben Avery, "Rod and Gun: Enforcing Gun Law Poses Problems," <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), May 17, 1964, p. C9; E.B. Mann, "A Pro-Gun Firearms Act," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , May 1964, pp. 16-17, 62; Robert M. Price and E.B. Mann, "A Pro-Gun Law—Now!" <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1964, pp. 16-17; Bill Davidson, "Hunting and Fishing: Gun-Law Hysteria May Fail in Key-State California," <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), February 4, 1964, p. 19; Tom Siatos, "Editorially Speaking," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1964, p. 6; "7-Point Program of Action to Stem the Anti-Gun Hysteria," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1964, p. 4; Ben Avery, "Rod and Gun: Protests Planned to Anti-Gun Bill," <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), January 22, 1964, p. 35; Walt Radke, "NRA's Side in Rifle Row," <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , January 15, 1964, p. 55; "The Right to Bear Arms," <i>Conservation News</i> , vol. 29, no. 2 (January 15, 1964), Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 12, Gun Control; Grets Gresham, "Bayou Browsing: Make Up <i>Your</i> Mind!" <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), December 1, 1963, p. 7D.
91	<i>lax firearms laws</i> : For details on the NRA's agitation with the media, see Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 250-54.
91	<i>NRA was responsible</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , David Willis, "Kennedy Death Reveals Laxity in Most States," <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), January 28, 1964, p. 13A; Daniel Rapoport, "Was Rep. Anfuso's Bill Really a Ridiculous One?" <i>Daily News-Journal</i> (Murfreesboro, TN), January 20, 1964, p. 8; Josephine Ripley, "The Case for Gun Controls," <i>Honolulu Advertiser</i> (HI), December 29, 1963, p. A10; Tom Nolan,

	<p>“Pressure is on to Make it Harder to Pull Trigger,” <i>Daily Intelligencer</i> (Doylestown, PA), December 5, 1963, p. 10; “Murder by Mail Order,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), December 1, 1963, p. C4; Clarke Ash, “Spotlight on Lax Gun Laws,” <i>Miami News</i> (FL), November 26, 1963, p. 6A.</p>
91	<p><i>as the gun lobby</i>: See Franklin L. Orth, “The Sportsman and the Law,” Northeast Fish and Wildlife Conference, January 18, 1965, William E. Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 10 (Pittsburgh; University of Pittsburgh Special Collections) (hereinafter Guckert Papers) (speech detailing the NRA’s position on firearms controls); Drew Pearson, “Tip on Telephones, Teen-Agers from LBJ,” <i>News-Press</i> (Fort Myers, FL), December 8, 1963, p. 10; James Deakin, “Ease with Which Oswald Bought Gun Stirs Demand for New Law,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), December 8, 1963, p. 73; “Here Is the Story of Rifle Used by Assassin,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i>, December 8, 1963, p. 5; Drew Pearson, “Gun Lobby Killed Arms Import Bill,” <i>Anniston Star</i> (AL), December 8, 1963, p. 4; Drew Pearson, “Lax Laws Abet Mail-Order Crime,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i>, December 8, 1963, p. B3; Frank A. White, “The Hoosier Day,” <i>Rushville Republican</i> (IN), December 2, 1963, p. 3.</p>
92	<p><i>reasonable firearms controls</i>: See “Rifle Association Opposes Gun Registration, but Favors Control of Sales,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>, December 12, 1963, p. 18; “Doesn’t Oppose Legislation: National Rifle Group Voices Disapproval of Gun Licensing,” <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), December 12, 1963, p. 22; “Covering Gun Misuse: NRA Favors Some Curbs,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), December 11, 1963, p. 24; National Rifle Association, “Where Does the NRA Stand on Firearms Legislation?,” undated, Bennett Papers, Subject File, 1933-1966, box 11, folder 3; National Rifle Association, “Where Does the NRA Stand on Firearms Legislation?” in Hale Boggs Papers (New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Howard-Tilton Memorial Library) (hereinafter Boggs Papers). Even before being outed as the “gun lobby,” NRA officials denounced anyone who made such a claim. See, e.g., J.J. Basil, NRA Legislative Service, “Are Firearms Control Laws Adequate?” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), June 17, 1956, p. 2D (“Of course, the [NRA] does not oppose every attempt to regulate firearms. If a proposed law is sound and reasonable the Association will wholeheartedly lend its support to such legislation. If, on the other hand, the proposal is unwarrantably restrictive, prohibitory or discriminatory, then the NRA feels duty bound to alert its membership to the detrimental effects of such legislation...to the community at large.”); “Federal Firearms Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1933, p. 4 (editorial responding to New York City Police Commissioner Edward P. Mulrooney claim that the NRA was a gun lobby); C.B. Lister, “Not a Commercial Venture,” <i>Lincoln Star</i> (NE), July 22, 1932, p. 10 (editorial responding to the characterization that the NRA was influenced by “arms manufacturers”).</p>
92	<p><i>label bore truth</i>: “The Clearing Picture,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1933, p. 4; “Roll Call of 1933 Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1933, p. 30; “Roll Call of 1933 Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1933, p. 38; “Quiet Efficiency,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1933, p. 6; “Our Business is Everybody’s Business,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1933, p. 6; “The Roll Call of 1933 Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1933, pp. 20-21.</p>

92	<i>by honest citizens</i> : “Why?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1932, p. 3.
92	<i>fighting firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>The Typical American Sport</i> , p. 5 (“Many of the [NRA’s] benefits are of a broad nature not so readily apparent to the newcomer as to the old-timer thoroughly acquainted with the nation-wide activities and problems of the sport—nation-wide problems which can only be solved by presenting a united front through the medium of a uniformed organization... <i>The American Rifleman carries up-to-date information on matches programmed throughout the country by various clubs, gives complete information on firearms laws proposed in the various State Legislatures...</i> ”); <i>ibid.</i> , p. 15 (“ <i>The Individual Members of the club as well as the club officers received direct from National Headquarters information concerning all pending anti-firearms legislation together with instructions on how to best combat it.</i> ”).
93	<i>anti-firearms laws</i> : Letter from C.B. Lister, NRA secretary-treasurer, to NRA members, August 26, 1941, in Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 52.
93	<i>bragged Lister</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
93	<i>own and use firearms</i> : See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>Pistol Rules</i> (Washington, DC: 1946), back cover; National Rifle Association, <i>From Tyro to Master</i> (Washington, DC: 1946), 62; National Rifle Association, <i>Pistol Classification 1946</i> (Washington, DC: 1945), back cover; National Rifle Association, <i>Pistol Classification 1942</i> (Washington, DC: 1941), back cover; National Rifle Association, <i>Small-Bore Rifle Rules 1941</i> (Washington, DC: 1939), back cover.
93	<i>against firearms controls</i> : “A Matter of Personal Pride,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1956, p. 16 (“[The NRA] carries on a continuous campaign against laws which would restrict the ownership and use of small arms by reputable citizens and supports legislation which will be effective in discouraging the use of firearms by criminals.”); Floyd L. Parks, “Realizing Our Opportunities,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1956, p. 16 (“The NRA has consistently opposed misinformation and ignorance involving anti-firearm legislation. It cooperates with legislative bodies in the drafting of legislation which will be most effective in discouraging the use of firearms by the criminal element without discouraging the ownership and use of small arms on the part of reputable citizens.”); “For Everyone Interested in Guns... Membership in the NRA,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , April 1954, p. 12 (membership enrollment advertisement touting the NRA’s fight “against anti-gun legislation that may take away the pleasure your guns bring”); “Your First Line of Defense Against BAD GUN LAWS Begins Here,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1954, p. 43 (advertising the NRA’s role in fighting “bad gun laws”); Merritt A. Edson, “As Allowed by Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1953, p. 16 (“ In carrying on its fight for sound and sensible gun legislation, the National Rifle Association of America is therefore carrying on a tradition of many centuries.”); Merritt A. Edson, “Think Big, Be Big,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1953, p. 12 (“[The NRA] is the bulwark on which most gun and shooting enthusiasts depend to protect their right as law-abiding citizens to keep and bear arms. It is the strongest proponent of <i>good</i> gun legislation as well.”); “Current Firearms Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1952, p. 34 (describing the NRA’s “function” of “carefully” studying “all proposed firearms bills...to determine which

	<p>bills are good”); Merritt A. Edson, “The National Rifle Association and a Happy New Year!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1952, p. 12 (“We have taken credit unto ourselves for the fight we wage against restrictive and poor gun legislation throughout the country.”); John Scofield, “The Voice, the Pen, the Vote...” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1951, p. 10 (“So far, the members of the NRA have a nearly hundred percent record in combatting restrictive firearms legislation.”); National Rifle Association, <i>1950 Annual Meetings Program</i> (San Francisco, CA: October 1950), 15 (“Every gun owner in the United States, NRA member or not, is protected by the Association’s never ceasing battle for sane and sensible firearms laws...Only through the NRA legislative service can sportsmen learn about proposed laws, how those laws will affect them personally, and determine which good ones merit their support and which bad ones deserve opposition....The fight goes on, your Association leads that fight. Every American sportsman should thank his lucky star each time he handles his guns—give thanks that he can still own his gun and enjoy his sport. Your Association has insured that right for him for years and years.”); “Yours—Only One!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1941, p. 2 (membership enrollment advertisement outlining six ways in which the NRA wages “an effective campaign against unwise anti-firearms laws”); “You May Well Be Proud!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1941, p. 1 (membership enrollment advertisement noting how time and time again NRA members have “beaten back the attack of the short-sighted or of the fee-grabber or of the termite, boring from within, who has south to disarm the honest, patriotic American”); “Time to Vote—and to Invest,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1940, p. 5 (“Other values are reflected in the Association’s far-reaching activities such as the constant fight to prevent the passage of legislation aimed at depriving you and your fellow citizens of the right to possess and shoot a gun”); “Why N.R.A. Membership?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1940, p. 2 (“An N.R.A. membership card is the only practical, effective way of supporting the campaign for sane gun laws—a campaign in which the National Rifle Association has successfully represented honest gun-owning sportsmen of America since 1871.”); “The Job of the Year,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1939, p. 3 (membership advertisement touting the NRA’s role in “guiding and directing campaigns against unsound anti-gun laws”); “We Have Just Begun—To Go Places,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1939, front insert (membership advertisement touting the NRA’s role in “aid[ing] the fight for sane gun laws, a fight which will soon be renewed in Congress and many state legislatures”); “Let’s Raise Our Sights!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1939, front insert (membership advertisement touting the NRA’s “successful fight for sane firearms legislation”); “Double the Power!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1929, front insert (membership enrollment advertisement touting the NRA’s role in defeating “anti-gun laws” and getting “favorable legislation” passed).</p>
93	<p>were never passed: “This Modern Sentry Duty is Part of Your Membership Benefits,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1958, p. 14 (emphasis added).</p>
93	<p>fight against firearms controls: See “Operations in 1962,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1963, pp. 24-27; “92nd NRA Annual Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1963, p. 33; “Build NRA!: 500,000 Membership Goal Reached,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1962, p. 49; “Legislative Activity in 1962,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1962, p. 35;</p>

	<p>“Build NRA!: Firearms Laws and Membership Action,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1962, p. 49; Franklin L. Orth, “Report of the Executive Vice President: 90th Annual Meetings and Exhibit,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1961, p. 26; “NRA Annual Meetings and Exhibit,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1960, p. 19; “89th Annual Meetings & Exhibit,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1960, pp. 15-23; “88th Annual Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1959, pp. 17-27; “86th Annual Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1957, pp. 22-24; “Annual Report Highlights,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1956, pp. 22-24; Merritt A. Edson, “Executive Director’s Report,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1955, pp. 30-33; “NRA Convention Program,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1952, pp. 16-17; “National Rifle Association Meets in San Francisco,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1951, pp. 24-27; “Second Annual NRA Convention,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1949, pp. 21, 22, 24; “Rifle Association Convention Supplement,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1948, pp. 24, 29-31; “NRA Members’ Convention,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1948, p. 22. <i>See also</i> Merritt A Edson, “Executive Director’s Report,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1954, pp. 34, 35; Merritt A. Edson, “A Report on NRA Operations,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1952, pp. 20, 21.</p>
93	<p><i>law-abiding citizens</i>: John M. Schooley, “An Address by the Retiring President,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1963, pp. 27-28.</p>
93	<p><i>police state</i>: Ibid (emphasis added).</p>
93	<p><i>lobbying against firearms controls</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, C. Richard Rogers, “The NRA Story,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, April 1962, pp. 16, 46 (“One of the NRA’s biggest jobs is its legislative reporting service. Through this service, law abiding gun owners learn what threats they face from proposed prohibitions and controls. NRA has been the leader in the warfare which has kept the U.S.A. fairly unique among modern nations, holding to the idea of our Founding Fathers that an armed citizenry is a national asset, not a cause for fear.”); National Rifle Association, <i>1961 Operating Reports</i>, p. 11 (“One important function of the National Rifle Association which affects all gun owners in American is its activity in the field of firearms legislation. No other organization carries on such a continuous and successful effort to inform its members about proposed anti-gun laws which would restrict the ownership and use of shotgun, handgun, and rifle alike...Local restrictions...call for careful alertness on the part of interested citizens. Some communities have met the situation by means of a ‘watchdog’ committee consisting of local NRA members and club representatives who are capable of quickly detecting restrictive measures and as quickly generated concerted, well-timed action...Information to NRA members about firearms control proposals is supplied by three principal means—(1) the regular report, ‘What the Lawmakers are Doing’... (2) NRA Legislative Bulletins; and (3) direct contacts by mail or wire.”); Jim Varner, “New Year—Old Problems,” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i>, January 1961, pp. 45, 47 (“Do you realize how much we owe NRA for fighting our battles against crack-pot legislation to do away with our Constitutional freedoms?”); “Louis F. Lucas, “Build NRA,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1960, p. 14 (“The [NRA] must take the leadership in meeting and turning the tide of uninformed anti-firearms public opinion which manifests itself today.”). It is worth noting that NRA sometimes lowered or elevated its role in fighting firearms controls depending upon the audience. <i>See</i> Merritt A. Edson, “Think Big, Be Big,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1953, p. 12</p>

	(stating the “constant vigilance against the enactment of unsound gun legislation” is the fifth of five NRA objectives); Merritt A. Edson, “Target for Tomorrow,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1952, pp. 6, 8, 12 (listing the NRA’s fight against firearms controls as the fifth of seven priorities or “targets”); Merritt A. Edson, “The Convention Target, 1952,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1952, pp. 4, 12 (stating that the fight to protect the “rights of law-abiding citizens to have guns” is the first of five NRA objectives); John Scofield, “Back to First Principles,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1951, p. 10 (listing the “continuing Association-sponsored fight to prevent the disarmament of the American people” as “subservient” the NRA’s “broad principles”).
93	<i>Lobbying Act of 1946</i> : Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, Title III of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Pub. L. No. 601, c. 753, 79th Cong., 2nd Sess., August 2, 1946. For a useful legislative history and analysis of the FRLA, see Belle Zeller, “American Government and Politics: The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act,” <i>American Political Science Review</i> 42 (April 1948): 239-71; “The Federal Lobbying Act of 1946,” <i>Columbia Law Review</i> 47 (January 1947): 98-109.
93	<i>registering as a lobby</i> : Senate Report No. 1400, 79th Cong., 2nd Sess., May 31, 1946, p. 27 (emphasis added).
94	<i>technically a lobby</i> : For the quotes relating to the NRA’s 1871 charter, see National Rifle Association, <i>Questions and Answers</i> ; National Rifle Association, <i>Fundamentals of Scope Sights</i> (Washington, DC: 1952), inside cover. For a useful summary of NRA’s legal argument against being classified as a lobby, see James Deakin, <i>The Lobbyists</i> (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1966), 201-19.
94	<i>strengthen this argument</i> : <i>United States v. Harriss</i> , 347 U.S. 612 (1954).
94	<i>lobbying registration requirements</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 621-22.
94	<i>FRLA’s registration requirement</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 622-23 (“if an organization, for example, were exempted because lobbying was only one of its main activities—the Act would in large measure be reduced to a mere exhortation against abuse of legislation process. In construing the Act narrowly to avoid constitutional doubts, we must also avoid a construction that would seriously impair the effectiveness of the Act in coping with the problem it was designed to alleviate.”) (emphasis added).
94	<i>members of Congress</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 623.
94	<i>marketing and advertising</i> : In 1968, while under investigation by the FBI for illegal lobbying, the NRA asserted that its collection of membership dues—even though a portion was directly used to influence legislation—did not qualify as receiving lobbying contributions under <i>Harriss</i> . And to further shield itself, the NRA made sure that any monetary contributions made by NRA members in addition to their regular dues, even if done so voluntarily, was promptly returned. The NRA came up with a legal work-around, however, where the respective NRA member could make an additional contribution so long as it was associated with new membership enrollment. See Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to J.W. Moddelsee, August 14, 1968, Harold W. Glassen Papers, box 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Glassen Papers). See also Franklin L. Orth,

	<p>“A Special Message: Sportsmen and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1969, pp. 46-47 (outlining the argument that only a small portion of membership dues are used for “legislative matters”).</p>
94	<p><i>local, state, or federal level: See, e.g.,</i> Merritt A. Edson, “An Open Letter to the Membership,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1951, p. 12 (“<i>No other organization carries on such a continuous fight against anti-gun laws which would restrict the ownership and use of shotgun, handgun, and rifle alike.</i>”); “Something Lasting?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1949, p. 96 (membership enrollment advertisement touting the NRA’s role in the “passage of ill-advised” firearms laws, and noting that NRA membership is “like an insurance policy...[for] <i>your right to own that gun!</i>”); “It Always Seems There’s Gonna Be a Fight,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1949, p. 3 (advertising the NRA’s role in fighting “anti-gun” laws).</p>
94	<p><i>being an NRA member: See, e.g.,</i> “What’s the Biggest Single Advantage of NRA Membership?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1956, p. 14 (asserting that the NRA’s legislative bulletins may be the biggest NRA benefit and querying, “What would happen is NRA weren’t around, campaigning for sane gun laws?”); “Now’s the Time to Double-Up,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1947, p. 98 (stating that “20,000 members indicated conclusively that the Association’s firearms legislation work is the most important single benefit”); “He Profits Most Who Serves Best,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1938, p. 4 (claiming that arguably the NRA’s best service or benefit is the NRA’s influence in fighting “anti-firearms laws”). <i>See also</i> A.F. Beilmann, “Right to Carry Arms,” <i>St. Louis Globe-Democrat</i> (MO), January 30, 1955, p. 42 (“Undoubtedly man men...know of the National Rifle Association and its fight for sensible, if any gun legislation. Few laws can be passed on this question of legislation that do not hurt the law-abiding citizen more than the criminal.”); C.D. Vreeland, Jr., “Poor Legislation,” <i>Berkshire Eagle</i> (Pittsfield, MS), April 18, 1949, p. 14 (“Writers of anti-firearms legislation would do well to consult the National Rifle Association in advance and profit by the help and advice the association will give them.”); Clint Dunathan, “Good Evening,” <i>Escanaba Daily Press</i> (MI), March 21, 1949, p. 4 (quoting an NRA member as writing: “Through the National Rifle Association of America, the gun-lovers of this country are kept informed of these attempts to iron-heel the ownership of firearms. Were it not for this organization of gun-owners, we might all have had our guns confiscated long ago.”); Michael Seaman, “Outdoors,” <i>Harrisburg Telegraph</i> (PA), February 7, 1939, p. 7 (“It is through the militant and alert action of such organizations [such as the NRA] that anti-firearms legislation by Congress is nipped in the bud....Write your Congressman urging ‘No!’ vote on any legislation that will restrict sportsmen in the manner of owning guns.”).</p>
95	<p><i>proposed gun laws:</i> Letter from J.H. Fauntleroy, NRA membership division director, to NRA members, [January 1964], John James Flynt, Jr. Papers, series 3, box 247, folder 5, National Rifle Association (Athens, GA: Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies) (hereinafter Flynt Papers). Although this letter does not have a date stamped on it, the date can be verified by comparing the letter’s cited membership total of 612,000 with January 1964 newspaper articles citing the same amount. <i>See, e.g.,</i> Jay Mc Alear, “Rod and Gun: N.R.A. Stand on Firearms Legislation,” <i>Record</i> (Hackensack, NJ), January 17, 1964, p. 52.</p>

95	<i>legislative service and staff</i> : See, e.g., “86th Annual Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1957, pp. 22, 23 (noting that only \$22,278 of the NRA’s total \$1,798,992 budget went to Legislative Bulletins); “Annual Report Highlights,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1956, pp. 22, 23 (noting that only \$30,583 of the NRA’s total \$1,839,479 budget went to Legislative Bulletins).
95	<i>against firearms controls</i> : In 1961 for instance, the NRA’s flagship magazine, <i>American Rifleman</i> , accounted for forty-four percent of the NRA’s annual operating expenses. National Rifle Association, <i>1961 Operating Reports</i> , pp. 8-9. Not only did virtually every 1961 monthly edition of the <i>American Rifleman</i> contain columns like “Know Your Lawmaker” and “The Armed Citizen,” but more often than the monthly editions contained some type of article or editorial highlighting the need for NRA members to fight anti-firearms legislation. See “The Positive Approach,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1961, p. 16; “Legislative Activity in 1961,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1961, p. 22; Report of the Executive Vice President for 1961,” June 1961, p. 26; Bartlett Rummel, “Pistol Licensing Laws: Do They Deny Your Right to Self-Defense?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1961, pp. 23-24; “What the Lawmakers are Doing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1961, p. 21; “Inform Your Legislator,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1961, p. 8. In addition to using the pages of the <i>American Rifleman</i> as a sounding board against anti-firearms legislation, the NRA also sent legislative bulletins to effected NRA members, as well as corresponded and coordinated with state and local NRA affiliated rifle clubs to fight anti-firearms legislation. See National Rifle Association, <i>1961 Operating Reports</i> , pp. 11. For a full breakdown of how the NRA allocated its 1961 expenses, see <i>ibid.</i> , pp. 23-24.
95	<i>legitimate purposes</i> : National Rifle Association, <i>Your NRA</i> , p. 4 (1959 ed.).
95	<i>member of the community</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
95	<i>Paul Revere Organization</i> : “A Paul Revere Organization,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1958, p. 14.
95	<i>anti-firearms legislation</i> : See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>Your NRA: Information for Members of the National Rifle Association</i> (Washington, DC: 1962), 5; J.J. Basil, Jr., NRA Legislative Service, “Are Firearms Control Laws Adequate?” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), June 17, 1956, p. 2D (“The NRA has never been, and is not now, a lobbying organization in any sense of the term. Of course, the National Rifle Association does not oppose every attempt to regulate firearms. If a proposed law is sound and reasonable, the Association will wholeheartedly lend its support to such legislation. If, on the other hand, the proposal is unwarrantably restrictive, prohibitory or discriminatory, then the NRA feels duty bound to alert its membership to the detrimental effects of such legislation not only to the law-abiding gun owners but also to the community at large.”).
95	<i>being labeled a lobby</i> : See, e.g., Transcript of WABC Radio Press Conference, Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, June 22, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“Now, lobbying is a technical thing. A business has a perfect right to, and most of the large firms today do hire lobbyists who contact the legislators. There’s nothing wrong about this whatsoever. You’re lobbying when you put out over the news or another station that I know of...[asking] for all the listeners to write in letters asking their legislators to pass

	<p>anti-gun legislation, asking their congressmen to pass the current bills before the House. That’s lobbying but it’s not technically lobbying. They don’t have to have a license to write such a letter. Now, in the case of the National Rifle Association we have in the last five years sent out two general mailings to our membership... That is not lobbying either... when we write to our membership and inform them and it’s their constitutional right and if they feel strongly enough about something it’s their constitutional duty to let their representatives know.”); Donald M. Rothberg, “Federal Gun Control Battle Waxes Hot,” <i>Star-Gazette</i> (Elmira, NY), June 18, 1968, p. 6; (quoting NRA president Harold W. Glassen, stating, “All this talk about the [NRA as the] gun lobby is baloney. We don’t tell anyone to write their Congressman.”); Remarks of Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, Before the Annual Meeting of the National Society of State Legislators, Chicago, IL, July 27, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“[The NRA is not] a big, fat Washington lobby representing vested business interests... we are an Association of individual gun users—not gun manufacturers and dealers. We are not, as the cartoonist Herb Block paints us, ‘gun peddlers.’”); Speech of Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, Before the National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 29, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1 (stating that the NRA is “NOT a powerful lobby as it has been painted” and its “members are dedicated enough to protest long and loud when their sports is threatened”).</p>
96	<p><i>principal purpose under the FLRA: Federal Firearms Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate</i> (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office 1967), 562.</p>
96	<p><i>service to the membership</i>: Ibid., p. 563 (emphasis added).</p>
96	<p><i>members to action</i>: For instance, in a post-Kennedy assassination letter addressed to all NRA members, NRA executive vice president Franklin L. Orth and NRA executive director Louis F. Lucas wrote: “This may be the most important letter you have received form your Association. It pertains to the wave of anti-firearms feeling in American and what we can do to combat it.” Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, and Louis F. Lucas, NRA executive director, to NRA members, [January] 1964, <i>in</i> O’Hara Papers, box 2, folder Gun Control. Orth and Lucas went on to add that both the NRA’s and the shooting fraternity’s “number one problem” was fighting the “avalanche of proposed restrictive firearms legislation at the national, state and local levels.” Ibid. A copy of this letter can also be found in Flynt Papers, series 3, box 247, folder 5, National Rifle Association.</p>
96	<p><i>restrictive firearms legislation</i>: See, e.g., Letter from David M. Byrne to Page H. Belcher, November 29, 1963, Page Belcher Papers, box 74, folder 12a, Commerce Committee-Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (writing that Dodd’s bill “is exactly the pattern that the Communists in Russia hope to take to weaken our basic form of government by having a blueprint to show them where each and every shotgun, rifle and pistol is located in the United States”); Letter from Mrs. J.L. Wheeler, Jr. to Carl Albert, undated 1962, Albert Papers, box LG 52, folder 44, Judiciary Gun-Control (writing that communists support firearms registration and urging the repeal of the 1938 FFA); Letter from Chas P. Fields to Lee Metcalf, March 9, 1960, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms</p>

	(writing on the “Communist urged anti-gun laws” that are intended to allow Russia to “move in, go to the records, know how many guns & who owns them,” and confiscate them). <i>See also</i> Karl Hess, “Don’t Let the Feds Take Your Gun from You,” <i>American Mercury</i> , February 1958, pp. 35-39; Karl Hess, “Should You Own a Gun?” <i>American Mercury</i> , April 1957, pp. 54-60.
96	<i>back door for it</i> : Letter from Robert H. Kirkwood to Wayne Morse, May 29, 1957, Morse Papers, box 14, folder 14.
96	<i>disarm the American public</i> : Letter from D.C. Besley to Lee Metcalf, October 21, 1957, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms.
96	<i>authors of such restrictions</i> : Ibid.
97	<i>registration of all handguns</i> : Federal Pistol Registration Act, H.R. 613, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., January 3, 1961.
97	<i>again flooded Congress</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from S.A. Davis to Carl Hayden, March 21, 1962, Hayden Papers, box 285, folder 10, Firearms Registration 1959-1963 (writing he is tired of “liberal socialists” like Anfuso and Felix Frankfurter “trying to lead this nation into communism”); Letter from James S. Wilkinson to Carl Hayden, June 6, 1962, Hayden Papers, box 285, folder 10, Firearms Registration 1959-1963 (“If this wasn’t sponsored by Communist organizations, then it is very hard to think of anything that might please them more if it were enacted into law.”); Letter from Hoyt H. Nave to Carl Albert, April 25, 1962, Albert Papers, box LG 52, folder 44, Judiciary-Gun Control (pointing to the events of World War II and communism, states the Anfuso bill would “open the door to...confiscation of all handguns,” make the law-abiding gun owner a criminal, and be a “huge step toward an outright police state”).
97	<i>process of becoming law</i> : Letter from Semion Barto Hendrix, Jr. to Robert L. Sikes, February 10, 1961, Sikes Papers, box 137, folder Firearms.
97	<i>passed into law</i> : Letter from Virgil Tapps to Bourke Hickenlooper, September 18, 1961, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 9, Gun Control 1962.
97	<i>registered with the police</i> : Ibid. <i>See also</i> “To Keep Our Arms,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , June 1962, p. 3 (“Nationwide control of privately owned firearms is always a necessary early step toward the establishment of an oppressive government which is to operate without the consent of the governed. Regardless of the good motives for which this step may be taken, once it is done the possibility that it may serve the ends of tyranny is created and remains.”).
97	<i>make the association</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Miles S. Vaughn, “Voice of the People,” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), September 6, 1959, p. 12D (“It has been suggested by the National Rifle Association that in some areas, backers of mandatory registration programs have been Communist-influenced.”); Roy Fair, “Americans Need Rifle Training,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), August 28, 1956, p. 18 (advising readers to acquire NRA materials on the facts of firearms registration and stating that Communists “dupe” “well-meaning people” into supporting firearms registration); W.T. Burnette, “The Constitutional Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Chicago</i>

	<p><i>Tribune</i>, February 13, 1955, part 1, p. 24 (“The National Rifle Association has traced these [anti-firearms] laws back to their source on a great many occasions and found them inspired by the Communist party. All are vigorously supported by the Communists, as such disarming of private, honest citizens is a major aim of any organization which advocates the overthrow of a government by force.”); Arlington H. Kirk, “Letters to the Editor,” <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), March 12, 1951, p. 7 (“Registration of firearms is right down the Communist alley. They advocate firearms registration.”); Walter Frank, “With the Outdoor Sportsmen,” <i>Central New Jersey Home News</i> (New Brunswick, NJ), January 24, 1950, p. 13 (putting together different NRA talking points to conclude that firearms registration is a communist idea that will ultimately lead to confiscation). <i>See also</i> Charles R. Checkley, “Should Everyone Own a Gun?” <i>Herald-News</i> (Passaic, NJ), August 2, 1957, p. 10 (“According to the National Rifle Association over 350 gun bills were introduced in state legislation this past year. And who is back of many of these anti-gun laws? The Communists and other subversive groups.”); Gordon Jost, “Sportsmen See Hardship in Restricted Gun Sales,” <i>Dayton Herald</i> (OH), April 24, 1947, p. 3 (“NRA flatly states its policy of opposing...the registration of firearms because, they contend, registration is the first step towards confiscation.”); “Firearms Bill is Voted Down by Committee: Frequent References to Communism Made at Hearing,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), February 21, 1947, p. 11.</p>
97	<p><i>disarming the nation: See, e.g.</i>, C.B. Lister, “Simple Arithmetic,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1949, p. 10; C.B. Lister, “Matter of Proportion,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, “Optimist – Or Sucker?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1948, p. 12; C.B. Lister, “Pattern in Red,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, “Passion for Crisis,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1948, p. 10. <i>See also</i> C.B. Lister, “Registration-Confiscation,” <i>Lexington Advertiser</i> (MS), March 14, 1946, p. 4 (“Confiscation of guns owned by the people is always the first step in the imposition of the will of a minority. (Two million Communists took over a hundred and seventy million unarmed other Russians in 1918). Registration is the first step in confiscation.”). <i>See also</i> Letter from Dorothy Swartz to Edmund S. Muskie, April 9, 1964, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, box 312, folder 6, Firearms Control (Lewiston, ME: Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library) (hereinafter Muskie Papers) (pointing out that “in all the countries the Communists have swallowed up...there were such ‘Firearms Bills’ enacted so as to make it easy to confiscate all weapons before the ‘Take Over.’”).</p>
97	<p><i>seekers for political power: National Rifle Association, The Pro and Con of Firearms Registration</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), 5, 10. The pamphlet was published and distributed as early as 1960. <i>See</i> J.M. Laing, “Now is Time to Feed Birds,” <i>Beckley Post-Herald</i> (WV), February 21, 1960, p. 15 (urging readers to acquire the NRA pamphlet to remove “any doubt about the firearms registration issue”).</p>
97	<p><i>privately owned weapons: National Rifle Association, The Pro and Con of Firearms Registration</i>, p. 10. <i>See also</i> Franklin L. Orth and Joseph Tydings, “What Controls Should There Be on Guns?” <i>General Federation Clubwoman Magazine</i>, May-June 1967, pp. 10, 30 (Orth closing his op-ed with the statement: “No dictatorship has ever been imposed on a nation of free men who have not been first required to register their</p>

	privately owned weapons.’). The NRA had advanced this impromptu claim several times over the previous decade. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Grant Loftin, “NRA Head Scoffs at Gun License in New York,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), January 7, 1955, p. 14; F.C. Daniel, “Registration of Private Guns Branded Usual Step Toward Imposition of Dictatorship,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (St. Petersburg, FL), May 14, 1950, p. 19.
97	<i>as historically true: See, e.g.</i> , George W. Forrest, “Outdoor Trails,” <i>Gazette and Daily</i> (York, PA), September 29, 1962, p. 22; Robert G. Sommer, “The Case Against New Gun Laws,” <i>Miami News</i> (FL), August 4, 1962, p. 2; R.J. Kleinhenz, “Free Men’s Arms,” <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), November 17, 1957, p. 6; Buford H. Smith, Jr., “Firearms Can Be Handled With Safety,” <i>Birmingham News</i> (AL), January 29, 1957, p. 10; Al Bennett, “Outdoor Life,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), January 13, 1957, p. C4; Gun Owner, “Sees Need for Guns,” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), December 14, 1955, p. 6; Clovis Rifle and Pistol Club, “Your Right to Possess Firearms is Being Challenged,” <i>Clovis News-Journal</i> (NM), January 28, 1955, p. 5; Frederick A. Rhodes, “Calls Firearms Registration Law Futile,” <i>Honolulu Star-Bulletin</i> (HI), April 18, 1952, p. 8; W.C. MacMillen, “Firearms Folly,” <i>Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph</i> , March 31, 1951, p. 6; “Danville Gun Club Opposes New Law,” <i>Danville Morning News</i> (PA), March 14, 1951, p. 4; “Registration of Firearms,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> (PA), March 8, 1951, p. 20.
98	<i>laws and dictatorships: For the Library of Congress’s findings, see Robert Sherrill, The Saturday Night Special</i> (New York, NY: Charterhouse, 1973), 179-80.
98	<i>throughout the Cold War: See, e.g.</i> , “Rules for Revolution,” <i>Times-Advocate</i> (Escondido, CA), November 9, 1954, p. 2; “Master Plan,” <i>American Legion Magazine</i> , November 1954, p. 6.
98	<i>United States from within: See</i> “Revolution Rules,” <i>Kane Republican</i> (PA), January 12, 1942, p. 4.
98	<i>communist background story: See, e.g.</i> , “Federal Firearms Legislation,” <i>Dan Smoot Report</i> , vol. 10, no. 11, March 16, 1964, pp. 81, 84.
98	<i>gun rights community: For some examples of gun rights supporters leveraging the ‘rules’ to argue against firearms controls, see Letter from Lowell G. Graves to Robert Packwood, January 25, 1969, , Robert W. Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (Salem, OR: Willamette University Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Packwood Papers); Letter from Helene Manasco to Steed, June 25, 1968, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box 45, folder 4, Judiciary-Gun Control 1968 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers); Letter from E.L. Jenks to Carl Albert, June 8, 1968, Albert Papers, box GN 47, folder 4, Gun Control 1968; “Firearms Registration Proposal Attacked Vigorously,” <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), August 15, 1964, p. 5A; Alan M. Rodgers, “Readers See No Reason for Registering Firearms,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), February 27, 1964, p. 20; Ralph P. Avery, “Don’t Take Our Guns Away,” <i>Lincoln Journal Star</i> (NE), December 6, 1963, p. 4; “Some Readers Attack Editorial on Guns,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), December 4, 1963, p. 22A; “Revolutionary Document,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), November 7, 1963, p.</i>

	10; Letter from Powder River Sportsmen's Club to Wayne Morse, August 21, 1957, Morse Papers, box 14, folder 14.
98	<i>became public knowledge</i> : James J. Kilpatrick, "Rules for Revolution Reprinted Many Times," <i>Spokane Chronicle</i> (WA), July 2, 1970, p. 4. <i>See also</i> "Gun Registration A Commie Plot?" <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), August 5, 1970, p. 38; Leonard E. Brewster, "Victims of a Hoax?" <i>Southern Illinoisan</i> (Carbondale, IL), October 17, 1969, p. 4.
98	<i>appears unlikely</i> : In the September 1970 edition of <i>American Rifleman</i> , the NRA acknowledged the questionable authenticity of the "Communist Rules for Revolution." However, the NRA refused to acknowledge having made a historical mistake, nor did the NRA ever concede the document was fake. <i>See</i> Ashley Halsey, Jr., "Those Irrepressible 'Rules for Revolution'," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1970, p. 10. It was not until the January 1973 edition of the <i>American Rifleman</i> that the NRA begrudgingly acknowledged there were some historical errors in its reporting. However, the NRA refused to apologize for claiming that communists wanted to register and confiscate all firearms. <i>See</i> Ashley Halsey, Jr., "Ending the Mystery of the 'Rules'," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1973, pp. 15-16.
98	<i>communist plot</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Robert J. Kukla, <i>Gun Control: A Written Record of Efforts to Eliminate the Private Possession of Firearms in America</i> (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973), 218-19 (book was written by an NRA official, edited by former NRA president Harlon B. Carter, and paid for and distributed with NRA funding); Henry W. Bravo, "Antis Fear Disarming," <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (St. Petersburg, FL), May 31, 1959, p. 3D; F.C. Daniel, "Registration of Private Guns Branded Usual Step Toward Imposition of Dictatorship," <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> , May 14, 1950, p. 19; C.B. Lister, "Simple Arithmetic," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1949, p. 10; "Charge Reds Back Tighter U.S. Gun Laws: Sportsmen Flay 'Leftist Move'," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , January 28, 1948, p. 14; "Rules for Revolution," <i>Lexington Advertiser</i> (MS), August 15, 1946, p. 4 (entire reprint of the rules via <i>American Rifleman</i>). <i>See also</i> <i>Defend Your Right to "Keep and Bear Arms": How the Liberals Plan to Deprive Law-Abiding American Citizens of the Means of Self-Defense</i> (New Orleans, LA: Independent American, 1965), Adam Walinsky Personal Papers, folder Firearms (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library).
98	<i>follow registration</i> : <i>See</i> "A Report from Shooters Club of America," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1963, p. 6; Tom Siatos, "Editorially Speaking," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , May 1962, p. 6.
98	<i>register communists, not firearms</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Register Communists—Not Guns," <i>Bob Sikes Reports</i> , June 25, 1968, in Sikes Papers; Drew Pearson, "Firearms Bill Remains in Committee; Los Angeles Riots Spurred Gun Sales," <i>Nevada State Journal</i> (Reno, NV), September 9, 1965, p. 4; Tom Foust, "Rod and Gun," <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), May 6, 1965, p. D3; Lynn Ludlow, "S.F. Recruiter for Minutemen," <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , February 12, 1965, p. 8; R.C. Wagner, "Registration," <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), December 31, 1964, p. 10. <i>See also</i> Letter from Johnny Rob to editors of the <i>Louisville-Courier</i> , December 8, 1963, in Alabama Governor Legislative Tracking Files, 1955-1979, box SG23176, folder 3, December 1963,

	<p>Firearms (Montgomery, AL: Alabama Department of Archives and History) (criticizing push for federal firearms controls as part of a communist plot to disarm the United States and the better solution would be to pass legislation outlawing the Communist Party). This gun rights mantra was also in response to President's Kennedy assassination, where some in the gun rights community thought that Kennedy might not have been assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald if the registration laws against communists would have been enforced. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Anita Jacobs, "Registering Firearms," <i>Green Bay Press-Gazette</i> (WI), April 21, 1964, p. 5; "Too Soft on Communism," <i>Bob Sikes Reports</i>, December 17, 1963, Sikes Papers.</p>
98	<p><i>conspiracy theories: See, e.g.</i>, Neal Knox, "Abusive Letters Cause Harm to Gun Fraternity," <i>Gun Week</i>, March 3, 1967, p. 2 (acknowledging that lawmakers received letters from the gun rights community accusing them of being communist); B. Fritz Samuels, "Where Do We Stand on Anti-Gun Laws?" <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, May 1965, p. 22 (noting that anti-gun supporters are made of a "strange group of bedfellows," including "Communists and non-Communist Leftists who want to lead us into the One World Welfare State" and do "very little thinking at all"); "Firearms Defenders Getting Frenzied," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton NY), March 7, 1965, p. 12A (reprint of <i>Shotgun News</i> advertisement linking federal firearms bills with the "Communist timetable" to confiscate all firearms); Charles Nicodemus, "Dissemination and Misinformation: Barrage Against Gun Bill," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> (PA), March 4, 1965, p. 7; C.B. Lister, "Optimist – Or Sucker?" <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1948, p. 12 (inferring that when the Roosevelt administration was pushing for firearms registration it was in part due to "Communist infiltration into the confidential and responsible positions in American Government").</p>
98	<p><i>disarm all Americans: See, e.g.</i>, Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, October 31, 1966, Thomas J. Dodd Papers, box 205, folder 5414 (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut Thomas J. Dodd Research Center) (hereinafter Dodd Papers) (rebutting claim of Minutemen that Dodd is a "phony anti-Communist"); Fulton Lewis, Jr., "Dodd Target of Ultra-Rightists," <i>Baytown Sun</i> (TX), July 14, 1965, p. 8; Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, March 28, 1965, Dodd Papers, box 201, folder 5185 (rebutting charges that Dodd is "at the vortex of a Communist conspiracy"); "Charge of Critics, Answers," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), March 7, 1965, p. 12A.</p>
99	<p><i>registration of all firearms: See, e.g.</i>, Letter from E.L. Jenks to Carl Albert, June 8, 1968, Albert Papers, box GN 47, folder 4, Gun Control 1968 (writing that the communists plotted the assassination of President Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy as a "pretext for new laws for gun control"); George Richardson, "Writes About Warren Commission," <i>El Paso Times</i> (TX), February 24, 1964, p. 4 (connecting the President Kennedy assassination with firearms registration); Memorandum from George E. Hiscott, chairman of the Counter-Subversive Committee, American Legion Post 738, to all Legionnaires, "Personal Disarmament: 'Johnny, Get Your Gun' Is Going to be the Order to Turn It In!" undated 1963, Russell G. Benedict Collection, box 63L (Fullerton, CA: Cal State Fullerton University Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Benedict Collection) (outlining a conspiracy where the communists directed the assassination of President Kennedy to register and confiscate firearms). <i>See also</i> V.W. Liddell,</p>

	<p>“Proposed Bills Deemed Opposite Constitution,” <i>Shreveport Journal</i> (LA), December 6, 1963, p. (writing that Kennedy’s assassination by a “Communist left-winger” is being used by “local and national Communists” to abolish all firearms).</p>
99	<p><i>communists wanted</i>: This author has found a copy of Fred C. Koch’s letter in the papers of two congressmen, representing different states. This suggests that Koch sent the letter to several members of Congress. See Letter from Fred C. Koch to Weston Vivian, May 4, 1965, Weston Vivian Papers, box 4, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Vivian Papers); Letter from Fred C. Koch to Carl Albert, May 3, 1965, Albert Papers, box LG 92, folder 39, Gun Control.</p>
99	<p><i>anti-Communists</i>: Ibid.</p>
99	<p><i>grim reality</i>: Ibid.</p>
99	<p><i>NRA’s objectives</i>: In addition to the NRA’s own admissions within the pages of <i>American Rifleman</i>, evidence of the NRA’s direct lobbying for appropriations can be found by researching congressional papers. For some examples, see Letter from Bourke B. Hickenlooper to Carl T. Hayden, May 18, 1962, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 3, Gun Correspondence, 1954-1968; Statement of Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to the Defense Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, March 28, 1962, in Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 8, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1957-1963; Letter from Marion Ewers, Prescott Sportsmen’s Club president, to Carl T. Hayden, March 8, 1962, Hayden Papers, box 285, folder 10, Firearms Registration, 1959-1963; Letter from Roy L. Elson, aide to Carl T. Hayden, to Francis S. Hewitt, Senate Committee on Appropriations assistant clerk, March 5, 1962, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 9, National Rifle Association; Letter from Ben Avery, NRA board member, to Carl T. Hayden, August 6, 1960, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Paul R. Eaton, administrative assistant to Carl T. Hayden, to Ben Avery, NRA board member, July 8, 1960, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Ben Avery, NRA board members, to Carl T. Hayden, May 17, 1960, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, to NRA board of directors, April 3, 1957, in Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Irvine C. Porter, NRA executive committee, to Carl T. Hayden, December 6, 1956, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Irvine C. Porter, NRA executive committee, to Lister Hill, December 13, 1955, in Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Carl T. Hayden to Irvine C. Porter, NRA executive committee, September 1, 1955, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Merritt A. Edson, NRA executive director, to Carl T. Hayden, August 12, 1955, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Letter from Irvine C. Porter, NRA executive committee, to Carl T. Hayden, May 28, 1955, Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; Legislative Bulletin from Merritt A. Edson, NRA executive director, to NRA members, “[Appropriations for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice], April 14, 1952, in Hayden Papers, box 433, folder 10, National Rifle Association; F.L. Wyman, NRA secretary, to John William Thomas, December 21,</p>

	1949, John William Thomas Papers, box LG 77, folder 10, Appropriations Committee (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Thomas Papers); Letter from John William Thomas to Milton A. Reckord, NRA executive vice president, June 9, 1948, Thomas Papers, box LG 66, folder 23, Appropriations Committee in Military Establishment.
99	<i>part or in whole:</i> In addition to the NRA's own admissions within the pages of <i>American Rifleman</i> , evidence of the NRA's lobbying for appropriations can be found by researching congressional papers. For some examples, see Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to Wilbur D. Mills, October 14, 1963, Sikes Papers, box 171, folder H.R. 8065; Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Wilbur D. Mills, August 15, 1963, Sikes Papers, box 171, folder H.R. 8065; Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, August 15, 1963, Sikes Papers, box 171, folder H.R. 8065; Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, August 13, 1963, Sikes Papers, box 171, folder H.R. 8065; Letter from Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, to Robert F. Sikes, August 9, 1962, Sikes Papers, box 171, folder H.R. 8065; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to Bourke T. Hickenlooper, March 31, 1962, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 3, Gun Correspondence, 1954-1968; Letter from Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, to Thomas E. Morgan, April 28, 1958, Sikes Papers, box 68, folder Firearms 1958; Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA president, to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, October 2, 1957, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 8, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1957-1963; Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA president, to Robert S. Kerr, February 27, 1958, Kerr Papers, box LG 9, folder 11, Gun Control, 1958, 1961-1962.
99	<i>NRA did not have to:</i> It is worth mentioning that there were instances where NRA officials went from congressional office to congressional office to convey the NRA's point of view on firearms controls, but this was not a frequent occurrence. <i>See, e.g.,</i> Muskie Papers, box 312, folder 6, Firearms Control (showing that on December 13, 1963, NRA executive vice president Franklin L. Orth stopped by congressional offices to distribute NRA literature on firearms controls).
99	<i>NRA's legislative agenda:</i> Robert Sherill, "A Lobby on Target," <i>New York Times Magazine</i> , October 15, 1966, pp. 246, 250.
100	<i>relationships on Capitol Hill:</i> For documentary support for the information in this paragraph, see "Argue Strict U.S. Control of Mail Guns: Dodd Asks Support; Iowan Opposed," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), December 14, 1963, p. 1; "Federal Aid for Shooting Ranges," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1963, p. 33; "Important Bills in Congress," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1963, p. 31; "A Sullivan Law for DC," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1963, p. 23; Tommy Seward, "Nat'l Riflemen Oppose Anti-Gun Law; Recreation User Fee 'Liked'," <i>Daily Press</i> (Newport News, VA), March 31, 1963, p. 5C; Ben Avery, "'Mr. Arizona' Will be Honored at Home," <i>Arizona Days and Ways Magazine</i> (Phoenix, AZ), November 12, 1961, p. 7; N.F. McNaughton, "Reader Reports Gun Law Changed," <i>Duncan Banner</i> (OK), February 14, 1961, p. 5; "Amendments Passed...National Firearms Act," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1960, p. 4; "Legislative Activity in 1960," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1960, p. 20; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1960, p. 4; Letter from Cecil R. King to John James Flynt, Jr., June 19, 1959, Flynt Papers, series 3, box 247, folder 5,

	<p>National Rifle Association; Letter from Louis F. Lucas, NRA executive director, to Bruce Alger, June 2, 1959, Flynt Papers, series 3, box 247, folder 5, National Rifle Association; Letter from Cecil R. King to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, June 19, 1959, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 8, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1957-1963; "Annual Award," <i>Globe-Gazette</i> (Mason City, IA), April 2, 1959, p. 17; Letter from Louis F. Lucas, NRA deputy executive director, to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, April 30, 1958, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 8, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1957-1963; Letter from Louis F. Lucas, NRA deputy executive director, to John James Flynt, Jr., April 9, 1958, Flynt Papers, series 3, box 247, folder 5, National Rifle Association; Letter from Floyd L. Parks, NRA executive director, to Robert S. Kerr, February 27, 1958, Kerr Papers, box LG 9, folder 11, Gun Control 1958, 1961-1962; Douglas Larsen and Kenneth O. Gilmore, "Washington Sidelights," <i>Plain Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), March 30, 1956, p. 8; "Familiar Ground," <i>Anderson Herald</i> (IN), May 14, 1955, p. 11; "News & Notes from the Office of Congressman Cecil R. King," <i>Wilmington Daily Press Journal</i> (CA), April 16, 1953, p. 13; "U.S. Rifle Group Selects Officers," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), March 20, 1953, p. 4. <i>See also generally</i> Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 8, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1957-1963.</p>
100	<p><i>social influencers</i>: The term "official family" can be found within several internal NRA documents. <i>See, e.g.</i>, C.R. Gutermuth, "A Yuletide Message from the President," National Rifle Association News Letter Official Family, December 16, 1974, <i>in</i> Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 3; Memorandum from Irvine W. Reynolds, NRA chairman of public affairs committee, to NRA executive committee, "Report of the Public Affairs Committee," January 10, 1975, <i>in</i> Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 2; National Rifle Association, "Weekly Legislative Report Nos. 27 and 28," July 26, 1967, Roman Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6 (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society) (hereinafter Hruska Papers).</p>
100	<p><i>across the country</i>: Sherrill, <i>The Saturday Night Special</i> pp. 169-70; Bakal, <i>The Right to Bear Arms</i>, pp. 103-27. There were several hunting and shooting publications that advanced the NRA's political message, including <i>Guns Magazine</i>, <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, <i>Field and Stream</i>, <i>Outdoor Life</i>, <i>Gun Report</i>, and virtually every state game commission's newsletter or publication.</p>
101	<p><i>official family</i>: <i>See generally</i> <i>Federal Firearms Act: Hearings Before the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency</i>, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1965). <i>See also</i> "Federal Firearms Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1965, pp. 21-23; "Federal Firearms Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1965, pp. 17-19; "The Dodd Bill Hearings," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1965, pp. 17-21.</p>
101	<p><i>registered until 1974</i>: Charles, <i>Armed in America</i>, pp. 275-78.</p>
101	<p><i>by the Department of Justice</i>: For documentation related to the NRA's concern that it may lose congressional appropriations for rifle matches, see Memorandum from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to Frank Thompson, Jr., "Re: National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, July 30, 1968, Sikes Papers, box 315, folder Firearms Legislation 1968; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to</p>

	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, January 30, 1968, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 9, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1964-1968; Speech of Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, Before the National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 29, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, June 23, 1967, Sikes Papers, box 310, folder National Rifle Association 1967; "The Private Army Hoax," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1965, p. 20; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, July 12, 1965, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 9, National Rifle Association Correspondence, 1964-1968.
101	<i>money could buy</i> : Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to Jon D. Charleston, March 5, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Memorandum from Louis A. Benton, NRA public relations committee chairman, to Robert F. Sikes, "NRA PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM—IMPORTANT!" May 10, 1967, Sikes Papers, box 310, Folder National Rifle Association 1967.
102	<i>debate over firearms controls</i> : One of the initiatives to come out of this was an internally written organizational history. <i>See generally</i> National Rifle Association, <i>Americans and Their Guns</i> ; <i>see also</i> Harold W. Glassen, "Report of the President," 1969 NRA Annual Meetings, March 29, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1 (touting <i>Americans and Their Guns</i> as an "outstanding history" that "every member should have on his book shelves"); Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the NRA Board of Directors, April 9-10, 1968, <i>in</i> Glassen Papers, box 1 (noting the establishment of a History Committee, which produced <i>Americans and Their Guns</i> , and noting that 6,400 of the 15,000 copies have been distributed).
102	<i>political opportunists</i> : <i>See</i> Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to J.W. Moddelsee, August 14, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to Dwain L. Fritz, August 7, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Memorandum from John R. Hess, NRA director of public relations, to NRA board of directors, February 21, 1968, <i>in</i> Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to Paul M. Beard, January 5, 1968, <i>in</i> Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to G.W.K. King, December 26, 1967, <i>in</i> Glassen Papers, box 1; Ben A. Franklin, "Gun Curb Fight Opens in Capitol," <i>New York Times</i> , April 9, 1967, p. 96.
102	<i>objective news reporting</i> : <i>See</i> "UN Attack Prompts Massive Probe," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), December 12, 1964, p. 1; "UN Building Bazooka Target; Anti-Castro Cubans Suspected," <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), December 12, 1964, p. 1; "Claims Army Aids Rightists," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), August 14, 1964, p. 2; Drew Pearson, "Demonstrations Will Continue," <i>Sheboygan Press</i> (WI), June 23, 1964, p. 22; "Minutemen Said to be Getting Free Arms from Defense Dept.," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), May 27, 1964, p. 3A; "Says Rightist Letter 'Call to Anarchy'," <i>Santa Cruz Sentinel</i> (CA), May 1, 1964, p. 11; "Gun-Happy Fanatics: A Growing Menace," <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), January 12, 1964, p. B22.
102	<i>did not like it</i> : In 1973, the NRA published its version of the events leading up to the 1968 Gun Control Act to in part demonize the national media as having a "anti-gun"

	bias. See Robert J. Kukla, <i>Gun Control: A Written Record of Efforts to Eliminate the Private Possession of Firearms in America</i> (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973).
102	<p><i>anti-gun bias</i>: See, e.g., “The Latest Twist in Anti-Gun Propaganda,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1968, p. 16; “Getting Away With Statistical Murder?,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1968, p. 17; “Gun Registration: The Myths and Facts,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1968, p. 69; Harold W. Glassen, “Another Opinion: The Right to Bear Arms,” <i>New York Times</i>, June 16, 1968, p. E17; John W. Finney, “Senators Predict Strict Gun Curbs as Pressure Rises,” <i>New York Times</i>, June 13, 1968, p. 1; “Whose Right to Be Biased? Gun Owners Ask TV Network,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1967, pp. 38-39; “In the Interests of Accuracy,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1967, p. 106; “The Big Half-Truth and Smear by Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1966, p. 16. Journalist Carl Bakal particularly drew the ire of the NRA, who claimed Bakal was both biased and unqualified to be a journalist. See “Dodd Blessed Anti-Gun Book Bears New Title, Little Else,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1968, pp. 54-56; “The U.S. Justice Department Investia, and <i>New Yorker</i>,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1968, p. 16; “The NRA Is Up to Its Old Tricks,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), August 26, 1966, p. A10; “Rifle Group Head Refutes Antagonist’s Views,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), August 19, 1966, p. 23; see also “Shooters Club of America,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, November 1966, p. 14 (telling readers not to purchase Bakal’s biased book <i>The Right to Bear Arms</i>); “Shooters Club of America,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, July 1966, p. 8 (criticizing Bakal’s article in <i>Harper’s Magazine</i>); “News from the Shooters Club of America,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, April 1965, p. 10 (accusing Bakal of “anti-firearms” propaganda, all the while pretending to be “clothed with the authority and backing of highly respected organizations”); “April Shooters Club News Draws Rebuttals,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, July 1965, p. 6 (Bakal op-ed responding to the April 1965 edition). For Bakal’s writings on the NRA after the assassination of President Kennedy, see Carl Bakal, “The Right to Bear Arms VI: What Can Be Done?,” <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), August 5, 1966, p. 10; Carl Bakal, “The Right to Bear Arms V: Dodd Bill Smothered,” <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), August 4, 1966, p. 18; Carl Bakal, “The Right to Bear Arms IV: Kinfolk Use the Guns,” <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), August 3, 1966, p. 12; Carl Bakal, “The Right to Bear Arms III: Arsenal: U.S. Home,” <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), August 2, 1966, p. 14; Carl Bakal, “The Right to Bear Arms II: The Rifle that Killed Him,” <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), August 1, 1966, p. 8; Carl Bakal, “The Right to Bear Arms...It’s Killing Us,” <i>Boston Globe</i> (MA), July 31, 1966, p. A3. For examples of individuals heralding Bakal’s work, see Robert Cromie, “Cromie Looks at Authors and Books,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> (IL), February 8, 1967, sec. 2, p. 2; Leonard S. Blondes, “Our ‘Plague of Guns’,” <i>Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD) October 2, 1966, p. D9; “New Book Adds Fuel to Controversy Over Control of Firearms in State,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), September 29, 1966, p. 21; William Peeples, “How Many Lives Would Be Considered a Good Bargain?,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), September 4, 1966, p. D2; Wayne E. Gibbs, “The Killers,” <i>Courier-Post: Weekend Magazine</i> (Camden, NJ), August 20, 1966, p. 5; John Barkham, “Gun Control Need,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), July 30, 1966, p. 31.</p>
102	<i>enforcement of the first possible</i> : Harold W. Glassen, “Vice-President’s Report 1967: First Board of Directors Meeting,” undated 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.

102	<i>known to their legislators:</i> Oscar Godbout, “Wood, Field and Stream: National Rifle Association is Called Target of Antifirearms Crusade,” <i>New York Times</i> , November 29, 1964, p. S7.
103	<i>lobbying label:</i> This concession was made even though the IRS issued a June 1968 public release stating that the NRA qualified as a tax exempt 501(c)(4) organization. See Internal Revenue Service, Public Information, “Tax Exempt Status of the National Rifle Association,” June 13, 1968, Joseph S. Clark Papers, box 173, folder Firearms (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Society) (hereinafter Clark Papers).
103	<i>register as a lobbyist:</i> See Franklin L. Orth, “A Special Message: Sportsmen and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1969, pp. 46-47; “NRA Official Registers as U.S. Lobbyist,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1969, p. 29; “NRA’s Orth Registers as Agent,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 3, 1969, p. 1.”FBI Investigating NRA,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 20, 1968, p. 1; “Rifle Group Registers as Lobbyist in Capital,” <i>New York Times</i> , December 13, 1968, p. 20; “FBI Probing Rifle Group,” <i>Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), December 7, 1968, p. A8; “Unregistered NRA Probed, FBI Admits,” <i>Indianapolis Journal</i> (IN), December 7, 1968, p. 38; “Tax Write-Offs Lost By Donors to Sierra Club,” <i>Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), August 23, 1968, p. A5; “Rifle Association Holds a Tax-Exempt Status,” <i>New York Times</i> , June 15, 1968, p. 18; “Review of Rifle Group’s Tax Exemption is Urged,” <i>New York Times</i> , May 16, 1967, p. 28
103	<i>lobbying activity:</i> Letter from John J. Wilson, Law Offices of Whiteford, Hart, Garmody and Wilson, to Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, November 29, 1968, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Rifle Association, December 6-7, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.

Chapter 4 Notes

104	<i>against firearms controls truly was:</i> For some pre-Kennedy assassination examples where members of the press identified the NRA as opposing restrictive firearms legislation, see Roscoe Drummond, “Firearms Control: New Laws Needed at Federal Level,” <i>Chattanooga Daily Times</i> (TN), December 30, 1959, p. 12; Helen B. Shaffer, “Firearms Control,” <i>Semi-Weekly Spokesman-Review</i> (WA), November 17, 1959, p. 4; “A Matter of Urgency: Juvenile Gangs and Firearms Control,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), November 14, 1959, p. 4; Roy Swann, “NRA Opposes Proposals,” <i>Corpus Christi Caller-Times</i> (TX), August 11, 1957, p. 6D; “NRA Head Scoffs at Gun License Law in New York,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), January 7, 1955, p 14; “Rifle Association Presents Reasons for Opposition to Firearms Legislation,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), January 6, 1955, p. 12; William Fulton, “Sullivan Law, Boon to Thugs, 40 Years Old: Plagues N.Y. Marksmen, Home Protectors,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , November 1, 1951, part 4, p. 6.
104	<i>last in controls:</i> Edward M. Kennedy, “First in Guns, Last in Controls,” <i>New York Times</i> , August 24, 1972.
105	<i>to be reckoned with:</i> For some examples where NRA-led political action helped defeat restrictive firearms bills at the state or local level, see Al Bennett, “Outdoor Life,”

	<p><i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), June 16, 1957, pp. C4, C5; William E. Ozzard, "Power of Public Shown in Firearms Law Protest," <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), April 11, 1957, p. 12; "Clovis Rifle Club Opposes Anti-Firearms Legislation," <i>Clovis News-Journal</i> (NM), January 27, 1955, p. 2; Stan Smith, "Woods and Waters," <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), February 18, 1954, p. 75; Walt Christensen Healdsburg, "Sportsmen Fight Firearms Ruling," <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), March 16, 1953, p. 7; "No Amendments," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 27, 1941, p. 6; "Four Suggested Changes Buried Under Big Vote," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 26, 1941, p. 3.</p>
105	<p><i>legislative reporting service</i>: For more information on how the NRA's legislative reporting service worked, see National Rifle Association, <i>Your NRA: Information for Members of the National Rifle Association of America</i> (1959) (on file with author); "Opinions on the Sale of Guns," <i>New York Herald Tribune</i>, May 18, 1958, p. 24; Calvin Goddard, "How Illinois Organized to Fight Anti-Firearms Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1934, pp. 9, 19; "Random Shots," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1934, p. 4; "Keep Those Telegrams Coming," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1934, p. 6. The editors of <i>Guns & Ammo</i> and <i>Guns Magazine</i> also educated readers on the importance of being politically active. See, e.g., "Shooters' Club of America," <i>Guns Magazine</i>, July 1965, p. 12; George W. North, "The 'Pen' Can Protect the 'Sword'," <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, September 1964, pp. 26-27; Donald Martin, "The Fight Against Bad 'Gun Laws' Must Be Made at the Grass Roots Level," <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, June 1963, pp. 18-19; George W. North, "Here's What You Can Do!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, March 1963, pp. 18-20; James E. Serven, "Protect What Makes Us Strong!" <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1963, p. 40-42.</p>
105	<p><i>talking points against it</i>: For some examples where hunting, sporting, and outdoor newspaper columnists relayed the NRA's talking points against restrictive firearms bills, see Walter Frank, "Outdoor Sportsmen: Sleeper Gun Bill," <i>Central New Jersey Home News</i> (New Brunswick, NJ), March 31, 1957, p. 17; Tom McNally, "Waters and Woods," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), January 13, 1956, p. 30; Phil Dietrich, "In the Open," <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), March 27, 1955, pp. 5C, 6C; Billy Johnson and John Reed, "Woods and Waters of Eastern Carolina," <i>Rocky Mount Telegram</i> (NC), April 5, 1953, p. 3D; Frank Dolan, "All Outdoors With Dolan," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), March 9, 1951, p. 26.</p>
106	<p><i>one-sided affair</i>: See, e.g., Neal Knox, "Abusive Letters Cause Harm to Gun Fraternity," <i>Gun Week</i>, March 3, 1967, p. 2.</p>
106	<p><i>NRA supported</i>: Often gun rights advocates provided sportsmen, hunters, and gun owners with guides to navigating the legislative process. See, e.g., Shooting Sports Association, <i>You and Your Lawmaker: A Citizenship Manual</i> (Riverside, CT: 1968); "You and Your Lawmaker: Don't Pick Fights With Newspapers," <i>Gun Week</i>, March 17, 1967, p. 8; "You and Your Lawmaker: Courteous Letters to Congressmen Can Be Important Legislative Tool," <i>Gun Week</i>, January 13, 1967, p. 8; "You and Your Lawmaker: Almost Everyone is a Lobbyist," <i>Gun Week</i>, December 30, 1966, p. 8; "You and Your Lawmaker: Local Governments Often Approve Restrictive Gun Control Measures," <i>Gun Week</i>, December 16, 1966, p. 8; "You and Your Lawmaker: Legislative Knowledge Helps Fight Bad Bills," <i>Gun Week</i>, December 9, 1966, p. 9; "You and Your Lawmaker: Positive Community Action Can Prevent Bad Gun Bills,"</p>

	<i>Gun Week</i> , December 2, 1966, p. 8; “You and Your Lawmaker: Sportsmen Need More Knowledge of How Firearms Bills Become Law,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 25, 1966, p. 8; Robert Satter, “The Lawyer as Legislative Lobbyist,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , May 1966, pp. 22-23, 78-79.
107	<i>virtually the same</i> : For a useful example, see generally Charles W. Tobey Papers, box 52, folder 18, Firearms Bills 1947 (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Rauner Special Collections Library) (hereinafter Tobey Papers).
107	<i>affiliated rifle clubs</i> : For some examples, see Letter from Joyce Hancock, Yuma Women’s Reel & Rifle Club president, to Carl T. Hayden, December 8, 1959, Carl T. Hayden Papers, box 285, folder Firearms Registration, 1959-1963 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Library) (hereinafter Hayden Papers); Letter from Russell B. Juckett, Mount Vernon Rifle and Pistol Club president, to Warren Magnuson, August 21, 1957, Warren Magnuson Papers, box 97, folder 19, Treasury-IRS-Firearms Regulations (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Special Collections) (hereinafter Magnuson Papers); Letter from Northern Colorado Rod and Gun Club to Wayne Morse, August 9, 1957, Wayne Morse Papers, box 14, folder 14 (Eugene OR: University of Oregon Special Collections) (hereinafter Morse Papers); Letter from Agnes L. Nelson, Park Gun Club secretary, to George E. MacKinnon, February 20, 1947, George E. MacKinnon Papers, box 4, folder Firearms Bill 1947 (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter MacKinnon Papers); Letter from Juliet A. Lerat, Mercury Rifle and Pistol Club secretary, to Lyle H. Boren, October 9, 1941, Lyle H. Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Boren Papers).
107	<i>game associations</i> : For some examples, see Letter from Powder River Sportsmen’s Club to Wayne Morse, August 21, 1957, Morse Papers, box 14, folder 14; Petition from William J. Krieg and Minnesota sportsmen to George E. MacKinnon, February 7, 1947, MacKinnon Papers, box 4, folder Firearms Bill 1947; Letter from Thomas Wann, Minnesota Game Protective League second vice-president, to George E. MacKinnon, February 7, 1947, MacKinnon Papers, box 4, folder Firearms Bill 1947; Letter from T.R. Watson, Poteau Sportsmen’s Club secretary, to John William Thomas, February 6, 1946, Thomas Papers, box LG 62, folder 25, Firearms Registration-Hawkes; Letter from L.R. Larson, Fayette County Sportsman Club, to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, January 23, 1946, Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 9, Gun Control 1946 (West Branch, IA: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hickenlooper Papers); Letter from B.J. Heber, United Sportsmen vice-president, January 15, 1946, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 9, Gun Control 1946; Letter from Raleigh Bearbower, Lime Creek Fish & Game Club secretary, to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, January 15, 1946, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 9, Gun Control 1946; Letter from J.W. Chambers, Osceola County Conservation League president, to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, January 9, 1946, Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 9, Gun Control 1946; Letter from Wendell A. Teague, Secretary-Treasurer Connecticut State League of Sportsmen’s Clubs, to Francis T. Maloney, Robert L. Doughton Papers (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library); Letter from David C. Ermoud, Secretary Greenville Sportsmen’s Club, to Charles W. Tobey, April 2, 1938, Tobey

	Papers, box 6, folder 35, Firearms Legislation 1938; Letter from P.S. Glasson, Secretary White Mountain Sportsman's Club, to Charles W. Tobey, March 26, 1938, Tobey Papers, box 6, folder 35, Firearms Legislation 1938.
107	<i>American Legion</i> : For some examples, see Letter from J.E. Mountjoy, Izaak Walton League, to Carl Albert, February 13, 1947, box LG 4, folder 28, Firearms Registration (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Albert Papers); Kenneth A. Reid, Izaak Walton League of America executive secretary, to Lyle H. Boren, April 13, 1942, Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control.
107	<i>diverse group</i> : See, e.g., "Aimless: Opponents of Federal Legislation to Control Firearms," <i>Time</i> , September 9, 1966, p. 25.
107	<i>they mean it</i> : Richard Harris, "Annals of Legislation: If You Love Your Guns," <i>New Yorker</i> , April 20, 1968, pp. 56, 57. Another common feature of many gun rights supporters that took part in letter writing campaigns was the intensity of their involvement. It was not only common for the same gun rights supporter to write frequently, but also to write a wide array of politicians on the same firearms control. The constituent letters contained in the political papers housed at the University of Michigan's Bentley Historical Library and the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma weigh this out.
107	<i>control bill in question</i> : For some examples, see Letter from Warren Magnuson to W.A. Kindler, August 29, 1957, Magnuson Papers, box 97, folder 19, Treasury-IRS-Firearms Regulations; Letter from Wayne Morse to Mildred Comfort, Roseburg Rifle Club secretary, August 23, 1957, Morse Papers, box 14, folder 14; Letter from Lyle H. Boren to B.R. Elliott, February 15, 1946, Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control; Letter from John William Thomas to B.F. Bohling, February 5, 1946, Thomas Papers, box LG 62, folder 25, Firearms Registration-Hawkes; Letter from Lyle H. Boren to J.C. Berger, April 11, 1938, Boren Papers, box 21, folder 17, Gun Control.
107	<i>floor for a vote</i> : For some examples, see Letter from Carl T. Hayden to D. Zaffe, July 17, 1962, Hayden Papers, box 285, folder 10, Firearms Registration, 1959-1963; Letter from Toby Morris to W.T. Webb, March 24, 1947, Toby Morris Papers, box 3, folder 95, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center); Form Letter from George E. MacKinnon, "Re: Firearms Bill H.R. 1061," undated 1947, MacKinnon Papers, box 4, folder Firearms Bill 1947; Letter from John William Thomas to James G. Boden, February 11, 1946, Thomas Papers, box LG 62, folder 25, Firearms Registration-Hawkes; Letter from John William Thomas to Walter J. Seeliger, April 2, 1941, John William Thomas Papers, box LG 48, folder 63, Firearms Control Act (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Thomas Papers); Letter from John William Thomas to Daniel E. Bird, Jr., February 7, 1941, Thomas Papers, box LG 48, folder 63, Firearms Control Act; Letter from John William Thomas to Hollie Lee Mason, May 25, 1937, Thomas Papers, box LG 48, folder 41, Commerce Committee on Gun Control.

107	<i>exceptions of course</i> : For some examples, see Letter from Clare E. Hoffman to Albert Behnke, February 27, 1947, Clare E. Hoffman Papers, box 29, folder Firearms (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Hoffman Papers) (“I haven’t the slightest indication of voting for the legislation to which you called my attention. It would in my mind, materially, and drastically restrict the liberty of citizens.”); Letter from Clare E. Hoffman to Wendell A. Ball, February 26, 1947, Hoffman Papers, box 29, folder Firearms (“I haven’t the slightest intention of voting for the so-called pop-gun law. Some folks would take every means of defense from us and at the same time yell for the appropriations of millions of dollars for national defense.”); Letter from Bourke B. Hickenlooper to B.J. Heber, United Sportsmen vice-president, January 15, 1946, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 9, Gun Control 1946 (“I am informed that the original intent of this bill was related to crime prevention. In my opinion, the provisions are too restrictive, and I will not support it in its present form.”).
108	<i>laws and regulation</i> : Letter from Carl Albert to J.E. Mountjoy, February 16, 1947, Albert Papers, box LG 4, folder 28, Firearms Registration.
108	<i>throughout the nation</i> : Letter from Montana delegation to Dwight E. Avis, Internal Revenue Service, Alcohol and Tobacco Division director, May 29, 1957, Lee Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society) (hereinafter Metcalf Papers).
108	<i>alarming to the NRA</i> : For information pertaining to the 1938 public opinion poll, see Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Altoona Tribune</i> (PA), May 2, 1938, p. 11; Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), May 1, 1938, p. F1; Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (St. Petersburg, FL), May 1, 1938, p. 29; Institute of Public Opinion, “Pistol Registration Approved by 4 to 1 Majority in Survey,” <i>Lincoln Star</i> (NE), May 1, 1938, p. 13; “Public Willing to List Pistols,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), May 1, 1938, p. 70; Institute of Public Opinion, “Registration of Guns Approved by 4 to 1 Survey,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , May 1, 1938, Society Section, p. 2.
108	<i>permit to purchase ammunition (54 percent)</i> : See George Gallup, “Public for Curb on Sale of Guns,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , August 30, 1959, p. 31; George Gallup, “Permits for all Firearms?” <i>Daily Boston Globe</i> , August 30, 1959, pp. 1, 20.
108	<i>findings as true</i> : “Gallup Poll Hits Gun Owners,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1959, p. 8 (“The Gallup poll figures resulted from well-established methods of conducting such a survey. However, more than a few such surveys have proven to be entirely misleading. Those in the sample were asked the questions ‘cold’ and certainly many of those responding were uninformed on the full implication of the matters in question.”).
108	spread misinformation: Ibid.
108	<i>Louis F. Lucas</i> : Louis F. Lucas, “Individual Preparedness,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1959, p. 16.

108	<p>saying for two decades: See “Well-Meaning, But Without Understanding,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1957, p. 14; “There Ought to be a Law!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1956, p. 16; “Let’s Sound Off!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1956, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “The Greatest Danger,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1955, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, “Education Versus Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1953, p. 12; Frank C. Daniel, “The Gun Law Problem,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1953, pp. 16-18, 46; Merritt A. Edson, “A Realistic Approach,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1951, p. 16; C.B. Lister, “Number One Problem,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1948, p. 8; C.B. Lister, “Just Grass Roots Stuff!” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1947, p. 6.</p>
108	<p>effectively with the criminal: “Gallup Poll Hits Gun Owners,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1959, p. 8.</p>
110	<p>findings as fraudulent: For the “unthinking public” quote, see W.I. Bowman, “Anti-Gun,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i>, February 1960, p. 3. For examples of criticisms of the Gallup Polls’ findings, see E.B. Mann, “Gun Writes Gallup,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1959, p. 8; Bill Burke, “Outdoor World: Police Arms Controls Would Not Deter Crime,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), December 13, 1959, p. 75; George T. Alig, “Forefathers’ Intent,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), September 26, 1959, p. 14; Robert W. Mathewson, “Use of Firearms,” <i>Lincoln Evening Journal</i> (NE) September 20, 1959, p. 12; Harold H. Luiken, “Criticism of Gallup Poll on Firearms Curb,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), September 17, 1959, p. 14; “To Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), September 17, 1959, p. 28; Al Keltz, “Let’s Guard Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), September 15, 1959, p. 18; J.K. Harman, “Half Truth?,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), September 15, 1959, p. 20; George De Yonge, “Guns Make Us Free,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), September 13, 1959, p. 4; Richard H. Waltner, “Doubts Gallup Poll,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), September 11, 1959, p. 4; E.P. Nolan, “Private Firearms,” <i>New York Herald Tribune</i>, September 9, 1959, p. 24; “Public Ready to Forego Firearms Right,” <i>Decatur Daily Review</i> (IL), September 8, 1959, p. 6; “Dr. Gallup is Still Under Fire,” <i>Tennessean</i> (Nashville, TN), September 3, 1959, p. 12; John F. Williams, “Challenges Gallup,” <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), September 3, 1959, p. 18; “Dr. Gallup Draws a Crackling Volley,” <i>Tennessean</i> (Nashville, TN), September 2, 1959, p. 10; W.C., “Danger from Autos and Guns Compared,” <i>Times</i> (Hammond, IN), September 1, 1959, p. B2.</p>
110	<p><i>Second Amendment and firearms controls</i>: Copies of the <i>Guns Magazine</i> letters can be found in several congressional archives. For some examples, see Letter from E.B. Mann to Carl Hayden, June 10, 1963, Hayden Papers, box 285, folder 12, Firearms Registration 1963; Letter from E.B. Mann to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, June 10, 1963, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 3, Gun Correspondence; Letter from E.B. Mann to Page Belcher, June 4, 1963, Page Belcher Papers, box 79, folder 8, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Center-University of Oklahoma) (hereinafter Belcher Papers); Letter from E.B. Mann to Carl Albert, June 4, 1963, Albert Papers, box GL 69, folder 37, Judiciary-Gun Control; Letter from William B. Edwards to Thomas Jefferson Steed, January 14, 1960, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box 20, folder 14, Miscellaneous 1960 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers); Letter from William B. Edwards to Herman Talmadge, January 11, 1960, Henry Tallmadge Papers, box 296, folder 34, Second</p>

	Amendment (Athens, GA: Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies).
110	<i>shall not be infringed</i> : “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , June 1959, p. 17.
110	<i>through February 1962</i> : This author previously tallied the number of congressional responses at 118. See Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 229. This was a minor miscalculation, but it does not change the conclusion that by the “1960s substantially more members of Congress supported an individualized interpretation of the Second amendment than opposed it.” Ibid. It also does not change the conclusion that at that time “very few members of Congress were versed in the historical antecedents of the Second Amendment.” Ibid., p. 230.
110	<i>opposing firearms controls</i> : These evidentiary biases appear to have affected the second iteration of responses from September 1963 through May 1966. See e.g., “Political Candidates and the Pro-Gun Issue,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1964, p. 19 (noting that lawmakers that “support a pro-gun view should be acknowledged and given public recognition” and those that do not “should be made to state [their] views openly”); “Pro-Gun Law Takes Shape,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1964, p. 15 (noting the importance of highlighting lawmakers that are pro-gun); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1963, p. 8 (noting the column was “the best ammunition ever published for use in political action against anti-gun legislation”).
111	<i>increases to 39 percent</i> : See “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1962, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , January 1962, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , November 1961, p. 16; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , June 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , May 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , January 1961, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , December 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , November 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , June 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , May 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , January 1960, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , December 1959, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , November 1959, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1959, p. 24; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1959, p. 31; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1959, p. 33; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , June 1959, p. 17.
112	<i>7 percentage points</i> : See “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , May 1966, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1966, p. 16; “Know Your

	<p>Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1966, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1966, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1966, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, November 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, July 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, June 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, May 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, April 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1965, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, November 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, September 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, July 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, June 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, May 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1964, p. 45; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1964, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1963, p. 6; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, November 1963, p. 4; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1963, p. 6; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, September 1963, p. 6.</p>
112	<p><i>first iteration</i>: The 32 lawmakers responses were published in the following chronological order: senator Frank Church (Idaho), representative James F. Bottin (Montana), representative John Brademas (Indiana), senator J.W. Fulbright (Arkansas), senator Paul H. Douglas (Illinois), senator Peter H. Dominick (Colorado), representative Donald C. Bruce (Indiana), representative Frank J. Becker (New York), representative Charles E. Bennett (Florida), senator E.L. Bartlett (Alaska), representative J. Caleb Boggs (Delaware), senator George D. Aiken (Vermont), senator Joseph S. Clark (Pennsylvania), representative Paul Findley (Illinois), representative Ralph Harvey (Indiana), representative William Henry Harrison (Wyoming), representative Ralph Harding (Idaho), representative William Jennings Bryan Dorn (South Carolina), senator Gale McGee (Wyoming), representative Melvin R. Laird (Wisconsin), representative Daniel J. Flood (Pennsylvania), representative John Dowdy (Texas), representative John D. Dingell (Michigan), senator Absalom W. Robertson (Virginia), senator Edward V. Long (Missouri), representative Arnold Olsen (Montana), representative Howard W. Robinson (New York), representative Robert F. Sikes (Florida), representative Richard L. Roudebush (Indiana), senator Paul J. Fannin (Arizona), governor Frank B. Morrison (Nebraska), and governor John H. Reed (Maine).</p>
113	<p><i>supported and why</i>: See, e.g., “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1965, p. 4 (New Jersey representative Frank Thompson, Jr.) (“The only threat to our security appears to come from the unregulated sale and possession of firearms by people who do not seem to have an interest in the Second Amendment or a law-abiding community.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, April 1965, p. 4</p>

	<p>(New York, representative Howard W. Robison) (“I do believe that the completely uncontrolled interstate and foreign commerce in weapons is not healthy and that firearms legislation could be affected so as not to violate the Second Amendment.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1965, p. 4 (Montana senator Lee Metcalf) (“Surely, government may impose reasonable controls in the public interest.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1964, p. 4 (California senator Thomas H. Kuchel) (“I...feel that the problem of firearms regulation should be handled, wherever possible, by State and local governments. I do think, however, that the use of firearms by minors should be regulated. I also support State or local legislation providing severe penalties for the use of dangerous weapons in the commission of a crime. Mental incompetents, alcoholics, drug addicts, convicted felons, and fugitives from justice should not be permitted to own or carry firearms.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1964, p. 4 (Wisconsin representative Melvin R. Laird) (“In principle, I am for strict gun laws as they pertain to concealed weapons, the registration of sidearms, and so on.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1964, p. 4 (Alaska senator E.L. Bartlett) (“Guns should not be available for the indiscriminate use of juvenile delinquents, children under age. They should not be available through mail order catalogs. They should be licensed and such as Sten guns and sub-machine guns should not be available in any case. The right to bear arms is not a license to run wild.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1963, p. 6 (Montana representative James F. Battin) (“I believe there should be control over instate movement of firearms such as sub-machine guns and stiff penalties for unauthorized possession of such weapons, and also stricter control of sales of firearms to known felons.”).</p>
114	<p><i>gun rights propaganda: See, e.g.,</i> “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1965, p. 4 (Texas representative O.C. Fisher) (“As I see it, any control or regulation of the exercise of the right of the people to keep and bear arms should be rigidly protected, and any control or regulation that might be desirable should be assumed by the States and local governmental units.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1965, p. 4 (Illinois representative Roland V. Libonati) (“The first move of any tyrant or dictator has been to register or divest the possession of arms possessed by the citizenry in their homes. Hitler and Mussolini are the best examples of, first the registry of arms, and then the delivery to police authority resulting in confiscation and capitulation of the masses.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, November 1964, p. 4 (New Mexico senator E.L. Mechem) (“Criminals can get guns any time they want, whether registration are in effect or not, just as President Kennedy’s assassination could have taken place regarding of what type of firearms laws were enacted.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, September 1964, p. 4 (California representative Craig Hosmer) (“The burden of responsibility for the sale of guns to undesirable persons should rest upon the gun dealer, with appropriate statutory penalties provided under state law. Intrusion by the Federal Government into this area of regulation must be kept at a minimum.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1964, p. 4 (Illinois representative Edward J. Derwinski) (“I believe that the States, rather than the Federal Government, are best equipped to legislative for their citizens regarding the ownership and use of firearms.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, July 1964, p. 4 (South Carolina representative William</p>

	<p>Jennings Bryan Dorn) (“I shudder to think what will happen to our freedom if too much restrictive legislation is passed by the states and particularly the Federal Government. The first step Communist dictators take is the collection of all the individually owned firearms. This is the principal reason why no major Communist government has been overthrown.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, May 1964, p. 4 (Wyoming representative William Henry Harrison) (“Restrictions for the purposes of preventing the dishonest from retaining firearms only penalize the honest citizen. The criminal will always be able to obtain a firearm.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1964, p. 4 (Utah representative Laurence J. Burton) (“Common sense tells me that the proposed legislation would not materially help our police force to control crime. Criminals, by their very nature, are prone to disobey laws and would obtain firearms anyway. They people who would be penalized are those who obey laws and who do not need this type of regulation.”); <i>ibid.</i> (Ohio representative John M. Ashbrook) (“It seems to me that, if any legislating is necessary on this matter, it should take place on a local, and not a national level.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1964, p. 45 (Texas representative Bruce Alger) (“It is important to remember that no country in which this important right was adhered to has ever been successfully subverted by the communists.”).</p>
114	<p><i>Robert F. Sikes</i>: “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, May 1965, p. 4 (Florida representative Robert F. Sikes) (“There is continuing agitation for the enactment of firearms legislation to restrict the Constitutional rights of the American citizen to own and use firearms. A number of such bills have been proposed. It is very important that Congress consider carefully any proposals which are advanced to change the time-honored right of U.S. citizens to own firearms. I confess concern about the easy access to weapons of criminals and juveniles who should not have such access and some restrictive action may be necessary. But before we take such action, let us be sure that it doesn’t accomplish more harm than good. The fact is, the registration of guns or restrictions on ownership will not discourage the criminal. More likely, it will only discourage ownership of firearms for the protection of responsible citizens. We don’t want to burn the barn to get rid of the rats. Therefore, all bills proposed must be carefully examined and none passed in an atmosphere of emotionally inspired haste.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1960, p. 4 (Florida representative Robert F. Sikes) (“The Basic Truths contained in the Constitution of the United States are just as important today as then our Nation was founded. The present disposition of some courts and some lawmakers to rewrite the Constitution alongside sociological lines should alert the American people to fight for the protections of those basic truths lest we lose them. The right of the people to keep and bear arms should not be infringed. It is significant that no such right is enjoyed under dictatorships. The public must be protected against abuses of the right to keep and bear arms, but not deprived the right itself, nor should law-abiding citizens be restricted in safe and sensible enjoyment of that right.”).</p>
114	<p><i>John D. Dingell</i>: “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1964, p. 4 (Michigan representative John D. Dingell) (“I am a hunter, fisherman, and hand loader of large volumes of high-powered rifle, shotgun, and pistol ammunition. The</p>

	<p>Founding Fathers demonstrated real wisdom in framing the Constitution so as to guarantee the right of citizens to own and bear arms. Nations like England which have done away with civilian ownership of firearms find the honest citizen at the mercy of the criminal and the nation at the mercy of invaders in time of war. A citizenry skilled in the use of firearms is as essential to our nation in this Atomic Age as it was the day of the Minutemen and the American Revolution. I have opposed in the Congress all restrictive anti-gun legislation and have opposed unwise regulations sought to be promulgated by the Treasury of the United States to deny law-abiding citizens and sportsmen the untrammelled right to own and use firearms for lawful sporting purposes and for self-defense. I intend to continue vigorous opposition to hostile and silly anti-firearm legislation every time it presents itself, both as a citizen and a law-maker. I might point out in conclusion that statistics show that the level of crime is higher in states which deny the citizens the right to bear firearms than in states which have no law on this point and permit the citizen to bear firearms as he sees fit for lawful and proper purposes.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, November 1959, p. 4 (Michigan representative John D. Dingell) (“This Amendment is still of great significance to America from a defense standpoint, and the need for a citizenry able to use firearms in defense of their home and country is still as necessary as ever. The individual rifleman and his use in combat has been altered but in no wise diminished by nuclear and missile warfare. Certainly, the time for training persons in the various military arts and sciences in the event of war will be diminished to virtually nothing, and defense of the country may devolve down to what will be nothing more or less than guerilla warfare by individual citizens. We have witnessed this Amendment eroded away by a long series of anti-gun laws in various states, which were upheld by a Judiciary unaware of the real significance and need for individual citizens to be skilled in the use of firearms. The duty of the citizen, sportsmen, hunter, target shooter and gun lover is to act vigorously to preserve what is left of his right to possess and own arms, and where possible, turn back by vigilant effort continued attacks by dogooders and other who would impair the right to bear arms. It should be remembered by gun enthusiasts that the attack is constantly going on in State Legislatures, City Councils, in the Congress of the United States and even in the Administrative Agencies, which last year sought to make a tremendously hostile anti-gun regulation the law of the land on a Federal level. Vigilance, and strong, well-directed, cooperative effort by sportsmen will preserve this right, even though the United States Constitution does provide for the right of citizens to bear arms without infringement.”).</p>
114	<p><i>Paul Fannin</i>: “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1965, p. 4 (Arizona senator Paul Fannin) (“As one whose entire career in public service has been based on a strong belief in constitutional government, I believe the Second Amendment means exactly what it says—the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. This has been my position with respect to the legislation currently pending in the Congress and I am enclosing a copy of my testimony on S. 1592 for your information. You may be interested to know that my office has received several thousand letters supporting my position on this issue.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, February 1961, p. 4 (Arizona governor Paul Fannin) (“As a long time hunter, fisherman and supporter of objectives of the National Rifle Association, I have</p>

	<p>long had a deep interest in this subject. I am familiar with the Second Amendment to our United States Constitution, and I do not wholly agree with the interpretation that has been placed upon it by the United States Supreme Court; <i>i.e.</i>, that it is a limitation on Congress, rather than a general guarantee of freedom or right that extends to all the people of the nation...In the field of firearms laws, I believe ours are fair and to the point. Arizona law does not impair the right of anyone to keep or bear arms; we require parental consent for youngsters under 18 to buy guns and ammunition; we prohibit possession of a pistol by those convicted of a crime of violence until such time as they are pardoned; we prohibited carrying concealed weapons; but beyond those limits we do not go. Our policy has been to protect the right of every citizen to keep and use firearms for lawful purposes, and to restrict duly the illegal use of firearms.”).</p>
115	<p><i>Second Amendment rights: See, e.g.</i>, Bill Nye, “JFK and Gun Rights,” <i>Longview Daily News</i> (WA), November 27, 2013, p. A5; David B. Kopel, “The Great Gun Control War of the Twentieth Century—And Its Lessons for Gun Laws Today,” <i>Fordham Urban Law Journal</i> 39 (2012): 1528, 1536-37.</p>
115	<p><i>proposed in his name: See, e.g.</i>, Laurence Lattizzori, “Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Berkshire Eagle</i> (Pittsfield, MA), February 25, 1964, p. 14; Red Marston, “On the Waterfront: A Kind Word for Owning Guns,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (St. Petersburg, FL), February 13, 1964, p. 5C; Dave Newton, “Around the Campfire,” <i>Nevada State Journal</i> (Reno, NV), January 5, 1964, p. 17; “Campaign Against Guns,” <i>Birmingham News</i> (AL), December 29, 1963, p. A9; Tom Morrison, “On the Sidelines,” <i>Idaho State Journal</i> (Pocatello, ID), December 29, 1963, p. 14; Grits Gresham, “Bayou Browsing: Editorial Hogwash,” <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), December 29, 1963, p. 29; Charles M. Hills, “Affairs of the State,” <i>Clarion-Ledger</i> (Jackson, MS), December 23, 1963, p. 8; Bob Barnet, “After the Ball: Police Marksmen Riddle Prime Steaks,” <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), December 20, 1963, p. 36; “Firearms Rights,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazelton, PA), December 20, 1963, p. 24; John J. Casaceli, Jr., “The Freedom to Own Firearms,” <i>Boston Globe</i>, December 16, 1963, p. 10. <i>See also</i> “NRA Chief: ‘Minority, Hell, 50 Million Behind Us’,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), September 28, 1968, p. B1 (noting how NRA president Harold Glassen made sure to carry a copy of Kennedy's “laudatory letter” as a means to defend the NRA's reputation and stance against restrictive firearms controls); “Letters to the Editor,” <i>Iowa City Press-Citizen</i> (IA), March 6, 1965, p. 6 (defending the NRA's reputation by noting that President Kennedy was a life member); Brian T. Mills, “The Case for Rifles,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), December 15, 1964, p. 2B (“The use of the assassination of John F. Kennedy as justification to deprive the American citizen of his right to keep and bear arms is a desecration of the Kennedy memory.”).</p>
116	<p><i>support firearms controls: Carl Hilliard, “Kennedy Quoted as Being Supporter of ‘Right to Bear Arms’: Guns’ Editor Recalls Views of Late Chief,”</i> <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), December 13, 1963, p. H1.</p>
116	<p><i>firearms and their owners: “Kennedy and Guns,”</i> <i>New Haven Leader</i> (MO), January 16, 1964, p. 6.</p>

116	<i>always be important</i> : “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1960, p. 4 (Massachusetts senator John F. Kennedy).
116	<i>purpose of their daily life</i> : For the full speech, see John F. Kennedy, Commemorative Message on Roosevelt Day, January 29, 1961, John F. Kennedy Presidential Papers, White House Central Subject Files, box 111, FDR (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum) (hereinafter Kennedy Presidential Papers). For news coverage of Kennedy’s speech, see “New Minute Men Urged by Kennedy,” <i>New York Times</i> , January 30, 1961, p. 13; “Kennedy Says US Needs Minute Men,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , January 30, 1961, p. 4; “Kennedy Calls for Minute Men,” <i>Tennessean</i> (Nashville, TN), January 30, 1961, p. 2; “Minute Men: Needed for Nation,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , January 30, 1961, p. 1.
116	<i>handling of small arms</i> : Letter from Franklin L. Orth to President John F. Kennedy, March 7, 1961, Kennedy Presidential Papers, President’s Office Files, Personal Secretary’s Files, Memberships, December 1960-April 1961.
117	<i>pertaining to firearms controls</i> : Letter from President John F. Kennedy to Franklin L. Orth, March 20, 1961, Kennedy Presidential Papers, President’s Office Files, Personal Secretary’s Files, Memberships, December 1960-April 1961. <i>See also</i> “...An Important Role in Our National Defense,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1961, pp. 26-27.
117	<i>all these purposes</i> : Letter from Frank Daniel to President John F. Kennedy, April 19, 1961, Kennedy Presidential Papers, President’s Office Files, Personal Secretary’s Files, Memberships, December 1960-April 1961.
117	<i>No mention was made of the NRA’s policy of most firearms controls</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
117	<i>opinion of the NRA</i> : <i>See generally</i> John F. Kennedy Papers, Pre-Presidential, Senate Files, folder JFKSEN-066612 (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum).
117	<i>defender of gun rights</i> : There are several examples over the past half century where a gun rights advocates and supporters have claimed that John F. Kennedy was an ardent supporter of gun rights. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Awr Hawkins, “JFK: Lifetime NRA Member, Second Amendment Supporter,” <i>Breitbart</i> , November 18, 2013, https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2013/11/18/jfk-lifetime-member-of-the-nra-defender-of-the-second-amendment/ ; Mike Fuljenz, “Guns, Silver and John F. Kennedy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 17, 2013, https://www.americanrifleman.org/articles/2013/11/17/guns-silver-and-john-f-kennedy/ ; Michael P. Timko, “Gun Control People Misperceive Public,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazelton, PA), April 12, 1993, p. 17; Ralph Sheets, “All About Guns,” <i>Newark Advocate</i> (OH), December 18, 1980, p. 4. Take for instance the 1988 Republican National Convention, where Charlton Heston, who was speaking at an NRA sponsored event, told the attending audience, “[If] John Kennedy were alive today he’d probably be here [at this NRA sponsored event].” <i>See</i> Anne Groer, “Parties, Protests Mix Well in Big Easy,” <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), August 18, 1988, pg. A6.

117	<i>well laid to rest</i> : “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1963, p. 6 (Illinois senator Everett M. Dirksen).
118	<i>inviolable of the Second Amendment</i> : See Everett M. Dirksen Papers, Remarks, Releases, and Interviews, folder “Is Gun Control a Myth?” 1966 (Pekin, IL: Dirksen Center) (hereinafter Dirksen Papers); Dirksen Papers, Remarks, Releases, and Interviews, folder <i>Meet the Press</i> , NBC, August 6, 1967; “GOP Senators to Act Today on Gun Control,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , August 9, 1966, part 1, p. 7; Jack Bell, “Senators Move Cautiously on Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), August 3, 1966, p. 15.
118	<i>local governmental authority</i> : Dirksen Papers, Remarks, Releases, and Interviews, folder <i>Face the Nation</i> , CBS, August 6, 1967.
118	<i>interpretation of the Second Amendment</i> : “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , December 1960, p. 4 (Montana representative Lee Metcalf) (“The 2nd Amendment has in 1960 the same cogency that inspired its inclusion in the Bill of Rights of 1791. The meaning of individual words may change in time but, to my mind, the Second Amendment’s ‘well regulated militia’ refers to a citizenry informed in the care and skilled in the use of firearms and available, therefore, to defend the way of life which all of hold so dear. The lessons of history make clear that we never should lose sight of a defense-ready citizenry’s contribution to the cause of freedom. The nation is most fortunate these unsettled days that its people use firearms as a healthful, recreational outlet. Our people are—and should remain—constantly alert to attempts to erode their rights to keep and bear firearms.”).
118	<i>in the public interest</i> : “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1961, p. 4 (Montana representative Lee Metcalf) (“The right to keep and bear arms is a basic right of our American society. It is an essential element of our representative democracy. This right does not mean that we may possess and use arms in whatever way we see fit and under whatever circumstances we think desirable. Surely, government may impose reasonable controls in the public interest. What this means in the context of our constitutional system is that these controls recognize the duty and authority of government, on the one hand, and the responsibility of the individual on the other.”).
118	<i>February 1965</i> : Metcalf’s third response was written line-by-line verbatim from his second response. See “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1965, p. 4 (Montana representative Lee Metcalf).
118	<i>mail order sale of firearms</i> : See “Montana Lawmakers Reply on Firearms Legislation,” <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT), September 2, 1966, p. 4; John Kamps, “Delegation Opposes Arms Control,” <i>Missoulian</i> (Missoula, MT), June 6, 1965, p. 16; Metcalf Papers, box 659, folder Speech on Gun Control, May 5, 1965; Metcalf Papers, box 661, folder 5, Speech and Announcement on Firearms, May 1, 1965; Kenneth Scheibel, “Gun-Toters Have Fire in Eyes,” <i>Missoulian</i> (Missoula, MT), February 16, 1964, p. 10; Statement of Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana on Gun Control Legislation Before the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile

	Delinquency, July 11, 1967, <i>in</i> Frank E. Moss Papers, box 196, folder 18 (Salt Lake City, UT: J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections) (hereinafter Moss Papers).
118	<i>Metcalf himself acknowledged</i> : “Sportsmen’s Stand on Firearms Supported by Metcalf, Olsen,” <i>Montana Standard-Post</i> (Butte, MT), August 1, 1965, p. 10; “Congressmen Give View on Firearms Law,” <i>Montana Standard</i> (Butte, MT), July 30, 1965, p. 14; John Camps, “Proposed Gun Curbs Find Few Friends in Montana,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 6, 1965, p. 1; Lee Metcalf, [Speech on Firearms Controls], May 1, 1965, Metcalf Papers, box 661, folder 5, Speech and Announcement on Firearms, May 1, 1965.
119	<i>author with the facts</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Letter from Lee Metcalf to Maude Hunt, November 4, 1963, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms; Letter from Maude Hunt to Lee Metcalf, October 31, 1963, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms; Letter from Lee Metcalf to Colonel Dave Hantelman, October 17, 1963, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms; Letter from Colonel Dave Hantelman to Lee Metcalf, October 14, 1963, Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms.
119	<i>statutory reality</i> : Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA vice-president, to Lee Metcalf, October 20, 1965, Metcalf Papers, box 652, folder 7, Campaign Materials-Gun Control, 1968-1972.
119	<i>floor of the House of Representatives</i> : 114 Cong. Rec. 16482 (June 10, 1968) (statement of Montana representative Lee Metcalf).
119	<i>call for his ouster</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Joe DeSave, “Registration, Confiscation,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), July 1, 1968, p. 6. The pressure placed upon Metcalf would ultimately lead to him to walk back his support. <i>See</i> H.W.C. Newberry, “Outdoors with Doc,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), July 28, 1968, p. 8; “Sen. Metcalf Opposes Firearms Registration,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), July 7, 1968, p. 1.
119	<i>endorse firearms registration</i> : <i>Compare</i> Letter from Mike Mansfield to Riley Johnson, Fishing and Hunting News editor, March 9, 1964, <i>in</i> Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms, <i>with</i> 114 Cong. Rec. 16481 (June 10, 1968) (statement of Montana senator Mike Mansfield) (“I favor, and I have favored, the registration of all firearms, but I believe that it is basically a State function, and that the various States should accept this responsibility and not place it on the shoulders of the Federal Government. If the States will not act, then I think it will be the duty of the Federal Government to assume that responsibility, as it has all too often when the States refused to assume theirs.”).
121	<i>cities of our nation</i> : Letter from Mike Mansfield to Leo Lesnik, June 26, 1968, Mike Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 (Missoula, MT: Mansfield Library, University of Montana) (hereinafter Mansfield Papers).
121	<i>regulate interstate commerce</i> : U.S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, Cl. 3 (that Congress has the power “[t]o regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.”).
121	<i>rifles and shotguns</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Cleve Corlett, “Hart Hits Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), October 6, 1967, p. C3.

121	<i>gun rights community</i> : See, e.g., Saul Friedman, “Also Wants Change in Gun Control Plan: Hart to Seek New Rights Bill,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , September 30, 1967, p. 15A; “Proper Firearm Use Defended: ‘Fair’ Gun Control Laws Backed,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 28, 1966.
121	<i>supporting such legislation</i> : Letter from Philip A. Hart to Lawrence Powers, September 10, 1968, Philip A. Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Hart Papers).
121	<i>George McGovern</i> : McGovern was opposed to federal firearms controls well before 1967. See, e.g., George McGovern, Press Release, September 23, 1965, George McGovern Papers, box 482, folder S.14, Federal Firearms Act (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library) (hereinafter McGovern Papers) (noting the Dodd Bill “goes much too far in restricting the legitimate rights of hunters, sportsmen, collectors, and merchants,” and therefore McGovern intends to “work for its defeat”); Memorandum to George McGovern, June 8, 1965, McGovern Papers, box 482, folder S.14, Federal Firearms Act (noting that McGovern’s position against firearms controls is similar to Montana senator Gale McGee’s).
121	<i>misuse of firearms</i> : Associated Press, “McGovern Against Dodd Firearms Control Bill,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), August 5, 1967, p. 3.
121	<i>misuse resides</i> : Ibid.
121	<i>freedom of the American people</i> : “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1960, p. 4 (South Dakota representative George McGovern).
122	<i>states’ rights interpretation</i> : Letter from George McGovern to North Dakota constituents, June 14, 1968, McGovern Papers, box 608, folder Firearms Miscellaneous Correspondence (“The Courts, including the conservative Supreme Courts of the 1930’s and 1940’s, have repeatedly held that this provision of the Second Amendment is, as its terms imply, a prohibition on interference with the organization of militia—such as the National Guard—by the States.”).
122	<i>firearms for lawful purposes</i> : “No Disagreement on Gun Control McGovern Says,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), October 25, 1968, p. 13; Associated Press, “Republicans Repeat Chant; McGovern Questions Foes,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), October 23, 1968, p. 34.
122	<i>likely to misuse them</i> : Ibid. See also John Beckler, “McGovern Will Support New Gun Control Bills,” <i>Daily Republic</i> (Mitchell, SD), June 12, 1968, p. 1.
122	<i>James G. O’Hara</i> : See, e.g., Letter from James G. O’Hara to Theodore R. Goodwin, July 26, 1968, James G. O’Hara Papers, box 10, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter O’Hara Papers) (“The public demand for gun control legislation has been loud and clear. It has been estimated that in recent weeks Congressmen have received more than a million letters from their constituents on this subject. I firmly believe that this massive outpouring of public opinion played a major role in the enactment of this legislation... While we have scored a victory, we nevertheless must remember it is a limited victory. I pledge to continue to work for the enactment of effective and comprehensive gun control

	<p>legislation.”); James G. O’Hara et al, “Dear Colleague [Letter for “Strong and Effective Gun Control Legislation”], June 20, 1968, O’Hara Papers, box 10, folder Gun Control; Letter from James G. O’Hara to Wallace J. Klewicki, April 18, 1966, O’Hara Papers, box 6, folder Dodd Bill (“I agree with you that law abiding sportsmen such as yourself should not be prevented from owning and using firearms in lawful pursuits. The bill, as reported by the subcommittee, would not take away the guns of sportsmen, nor would it prevent them from buying new or additional guns.”); Letter from James G. O’Hara to Thomas P. Handlon, Jr., March 31, 1964, O’Hara Papers, box 2, folder Gun Control (assuring Handlon that he will not “support any legislation which I feel conflicts with the Second Amendment”). As a historical side note, O’Hara maintained a narrow view of the Second Amendment. See “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, September 1960, p. 4 (Michigan representative James G. O’Hara) (“History has largely eroded away the purpose of the Second Amendment and its significance. In yesterday’s world a free people had to keep and bear arms to protect themselves from the Indians and to avoid the need for existence of a large standing army...Like the Third Amendment...the Second Amendment reflects the peculiar needs of the American people in a particular period of our history.”).</p>
122	<p><i>Hale Boggs</i>: See, e.g., “Boggs Votes for Mail Order Gun Sales Bill,” <i>Shreveport Journal</i> (LA), July 25, 1968, p. 4A (noting that Boggs was the only member of the Louisiana congressional delegation to vote in favor of federal gun controls); Letter from Hale Boggs to E.J. Murphy, Louisiana Shooting Association, Inc. president, February 22, 1967, Hale Boggs Papers, box 460, folder Firearms Legislation 1967 (New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Howard-Tilton Memorial Library Special Collections) (hereinafter Boggs Papers) (“Let me assure you that I would be reluctant to support any proposals which would in any way, make it difficult for a homeowner to have weapons he might need for the protection of his home or property. The enjoyment of hunting by sportsmen like your own good self, is likewise a classification of its own. However, the indiscriminate sale of firearms, machine guns, mortars, and other deadly weapons, many of which are imported into this country, is something which, I am sure, gives concern to all good citizens.”); Letter from Hale Boggs to Louise Jennings, September 15, 1967, Boggs Papers, box 454, Firearms Legislation 1966 (“Letter from Boggs to Louise Jennings; “I’m sure you will agree that the recent tragedy in Austin points up the need for some control legislation. Let me assure you, however, that I would be reluctant to support any legislation which would in any way make it difficult for a homeowner to have weapons he might need for protection of his home or property. On the other hand, the indiscriminate sales of such things as machine guns, mortars, and other deadly weapons, many of which are imported into this country, is something which I am sure gives concern to all good citizens such as yourself.”); Letter from Hale Boggs to Anthony J. Deckelmann, July 16, 1965, Boggs Papers, box 447, folder Firearms Legislation 1965 (“With respect to the legislation pending here which would amend the Federal Firearms Act, I have come to no conclusion about this matter. I would be very reluctant, indeed, to vote for any legislation which would in any way make it difficult for a homeowner to have the weapons that he might need for protection of his home and his property. On the other hand, the indiscriminate sale of such things as machine guns, mortars and deadly weapons, many of which are imported into this country from abroad, is something</p>

	<p>which I am sure gives concern to all good citizens such as yourself.”); Letter from Hale Boggs to Richard H. Nelson, January 14, 1964, Boggs Papers, box 445, folder Firearms Legislation 1964 (“I am grateful to you for informing me of the vies of your membership, as well as those of the National Rifle Association in regard to legislation dealing with firearms. As you know, a number of proposals are pending before various committees but at the present time no action is being taken on them. Should any of these measures reach the Floor of the House you may be sure the views you have made available to me will be kept well in mind and given every consideration.”).</p>
123	<p><i>rights of all American citizens</i>: “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1964, p. 4 (Maine senator Edmund S. Muskie).</p>
123	<p><i>support behind firearms controls</i>: See, e.g., Letter from Edmund S. Muskie to Sumner L. Thompson, September 8, 1964, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, box 312, folder 6, Firearms Control (Lewiston, ME: Muskie Archives at Bates College) (hereinafter Muskie Papers); Letter from Edmund S. Muskie to Helen K. Bachrach, August 13, 1964, Muskie Papers, box 312, folder 6, Firearms Control; Letter from Edmund S. Muskie to Grace C. Saunders, March 25, 1964, Muskie Papers, box 312, folder 6, Firearms Control.</p>
123	<p><i>most vocal advocates</i>: See, e.g., Letter from Edmund S. Muskie to Don B. Kates, March 18, 1970, Muskie Papers, box 940, folder 2, Gun Control (“The issue of firearms control which you have discussed is one of great concern to me. I am particularly concerned over the exponential growth rate of the possession and use of handguns. There is currently one handgun for every 2.5 households in the country...Handguns, easily concealed and used, present an obvious and dangerous threat to the safety of all Americans. Controlling the problem presents many difficulties, such as the licensing problem which you have pointed out. One proposal, receiving ever-widening support, which might circumvent some of the problem you have mentioned would impose a ban on all handguns, while continuing present limited control of other types of firearms.”); Letter from Edmund S. Muskie to Roberta J. Feller, November 18, 1969, box 785, folder 4, Firearms Control (“I agree that analysis of crimes committed with firearms in this country dramatize the urgent need for a more rational gun control policy. The Gun Control Act of 1968, which I supported [but was absent in voting for], was a step in the right direction. I intend to support further measures which provide a more meaningful gun control policy.”); Form letter from Edmund S. Muskie on Gun Control, August 5, 1969, Muskie Papers, box 785, folder 4, Firearms Control (“The most recent statistics available from the Department of Justice indicate that 200,000 persons are killed, wounded, or maimed for life each year by the misuse of firearms. Detailed analysis of crimes committed with firearms in this country dramatize the urgent need for a more rational gun control policy. The Gun Control Act of 1968, which I supported, was a step in the right direction. Several proposals for stricter control of the sale and use of firearms have been introduced in this session of Congress. I intend to support those measure which provide a more meaningful gun control policy.”).</p>
123	<p><i>confiscate guns terms</i>: Edmund S. Muskie, [Question-Answer Session in Brewer, Maine], October 4, 1970, Muskie Papers, box SC94, 23:50.</p>

123	<i>phony issue</i> : Ibid., 22:04-26:30.
124	<i>Second Amendment as an individual right</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Maynard M. Sorenson, April 27, 1965, Wallace F. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966 (Salt Lake City, UT: J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections) (hereinafter W. Bennett Papers); Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Robert L. Bradley, March 26, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966.
124	<i>mail order purchase of weapons</i> : Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to John D. Stewart, February 17, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966.
124	<i>populated urban centers</i> : Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Judge Sterling R. Bossard, October 5, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966.
124	<i>recreation, including hunting</i> : Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Mr. Owen's History Class, March 18, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966. See also Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Oma E. Wilcox, June 28, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966 ("The problem is finding a way to do this while at the same time permitting the peaceful and legitimate gun owner to exercise his right to purchase, ship and own firearms without undue complications and restrictions.").
124	<i>proponent of mandatory sentencing minimums</i> : Letter from Cecil R. King and Robert F. Sikes to Wallace F. Bennett, January 10, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 322, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966.
124	<i>stiff mandatory sentencing minimums</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Walter G. Koplin, October 12, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 9, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Lee A. Wankier, September 29, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 8, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, September 11, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 8, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Ralph R. Dymont, February 14, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 8, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to P.O. Ackley, September 16, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Tom C. Korologos, administrative assistant to Wallace F. Bennett, to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, August 16, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to Wallace F. Bennett, August 12, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 322, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Alden E. Roylance, May 3, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 322, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966.
124	<i>firearms related violence</i> : Bennett noted as much in a letter to Milton S. Eisenhower, who was appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to head the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. See Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Milton S. Eisenhower, June 13, 1968, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 227, folder 86.

	<i>See also</i> “Bennett Against New Federal Gun Control,” <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), July 11, 1968, p. 3; Statement by Senator Wallace F. Bennett on Firearms Legislation, June 25, 1968, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 227, folder 78, Gun Petition.
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Chapter 5 Notes

125	<i>just over 900,000: Compare</i> “NRA’s Growth Encouraging,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 19, 1968, p. 4, <i>with</i> “Operations in 1963,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1964, p. 26. <i>See also</i> “Operations in 1968,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1969, p. 52; “Gun Fraternity Growing Despite Antigun Campaign,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 18, 1966, p. 13.
125	<i>\$6,500,000: Compare</i> National Rifle Association, <i>Operating Report '69</i> (Washington, DC: 1970), p. 14, Richard Nixon Papers, Pre-Presidential Collection, Personal Papers, box 9, folder National Rifle Association (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library) (hereinafter Nixon Papers), <i>with</i> “Operations in 1963,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1964, p. 26.
125	<i>985,000: Compare</i> “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1967, p. 2; <i>with</i> “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1964, p. 2.
125	<i>flocking to our cause: Franklin L. Orth</i> , “NRA ‘Thrives on Adversity’,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1968, p. 15.
126	<i>reasonable firearms regulations: As it pertains to the Dodd Bill</i> , the NRA informed lawmakers and the media that the organization had long supported reasonable firearms legislation. The NRA claimed this was evidenced by the organization’s willingness to work “closely with Senator Dodd...in drafting the original bill, which was introduced on August 2, 1963.” <i>See</i> National Rifle Association, “Where Does the NRA Stand on Firearms Legislation?” Hale Boggs Papers, box 445, folder Firearms Legislation 1964 (New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Howard-Tilton Memorial Library) (hereinafter Boggs Papers). Additionally, the NRA noted: “The Dodd Bill, as it stands today, is not being opposed by the NRA, as its provisions are in accordance with the long-standing policy of NRA.” <i>Ibid.</i>
126	<i>ones that could stop it: For some examples in the wake of President Kennedy’s assassination</i> , see National Rifle Association, <i>The Gun Law Problem</i> (Washington, DC: 1965), 14-16; J.J. Basil, Jr. and Daniel J. Mountin, “Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, pp. 30-31; “Basic Facts of Firearms Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1964, p. 14; “What the Lawmakers are Doing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1964, p. 28.
126	<i>NRA affiliated clubs: It was through affiliated rifle clubs that the NRA accomplished most of its lobbying and advocacy efforts. See</i> Letter from Harold W. Glassen to Dwain L. Fritz, August 7, 1968, Harold W. Glassen Papers, box 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Glassen Papers) (“[The NRA is] not permitted to advertise with a view to affecting legislation at any level. This does not prevent sportsmen’s clubs and individuals from taking such action if they so desire.”); “Maryland Sportsmen Rally to Fight Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 8, 1968, p. 2; Jack J. Basil, “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Illinois, California,

	Connecticut Enact Gun Laws with Sportsmen's Cooperation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1967, p. 54; J.J. Basil and Daniel J. Moutin, "Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, pp. 30-32.
126	<i>purchase, or sell firearms</i> : Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 212-18.
126	<i>sale of mail-order firearms</i> : "Current Federal Gun Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1965, pp. 17-19; Bill Davidson, "NRA Still Waits to Make Decision on Gun Proposal," <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), February 4, 1965, p. 44 (noting the NRA will make its final decision on the amended Dodd bill after a February 20th meeting); Bill Davidson, "Papagos Could Help Selves by Taking Off Coyote's Halo," <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), January 29, 1965, p. 30 (noting the NRA would not oppose the amended Dodd bill); Bill Hunter, "Outdoor Almanac," <i>Daily Times-News</i> (Burlington, NC), January 20, 1965, pp. 6B, 8B (noting that the NRA is making legislative concessions with Dodd); Bill Davidson, "Phoenix' Spillman Has Game-Fist Candidacy Going," <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), January 8, 1965, p. 30 (noting that the NRA will support the Dodd bill once amended).
126	<i>defender of the Second Amendment</i> : See, e.g., "United We Stand," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1965, pp. 16-18; "The Illegal Use of Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1964, p. 16.
126	<i>hysteria and emotionalism</i> : See "The Misuse of Firearms," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1964, p. 16 ("Intelligent Americans will agree that under today's conditions, guidelines must be established for the control of firearms in some areas. Nevertheless, this control must be based on reason and understanding, not emotionalism reaction or on misinformation."); Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, et al to NRA members, January 30, 1964, John James Flynt, Jr. Papers, series 3, box 247, folder 5, National Rifle Association (Athens, GA: Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies) (hereinafter Flynt Papers) ("Ever since the tragic events in November of 1963, your legislative representatives have been subjected to a wave of pressure for firearms control based on emotional reaction to the fact that guns were involved. It now is the time to present the side of the situation based on logic and reason. This can best be done by individual NRA members."). See also "Responsible and Informed Citizens," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1964, p. 16; "Realistic Firearms Controls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1964, p. 14; "What the Lawmakers are Doing," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1964, p. 104.
126	<i>NRA's leadership</i> : See "Lawmakers to Consider Firearms Restrictions," <i>Nevada State Journal</i> (Reno, NV), December 31, 1964, p. 4; "The Gun Problem," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), December 17, 1964, p. 2D; "A Starter Needed toward Curbing the Gun Traffic," <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), December 10, 1964, p. 16; "Sensible Gun Control," <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), December 10, 1964, p. 34; "Rifle Group Bides Time on Mail-Order Gun Ban Bill," <i>Fresno Bee</i> (CA), December 9, 1964, p. 7; Uncle Dudley, "Guns Too Easy to Get," <i>Boston Globe</i> , December 8, 1964, p. 14; Ben A. Franklin, "Rifle Unit Split over Gun Curbs," <i>New York Times</i> , December 7, 1964, pp.

	1, 29; "Battle Rages on 2 Fronts over Gun Law," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), December 7, 1964, p. 2.
126	<i>despite this resistance</i> : One contemporaneous news report suggested that the opposition from membership may have the result of mixed messaging by the NRA. See "Some Check on Our Traffic in Firearms is Imperative," <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), February 9, 1965, p. 6.
126	<i>liberal wing</i> : See Alexander DeConde, <i>Gun Violence in America: The Struggle for Control</i> (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 174; Letter from Page H. Belcher to John A. Nehring, January 25, 1965, Page H. Belcher Papers, box 93, folder 13A, Firearms Legislation (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Belcher Papers) ("You may recall that the Administration tried to get some of these things through last year, but failed. However, now the President has made them personal issues; and in view of the overwhelming majority of liberals in this Congress, many of these proposals will undoubtedly be passed— <i>unless</i> the people of America rise up and strenuously protest...").
126	<i>compromising with Dodd</i> : See, e.g., Bob Rankin, "Outdoors: New Gun Laws," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , February 16, 1965, p. 29; "NRA Still Waits to Make Decision on Gun Proposal," <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), February 4, 1965, p. 44; "Firearms Bill Deserves Support," <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), February 4, 1965, p. 12D; "No Guns for the Reckless," <i>Daily Mail</i> (Hagerstown, MD), January 29, 1965, p. 4; John D. Ewing, "News Analyst Says Dodd Bill Will Be Pushed for Passage," <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), January 10, 1965, p. 6D.
126	<i>it succeeded</i> : See Ben A. Franklin, "Gun-Curbs Issue Revived by Dodd," <i>New York Times</i> , January 17, 1965, p. 59; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, "Dodd Bill and the NRA," August 1967, Milton Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Library) (hereinafter Reckord Papers).
127	<i>investigated the purchaser's background</i> : See Russell Tinsley, "Outdoor Scene: New Gun Law is Proposed," <i>Austin American</i> (TX), March 4, 1965, p. 59; Charles Nicodemus, "Dissemination of Misinformation: Barrage Against Gun Bill," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 4, 1965, p. 7; George Kellam, "Bill to Protect Legal Gun Owners Set for Congress," <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), March 3, 1965, sec. 2, p. 3; Bill Davidson, "Dodd Wants His Bill but Isn't Bullheaded," <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), March 2, 1965, p. 17; Bill Davidson, "Sen. Dodd Seeks Sportsman Support," <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), March 1, 1965, p. 37.
127	<i>big lie technique</i> : "Statement of Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Section of Criminal Law, Americana Hotel, New York," August 12, 1964, James V. Bennett Personal Papers, Subject Files, 1933-1966, box 10, folder American Bar Foundation-Panel Discussion (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereinafter Bennett Papers).
127	<i>federal firearms reforms</i> : See Joseph Hearst, "Curbs Sought on Mail Order Gun Traffic," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , January 7, 1965, p. 2A; "'Minority' Barred Gun Bill—Dodd," <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), January 6, 1965, p. 15. See also "No Guns for the Reckless," <i>Daily Mail</i> (Hagerstown, MD), January 29, 1965, p. 4.

127	<p><i>the control of firearms</i>: “Mail-Order Gun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1965, p. 16 (emphasis added). To limit resistance from membership and the wider gun rights community, the NRA was careful in revealing its endorsement of the compromise Dodd bill. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Bill Davidson, “NRA Still Waits to Make Decision on Gun Proposal,” <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), February 4, 1965, p. 44 (reporting that the NRA has yet to officially endorse Senator Dodd’s bill); Ben Avery, “Proposed Gun Law Hard on Purchasers,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), January 31, 1965, p. 8C (raising suspicion as to why Arizona representative Morris K. Udall suddenly introduced a “pet bill” of Senator Dodd).</p>
127	<p><i>Dodd and the NRA</i>: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Special Message to Congress on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice,” March 8, 1965, 1 <i>Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson: 1965</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 263-71. <i>See also</i> Robert D. Byrnes, “Dodd Interests Echoed in Johnson Message,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), March 9, 1965, p. 2. One scholar has suggested that the NRA sought to cooperate with Dodd given President Johnson’s landslide victory in the 1964 election. This coupled with the election of a more liberal Congress prompted the NRA to come to a legislative compromise before a more restrictive bill was put forward. <i>See</i> Alexander DeConde, <i>Gun Violence in America: The Struggle for Control</i> (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 174.</p>
127	<p><i>respective corners</i>: This was second time that Dodd had failed to proceed with an NRA compromise bill in two years’ time. <i>See</i> Carl Bakal, <i>The Right to Bear Arms</i> (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), 194-95 (detailing the NRA’s early cooperation with Dodd); “A Report on Federal Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1964, pp. 24-27. This is not to say that the NRA did not maintain reservations with proceeding forward with Dodd’s bill during the first compromise. <i>See</i> Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Robert F. Sikes, November 20, 1963, Robert F. Sikes Papers, box 197, folder Firearms (Pensacola, FL: University of West Florida Special Collections) (hereinafter Sikes Papers) (outlining the NRA’s policy on firearms controls and stating formal objections to Dodd’s S. 1975). It is worth noting that at around the same time New York senator Robert F. Kennedy was set to unveil his own gun-control agenda. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Oscar Godbout, “Wood, Field and Stream: Robert Kennedy Expected to Introduce Bill Curbing Sale of Firearms,” <i>New York Times</i>, February 28, 1965, p. S20.</p>
127	<p><i>firearms control bill a reality</i>: Immediately after President Johnson announced his firearms proposal, Dodd “vigorously applauded” it. <i>See</i> “Mail Order Gun Ban Among Johnson’s Anticrime Aims,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 9, 1965, p. 1; “Johnson Asks New Laws to Fight Crime,” <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), March 9, 1965, pp. A1, A6. Not long later, Dodd stated to the press: “I...shall continue to work for the passage of my bills which are the results of many years of work and which complement the President’s program.” <i>See</i> James W. Canan, “Dodd’s Mild Firearms Bill Never Got to First Base,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), March 11, 1965, p. 18. <i>See also</i> Andrew Tully, “Johnson Pushing Firearms Bill,” <i>Valley Times</i> (North Hollywood, CA), March 17, 1965, p. 14 (noting that Dodd’s new firearms bill will be tougher than what was previously proposed).</p>

128	<i>interstate firearms traffic</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, March 28, 1965, Thomas J. Dodd Papers, box 201, folder 5184 (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut Thomas J. Dodd Research Center) (hereinafter Dodd Papers); “Dodd Seeking New Controls on Firearms,” <i>Asbury Park Press</i> (NJ), March 22, 1965, p. 15.
128	<i>not the law-abiding citizen</i> : See, e.g., “The Illegal Use of Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1964, p. 16; “Law and Order,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, p. 16; “The Misuse of Firearms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1964, p. 16. See also “Rotary Hears Talk on Firearms,” <i>News</i> (Frederick, MD), October 24, 1964, p. A4 (NRA legislative staff member Daniel J. Mountin stating that “with increased sentences where armed force has been used in the commission of a crime, and with effective enforcement of existing firearms laws, the NRA believes the criminal use of guns will be reduced.”).
128	<i>commission of a crime</i> : “Why Penalize?” <i>Pensacola News Journal</i> , March 19, 1965, p. 4A.
128	<i>twenty-five years for a second offense</i> : “Federal Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1966, p. 15.
128	<i>NRA in a press release</i> : “Gun Bill Praised by National Rifle Group,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), March 25, 1965, p. 38.
128	<i>overworked police departments</i> : Ibid. See also “Shooters’ Club of America,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1965, p. 12 (informing supporters to write letters to defeat Dodd Bill and the “theme...should be that restrictive anti-gun legislation hampers you, America’s law-abiding gun sportsmen, in the enjoyment of the legitimate shooting sports, without deterring the criminal use of firearms by those who prey on society. Urge your legislators to support legislation providing severe penalties for criminal mis-use of firearms—not legislation that would penalize the law-abiding sportsman!”).
128	<i>early 1930s</i> : See, e.g., Karl T. Frederick, <i>Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History</i> (Washington, DC: National Rifle Association 1946), 42-49, Mansfeld Family Papers, box 5, folder 52 (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Historical Society) (hereinafter Mansfeld Papers); C.B. Lister, “The Shooter’s No. 1 Problem,” <i>Official Gun Book</i> , Charles R. Jacobs ed. (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1950), 4, 6; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 1.
128	<i>hesitate to use one</i> : United States Revolver Association, “Criminals Not Made by Pistols,” Bulletin No. 5, February 15, 1923, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53.
128	<i>right approach to gun laws</i> : Charles Nicodemus, “Launches Million-Letter Drive: Rifle Association Hits Gun Proposal,” <i>Tampa Times</i> (FL), March 30, 1965, p. 3.
128	<i>door to firearms registration</i> : Ibid.
128	<i>strict firearms controls</i> : Ibid. The “one million” letters turned out to be more like 16,000, at least as of June 8, 1965. See Memorandum from Donald I. Lamont, Secretary of the Treasury executive secretariat director, to Paul M. Poppo, assistant to President Lyndon B. Johnson, June 17, 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Papers,

	White House Central Files, box 33 (Austin, TX: Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library) (hereinafter Johnson Presidential Papers).
129	<i>Second Amendment grounds</i> : Remarks of Senator Thomas J. Dodd before Ford Hall Forum, Boston, Massachusetts, “The Use of Firearms: Right or Privilege?” March 28, 1965, Dodd Papers, box 201, folder 5185.
129	<i>applicability of the Second Amendment</i> : Ibid.
129	<i>State Militia forces</i> : Ibid. Dodd cited the following Supreme Court cases: <i>United States v. Cruikshank</i> , 92, U.S. 542 (1876), <i>Presser v. Illinois</i> , 116, U.S. 252 (1886), and <i>United States v. Miller</i> , 307 U.S. 174 (1939).
129	<i>firearms control bill</i> : The bill was introduced in mid-April. See National Wildlife Federation, “King Introduces New Measure to Control Mail-Order Handgun Sales,” <i>Conservation Report</i> , Report No. 18, April 23, 1965, in Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 13, Gun Control 1965 (West Branch, IA: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hickenlooper Papers); Letter from Bourke B. Hickenlooper to Melvin Tudor, April 15, 1965, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 13, Gun Control 1965; Letter from Bourke B. Hickenlooper to Jim Scott, April 15, 1965, Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 13, Gun Control 1965. For the NRA’s endorsement of the King-Hickenlooper bill, see “Gun Control Confusion,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1965, p. 16; “Current Federal Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1965, pp. 17-19.
129	<i>legislative compromise</i> : Bill Davidson, “Sportsmen Can Back House Bill 7472,” <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), May 7, 1965, p. 34.
129	<i>firearm to the purchaser</i> : For a summary of the bill, see Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Draft of Remarks for the Introduction of a Bill to Amend the Federal Firearms Act, [April 1965], Hickenlooper Papers, box 20, folder 13, Gun Control 1965. See also <i>Proposed Amendments to the National Firearms Act and the Federal Firearms Act: Hearings Before the Committee on Ways and Means House of Representatives</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 188, 192.
130	<i>support reasonable controls</i> : See “Gun Control Confusion,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1965, p. 16; “This is Our Stand,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1965, p. 16; “Current Federal Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1965, pp. 17-19; National Rifle Association, <i>The Gun Law Problem</i> , pp. 12-13; “NRA Basic Policy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, p. 31. See also “Gun Control Confusion,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1965, p. 16; Bill Davidson, “Sportsmen Can Back House Bill 7472,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), May 7, 1965, p. 34; Ben Avery, “NRA Stands Firm on ’65 Arms Control,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), April 5, 1965, p. 28; Bill Davidson, “NRA’s 700,000 Members to Fight LBJ’s Arms Bill,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), April 5, 1965, p. 40; “NRA Backs Part of Dodd Bill,” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), April 4, 1965, p. 4D; Paul Nicholson, “Kennedy Murder Stirs Conflict,” <i>Capital Journal</i> (Salem, OR), January 23, 1964, p. 31.
130	<i>private ownership of all guns</i> : Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to NRA Membership, April 9, 1965, Bennett Papers, Subject File, 1933-1966, box 11, National Rifle Association Literature. The NRA’s characterization of

	Dodd's new bill was tame compared to others from the gun rights community. <i>See, e.g.,</i> "Know Your Lawmakers," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1965, p. 4; "The Real Facts Behind S. 1592: The Anti-Gun Plot Thickens!" <i>Guns and Ammo</i> , July 1965, pp. 22-24; "Operation Gun-Law '65," <i>Guns and Ammo</i> , August 1965, pp. 38-41, 71; "Firearm Bill Gets House Okay," <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), May 18, 1965, p. 8A; "State Sportsmen Strongly Oppose Bill on Firearms," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), May 13, 1965, p. 29; Ed Buckow, "Everyone's Up in Arms," <i>Palm Beach Post</i> (FL), May 11, 1965, p. 14; "Group Opposes Firearms Bill," <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), May 11, 1965, p. 3; "State GF&P Opposes Bill on Firearms," <i>Daily Plainsman</i> (Huron, SD), May 10, 1965, p. 2.
130	<i>sure to address the matter</i> : A line-by-line rebuttal of the NRA's letter dated April 9, 1965, can be found in Maryland senator Joseph Tyding's papers. <i>See</i> Analysis of the National Rifle Association Letter to NRA Members Dated April 9, 1965, Concerning S. 1592, undated, Joseph Tydings Papers, series 8, box 1, folder 3, Gun Control 1965-1983 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Special Collections) (hereinafter Tydings Papers).
130	<i>Federal Firearms Act of 1938: Federal Firearms Act: Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate</i> , 89th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 195-97. For some newspaper coverage of Orth's testimony, see "Gun Curb Bill Hit by Riflemen," <i>Boston Globe</i> , May 22, 1965, p. 2; Jerry T. Baulch, "Riflemen Protest Mail-Order Ban," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , May 22, 1965, p. 2; "National Rifle Association Official Fires at Gun Bill," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), May 22, 1965, p. 36.
130	<i>burden law-abiding citizens: Federal Firearms Act</i> , pp. 197-206.
130	<i>President's war on crime</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 206.
131	<i>any intent to mislead</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 207.
131	<i>language in S. 1592</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 207-11.
131	<i>through the 89th Congress</i> : It is worth noting that despite Dodd having dispelled several of the NRA's claims, the NRA continued to assert them to rally members and the wider gun rights community. <i>See, e.g.,</i> Harlon B. Carter, "The NRA...What it is and Does," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1965, pp. 17-20; "The Power to Legislate," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1965, p. 16.
132	<i>committee act on S. 1592</i> : Statement of Senator Warren G. Magnuson before the Senate Committee on Commerce, December 10, 1963, Warren G. Magnuson Papers, box 193, folder 73 (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Special Collections) (hereinafter Magnuson Papers) ("I think the [Senate Commerce] Committee would be derelict in its responsibility to report out legislation which would mislead the public into believing that the problem had been solved when in fact it had not. A nation aroused and demanding effective control because of the tragic event of the recent past would become complacent. The public's voice should not be quieted, and their demands should be directed to their State legislatures. This is where the responsibility

	belongs, where it constitutionally lies and the only place where there can be effective and meaningful control.”).
132	<p><i>represented rural constituencies: See, e.g.,</i> One Minute Broadcast by Senator Strom Thurmond, June 19, 1967, Strom Thurmond Papers, box 13, folder 164, The Need for Gun Legislation (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Special Collections) (“Congress...has no authority to prevent the people from buying and owning guns, but the several States may regulate firearms according to their individual requirements.”); Letter from Fred Harris to M.M. Alexander, April 21, 1965, Fred Harris Papers, box 9, folder 19, Firearms (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Harris Papers) (“While the bill of Senator Dodd has some good provisions, such as prohibition of firearms sales in interstate commerce to convicted criminals or fugitives from justice, and is well-intentioned, I am hopeful that the proper regulation will be handled by the states, rather than the United States government, without infringement upon the rights of the average citizen.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, March 1965, p. 4 (Texas representative O.C. Fisher) (“As I see it, any control or regulation of the exercise of the right of the people to keep and bear arms should be rigidly protected, and any control or regulation that might be desirable should be assumed by the States and local governmental units.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, September 1964, p. 4 (California representative Craig Hosmer) (“The burden of responsibility for the sale of guns to undesirable persons should rest upon the gun dealer, with appropriate statutory penalties provided under state law. Intrusion by the Federal Government into this area of regulation must be kept at a minimum.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1964, p. 4 (Illinois representative Edward J. Derwinski) (“I believe that the States, rather than the Federal Government, are best equipped to legislative for their citizens regarding the ownership and use of firearms.”).</p>
132	<p><i>lightly populated rural ones: See, e.g.,</i> Roman L. Hruska, Press Release, [undated 1967], Roman L. Hruska Papers, box 39, folder 98 (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society) (hereinafter Hruska Papers) (“There is no argument about the need for legislation to strengthen and improve existing federal firearms control laws...Also, it must be kept in mind that firearms legislation is a matter for continuing action at the state and local level, but in accordance with widely varying conditions and enforcement problems. What may be good for New York City, may not be appropriate or desirable for Norfolk, Nebraska.”); Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Sterling R. Bossard, October 5, 1965, Wallace F. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966 (Salt Lake City, UT: J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections) (hereinafter W. Bennett Papers) (“[The Dodd bill] is an occasion where national legislation would probably not fit all of the various geographic areas of this great Republic. We both know that gun ownership in the Western States is a much different problem than it is in our big Eastern cities.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1964, p. 4 (California senator Thomas H. Kuchel) (“I...feel that the problem of firearms regulation should be handled, wherever possible, by State and local governments. I do think, however, that the use of firearms by minors should be regulated. I also support State or local legislation providing severe penalties for the use of dangerous weapons in the commission of a crime.</p>

	Mental incompetents, alcoholics, drug addicts, convicted felons, and fugitives from justice should not be permitted to own or carry firearms.”). <i>See also</i> Statement of Paul J. Fannin before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, May 24, 1965, Paul J. Fannin Papers, box 27, folder 14, Firearms Legislation 1965 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University) (hereinafter Fannin Papers).
132	<i>disseminate it far and wide: See, e.g.,</i> Remarks of Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association of America, Before the Annual Meeting of the National Society of State Legislatures, Chicago, Illinois, July 27, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1; (“[W]hat’s good for metropolitan New York is not necessarily good for Boise, Idaho, and definitely not good for hundreds of thousands of rural communities where hunting and outdoor activities are everyday pastimes...”); “Existing Federal Gun Controls,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1966, p. 16; National Rifle Association, <i>Basic Facts of Firearms Control</i> (Washington, DC: 1965); J. Basil, Jr. and Daniel J. Mountin, “Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, pp. 30-31; “Basic Facts of Firearms Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1964, p. 14.
132	<i>three-point legislative package: “95th NRA Annual Meetings and Sessions,” American Rifleman</i> , June 1966, pp. 28, 29; “A Suggestion to Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1966, p. 14.
132	<i>bombs, and the like: “Federal Gun Legislation,” American Rifleman</i> , January 1966, pp. 15-16.
132	<i>statute of such state: Ibid.</i>
132	<i>violation of state law: Ibid.</i>
132	<i>pistol registration bill: To Regulate Firearms in Commerce: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce United States Senate</i> (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 22-23.
132	<i>paper it was written on: NRA congressional surrogates, Florida representative Robert F. Sikes and Arizona senator Carl Hayden, ultimately put forward the proposal. See Franklin L. Orth, “Where the NRA Stands...,” American Rifleman</i> , September 1966, pp. 21-22; “What the Lawmakers are Doing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1966, p. 21; “What the Lawmakers are Doing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1966, p. 39.
133	<i>Senate Judiciary Committee: Summary of Pending Firearms Legislation</i> , [undated 1966], Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 5; Walt Radke, “Sports Afield: Senate Mulls New Gun Bill,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , April 23, 1966, p. 34; James Deakin, “A Little Gain in Long Fight to Control Traffic in Guns,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), March 27, 1966, p. 1B; “Gun Control is Agreed,” <i>Times Recorder</i> (Zanesville, OH), March 16, 1966, p. 8A; “Dodd Will Press for Action on His Rifle Bill,” <i>Bridgeport Telegram</i> (CT), March 12, 1966, p. 5; John H. Averill, “Dodd Gun-Control Law Faces Stiff Opposition,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , March 6, 1966, p. 12C.
133	<i>firearms control bill: Herbert Sandusky, “Outdoor Mississippi: Eastland Against Firearms Bill,” Clarion-Ledger</i> (Jackson, MS), August 1, 1965, p. 6E.
133	<i>university’s main tower: Just prior to the University of Texas mass shooting, gun rights supporters expressed confidence that Dodd’s bill would not be considered. See,</i>

	<p>e.g., Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington, <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1966, pp. 19-20. As a side bar, the Whitman shooting is noteworthy in the pantheon of gun rights history for another reason—it brought to bear the new gun rights talking point of making firearms related violence a mental illness issue, not a firearms availability issue. See, e.g., “NRA President Argues His Case: ‘Gun Laws Don’t Control Crime,’” <i>Detroit Free Press</i>, February 9, 1969, p. 17A (NRA president Harold W. Glassen supporting firearms legislation that “will keep firearms out of the hands of...the mentally ill”); “New Gun Control Bill Gets Glassen Support,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 31, 1968, p. A2 (NRA president Harold W. Glassen supporting firearms legislation against “mentally deranged persons”); “Representative, Sportsman Testifies on Gun Controls,” <i>Pocono Record</i> (Stroudsburg, PA), July 1, 1968, p. 4 (Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen president John F. Laudadio supporting “greater restrictions and penalties on the sale, possession or use of firearms by...mental incompetents”); “The Mentally Ill,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1966, p. 20. This is not to say that the NRA had not supported legislation restricting the mentally ill accessing firearms before. See, e.g., Russ Hyde, “Brushlot & Brook,” <i>Star-Gazette</i> (Elmira, NY), May 2, 1965, p. 4D (quoting NRA executive vice-president Franklin L. Orth as stating: “We can support laws forbidding firearms to...mental incompetents”); “Sports Outdoors: Firearms Fight May Explode in Assembly,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), August 6, 1964, p. D43 (NRA legislative representative E.F. Tod Sloan conceding that “mentally ill persons” should not be able to purchase firearms through the mail). However, it was not until after the Whitman shooting that the matter became a certified gun rights talking point, especially following high-profile shootings. See, e.g., Terence Hunt, “Gun-Control Efforts Are Useless, Reagan Tells Rifle Association,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), May 7, 1983, p. A3; Harlon B. Carter, “Tragedies Won’t Be Stopped by More Gun-Control Laws,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), January 12, 1981, p. A6; “A Rock Hero Dies and Cry Resumes: Ban the Handgun,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>, December 14, 1980, pp. 1M, 4M; “Gun Control Easy Way Out,” <i>Gunnison Valley News</i> (UT), February 15, 1973, p. 2; Bob Barnet, “NRA Offers Reward in Stennis Shooting,” <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), February 14, 1973, p. 13; “NRA Reacts to Stennis Shooting,” <i>Chippewa Herald-Telegram</i> (WI), February 9, 1973, p. B7; Ashley Halsey, Jr., “One With a Gun, One With a Hammer,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1972, pp. 17-22.</p>
133	<p><i>additional firearms controls</i>: See, e.g., “Johnson Urges Gun Control,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), August 2, 1966, p. A1; “Gun Control Rushed,” <i>Miami News</i> (FL), August 2, 1966, p. 6B; “Johnson Cites Killings by Sniper, Urges Action on Law to Control Guns,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), August 2, 1966, p. 1A; “President Calls for Action Soon on Gun Controls,” <i>Express</i> (Lock Haven, PA), August 3, 1966, p. 6; “President Calls for Action on Federal Gun Control Law,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> (PA), August 2, 1966, p. 1; “Aroused Congressmen Urge Gun Control Laws,” <i>Daily Times</i> (New Philadelphia, OH), August 2, 1966, p. 16; “Gun Control Call Renewed by Solons,” <i>Lawton Constitution</i> (OK), August 2, 1966, p. 4; “Stiffer Gun-Control Laws Urged by Congressmen,” <i>Record</i> (Hackensack, NJ), August 2, 1966, p. 1.</p>

133	<i>hold a hearing</i> : Jack Bell, "Gun Control Action Faces Maze of Roadblocks," <i>Quad-City Times</i> (Davenport, IA), August 3, 1966, p. 26.
133	<i>out of the Senate Judiciary Committee</i> : James W. Canan, "Gun Control Bill Stymied," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 2, 19566, p. 8; "Lawmaker Sees Need for Local Gun Controls," <i>Northwest Arkansas Times</i> (Fayetteville, AR), August 4, 1966, p. 26; "Dodd Bill Doesn't Go Far Enough: Magnuson Says States Must Act," <i>Herald-Press</i> (Saint Joseph, MI), August 4, 1966, p. 28.
133	<i>new federal firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Everett Dirksen, Form Letter on Gun Control, September 8, 1966, Everett M. Dirksen Papers, Form Letters, folder Firearms 1966 (Pekin, IL: Dirksen Center) (hereinafter Dirksen Papers); NBC's <i>Meet the Press</i> Transcript, August 7, 1966, in Dirksen Papers, Remarks, Releases, and Interviews, folder Meet the Press, NBC.
133	<i>consideration of the bill</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Edward Kennedy, August 18, 1966, Dodd Papers, box 73, folder 2109; Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Joseph Tydings, August 18, 1966, Dodd Papers, box 77, folder 2212.
133	<i>quorum to hold a vote</i> : See, e.g., James W. Canan, "No Gun Control Laws Likely Before 1967," <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), September 2, 1966, p. 22; "Dodd Claims Gun Control Bill Support," <i>Palm Beach Post</i> (West Palm Beach, FL), August 25, 1966, p. B8; "Gun Control Bill Blocked," <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (WA), August 18, 1966, p. 12.
133	<i>mount their political response</i> : See, e.g., Vaughn K. Goodwin, "Gun Legislation Report," <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , October 1966, p. 8; "The Mentally Ill," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1966, p. 20; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Carl Albert, August 16, 1966, Carl Albert Papers, box LG 92, folder 39, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Albert Papers); Letter from Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Carl T. Hayden, August 16, 1966, Carl T. Hayden Papers, box LG 92, folder 39, Gun Control (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University); Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Hale Boggs, August 15, 1966, Boggs Papers, box 454, folder Firearms Legislation 1966; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Cornelius E. Gallagher, August 15, 1966, Cornelius E. Gallagher Papers, box 12, folder 26, Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center); Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Wallace F. Bennett, August 12, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 322, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966.
133	<i>opposing firearms restrictions</i> : Letter from Harlon B. Carter, NRA president, to Carl Albert, August 5, 1966, Albert Papers, box LG 89, folder 37, Gun Control.
133	<i>would have prevented it</i> : Ibid.
133	<i>bills before Congress</i> : Ibid.
133	<i>House bill to Dodd's S. 1592</i> : Letter from Carl Albert to Harlon B. Carter, NRA president, August 10, 1966, box LG 89, folder 37, Gun Control.

133	<i>way to the House floor</i> : Ibid.
134	<i>for the committee's consideration</i> : "Hruska: Administration's Gun Bill is 'Blunderbuss Approach' to Control," <i>Lincoln Evening Journal</i> (NE), August 16, 1966, p. 6; "Dodd Bill Target: Hruska, Fannin Take Shots at Gun Control," <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), August 16, 1966, p. 4; Letter from Paul J. Fannin to Jay Dushoff, August 15, 1966, Fannin Papers, box 28, folder 1, Firearms Legislation 1966 (noting that Hickenlooper and Hruska were working together on a firearms bill); "Senate Unit to Discuss 2 Firearms Bills," <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), August 11, 1966, p. 20; "Fair Gun Control Laws Backed," <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 28, 1966, p. G9; "Gun-Control Bills Shot Down Again?" <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), August 24, 1966, p. A9.
134	<i>eighteen to twenty-one</i> : "What the Lawmakers are Doing: Senators 'Unload' on Dodd Gun Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1966, p. 40.
134	<i>local law enforcement office</i> : Ibid.
134	<i>Dodd and Hruska bills</i> : "Chances Dim for Gun Bill; Dodd Angry," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), September 1, 1966, p. 9A.
134	<i>he exclaimed</i> : Ibid.
134	<i>substitute for the Hruska bill</i> : Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Joseph Tydings, October 3, 1966, Dodd Papers, box 77, folder 2212; Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Edward Kennedy, October 3, 1966, Dodd Papers, box 73, folder 2109.
135	<i>before the 90th Congress</i> : For documents supporting the information contained in this paragraph, see National Rifle Association Legislative Service, "Dodd Bill and the NRA," August 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Rifle Association, <i>1966 Operating Report</i> (Washington, DC: 1967), pp. 21-22; Willard Edwards, "Who Killed Bill S-1592?" <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> (FL), January 29, 1967, pp. 1H-2H; "Commerce Committee Postpones Proposed Firearms Law Hearings," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 9, 1966, p. 1; "Proposed Senate Gun Hearings in West Still Under Consideration," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 2, 1966, p. 1; Vaughn K. Goodwin, "Gun Legislation Report," <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , December 1966, p. 5; Bob Neal, "Washington Report: The End-Around Play," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , December 1966, pp. 9, 11-12; Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: The Hruska Compromise," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , December 1966, pp. 18-19; "What the Lawmakers are Doing: Gun Bills Expected in '67," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1966, p. 20; Neal Knox, "Bazooka Control Bill Would Disarm Sen. Dodd," <i>Gun Week</i> , November 25, 1966, p. 2; "Firearms Hearings in the West?" <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), November 13, 1966, p. E7; "Sen. Hruska is Most Responsible for Sniping, Killing Gun Control Bill," <i>Lincoln Journal Star</i> (NE), November 4, 1966, p. 6; John Chadwick, "Gun Control Problem Waits Next Congress," <i>News</i> (Frederick, MD), November 3, 1966, p. C12; "Nebraskan Bags Bug Curb Bill," <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), November 4, 1966, p. 34A; "Gun Control Bill Still a Hot Issue," <i>Amarillo Globe-Times</i> (TX), November 2, 1966, p. 21; "Congress to Try Again: Gun Control Appeals Fail," <i>Miami News</i> (FL), October 28, 1966, p. 5B; "3 Great Society Pillars OK'd Almost as Asked," <i>Lincoln Star</i> (NE), October 21, 1966, p. 2; "Dodd's Gun Bill is Not Dead Yet," <i>Charlotte</i>

	<i>Observer</i> (NC), September 27, 1966, p. 2C; “Reduced Gun Bill Passes,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), September 25, 1966, p. 13C; Charles Nicodemus, “Gun Curb Bill Moves, But It Isn’t Dodd’s,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 24, 1966, p. 7; “Handgun Sale Bill to Senate,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), September 23, 1966, p. 3S.
135	<i>emotions of the Kennedy death</i> : Letter from Bourke B. Hickenlooper to Bob Brownwell, October 20, 1966, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 4, Bob Brownwell Correspondence 1957-1968. <i>See also</i> Letter from Robert F. Sikes to N.K. McKinnon, February 28, 1967, Sikes Papers, box 296, folder Firearms 1967 (“You can certainly count on my opposition to any gun legislation which unduly restricts sportsmen as well as private citizens. I am a member and Director of the National Rifle Association and, while there may be a need for some type of gun control legislation, I consider many bills that have been proposed as entirely too restrictive and unnecessary. <i>Thus far, we have been successful in our efforts to prevent passage of the Dodd Bill or any comparable legislation.</i> ”) (emphasis added).
135	<i>on the sale of firearms</i> : Lyndon B. Johnson, “Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union,” January 10, 1967, 1 <i>Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson: 1967</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 2, 7.
135	<i>surplus military firearms</i> : Lyndon B. Johnson, “Special Message to the Congress on Crime in America,” February 6, 1967, 1 <i>Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson: 1968</i> , pp. 134, 142.
135	<i>out of the wrong hands</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 142.
135	<i>sport or self-protection</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
135	<i>similar to the Sullivan Law in New York</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 143. For the NRA playing upon these Sullivan Law fears, see “What is Really Wrong with the Dodd-Celler Bills,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, p. 8; “Words of Wisdom on Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1967, p. 14; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to NRA members, February 20, 1967, Tydings Papers, series 8, box 1, folder 3, Gun Control 1965-1983; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to NRA members, February 20, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968. <i>See also</i> “Federal Sullivan Law-Type Bill Introduced for Nation’s Capital,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 12, 1967, pp. 1-2; “President Proposes Sullivan Law in Washington as Model for U.S.,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 17, 1967, p. 1; “LBJ Urges Passage of Gun Control Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 17, 1967, pp. 1, 3.
135	<i>Congress was now S. 1</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Interstate Sale of All Firearms Banned by New Administration Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 24, 1967, pp. 1, 3; “Sen. Dodd Introduces Revised Bill to Prohibit or Restrict Gun Sales,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 27, 1966, pp. 1-2; James J. Kilpatrick, “The Gun Bill’s Back, Passions on Rise,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), January 21, 1967, p. 7A; James J. Kilpatrick, “Why Not U.S. Gun Control?” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), January 20, 1967, p. B22; “Dodd Will Push Gun Curb Drive,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), January 12, 1967, p. 3. For a passionate defense of the Dodd

	bill, see Alan Barth, "We Need a Firearms-Control Law—Now!" <i>Readers Digest</i> , January 1967, pp. 2-6.
136	<i>which Celler chaired: See, e.g.,</i> Grits Gresham, "Bayou Browsing," <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), March 12, 1967, p. 7D; "Bill's Prospects Enhanced: Judiciary Group New Target for Gun Lobby," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), February 14, 1967, p. 11B; "Gun Bill Sent to New Committee" <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), February 14, 1967, p. 3.
136	<i>fever of anti-gun legislation:</i> "Firearms Legislation—A Recurring Fever," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1967, p. 8. For a detailed analysis of the NRA's objections to Dodd's S. 1, see National Rifle Association Legislative Service, "Principal Objections to S.1...First Session, 90th Congress," November 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6.
136	<i>sponsored during the 89th Congress: See, e.g.,</i> National Rifle Association, "A Policy for Control of Firearms," <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), March 13, 1967, p. 6; "Common-Sense Gun Controls," <i>Express and News</i> (San Antonio, TX), February 26, 1967, p. 2B; Ducky Stewart, "Gun Fuss Bolsters NRA," <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), February 24, 1967, p. 36; Charles H. Nehf, "Senator Hruska's Gun Bill More Practical Than Dodd's," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), January 29, 1967, p. E8; Ducky Stewart, "Sportsmen Open Fire on Dodd Gun Bill," <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), January 27, 1967, p. 35; "Three Firearms Bills Introduced in House," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 27, 1967, pp. 1-2; "Firearms Industry Association Backs Hruska-Type Legislation," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 20, 1967, pp. 1-2.
136	<i>criminals out of law-abiding gun owners: See, e.g.,</i> "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Drive to Pass Celler Bill Begins," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, pp. 17-19; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Celler Creates Gun Bill Crisis in Congress," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1967, pp. 15-17; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Dodd Bill Back; More State Gun Curbs Sought," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1967, pp. 20-21. To punctuate this point, as well as the talking point that firearms control ultimately lead to firearms confiscation, the NRA ran a two-part series on the history of Soviet firearms laws. <i>See</i> Will N. Graves, Jr., "How the Soviet Controls Guns: Part 2," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1967, pp. 38-41; Will N. Graves, Jr., "How the Soviet Controls Guns: Part 1," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1967, pp. 42-45.
136	<i>crime is being committed:</i> "Crime Control for Non-Criminals?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, p. 16.
136	<i>days of the witchcraft trials:</i> <i>Ibid.</i>
136	<i>campaigns in human history:</i> "New Fact Sheet Available: The Truth About Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1967, p. 8. <i>See also</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Truth About Guns</i> (Washington, DC: 1967).
136	<i>group had yet to be established:</i> Later that month, however, on February 24, 1967, the first organized firearms control movement was formed since the since the short-lived contributions of the National Anti-Weapon Association (NAWA) in 1933. <i>See</i> Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 195, 197, 254. Chartered as the National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy (NCRFP), the pro-firearms control organization sought

	to educate all levels of government on the need for “responsible and effective” firearms laws. <i>See</i> David J. Steinberg, Press Release, “Firearms Council Initiated,” February 24, 1967, Bennett Papers, box 11, folder 8. <i>See also</i> “National Gun Control Organization Founded,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 17, 1967, p. 1. As a matter of policy, the NCRFP recognized and respected the “right of responsible, law-abiding persons to purchase, keep and bear arms in accordance with standards required for public safety. And chief amongst these standards was the “ready availability of firearms to criminals and other responsible and potentially dangerous persons is contrary to the public interest.” National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy, “Statement of Purpose,” undated 1967, Bennett Papers, box 11, folder 8. <i>See also</i> National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy, <i>For Firearms Policies in the Public Interest</i> (Washington, DC: 1967).
136	<i>within gun rights literature: See, e.g.,</i> Donald Martin, “The Gun Law Crisis—Now!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , June 1965, pp. 24-25, 62-63; Pete Brown, “A Threat to Gun Ownership?” <i>Sports Afield</i> , August 1963, pp. 19-21, 72, 74.
136	<i>plots or influence were commonplace: See, e.g.,</i> “New Gun Laws are Pointless,” <i>Rocky Mountain Telegram</i> (NC), August 15, 1967, p. 4A; Edward Kennedy, “A Law to Stop the Bloodshed,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), July 20, 1967, p. 2A; Neal Knox, “Abusive Letters Cause Harm to Gun Fraternity,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 3, 1967, p. 2; Art Buchwald, “Gun Lovers Arise! Rights Threatened,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), August 7, 1966, p. 8; Drew Pearson, “Riots Help Push Firearms Control,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), September 9, 1965, p. 4; Charles Nicodemus, “Dissemination of Misinformation: Barrage Against Gun Bill,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , March 4, 1965, p. 7; Paul D. Urbano, “Guns Have Been Off Too Long,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), July 24, 1965, p. 25; B. Fritz Samuels, “Communists Back Anti-Gun Proposals!!!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1963, pp. 16-17, 76; Tom Siatos, “Editorially Speaking,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , May 1962, p. 6; Karl Hess, “Don’t Let the Feds Take Your Gun From You,” <i>American Mercury</i> , February 1958, pp. 35-39; Karl Hess, “Should You Own a Gun?” <i>American Mercury</i> , April 1957, pp. 54-60.
136	<i>push anti-gun bills on the American people: “The Austin Affair,”</i> <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , October 1966, p. 6.
136	<i>claimed the editors: Ibid.</i>
137	<i>Communist Conspiracy: “Who is Emanuel Celler?”</i> <i>Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , March 1967, p. 3.
137	<i>Celler was personally affiliated: Ibid.</i>
137	<i>influenced by the Soviet Union: “Technique for Take-Over,”</i> <i>Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , June-July 1967, p. 2 (reprinted from the <i>Herald of Freedom</i> , May 19, 1967).
137	<i>spreading of communist propaganda: Ibid.,</i> pp. 2-3.
137	<i>own homes and families: Ibid.,</i> p. 4.
137	<i>way for Soviet America: Ibid.,</i> pp. 4-5.

137	<i>several gun rights supporters</i> : The NRA helped in playing up this belief. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “The Faces of the Opposition,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1967, p. 18 (“These vocal, argumentative, well-financed [“anti-gun element”] campaigners wish to deprive 50,000,000 Americans, a group larger than any minority element and composed of all elements, of a civil right older than the United States and prized by free men everywhere.”).
137	<i>their Second Amendment rights</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , H.W.C. Newberry, “Outdoors with Doc,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), May 7, 1967, p. 9 (“The insidious anti-gun campaign continues to boil on a nation-wide front. The [NRA] is the number one organization carrying the ball against the anti-gun forces. It is an expensive battle.”); Herschel Fried, “Public Letters,” <i>News-Journal</i> (Mansfield, OH), May 6, 1967, p. 4 (“The only organized gun lobby is the anti-gun lobby supported by a cynical and irresponsible press and TV industry.”); “Crime Rate Caused by Firearms at Low Ebb; Exaggerate Incidents,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), February 10, 1967, p. 9 (“The anti-gun lobby has developed quite a knack for dipping into several thousand statistics, selecting two or three out of context to suit its purpose, and publicizing them to ‘prove’ a point.”); Jim Carmichael, “Statistics Prove a Point in Dueling Gun Law,” <i>Johnson City Press</i> (TN), February 5, 1967, p. 28 (accusing “anti-gun” forces of fabricating statistics); Charles H. Nehf, “Anti-Gun Lobbyist’s Story Seen Far From Real Truth,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), February 5, 1967, p. E7 (claiming an anti-gun effort is afoot to spread misinformation); Ben Lewis, “Lewisly Speaking,” <i>Wausau Daily Herald</i> (WI), February 3, 1967, p. 22 (accusing the “anti-gun lobby” of fabricating statistics to push firearms controls); Letter from John A. Keeler to Paul Fannin, May 19, 1966, Fannin Papers, box 28, folder 1, Firearms Legislation 1966 (“[Dodd’s] financial handlings leave much to be desired and he should be thoroughly investigated. There seems to be certain large sums backing his anti-gun bill which have been found untraceable as to its source.”).
137	<i>gun-minded people</i> : E.B. Mann, “Politics is Your Business,” January 23, 1967, E.B. Mann Papers, box 7, folder 16 (Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming American Heritage Center) (hereinafter Mann Papers) (article submitted for publication for <i>Shooting Industry</i> magazine).
137	<i>puppet of President Johnson</i> : Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington: Will the Real ‘Gun Lobby’ Please Stand Up?” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1966, pp. 16-17. For more on the editors of <i>Guns Magazine</i> and the anti-gun lobby conspiracy, see “Shooters’ Club of America,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1966, p. 10.
137	<i>auspices of the government</i> : Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington: Will the Real ‘Gun Lobby’ Please Stand Up?” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1966, pp. 16-17.
137	<i>gun rights nonsense</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Rep. Casey Raps ‘Anti-Gun Lobby’; Pushes Bill to ‘Strike at Criminal’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 24, 1967, pp. 1, 3.
138	<i>disarm the public</i> : Letter from Bourke B. Hickenlooper to Bob Brownwell, March 31, 1966, Hickenlooper Papers, box 15, folder 4, Gun Correspondence, 1957-1968.
138	<i>one such upstart</i> : In early 1966, Knox drafted his own mail order firearms legislation, and forwarded it several congressmen, one of which was NRA surrogate and Florida

	representative Robert F. Sikes. <i>See</i> Letter from Neal Knox to Robert F. Sikes, October 11, 1966, Sikes Papers, box 282, folder Firearms 1966. Sikes promptly forwarded it on to the NRA. <i>See</i> Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, October 14, 1966, Sikes Papers, box 282, folder Firearms 1966. NRA executive vice-president Franklin L. Orth replied that the NRA legislative staff had met with Knox recently on firearms legislation for the District of Columbia. <i>See</i> Letter from Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, to Neal Knox, October 27, 1966, Sikes Papers, box 282, folder Firearms 1966 (providing constructive criticism to Knox’s suggestions for firearms legislation in the District of Columbia). “He seems to be a serious and eager young man, although he is an amateur in this field of firearms legislation as is made evident by some of his suggestions,” wrote Orth to Sikes. <i>See</i> Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Robert F. Sikes, October 19, 1966, Sikes Papers, box 282, folder Firearms 1966.
138	with little pushback: <i>See, e.g.</i> , “NRA Chief Hears Hruska, Kennedy; Open Legislative Session Canceled,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 14, 1967, pp. 1, 6; “Firearms Industry Association Backs Hruska-Type Legislation,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 20, 1967, pp. 1-2; Neal Knox, “The Rifleman—Its ‘New Look’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 16, 1966, p. 4.
138	irritating the NRA’s leadership: <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Changing NRA’s Image,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 3, 1968, p. 4.
138	<i>behind closed doors</i> : “NRA Intensifies Campaign to Air Gun Control Laws,” <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), April 1, 1967, p. 2.
138	<i>annual meeting attendees</i> : Letter from Edward M. Kennedy to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, March 17, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 248, folder 8.
138	<i>not conditioned by publicity</i> : Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Edward M. Kennedy, March 21, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 248, folder 8.
138	<i>Kennedy obliged</i> : Letter from Edward M. Kennedy to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, March 28, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 248, folder 8 (“If as you state the absence of the press is necessary on this occasion, that is your decision to make, and, though I would disagree, I will abide by it.”).
138	<i>members or in spite of them</i> : <i>See</i> “Rifle Association Hears Senator: Teddy Seeks Backing on Gun Controls,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), April 3, 1967, p. 2; “Ted Kennedy Tells Rifle Group Gun Control Regulations Are Due Soon,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 3, 1967, p. A9; “Ted Kennedy Challenges Rifle Group,” <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), April 3, 1967, p. 15A; “Gun Curbs Sure, Rifle Group Told by Sen. Ted Kennedy,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), April 3, 1967, p. 16. <i>See also</i> “Control to Pass Despite NRA’: Ted,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 14, 1967, p. 1.
138	<i>supportive of Kennedy’s message</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Congress Dallies: Mail Order Gun Sales Must Be Curbed,” <i>Miami News</i> (FL), April 10, 1967, p. 18A; “Ted Kennedy for Gun Controls,” <i>Tampa Times</i> (FL), April 10, 1967, p. 14; “Gun Lobby Under Fire,” <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), April 8, 1967, p. 4; “Fire Away, Senator,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), April 7, 1967, p. 6; “The Gun Lobby Under Fire,”

	<i>Berkshire Eagle</i> (Pittsfield, MA), April 6, 1967, p. 18; “Ted Kennedy Believes Gun Control Probable,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), April 5, 1967, p. 4.
138	<i>tactical retreats</i> : “Defensive Tactics Fail,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 21, 1967, p. 4.
138	<i>press and public</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>legislation to be publicized</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>privately with Kennedy</i> : Letter from Harold W. Glassen to Neal Knox, April 25, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1, folder Crack Pot File.
139	<i>leadership needed education</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>look to us for leadership</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>did not last long</i> : Harold W. Glassen, “Senator Kennedy’s Invitation to Address Open Committee Meeting in Boston,” [March or April 1968], Glassen Papers, box 1 (acknowledging that many NRA members were “critical’ of the organization’s handling of senator Ted Kennedy’s visit).
139	<i>riots and preserve order</i> : “Who Guards America’s Homes?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1967, p. 16.
139	<i>savagery and pillaging</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>armed citizens</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>community stabilizer</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>for home protection</i> : Ibid.
139	<i>vigilantism and extremism</i> : Art Buchwald, “What Hath the NRA Wrought?” <i>Quad-City Times</i> (Davenport, IA), May 28, 1967, p. 3D; “Vigilantism,” <i>Catholic Advance</i> (Wichita, KS), May 19, 1967, p. 4; “An Armed Citizenry,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), May 18, 1967, p. 4; Inez Robb, “In These Kooky Times—Buy a Tank?” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), May 17, 1967, p. 32; “We Hadn’t Considered the Armed Vigilantes,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), May 15, 1967, p. 4; “No Vigilantes, Please,” <i>Janesville Daily Gazette</i> (WI), May 13, 1967, p. 6; “Let’s Have No Armed Posses,” <i>Waukesha Daily Freeman</i> (WI), May 12, 1967, p. 14; “Citizens Are Urged to Arm; Rifle Unit Cites Crime Hike,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), May 9, 1967, p. 2A; “No Vigilantes Wanted!” <i>Morning Call</i> (Paterson, NJ), May 9, 1967, p. 4.
139	<i>take over the United States</i> : See, e.g., Leslie H. Whitten, “U.S. Selling Minutemen Ammunition,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), December 1, 1966, p. 28; George Rhodes, “State Sleuths Keep Up to the Minutemen,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), August 25, 1966, p. 22; Bernard Gavzer, “Armed Super-Patriots Read to Take on Communists,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), January 23, 1966, p. 6A; Frank Lalli, “The Minutemen: Patriotism or Paranoia?” <i>Call Magazine</i> (Paterson, NJ), March 20, 1965, p. 3.
140	<i>known extremist groups</i> : See, e.g., “The Private Army Hoax,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1965, p. 20; Rightists Attacked by NRA: Extremists Groups Due Investigation,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), May 1, 1965, sec. 3, p. 4; “NRA

	Disavows Connections With Groups Advocating Violence,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1964, pp. 72-73; “Law and Order,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, p. 16; “NRA Denies Backing Rifle Clubs for Extremist Group,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 30, 1964; “Rifle Club Denies Ties to Vigilantes,” <i>New York Times</i> , August 30, 1964, p. 71; Frank C. Daniel, “Rifleman’s Volley,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (St. Petersburg, FL), July 6, 1964, p. 10A. <i>See also</i> “Black Panthers and Blind Kittens,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1970, p. 20 (reiterating the NRA’s policy of not approving or supporting “any group which advocates or condones activities of violence”).
140	<i>press release in 1965</i> : “Rifle Association Checking Extremists,” <i>La Crosse Tribune</i> (WI), April 20, 1965, p. 6.
140	<i>since 1940</i> : This requirement came about after it was reported that several members of the anti-Semitic Christian Front were found out to be NRA members. <i>See</i> “German Born Defendant Vows He’d Die for U.S.,” <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , May 7, 1940, pp. 1, 8; “Fr. Coughlin Backs ‘Front’ Men Accused of Revolt Conspiracy,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , January 22, 1940, pp. 1, 9; “U.S. to Sift Alleged Coughlin Link to ‘Front,’ Washington Indicates,” <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , January 19, 1940, pp. 1, 3; “Reveal Probe of Front Recruiting Among Cops,” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), January 17, 1940, p. 4. This, coupled with reports that roughly a dozen Nazi sympathizers, led the NRA to revamp its membership recruitment practices. In particular, the NRA now required that every member applicant to take an oath of allegiance to the United States, as well as formally denounce association with any “organization or group pledged to, or working for, a program aimed at the destruction of our present system of government as established by the Constitution of the United States.” <i>See</i> “Important Decisions,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1940, p. 22.
140	<i>subversive organization</i> : Lister, “The Shooter’s No. 1 Problem,” <i>Official Gun Book</i> , p. 6.
140	<i>race, color, or creed</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Black Panthers and Blind Kittens,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1970, p. 20 (“The NRA makes no race distinction and its membership is open to all reputable Americans who pay allegiance to our country.”). According to NRA officials, in 1967 only 16 percent of NRA affiliated clubs were integrated. <i>See</i> Robert Sherill, “A Lobby on Target,” <i>New York Times Magazine</i> , October 15, 1966, pp. 246, 249. Based on this author’s research, the March 1968 edition of the <i>American Rifleman</i> seems to be the first instance where an opinion from the black community was published by the NRA. <i>See</i> William J. White, “Why Anti-Gun Laws ‘Hit Hardest at the Negro’,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1968, p. 21. <i>See also</i> Letter from Don B. Kates to George D. Aiken, March 27, 1970, George D. Aiken Papers, crate 19, folder 1 (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Special Collections) (hereinafter Aiken Papers) (letter from gun rights advocate Don B. Kates to lawmakers expressing concern that discretionary firearms licensing laws have a disproportionate impact on the black community); Letter from Don B. Kates to Edmund S. Muskie, March 18, 1970, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, box 940, folder 2, Gun Control (Lewiston, ME: Muskie Archives at Bates College) (hereinafter Muskie Papers) (same).

140	<p><i>spread their political message: See, e.g.,</i> Earl Sherwood, “Slaying Spurs Propaganda for Federal Firearms Controls,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, September 1968, p. 4 (building off the NRA’s “Can Three Assassins Kill a Civil Right” editorial to advance the conspiracy theory that the assassination of senator Robert F. Kennedy was a communist plot); Clark L. Bradley, Press Release, “Need for More Gun Laws—Fact or Hysteria?” June 12, 1968, Don Mulford Papers, series 3, Subject Files, folder Gun Control 1967-1970 (Sacramento, CA: California State Archives) (hereinafter Mulford Papers) (noting how the Second Amendment allows Californians to “acquire and bear arms for protection,” including against the “rising number of militant minority and left-wing organizations”); “Technique for Take-Over,” <i>Association to Preserve Our Right to Bear Arms Newsletter</i>, June-July 1967, p. 2 (reprinted from the <i>Herald of Freedom</i>, May 19, 1967) (building off the NRA’s “Who Guards America’s Homes” editorial to advance the conspiracy theory that firearms control supporters were being influenced or coopted by the Soviet Union).</p>
140	<p><i>for many segregationists and white supremacists: See, e.g.,</i> “U.S. Has ‘Moral Pollution,’ Dick Gregory Warns Students,” <i>York Daily Record</i> (PA), September 29, 1967 pp. 1-2; “Congressional ‘Hearing’ on Firearms,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), July 19, 1965, p. 4; “Slow Death for the Hooded Terrorists,” <i>Journal Herald</i> (Dayton, OH), June 23, 1965, p. 4; “Solon Says Extremists Get Ammo,” <i>Austin-American Statesman</i> (TX), August 13, 1964, p. B19; Warren Berry, “Is U.S. Arming Race Fanatics?” <i>Salina Journal</i> (KS), May 24, 1964, p. 20.</p>
140	<p><i>black communities:</i> “Rifle Group Urges Members to Form Anti-Riot Posses,” <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), May 7, 1967, p. 9A (reprinted from the <i>New York Times</i>); Ben A. Franklin, “Armed Civilian Posses Urged as Riot Defense,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), May 7, 1967, p. 18A.</p>
140	<p><i>ears of segregationists and white supremacists:</i> Joseph D. Tydings, “Senator Scores NRA Opposition to Gun Control,” <i>York Daily Record</i>, March 24, 1969, p. 17.</p>
140	<p><i>armed anywhere and everywhere:</i> “Sportsmen All,” <i>Redland Daily Facts</i> (CA), May 11, 1967, p. 20.</p>
140	<p><i>themselves for self-defense:</i> “What We Want Now! What We Believe,” <i>Black Panther: Black Community News Service</i>, November 23, 1967, p. 3.</p>
140	<p><i>armed is misguided:</i> In response to the criticism to the “Who Guards America’s Homes” editorial, the NRA issued several press releases refuting that the organization endorsed vigilantism: “The NRA does not approve or support any group activities that properly belong to the national defense or police. The NRA does not approve or support any group that by force, violence, or subversion seeks to overthrow the Government and take the law into its hands, or that endorses or espouses doctrines of operation in an extralegal manner.” Ashley Halsey, Jr., “Rifleman Fire Back,” <i>Miami News</i> (FL), May 20, 1967, p. 2. <i>See also</i> “Creating ‘Vigilantism’ Where None Exists,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1967, p. 16; Stephen Allen, “Pot Shots By Riflemen,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), June 5, 1967, p. 13; Ashley Halsey, Jr., “Riflemen Defended,” <i>Herald and Review</i> (Decatur, IL), May 28, 1967, p. 40; Ashley Halsey, Jr., “The Rifle Association’s Answer,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> (CA), May 27, 1967, part 3,</p>

	p. 4; Dick Nolan, "An Easy Target," <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), May 23, 1967, p. 33; "The Armed Citizen," <i>Hanford Sentinel</i> (CA), May 12, 1967, p. 8.
140	<i>criminal deterrent</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Franklin C. Daniel, NRA secretary, to Thomas E. Wessel, October 10, 1968, Thomas E. Wessel Papers (owned by author) (hereinafter Wessel Papers) ("I agree with you, if more people were armed and determined to protect themselves, there would be much less of this open street crime."); "Merry Christmas—and Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1929, p. 6 ("We have no objection to legislation requiring a man to obtain a permit to carry a gun concealed as long as proper provision is made in the law to enable any honest citizen who is a member of a properly organized target-shooting club to carry his gun to and from the target range. We do not believe that the necessity of a permit to carry concealed weapons will have any appreciable effect on the use of guns by criminals; but if the police believe that such a law will help them, we have no objection to its passage.").
140	<i>pages of American Rifleman</i> : The NRA's preference for having more citizens armed appeared frequently in <i>American Rifleman</i> going back to the 1920s. See, e.g., Beginning in 1932, the NRA conveyed its preference for arming more citizens in a reoccurring column titled "Guns vs. Bandits." The column started off monthly and then appeared sporadically. See "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1941, p. 36; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1939, p. 36; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1939, p. 34; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1939, p. 38; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1938, p. 39; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1938, p. 38; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1937, p. 39; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1937, p. 44; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1937, p. 45; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1936, p. 38; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1936, p. 42; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1936, p. 40; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1936, p. 45; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1935, p. 44; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1936, p. 38; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1935, p. 25; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1934, p. 40; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1934, p. 40; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1934, pp. 26-7; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1934, p. 28; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1934, p. 40; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1933, p. 28; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1933, p. 30; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1933, p. 32; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1933, p. 27; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1933, p. 28; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1933, p. 28; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1933, p. 28; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1932, pp. 28-29; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1932, p. 28; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1932, p. 31; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1932, p. 37; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1932, p. 39; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1932, p. 36; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1932, p. 31; "Guns vs. Bandits," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1932, p.

	<p>45; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1932, p. 37; “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1932, p. 36 “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1932, p. 36. Later, in 1958, the NRA once more advanced this view in a column titled “The Armed Citizen.” See Walter J. Howe, “The Armed Citizen,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1958, p. 32. The NRA felt the column showed that “law enforcement officers cannot at all times be where they are needed to protect life or property in danger of serious violation,” and thus there were “many instances” where “the citizen has no choice but to defend himself with a gun.” Ibid. Years later, the NRA slightly modified its defense of “The Armed Citizen” column on the grounds that there are “instances in which the mere presence of a firearm in the hands of a resolute citizen prevented crime without bloodshed.” “The Silent Protectors,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1971, p. 28.</p>
141	<p><i>reason for doing so: See, e.g., National Firearms Act: Hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means House Resolution, 73rd Congressional Record (Washington, DC: 1934), 59; Calvin Goddard, “The Pistol Bogy,” American Journal of Police Science 1 (1930): 178, 187; “Our Friends—the Policemen,” American Rifleman, July 1930, p. 6 (“Regulate the sale of arms, and license those who wish to carry them.”); “A Day in Chicago,” American Rifleman, October 15, 1926, p. 8; “You Can’t Fool the Editors All the Time,” American Rifleman, May 15, 1925, p. 14 (“The American Rifleman does not oppose wise regulatory measures with regard to powerful weapons in crowded communities. No body of men in the country understands the need for wise regulation better than this staff.”); “The Question of Intent,” American Rifleman, March 15, 1925, p. 13; “The Police Panacea,” Arms and the Man, May 15, 1923, p. 10; “The Gun-Toting Criminal,” Arms and the Man, November 1, 1922, p. 12. See also “Laws Won’t Cut Hunting Deaths, Officials Agree,” San Bernardino County Sun, October 29, 1949, p. 8 (NRA Executive Director C.B. Lister stressing that “a man who isn’t familiar with his gun has no right to be out among hundreds of hunters.”); C.B. Lister, “The Nazi Deadline,” American Rifleman, February 1942, p. 7 (“The only person who can be trusted to handle a gun safely in an emergency is a person who has learned to subconsciously handle that gun safely through practice when no emergency existed.”).</i></p>
141	<p><i>until 1985: David Conover, “To Keep and Bear Arms,” American Rifleman, September 1985, pp. 40-41.</i></p>
141	<p><i>habitual toting of firearms: See, e.g., Merritt A. Edson, “The Right to Bear Arms,” American Rifleman, July 1955, p. 14 (“We [the NRA] do not hold, nor have we ever held, that the right to keep and bear arms carries with it the right to go about armed without reason... It is to say that certain controls such as those which now exist over the ‘wearing’ of concealed weapons are clearly constitutional and their being so does not affect the basic right to bear arms. Going about armed with a concealed weapon is a privilege which the community properly reserves for those possessed of good reason. The fact that we are required to show reason for being granted the privilege of going armed with a concealed weapon should not be interpreted as an infringement upon the right to keep and bear arms.”); Merritt A. Edson, “The Right to Bear Arms,” Maryland Conservationist, March 1956, pp. 14-17 (same); C.B. Lister, “The Shooter’s No. 1 Problem,” Official Gun Book, Charles R. Jacobs ed. (New York, NY:</i></p>

	Crown Publishers, 1950), 4, 5, 6 (describing the Uniform Firearms Act as providing a “reasonable method [for] discouraging promiscuous gun-toting” and outlining a “good” firearms control law to include a prohibition on “the display of any firearm in a threatening or intimidating manner except in self-defense.”). <i>See also</i> John Reid, “Gunning for Game: Groups Fight Gun Control,” <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (Spokane, WA), January 19, 1964, p. 4 (reporting that neither NRA executive vice president Franklin L. Orth nor National Wildlife Federation director Thomas L. Kimbell opposed “restrictions on the carrying of concealed weapons”).
141	<i>public places—the former</i> : <i>See</i> Jack J. Basil, “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Illinois, California, Connecticut Enact Gun Laws with Sportsmen's Cooperation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1967, p. 54; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing,” Congress Faced with Clearcut Choice on Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1967, pp. 23-24; Jack Welter, “Tightening Reagan's Security Net,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), May 12, 1967, p. 10; Edwin S. Capps, “Black Panthers' Gun Waving Just Hurt Their Own Cause,” <i>Daily Independent Journal</i> (Sacramento, CA), May 10, 1967, p. 34. <i>See also</i> “Black Panthers and Blind Kittens,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1970, p. 20 (denouncing any affiliation with the Black Panther Party on several grounds, including that while the Black Panther Party is a “activist political organization with a strong partisan slant...[the] NRA is non-political and non-partisan.”).
142	<i>firearms in public places</i> : <i>See</i> Ken Green, “State Anti-Crime War Had Success,” <i>Petaluma Argus-Courier</i> (CA), August 12, 1967, p. 3; “Hearing Into Black Panther ‘Raid’ Begins,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), May 5, 1967, pp. A1, A3; “Legislators Stunned by Black Panther Invasion,” <i>Santa Cruz Sentinel</i> (CA), May 3, 1967, p. 18; Ed Salzman, “Armed Foray in Assembly Stirs Wrath,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), May 3, 1967, pp. 1, 5; Jacques Levy, “Black Panthers, Guns and a Chicken Barbecue,” <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), May 3, 1967, pp. 1, 6.
142	<i>California’s firearms laws</i> : Adam Winkler, <i>Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America</i> (W.W. Norton & Co., 2011), 237-45. <i>See also</i> “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: State Protection for Gun Owners?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1967, p. 44; Jack S. McDowell, “Readies Tough Gun Law,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), May 24, 1967, p. 14.
142	<i>inherently racist</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Thaddeus Morgan, “The NRA Supported Gun Control When the Black Panthers Had the Weapons,” <i>History.com</i> , March 22, 2018, https://www.history.com/news/black-panthers-gun-control-nra-support-mulford-act ; Adam Winkler, “The Secret History of Guns,” <i>The Atlantic</i> (September 2011), https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/09/the-secret-history-of-guns/308608/ .
142	<i>racially inspired</i> : Carol Anderson, <i>The Second: Race and Guns in a Fatally Unequal America</i> (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2021), 135-36, 138. Anderson cites a law review article as support. <i>See</i> Cynthia Deitle Leonardatos, “California’s Attempts to Disarm the Black Panthers,” 36 <i>San Diego Law Review</i> 947, 973 (1999). Therein, the 1967 newspaper article is cited, which was widely published by local California

	newspapers. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Jerry Rankin, “Heavily Armed Negro Group Walks into Assembly Chamber,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 3, 1967, part 1, pp. 3, 28.
142	<i>black or white</i> : Ibid, p. 28.
142	<i>academic credibility</i> : The same is true for Anderson’s other claim that the Second Amendment is racist. <i>Compare</i> Anderson, <i>The Second</i> , pp. 26-39, with Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. (outlining the constitutional origins of the Second Amendment); Patrick J. Charles, “Racist History and the Second Amendment: A Critical Commentary,” 43 <i>Cardozo Law Review</i> 1343, 1368-75 (2022) (rebutting the Second Amendment is racist claim). In advancing this claim, Anderson uncovered nothing new. She relied primarily on a 1998 law review article written by Carl T. Bogus—an article in which Bogus admits that the “Second Amendment is racist” claim is based on “circumstantial” evidence. <i>See</i> Carl T. Bogus, “The Hidden History of the Second Amendment,” 31 <i>U.C. Davis Law Review</i> 309, 544, 371-72 (1998).
142	<i>supports such a claim</i> : This includes the often stated historical claim that the push to regulate Saturday Night Specials (cheap handguns) in the 1970s was a means to “control” blacks. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Anderson, <i>The Second</i> , p. 140. The historical claim stems from a 1973 book. <i>See</i> Robert Sherrill, <i>The Saturday Night Special</i> (New York, NY: Charterhouse, 1973), 280. What, does Sherrill provide in the way of historical evidence for his conclusion? Nothing. The same holds true for several other historical claims made by Sherrill, who was not a historian but a news reporter. Yet, despite Sherrill’s lack of evidence, his racist claim regarding Saturday Night Special legislation in the 1970s lives on. Sadly, it has been repeated by many respectable writers in articles, law reviews, and books—none of which have provided a shred of historical evidence that proves it.
142	<i>A.B. 1591 was aimed at</i> : The bill’s primary appeal to California lawmakers was that it closed an armed carriage loophole in California law. There was particular concern of the ability of anyone to carry a firearm openly on government property (except for prisons). <i>See</i> Memorandum from George H. Murphy, Legislative Counsel of California, to Jesse M. Unruh, “Firearms-#18777,” May 3, 1967, Jesse M. Unruh Papers, Speaker’s Office Files, Series 2, Correspondence Files, 1959-1970, folder 503, Political-Gun Control (Sacramento, CA: California State Archives) (hereinafter Unruh Papers).
142	<i>local law enforcement</i> : <i>See</i> Letter from Jack Lindsay, Legislative Secretary to Ronald Reagan, to Don Mulford, May 19, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591; Letter from Don Mulford to Ronald Reagan, April 21, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591; Letter from John A. Nejedly, Contra Costa County District Attorney, to Ronald Reagan, April 20, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591; “Peace Gradually Returning to the Community of Clyde,” <i>Redlands Daily Facts</i> (CA), September 23, 1966, p. 12; “Shots Boost Bay Tension on Vigilantes,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), September 21, 1966, p. 3. In the years that followed, the problem of ‘open carry’ armed patrols played out in other jurisdictions, including Denver, Colorado and Toledo, Ohio. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Gun Control Law is Given Okay,” <i>Marion Star</i> (OH), May 30, 1970, p. 9; “Toledo Council Approves Gun Control Law,” <i>News-Messenger</i> (Fremont, OH), May 29, 1970, p. 3;

	<p>“Gun Control Bill Opposed in Toledo,” <i>Circleville Herald</i> (OH), April 27, 1970, p. 5; “Council Air Gun Control for Toledo,” <i>Evening Review</i> (East Liverpool, OH), April 27, 1970, p. 10; “Denver Council OK’s Gun Control,” <i>Gettysburg Times</i> (PA), July 11, 1968, p. 5; “Denver Council Votes for Gun Controls,” <i>Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph</i> (CO), July 4, 1968, p. 1.</p>
143	<p><i>against all of them</i>: Notes of Don Mulford Meeting with E.F. Tod Sloan, National Rifle Association field representative, on A.B. 1591, undated 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591.</p>
143	<p><i>quickly as it was</i>: There is no question that the Black Panther Party was a strong factor in Mulford initially drafting A.B. 1591. <i>See</i> Letter from Don Mulford to Ronald Reagan, April 21, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591 (“The Black Panther movement is creating a serious problem. The bill was introduced at the request of the Oakland Police Department. At the proper time, I shall discuss it with you because we may need your personal help. I cannot help feeling that the people of this State are concerned about individuals armed with loaded weapons walking the streets of our communities in numbers.”). Mulford’s bill was initially only to apply in populated cities. <i>See</i> “Protection of Capitol Written into State Gun Control Plans,” <i>Eureka Humboldt Standard</i> (CA), May 10, 1967, p. 15.</p>
143	<p><i>endorsed its passage</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, Remarks of Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association of America, Before the Annual Meeting of the National Society of State Legislatures, Chicago, Illinois, July 27, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1; “More Amendments Are Due: Assembly Unit Holds Fire on Gun Control Bill,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), May 27, 1967, p. A5; “Assembly Unit Okays Gun Control Bills; Another is Deferred After Intrusion,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), May 3, 1967, p. A12. The editors of <i>Gun Week</i> did not question the necessity of the Mulford’s firearms bill either. <i>See</i> “California Assembly Approves Bill Prohibiting Loaded Guns in Public,” <i>Gun Week</i>, June 23, 1967, p. 5. This is not to say that every sportsman, hunter, and gun owner to back Mulford’s firearms bill. Several sportsmen, hunters, and gun owners ultimately opposed it. <i>See, e.g.</i>, Ed Salzman, “Gun Curb Law Goes to Reagan,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), July 27, 1967, pp. 1, 3 (noting that California state senator John G. Schmitz opposes A.B. 1591 as a “step toward the establishment of totalitarian government”); John G. Schmitz, Press Release, July 24, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591 (“The time has come for justice. The cornerstone of justice is each man’s absolute right to defend his home and family against violent assault. The police, much as they have been abused, will do all they can to protect us. But alone they are not enough. When the Governor of Michigan finds it necessary to call upon not only the National Guard but the United States Army to help the Detroit Police, it becomes obvious that this rioting has gone beyond mere crime to the first stage of armed revolution. Consequently, this is the worst possible time for the California legislature to pass any bill limiting the individual’s right of self-defense and his right to bear arms. If my home and family is threatened, I would far rather have guns of my own to defend them, than the mere empty assurance that the guns carried by the rioters are not being legally used.”); Editorial Rebuttal, “Loaded Guns,” KABC-TV, July 8-10, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591 (TV editorial opposing A.B. 1591 as follows: “The [California Republican Assembly] and National Rifle</p>

	<p>Association have always stood for human rights, among which is the natural and necessary right of self-defense as recognized by the provision in the Constitution to bear arms. It is no more logical to require our citizens to carry unloaded guns, than to inhibit freedom of religion by taking away the act of worship, or to infringe the freedom of the press by making the use of ink illegal. We believe that most firearms legislation is of little value in the prevention of crime to justify the restrictions it places on citizens. There is no justification for any law which can make a prudent law-abiding citizen an unwitting violator, or which denies the right of self-defense. We urge all citizens to write the Governor and their Senators to oppose this Assembly Bill 1591.”); John Schmitz, “State Roundup,” <i>Tustin News</i> (CA), July 6, 1967, p. 2 (op-ed from California state senator, who was also a member of the California State Rifle and Pistol Association, opposing A.B. 1591 and “all gun control laws” as disarming law-abiding citizens); Henry C. MacArthur, “Senator Schmitz Sees No Need for Stricter Control of Guns,” <i>Daily Independent Journal</i> (San Rafael, CA), June 29, 1967, p. 22; “Letter from Wesley C. Keir to Don Mulford, May 3, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591 (“The whole trouble with these hoodlums lies directly with our lawmakers, our courts, and law enforcing agencies. Why no pass some stiff laws and severe punishments for the criminals and law breaker who laugh at our courts, our laws and at the helpless police. And why not enforce the laws?”). At least one person proffered the conspiracy theory that the May 2, 1967 event was staged to pass strict firearms controls. See Letter from Frank P. Adams to Don Mulford, June 21, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591 (“I strongly suspect that the recent Black Panther invasion of the Capitol was subtly designed to [in]voke such strict gun legislation that all sportsmen in the State will be severely penalized, and the spirit of our U.S. Constitution on the right of citizens to keep and bear arms will be negated.”).</p>
143	<p><i>defending the bill’s passage</i>: Letter from Don Mulford to John W. Bader, June 22, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591.</p>
143	<p><i>gun rights platform</i>: Richard Bergholz, “Reagan Will Fight for Gun Ownership,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i>, August 3, 1966, part 1, p. 3; Letter from Ronald Reagan to Ernest Henrique, October 19, 1966, Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Campaign Files, 1966-1975, box C34, folder Legal Affairs: Gun Control (Simi Valley, CA: Ronald Reagan Presidential Library) (hereinafter Reagan Gubernatorial Papers) (“First consideration [for any firearms legislation] is the Constitutional right of a citizen to own and bear arms...I reiterate that laws aimed at reducing crime require careful consideration so that government does not infringe on legitimate ownership and use of firearms.”).</p>
143	<p><i>transporting firearms</i>: See “Reagan Gets Firearms Bill,” <i>Reno Gazette-Journal</i> (NV), July 28, 1967, p. 14; “Gun Control Law on Reagan’s Desk,” <i>Santa Cruz Sentinel</i> (A), July 28, 1967, p. 14; “Gun Control Bill Signed by Reagan,” <i>Times Standard</i> (Eureka, CA), July 28, 1967, p. 1; Jack Welter, “New Gun Controls Sent to Reagan,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> (CA), July 27, 1967, p. 1. Reagan also shot down the idea of citizens forming armed “posses” or using firearms to take the “law in their own hands.” See “Mulford’s Gun Law Gaining Backing,” <i>Santa Cruz Sentinel</i> (CA), May 10, 1967, p. 10; “Toughened Firearms Bill Planned for California,” <i>Reno Gazette-Journal</i> (NV), May 10, 1967, p. 12. It is worth noting that initially Reagan’s</p>

	administration was concerned about the bill’s passage without special interest— <i>i.e.</i> , the NRA—support. <i>See</i> Letter from Edwin Meese III to Ronald Reagan, May 3, 1967, Mulford Papers, series 1, Bill Files, folder A.B. 1591 (“Effective legislation in this area is difficult to achieve, due both to drafting problems and due a great deal of resistance from certain special interest groups. We are presently working with legislators and law enforcement organizations to develop some new proposals.”).
143	<i>going to do the shooting</i> : “Heavier Guard Set to Protect Reagan,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 10, 1967, pp. 13, 17. <i>See also</i> John Moon, “Reagan Gives His Views: Citizen’s Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Daily News-Post</i> (Monrovia, CA), May 10, 1967, p. 3; “Armed Negroes Disrupt California House Debate,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 26, 1967, p. 2 (quoting Reagan as stating there is “no reason why on the streets today a citizen should be carrying a loaded weapon.”); Jeremy Rankin, “Armed Youths Invade Capitol: Legislators Stunned by Sudden Move,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), May 3, 1967, pp. A1, A2 (quoting Reagan as stating: “There’s no reason why on the street today a citizen should be carrying loaded weapons...Americans don’t go around carrying guns with the idea they’re using them to influence other Americans.”). For background on the NRA and other gun rights advocates push for firearms transport rights up through the 1960s, see Patrick J. Charles, “The Second Amendment and the Basic Right to Transport Firearms for Lawful Purposes,” <i>Charleston Law Review</i> 13 (2018): 125, 159-67. <i>See also</i> “Northeastern States Group Launches Drive for Passage of ‘Pro-Gun’ Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 5, 1967, p. 12; “Let’s Change Ground Rules,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 5, 1967, p. 4; “New York Shooters and Collectors Supporting ‘Lawful Transport Bill’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 24, 1967, p. 5.
143	<i>U.S. government</i> : Letter from Harold W. Glassen to William L. Kleinpaste, October 10, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1, folder Crack Pot File. For examples of reporters applying for NRA membership under false names, or under criminal aliases, see Richard Zimmerman, “In Test of Riflemen’s Check System: ‘Convicted Murderer’ Joins NRA,” <i>Journal Herald</i> (Dayton, OH), August 10, 1967, p. 1; Tom Nolan, “National Rifle Association Has Its Own Pet Plans to Control Firearms,” <i>Bristol Daily Courier</i> (PA), January 26, 1966, p. 7. <i>But see</i> Myron Akana, “Guns...Lions...Voting Laws,” <i>Honolulu Advertiser</i> (HI), January 19, 1967, p. D3 (NRA member defending the organization’s application process as sufficient).
143	<i>were supportive</i> : Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Theodore Webb, May 23, 1967, in Glassen Papers, box 1, folder Crack Pot File. <i>See also</i> “NRA Official Predicts Continued Growth Among Shooting Sports,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 20, 1967, p. 5; “Guns’ Magazine Publisher Predicts Continued Growth for Fraternity,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 29, 1967, p. 2; Neal Knox, “Rifleman’s Editorial Victim of Distortion,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 26, 1967, p. 2.
143	<i>political calculation</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, “NRA Membership Tops 900,000,” January 5, 1968, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 5.
144	<i>were not the problem</i> : Opening Remarks of Harold W. Glassen NRA President, High Power Opening Ceremony, August 21, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.

144	<i>firearms control legislation</i> : “The Faces of the Opposition,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1967, p. 18. <i>See also</i> “Rifle Association’s Chief Raps Its Foes in Congress,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), May 18, 1967, p. 14A (NRA president Harold W. Glassen chastising attempts at labeling the organization as a “far right group,” stating, “We’re absolutely non-partisan, neither left nor rights, and we have no color line.”); “NRA President Says Opposition to Gun-Control Law is Basis for ‘Rough Time’,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), May 18, 1967, p. 12A (same).
144	<i>American way of life</i> : Ibid.
144	<i>than the Bill itself</i> : Text of Statement by Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association at National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 29, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.
144	<i>Harlon B. Carter</i> : “Glassen Elected New President,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 21, 1967, pp. 1, 3; “Alternative Offered Congress: Glassen Raps Gun Bill,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), April 7, 1967, p. 1B. For NRA president Harlon B. Carter’s outgoing speech before the April 1967 NRA annual meeting, see “Outgoing President Urges Rededication to Principles,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1967, p. 41.
144	<i>anti-gun lobby</i> : Harold W. Glassen, “Vice-President’s Report 1967: First Board of Directors Meeting,” undated 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.
144	<i>freedom of the press</i> : Ibid. It was common practice for gun rights advocates to blast the media as being biased and hypocritical. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Time Magazine Assaults Gun Publications’ Stand,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 8, 1967, p. 2; “Fighting Anti-Gun Publicity,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 1, 1967; “Whose Right to Be Biased? Gun Owners Ask TV Network,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1967, pp. 38-39; Letter from Ben Avery to J.R. Wiggins, <i>Washington Post</i> vice president and editor, April 6, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968; “In the Interest of Accuracy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1967, p. 106; Vaughn K. Goodwin, “Gun Legislation Report,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , January 1966, p. 13.
144	<i>he stated</i> : Harold W. Glassen, “Vice-President’s Report 1967: First Board of Directors Meeting,” undated 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.
144	<i>expressing their opinions</i> : Ibid.
144	<i>NRA’s war posture</i> : Harold W. Glassen, “Acceptance Speech,” [April] 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.
145	<i>must be taken</i> : Ibid.
145	<i>was one too many</i> : Even one of senator Dodd’s close friends, Karl H. Bissell, was convinced of this outcome. <i>See</i> Letter from Karl H. Bissell to Thomas J. Dodd, August 28, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 119, folder 3260 (“I do not question the sincerity of your intentions, as I do not question the honesty of a great many people who, misunderstanding the whole problem, support your efforts. But I solemnly assure you that the end result of these efforts of yours, if successful, would be to disarm the citizens who simply want to protect themselves, to place them at the mercy of criminals and revolutionists who never encounter trouble in acquiring the weapons they want, and to facilitate the subjugation ultimately by the Communists of those

	<p>unfortunate enough to have survived the preceding reign of terror.”). The NRA primarily advanced its slippery-slope argument by highlighting federal and state firearms registration bills. See National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Registration</i> (Washington, DC: 1968); Jac Weller, “Where Isolation Aids Gun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1967, pp. 24-37; “Will Registration Become Taxation?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1967, p. 16; John Persakis, “Oh, But We Will Have Guns...,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1967, p. 53; “Dodd Bill Debated at Press Club,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1967, p. 42; Tom Ochiltree, “National Rifle Group Head Hits Gun Control Proposal,” <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> (MI), June 30, 1967, p. 5; “Again, Gun Registration Aids Confiscation,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1967, p. 16. See also “Registration Hasn’t Slowed Car Thefts,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1967, p. 16 (disputing the argument that firearms registration laws would reduce firearms related crime); Woodson D. Scott, “Cost of New York City Gun Registration Put at \$15,425,950,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1967, p. 69 (proffering a taxpayer argument against strict firearms controls such as firearms registration). The editors of <i>Gun Week</i> reported extensively on state firearms registration proposals. See, e.g., “New York City Council Prepares Toughest Firearms Law in Nation,” <i>Gun Week</i>, October 20, 1967, pp. 1-2; “Chicago Mayor’s Registration Bill Shot Down by Illinois Legislature,” <i>Gun Week</i>, June 23, 1967, pp. 1, 3; “Florida Firearms Registration Bill Would Require \$100 Dealer Fees,” <i>Gun Week</i>, June 2, 1967, p. 12; “Illinois House Hearing Scheduled on Mayor Daley’s Registration Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i>, April 28, 1967, p. 8; “Massive Publicity Campaign Pushes Daley’s Illinois Registration Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 24, 1967, pp. 1-2.</p>
145	<p><i>firearms confiscation</i>: As NRA president Harold W. Glassen stated in an April 22, 1967 TV interview: “The history has been that registration of firearms is followed by a discretionary permit to possess. The discretionary permit to possess is followed by confiscation. This has been historically true in other countries.” Memorandum from Radio TV Reports, Inc. to INFOPLAN, “Glassen Says Gun Registration Could Lead to Confiscation” April 22, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1. See also “Sen. Dodd’s Final Step,” <i>Gun Week</i>, August 25, 1967, p. 4; Bob Neal, “Vim-Vigor-Vitality,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, August 1967, pp. 26-27; Transcript of Joseph Tydings and Harold W. Glassen Debate, Questions and Answers, National Press Club, June 29, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1; “Prohibition by Elimination,” <i>Gun Week</i>, May 12, 1967, p. 4; “Gun Prohibition Sought,” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 3, 1967, p. 4.</p>
145	<p><i>violence and crime</i>: For some examples where gun rights advocates claimed that the solution to firearms related violence and crime was the enforcement of existing laws, see “Gun Laws and Big House Logic,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, December 1967, pp. 22-23, 57; “At Long Last...Enforcement!” <i>Gun Week</i>, September 8, 1967, p. 4; “Why ‘Pass a Law’ Isn’t the Whole Answer,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1967, p. 16; “National Rifle Association Supports Curbs on Misuses of Firearms,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), June 6, 1967, p. 6; Jerome Rakusan, “Control of Firearms,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, May 1967, pp. 9, 55; “Why Aren’t Laws Enforced,” <i>Gun Week</i>, April 28, 1967, p. 4; “Light Sentences Spur Crime,” <i>Gun Week</i>, April 14, 1967, p. 4.</p>
145	<p><i>across the country</i>: For some restatements of the “20,000” firearms laws by the NRA, it’s “official family,” and the wider gun rights community, see Bob Bell,</p>

“35,000,001...And Then?” *Pennsylvania Game News*, March 1969, p. 1; Letter from Ken Carrell, Josephine County Sportsmen Association secretary, to Robert Packwood, February 14, 1969, Robert W. Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (Salem, OR: Willamette University Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Packwood Papers); Letter from Don Holm, *Oregonian* wildlife editor, to Robert Packwood, January 28, 1969, Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969; Bill Riviere and Edward Kennedy, “The Great Gun Debate,” *Boston Sunday Globe*, April 7, 1968, pp. 8, 13; Bob Bell, “Do We Need 35,000,001?” *Pennsylvania Game News*, April 1968, p. 1; Alan S. Krug, “Firearms Legislation: A Scientist’s Perspective,” March 1, 1968, reprinted in *Fact Pack II on Firearms Ownership* (Riverside, CT: National Shooting Sports Foundation, 1970), 57-59; Ken Gookins, “In the Great Outdoors,” *Times Recorder* (Zanesville, OH), August 19, 1967, p. 3B; *Federal Firearms Act: Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate*, 90th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 152, 153 (statement of Michigan representative John D. Dingell); *ibid.*, p. 683 (statement of Mark K. Benenson, New York Sporting Arms Association, Inc. attorney); *ibid.*, p. 1134 (reprint of letter from Peter Nuzzolese, Orange County Federation of Sportsmen’s Clubs, Inc. secretary, to Thomas J. Dodd, June 26, 1967); Bill Riviere, “Sorry, Campers, But Leave Guns at Home,” *Boston Globe*, July 30, 1967, p. 52; Earl Golding, “Field and Stream,” *Waco News-Tribune* (TX), July 27, 1967, p. 21A; Remarks of Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association of America, Before the Annual Meeting of the National Society of State Legislatures, Chicago, Illinois, July 27, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Ben Avery to J.R. Wiggins, *Washington Post* vice president and editor, April 6, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968; Robert Kingsbury, “NRA Has Supported Firearms Laws,” *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), March 19, 1967, p. 2M; “Who Says We Don’t Have Gun Laws?” *Guns & Ammo*, March 1967, pp. 22-23, 81 (compiled by the NRA legislative staff and distributed by the NSSF); “Pot Shots Shot at Gun Shot,” *Press-Gazette* (Hillsboro, OH), February 3, 1967, p. 18; Mrs. Herman Treptow, “Gun Dealer’s Wife Answers,” *Central New Jersey Home News* (New Brunswick, NJ), October 28, 1966, p. 4; Arnold J. Stewart, “Anti-Gun Heat Decried,” *Morning News* (Wilmington, DC), August 12, 1966, p. 32; “20,000 Gun Laws Wait to Trip You Up,” *Lansing State Journal* (MI), January 9, 1966, p. F8; *Federal Firearms Act*, pp. 262, 265 (statement of Thomas L. Kimball, National Wildlife Federation executive director); *ibid.*, pp. 374, 376 (statement of Michigan representative John D. Dingell); *ibid.*, pp. 783, 786 (statement of Warren Page, *Field and Stream* editor); Joe Mears, “What Are Aims of Dodd Bill?” *Pasadena Independent* (CA), May 27, 1965, p. A4; Jerry Kenney, “Fishing & Hunting,” *Daily News* (New York, NY), February 1, 1965, p. C26. The fabricated 20,000 firearms laws claim continued into the 1970s. *See, e.g.*, Letter from Lew H. Sarchet, Oklahoma Rifle Association secretary, to Thomas Jefferson Steed, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box 80, folder 16, Judiciary-Gun Control 1976 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers); Letter from John D. Dingell to Karl S. Klicka, July 8, 1975, William D. Ford Papers, box 18, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI:

	University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Ford Papers); Nancy Jackson, "Handgun Debate Ends in Standoff," <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> (MI), November 5, 1971, p. B1.
145	<i>created out of thin air</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Ben Avery, NRA board of directors, to Paul Fannin, July 31, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968 (stating that 30 of the 50 states have few firearms controls); Letter from Ben Avery to J.R. Wiggins, <i>Washington Post</i> vice president and editor, April 6, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968 ("As I turn west, (returning from my visit in DC), however, I have the satisfaction of knowing I will fly over more than 300 cities with <i>no firearms controls</i> that never had a single murder last year...") (emphasis added).
145	<i>improbable four hundred firearms laws</i> : The hypocrisy of the fabricated 20,000 number was seemingly lost upon the NRA. See, e.g., "Wanted: The Real Facts on Gun Fatalities," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1967, p. 20 (criticizing firearms control supports for relying on what the NRA believed were fabricated and misleading statistics); National Rifle Association, <i>The Truth About Guns</i> , pp. 1-10 (same). See also National Shooting Sports Foundation, Press Release, "Statistics: Their Use and Abuse," January 27, 1967, in Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6.
145	<i>four hundred such laws</i> : The NRA must have known the 20,000 number was a farce. For in 1975, the NRA published a book titled <i>Firearms and Laws Review</i> , which was a digest of the principal provisions of the firearms laws throughout the United States. The digest of laws was nowhere close to the 20,000 number. At most, the digest contained a few thousand legal provisions—not necessarily laws—from federal, state, and local governments. See National Rifle Association, <i>Firearms and Laws Review</i> (Washington, DC: 1975), pp. 99-138.
145	<i>unwanted firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., John E. Osborn, "Guns, Crime, and Self-Defense," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1967, p. 143 ("The present anti-gun laws [being proposed by lawmakers] encourage and abet our steadily increasing crime rate. An armed citizenry would quickly and decisively reverse that trend."); "Why 'Pass a Law' Isn't the Whole Answer," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1967, p. 16 ("what our country needs is less emphasis on impractical gun bills and more on law enforcement"); "Words of Wisdom on Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1967, p. 14 (advocating for punishing the misuse of firearms over other legislative remedies).
145	<i>and shooting sports</i> : See J.J. Basil and Daniel J. Moutin, "Firearms Legislation and the Gun Owner," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, pp. 30-32; "Reasonable and Informed Citizens," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1964, p. 16; "Misuse of Firearms," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1964, p. 16; "Basic Facts of Firearms Control," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1964, p. 14; "Realistic Firearms Controls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1964, p. 14; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, and Louis F. Lucas, NRA executive director, to NRA members, [January] 1964, in James G. O'Hara Papers, box 2, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter O'Hara Papers); National Rifle Association,

	<i>The Gun Law Problem</i> , pp. 15-16. <i>See also</i> Vaughn K. Goodwin, "Gun Legislation Report," <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , April 1966, p. 5 ("Let's face it; there will be some form of gun legislation. It is our job to initiate and accomplish the passage of constructive legislation which is beneficial to shooters and dealers and punishes the criminal instead of the honest citizen.").
145	<i>of the 89th Congress</i> : The NRA's four-point plan came out of the April 1967 meeting of the NRA Firearms Legislation Committee. <i>See</i> National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "NRA Offers Program on Gun Control Legislation," April 7, 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; John M. Schooley, NRA Firearms Legislation Committee chairman, "National Rifle Association of America Report of the Firearms Legislation Committee," April 5, 1967, <i>in</i> Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; Letter from Woodson D. Scott, NRA Subcommittee on Firearms Legislation chairman, to NRA Committee on Firearms Legislation, April 2, 1967, <i>in</i> Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8.
145	<i>NRA support</i> : National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "NRA Offers Program on Gun Control Legislation," April 7, 1967, <i>in</i> Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6. Yet in a June 1965 speech before the Ohio Gun Collectors Association, Glassen gave the impression that the NRA's "four-point plan" was not all that different from its legislation stance in 1963. <i>See</i> "NRA Legislative Policy Unchanged President Tells Ohio Gun Collectors," <i>Gun Week</i> , June 9, 1967, pp. 1, 6.
146	<i>keep and bear arms</i> : Milton Reckord, "Speech #1," undated 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6.
146	<i>three-point plan</i> : <i>See</i> National Rifle Association Legislative Service, "Federal Bills Reflecting the NRA Four-Point Legislative Program," October 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Substitute for Celler Bill Offered," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1967, pp. 32-33; "Orth: NRA Hit for Halting Dodd Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1967, pp. 39-41; "Dodd Bill Hit, Substitute Favored," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1967, pp. 43-44; National Shooting Sports Foundation, Press Release, July 25, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "NRA Announces Support for Hruska Gun Bill," July 19, 1967, <i>in</i> Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Shooting Sports Foundation, Press Release, July 10, 1967, <i>in</i> Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Senate Considers NRA-Endorsed Legislation to Regulate Mail-Order Handgun Sales," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1967, pp. 25-26; Text of Statement by Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association at National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 29, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Congress Faced with Clearcut Choice on Gun Control Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1967, pp. 23-24; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "Hruska Introduces Gun Bill, Gains Rifle Assn. Support," May 25, 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, "Federal Bills Reflecting the NRA Four-Point Legislative Program in the 90th Congress," May 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "Representative King Introduces NRA Gun

	Control Bill,” April 17, 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, “NRA Submits 4-Point Gun Control Plan in Testimony Before House Subcommittee,” April 10, 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Shooting Sports Foundation, Press Release, January 5, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6.
146	<i>state handgun purchase: Compare</i> “NRA Position on Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1967, p. 17, with “What the Lawmakers are Doing: Senators ‘Unload’ Dodd Gun Bill,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1966, p. 40; Franklin L. Orth, “Where the NRA Stands...” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1966, pp. 21-22. <i>See also</i> Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to NRA members, February 20, 1967, Tydings Papers, series 8, box 1, folder 3, Gun Control 1965-1983 (outlining in detail the NRA’s plan before Congress).
146	<i>county, and city police:</i> Wayne L. Morse, Firearms Control Form Letter, June 15, 1967, Wayne L. Morse Papers, box 19, folder 12 (Eugene, OR: University of Oregon Special Collections and University Archives) (hereinafter Morse papers).
146	<i>languished in committee: See, e.g.,</i> “Anti-Gun Bill Tactics Protested,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, p. 20 (story of how NRA congressional surrogate, Montana representative James F. Battin, attempted to remove New York representative Emanuel Celler’s bill, H.R. 5384, from the House Judiciary Committee to the House Ways and Means Committee).
146	<i>bill as instructed: See, e.g.,</i> Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Robert F. Sikes, November 20, 1967, Sikes Papers, box 310, folder National Rifle Association 1967; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to Robert F. Sikes, November 3, 1967, Sikes Papers, box 310, folder National Rifle Association 1967; “Federal Bills Reflecting the NRA Four-Point Legislative Program in the 90th Congress,” October 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; John D. Dingell, “Anti-Gun ‘Statistics’ Are Phoney!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , October 1967, pp. 32-33, 60; Letter from Paul Fannin to Ben Avery, NRA board of directors, August 4, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, “List of Firearms Bills in the First Session of the 90th Congress,” undated, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislative Report Nos. 27 and 28</i> , July 26, 1967, in Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislative Report Nos. 25 and 26</i> , July 10, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 6; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, “Federal Bills Reflecting the NRA Four-Point Legislative Program in the 90th Congress,” May 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; “Celler Bill Opponents Testify,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1967, pp. 18-23; Letter from Paul Fannin to Morton C. Mumma, former NRA president, April 19, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 189, folder 17, National Rifle Association; Letter from Morton C. Mumma, former NRA President, to Paul Fannin, April 14, 1967, Fannin Papers, box 189, folder 17, National Rifle Association; “Anti-Gun Bill Tactics Protested,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, p. 20.

146	<i>on the NRA's behalf:</i> See Letter from Harlon B. Carter, former NRA president, to Roman Hruska, April 25, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 39, folder 98; John M. Schooley, NRA Firearms Legislation Committee chairman, "National Rifle Association of America Report of the Firearms Legislation Committee," April 5, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; Letter from Woodson D. Scott, NRA Subcommittee on Firearms Legislation chairman, to NRA Committee on Firearms Legislation, April 2, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; Memorandum from Daniel J. Mountin, NRA secretary, to NRA Committee on Firearms Legislation, November 2, 1966, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8.
146	<i>destructive devices:</i> See National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislate Report Nos. 20 and 21</i> , June 5, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8.
147	<i>handgun being shipped:</i> National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "NRA Deplores Failure of Congress to Act on Gun Control Law," undated 1968, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Rifle Association, "Summary of NRA Position on Gun Control Legislation," January 1968, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, "Digest of S. 1853 to Provide for the Regulation of the Movement of Firearms in Interstate and Foreign Commerce, August 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; "Dodd Bill Hit, Substitute Favored," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1967, pp. 43-44; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Senate Considers NRA-Endorsed Legislation to Regulate Mail-Order Handgun Sales," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1967, pp. 25-26; "Senate Hearings Changed; Hruska Introduces Bills," <i>Gun Week</i> , June 2, 1967, pp. 1-2.
147	<i>violation of their own laws:</i> National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "Hruska Introduces Gun Bill, Gains Rifle Assn. Support," May 25, 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6. Through California representative Cecil R. King, the NRA was able to introduce a companion bill to S. 1852 in the House of Representatives. See "Support for King's Bill," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 26, 1967, p. 4; "NRA-Endorsed Mail Order Control Bill Introduced by Rep. Cecil King: Proposal Similar to Sen. Hruksa's," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 5, 1967, pp. 1-2.
147	<i>war on firearms controls:</i> The NRA was winning on several fronts, including preventing firearms controls from being inserted into the 1967 anti-riot bill and stopping an attempt by Massachusetts senator Edward Kennedy to halt the 1967 annual matches. See National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, "[National Matches]," November 1, 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 5; Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: House Keeps Anti-Gun Measure Out of Riot Bill," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , November 1967, pp. 20-21, 59; "Guns and Riots," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1967, p. 33; Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: National Matches in Jeopardy!" <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1967, pp. 18-19; "Senate Rejects Ted Kennedy Move to Prune DCM Program Budget," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 8, 1967, pp. 1-2; Internal Staff Memorandum to Thomas J. Dodd, "Re: Gun Bill and the Anti-Rioting Bill," August 10, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 81, folder 2345; "National Matches Under Way On Schedule at Camp Perry," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 11, 1967, p. 1; Letter from Ben Avery to Paul Fannin, Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968; Internal Staff Memorandum to

	<p>Thomas J. Dodd, Untitled, July 28, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 81, folder 2345; "Army Secretary Denies Any Plans to Move Matches from Camp Perry," <i>Gun Week</i>, July 21, 1967, pp. 1, 3; "NRA Foes Fail in Attempt to Halt National Matches," <i>Gun Week</i>, June 30, 1967, pp. 1-2; Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Robert S. McNamara, June 23, 1967, Sikes Papers, box 310, folder National Rifle Association.</p>
147	<p><i>minority leader</i>: National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislative Report No. 5</i>, February 13, 1968, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 5; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislative Report No. 3</i>, January 30, 1968, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 5; Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: New Studies Slow Anti-Gun Forces," <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1967, pp. 19-19, 60; "Senate Group Approves Gun Control Bill," Daily Capital News (Jefferson, MO), September 21, 1967, p. 6; CBS's <i>Face the Nation</i> Transcript, August 6, 1967, Dirksen Papers, Remarks, Releases, and Interviews, folder <i>Face the Nation</i>; "Dodd Bill Hit, Substitute Favored," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1967, pp. 43-44; "NRA Officials 'Grilled' By Dodd, Kennedy During Senate Hearings: Hruska Proposals Get More Support," <i>Gun Week</i>, August 4, 1967, pp. 1, 11; "Senators Back 2 Firearms Measures; Mum on Others," <i>Asbury Park Press</i> (NJ), August 2, 1967, p. 21; John Reid, "No Anti-Gun Laws Likely This Session," <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (Spokane, WA), July 30, 1967, p. 4; "Hruska vs. Dodd Controls," <i>Gun Week</i>, July 28, 1967, pp. 1-2; "Mansfield Backs Hruska Measures," <i>Gun Week</i>, July 21, 1967, pp. 1-2; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislative Report No. 22</i>, June 12, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; National Rifle Association Legislative Service, <i>Weekly Legislative Report Nos. 20 and 21</i>, June 5, 1967, Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8; "Montana Lawmakers Reply on Firearms Legislation," <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT), September 2, 1966, p. 4.</p>
147	<p><i>distributors, and dealers</i>: Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: Dodd Bill Goes Forward With Tricky Amendment," <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1968, pp. 18-19; "Administration Offers 'Compromise' Firearms Proposals to Congress: States Could Veto Rifle Prohibition," <i>Gun Week</i>, October 13, 1967, pp. 1-2; Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: Dodd, the Kennedys, and Compromise Legislation," <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1967, pp. 16-17, 78; Letter from Strom Thurmond to Thomas J. Dodd, August 31, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 119, folder 3261; Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Edward Kennedy, August 30, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 80, folder 2313; Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Strom Thurmond, August 30, 1967, box 119, folder 3261; Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Joseph Tydings, August 30, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 208, folder 5560.</p>
147	<p><i>out of full committee</i>: See "Drive to Pass Dodd-Celler Bills Stepped Up," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1967, pp. 34-35; "Dodd Moves S. 1 Out! LBJ Calls for Gun Law," <i>Gun Week</i>, September 29, 1967, pp. 1, 3.</p>
147	<p><i>doing much better</i>: See "Drive to Pass Dodd-Celler Bills Stepped Up," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1967, pp. 34-35; "House Panel Approves Administration Gun Bill," <i>Gun Week</i>, November 17, 1967, p. 1; "House Panel Seems Locked on Gun Bills," <i>Gun Week</i>, October 20, 1967, pp. 1-2; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Substitute for Celler Bill Offered," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1967, pp. 32-33; "Gun Control Legislation Activity Take Sudden Spurt in Washington: House</p>

	Committee Studies New Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 6, 1967, pp. 1-2; “House Judiciary Members Propose Substitute for Administration Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 18, 1967, p. 1; Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington: Testimony in the House,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1967, pp. 16-17, 58.
147	<i>slim to none</i> : See “What the Lawmakers are Doing: Celler Bill Given Slight Push,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1967, pp. 24-25; Robert S. McNeill, “The Pro and Cons of Gun Control,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), November 26, 1967, pp. B15-B16; “Celler Bill Vote Unlikely This Session,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 24, 1967, pp. 1, 3; “Gun Bill Goes to Full Committee,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), November 9, 1967, p. 53; Dan Thomasson, “Gun-Control Compromise Sought,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , September 27, 1967, p. 10; “Celler Plan: Less Strict Gun Bill is Proposed,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), September 26, 1967, p. 3C; “Firearms Proposal is Cut to Cover Only Handguns,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), September 27, 1967, p. A4.
147	<i>undesired firearms controls</i> : See National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, “President Johnson Calls for Mail-Order Gun Control Law,” January 18, 1968, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, “NRA Deplores Failure of Congress to Act on Gun Control,” undated, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6.
147	<i>state and local levels</i> : See, e.g., “Oklahoma House Passes Measure Liberalizing Gun Carrying Laws,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 22, 1968, pp. 1-2; “Maryland House Judiciary Votes No On Proposed Gun Legislation,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 22, 1968, p. 2; “Maryland Sportsmen Rally to Fight Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 8, 1968, p. 2; James E. Murray, “State Leaders Turn Bad Gun Bill into Good One,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1968, pp. 34-36; “State Protection for Gun Owners?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 44. It is worth noting that firearms control was getting enacted in some jurisdictions. See, e.g., “Gun Control Law Passed in Chicago,” <i>New York Times</i> , January 31, 1968, p. 38; “3 Suburbs Act on Gun Laws,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , January 25, 1968, p. 2A; “Gun Control Law Is Upheld in New Jersey,” <i>New York Times</i> , January 10, 1968, p. 40; “City Council Votes Controls on Guns,” <i>New York Times</i> , November 3, 1967, p. 1.
147	<i>will not reduce crime</i> : “Do Americans Really Want New Gun Laws?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1968, p. 16. See also John M. Snyder, “Why Anti-Gun Polls Are Open to Doubt,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1968, pp. 20-21.
148	<i>aggressive enough</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Ashley Hasley, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to William R. Kemsley, March 7, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to Jon D. Charleston, March 5, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive-vice president, to Sal Messineo, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to Charles M. Aaronson, January 4, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice-president, to G.W.K., December 26, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1.
148	<i>right as a responsibility interpretation</i> : See, e.g., Harold W. Glassen, Opening Remarks in Debate with Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, WGBH-TV, Boston, MA, March 12,

1968, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“In its decisions, the [Supreme] Court [in the 1939 case *United States v. Miller*] ruled that the right to keep and bear the firearm in question should be identified with the maintenance of ‘a well-regulated militia’—meaning, in effect, that the right to keep and bear arms is not absolute, but qualified. All right, we’ll accept that qualification. After all, the Supreme Court is charged in the Constitution with interpreting the Constitution. This means, that when the nation’s highest court interprets a provision of that document, that’s what the document says, no matter how it has been interpreted in the past. If the Supreme Court says that the writers of the Constitution meant that the right to bear arms meant the right to bear arms primarily to maintain a well regulated militia, that’s what it means. But, please, let’s remember that that is what it means. It means that American citizens DO have a right to keep and bear arms.”); Milton Reckord, “Speech #1,” undated 1967, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6 (“Most NRA members...believe in a moderate, middle-of-the-road approach, one that provides for legislation that is sensible, designed to curb the misuse of firearms, and that will be effective, without interfering with the rights of the capable American citizen to keep and bear arms. And from our knowledge of those who own guns but do not hold NRA membership, we believe that the majority also believe in the middle of the road.”); Transcript of Face to Face, a Confrontation on Gun Control Legislation Between Senator Joseph D. Tydings and Harold W. Glassen, Moderated by Mark Evans, October 29, 1967, p. 28, in Glassen Papers, box 1 (statement of NRA president Harold W. Glassen) (“There’s no question that a government has a right to restrict who shall use arms...It is an individual right but that does not mean that there cannot be reasonable restrictions upon that right.”); Remarks of Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association of America, Before the Annual Meeting of the National Society of State Legislatures, Chicago, Illinois, July 27, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“[Y]ou have the privilege...I mean the right, under the Constitution, to own that firearms, and to use it as you see fit within lawful bounds...that you have a responsibility, not only to exercise that right the proper way, but to see that it is perpetuated, in order that your contemporaries and your progeny may also see what it is like to live free, using a firearm—once again, with due sense of responsibility—as a symbol of that freedom.”); Text of Statement by Harold W. Glassen, President National Rifle Association at National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 29, 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“NRA is dedicated to the proposition that ALL American citizens of adult age have the right to keep and bear arms unless they have abused this right or unless they have been adjudged by proper Judicia authority to be incapable. We believe that there are those who should not have a gun, but we oppose the establishment of authority that would permit arbitrary determination as to who is, and who is not, qualified to own a gun.”); Transcript of Joseph D. Tydings and Harold W. Glassen Debate, Questions and Answers, National Press Club, June 29, 1967, p. 7, Glassen Papers, box 1 (statement of NRA president Harold W. Glassen) (“Now the First Amendment, among other things, has the right of a free press, which some of you gentlemen might be vaguely interested in. The right of the free press. The right of free speech. That is not without limitations. There are certain limitations on the right of free speech. You don’t have a right to get up in a crowded theater and yell ‘fire’. Lately [the Supreme Court] said you have a right to say almost anything about a politician, which is good. Now, we [the NRA] don’t say

that the right to keep and bear arms means that there can't be any restrictions. We don't say that gives you the right to keep a submachine gun or carry the sawed-off shotguns. No one has ever said that. It's under restrictions."); "Citizens of Good Repute," *American Rifleman*, September 1964, p. 20 (stating the NRA has always supported "the right of law-abiding citizens to keep and bear arms for recreation, for self-protection, and for national defense...this right has been forfeited by individuals who commit a crime of violence or have a notoriously bad character."); Louis F. Lucas, "The National Rifle Association of America," *American Rifleman*, May 1959, p. 16 (stating the NRA "believes in the fundamental right of an individual to keep and bear arms and stands squarely behind the premise that the lawful ownership of firearms must not be denied [to] American citizens of good repute, so long as they continue to use such weapons for lawful purposes."); "Our Priceless Heritage," *American Rifleman*, July 1958, p. 16 (stating the Second Amendment imposes the obligation to "use our firearms, when necessary, in defense of our nation; to exert our best efforts to see that every citizen, military and civilian alike, is taught basic marksmanship; to train our youth to enjoy shooting...to insure proper punishment of those who use firearms for unlawful purposes; and to be forever alert to prevent [the] wearing away of our right"); Merritt A. Edson, "The Right to Bear Arms," *American Rifleman*, July 1955, p. 14 ("Any right carries with it certain responsibilities and, in discharging those responsibilities, we surrender none of the basic right. In case of the basic right, as we see it, is the right of the lawful citizen to own personal weapons and to use those weapons lawfully for recreation and for personal and national defense."); Merritt A. Edson, "Independent, and Prepared for Peace or War," *American Rifleman*, May 1955, p. 16 (stating the NRA stands for "the right of loyal, law-abiding citizens to purchase, to own, and to use firearms for lawful purposes"); Merritt A. Edson, "Our Common Interests," *American Rifleman*, October 1954, p. 16 (stating the NRA serves to protect the "right of law-abiding citizens to own and use firearms in recreation, self-defense, and national security."); Merritt A. Edson, "On Our Honor," *American Rifleman*, August 1954, p. 16 ("The National Rifle Association has steadfastly maintained that the right of citizens of good repute to keep and bear arms for recreation, for self protection, and for national defense should not be abridged. We believe just as stoutly that the individual who has committed a felony or a crime of violence or has a notoriously bad character should be denied that right."); Merritt A. Edson, "To Keep and Bear Arms," *American Rifleman*, August 1952, p. 16 (discussing the Second Amendment as a responsibility and a right to own and use firearms for lawful purposes, as well as national defense). See also Patrick J. Charles, "The 'Reasonable Regulation' Right to Arms: The Gun Rights Second Amendment Before the Standard Model," *A Right to Bear Arms?: The Contested Role of History in Contemporary Debates on the Second Amendment*, Jennifer Tucker, Barton C. Hacker, and Margaret Vining eds. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 2019), 167-84; Notes from Republican Platform Committee Meeting, May 7, 1970, Lowell P. Weicker Papers, box 1785, folder 15, 1969-1970 Research Files-Gun Control (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Special Collections) (hereinafter Weicker Papers) (statement of the pro-gun political action group, Connecticut Sportsmen's Alliance: "We see no need to license the carrying of long guns...except, possibly, for the purpose of carrying them loaded with live ammunition on the public ways and

	then only if appropriate exceptions are made for hunting areas, target shooting areas, etc.”).
149	<i>their right to keep and bear arms</i> : See, e.g., “Gun Control Fight Crystallizes Pressure Groups,” <i>Group Research Report</i> , vol. 7, no. 12, June 28, 1968, Ford Papers, box 3, folder Gun Control; “Your Gun Is Their Target,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , March-April 1968, p. 1; “Report on Association Activities,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , January-February 1968, p. 1. See also <i>Defend Your Right to “Keep and Bear Arms” : How the Liberals Plan to Deprive Law-Abiding American Citizens of the Means of Self-Defense</i> (New Orleans, LA: Independent American, 1965), in Adam Walinsky Personal Papers, folder Firearms (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library); Dan Smoot, “Federal Firearms Legislation,” <i>Dan Smoot Report #447</i> , March 16, 1964; Dan Smoot, “The Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Dan Smoot Report #345</i> , March 19, 1962; American Automatic Weapon Association, <i>Credo AAWA</i> (Grand Rapids, MI: 1958).
149	<i>political rhetoric</i> : Before the 1968 annual meeting of the NRA board of directors, Franklin L. Orth noted how the organization’s “firm position” against firearms controls was working to the NRA’s benefit. While the NRA’s “firm position” was weakening the organization’s “relationships with the national administrators of some youth and law enforcement organizations and with many Federal and a few State Agencies and with the Armed Forces,” there was “every evidence that...it does not extend down to...the operating levels of these groups.” Franklin L. Orth, “Report of the Executive Vice President, April 9, 1968, <i>Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Rifle Association, April 9-10, 1968</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), in Glassen Paper, box 1.
149	<i>the right to keep and bear arms</i> : Harold W. Glassen, Opening Remarks in Debate with Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, WGBH-TV, Boston, MA, March 12, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.
149	<i>patriotic members</i> : Harold W. Glassen, Speech Before the 97th Annual NRA Meetings, April 6, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.
149	<i>sensible firearms legislation</i> : Harold W. Glassen, Statement Before the Rotary Club, Los Angeles, CA, February 9, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1. See also Mike Beatrice, “Kennedy Group Called Gunners’ Mortal Foe,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , March 6, 1968, p. 53; Alan C. Webber, “Where the NRA Stands on Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1968, p. 22; Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington: Present Status of Gun Legislation,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1968, pp. 18-19, 70; Tim Holland, “Called Step Toward Confiscation: Attorney Raps Gun Registration,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), January 18, 1968, p. D8 (quoting Glassen as stating before the Ingham County Bar Association: “We have some rather formidable opposition...Our most radical opponents want to remove firearms from private use.”).
149	<i>one way to go</i> . Up: Harold W. Glassen, Speech Before the 97th Annual NRA Meetings, April 6, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.

Chapter 6 Notes

150	<i>banner year</i> : “NRA’s Growth Encouraging,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 19, 1968, p. 4. <i>See also</i> Alan C. Webber, “NRA Had Banner Year in Membership—Orth,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1969, p. 13.
150	<i>increase in circulation for American Rifleman</i> : For the NRA’s membership numbers, see National Rifle Association, <i>Operating Report ’69</i> (Washington, DC: 1970), 14, Richard Nixon Papers, Pre-Presidential Collection, Personal Papers, box 9, folder National Rifle Association (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library) (hereinafter Nixon Papers); National Rifle Association, <i>1966 Operating Report</i> (Washington, DC: 1967), p. 4. <i>See also</i> “Hub Set to Host NRA Convention,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , March 31, 1968, p. 59 (noting that in October 1967 the NRA broke its membership enrollment numbers for a single month). For the <i>American Rifleman</i> circulation numbers, the month of April was used to compare each year. <i>See</i> “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1968, p. 2 (circulation of 1,040,000); “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1967, p. 2 (circulation of 888,000); “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1966, p. 2 (circulation of 806,000); “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1965, p. 2 (circulation of 749,000); “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1964, p. 2 (circulation of 703,000); “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1963, p. 2 (circulation of 600,000).
150	<i>against the NRA</i> : Gene Washer, “Around the Circuit: National Rifle Association Chides Robert Kennedy,” <i>Leaf-Chronicle</i> (Clarksville, TN), January 24, 1968, p. 9.
150	<i>posture of this nation</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> <i>See also</i> Ralph Whitely, “The Outdoor Report,” <i>Lawton Constitution and Morning Press</i> (OK), January 28, 1968, p. 4C.
150	<i>sensible firearms controls</i> : “Rifle Association VP Sees Compromise Bill,” <i>Sunday News</i> (Lancaster, PA), March 31, 1968, p. 46.
151	<i>good clean fun</i> : “Are We Really So Violent?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1968, p. 16. <i>See also</i> Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1968, pp. 21, 64 (“Undoubtedly, there are many causes for the situation today...The TV has pushed for gun controls because it does not want to put its own house in order. What about all the sex and crime it is presenting to the youth of this nation as the American way of life?...It is important to note that crime is the highest where there are the most TV sets showing sex and crime. What about these TV stations that show ‘adult only’ shows during the tie school kids look at shows?”).
151	<i>messaging arsenal</i> : The ‘blame the television industry for violence’ argument is a message that the NRA utilizes to this day to convince lawmakers and the public to regulate anything but firearms. It just appears in a modified form and is often lumped with other issues, such as mental illness, violent video games, the erosion of conservative Christian values, and the lack of adequate security measures or police funding. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Simon Montlake, “NRA Troubles: A Hunter Targets the World’s Most Powerful Gun Lobby,” <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , October 11, 2019; Lisa Marie Pane, “After Mass Shootings, NRA Pins Blame on Familiar List,” <i>Associated Press</i> , May 23, 2018; Patrick J. Charles and Sonja West, “Propaganda Machinery: How the NRA Pioneered the Right-Wing Art of Demonizing the Media,” <i>Slate</i> , February 28, 2018.

151	<i>in fiction form</i> : “Non-Violence Begins at Home—On the TV,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 18.
151	<i>refraining from sensationalism</i> : Ibid.
151	<i>riots of 1967</i> : In the surrounding area of Detroit, Michigan, the urban riots led both white and black communities to begin arming themselves in fear of what the other side might do. See James R. Norman and Larry J. Paladino, “Arms Race Worries Detroit: Mayor Pleads for ‘Return to Sanity’,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), March 17, 1968, p. A12; “Women Learning to Shoot,” <i>News-Palladium</i> (Benton Harbor, MI), February 29, 1968, p. 25; “Women Crowd Classes for Firearms Instruction,” <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> (FL), February 28, 1968, p. 9A.
151	<i>not armed civilians</i> : See generally Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 1968).
152	<i>lax firearms laws</i> : See, e.g., Memorandum to Thomas J. Dodd, “Gun Bill and the Anti-Rioting Bill,” August 10, 1967, Thomas J. Dodd Papers, box 81, folder 2345 (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut Thomas J. Dodd Research Center) (hereinafter Dodd Papers); Memorandum to Thomas J. Dodd, untitled, July 28, 1967, Dodd Papers, box 81, folder 2345; David J. McIntyre, News from Senator Joseph D. Tydings, July 28, 1967, Joseph D. Tydings Papers, series 6, box 22, folder 22, Statements on Gun Control 1967-1970 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Special Collections) (hereinafter Tydings Papers).
152	<i>have to follow suit</i> : See, e.g., Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1968, pp. 18-19; Alan C. Webber, “Where the NRA Stands on Gun Legislation,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1968, p. 22; John Lee, “LBJ Makes Plea for Firearms Legislation,” <i>Green-Bay Gazette</i> (WI), February 2, 1968, p. B4; “NRA Interprets President’s Speech as Indicating Gun Law Compromise,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 2, 1968, pp. 1, 3; Donnell Culpepper, “Johnson Softer on Gun Program,” <i>Independent</i> (Long Beach, CA), January 26, 1968, p. C4; Michael Batelli, “Johnson Asks Gun Curb Law,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Paterson, NJ), January 23, 1968, p. 20; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, “President Johnson Calls for Mail-Order Gun Control Law,” January 18, 1968, in Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, box 21, folder Gun Control, January-April 1968 (West Branch, IA: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hickenlooper Papers).
152	<i>enact an effective bill</i> : “Orth Wants Reasonable Gun Legislation Passed,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 5, 1968, p. 1; “NRA Unhappy with Congress,” <i>Tyler Morning Telegraph</i> (TX), January 4, 1968, sec. 3, p. 2.
152	<i>offered as an amendment</i> : <i>Congressional Record</i> 114, part 7 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 8530.
152	<i>rural firearms owners</i> : Ibid., pp. 8522-25.
152	<i>legitimate uses of firearms</i> : Ibid., pp. 8584-85.
152	<i>total crime picture</i> : Ibid., pp. 8585-89.

152	<i>users of firearms</i> : Ibid., p. 8579. For the NRA's and <i>Gun Week</i> 's account of the April 2, 1968 Senate speeches in support of S. 1853, see "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Drive in Senate Points Way to 'Moderate' Plan," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1968, pp. 26-27; "The Senators Speak Up," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1968, p. 28; "Dodd Attempts Adding Gun Bill to Crime Act," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 12, 1968, pp. 1, 2; "Who's Distorting the Facts?" <i>Gun Week</i> , April 12, 1968, p. 4.
153	<i>subsequent hearing</i> : See "Senate Unit Turns Down Gun Control Proposals," <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 5, 1968, p. A2; "Senate Kills Gun Control Proposals," <i>Sioux City Journal</i> (IA), April 5, 1968, p. A2; "Senate Judiciary Committee Rejects LBJ Gun-Control Bill," <i>Montgomery Advertiser</i> (AL), April 5, 1968, p. 20; "Gun Control Proposals Are Rejected," <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), April 5, 1968, p. 4. See also "Dodd Attempts Adding Gun Bill to Crime Act," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 12, 1968, pp. 1-2.
153	<i>Martin Luther King, Jr.</i> : See, e.g., William J. Eaton, "Dr. King's Slaying May Spur Action on Rights, Gun Control," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> (PA), April 7, 1968, sec. 7, p. 5; Joseph R.L. Sterne, "Congress Feels Pressure for Rights Action," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), April 6, 1968, pp. A1, A5; "King's Death May Spur Congress," <i>Tampa Times</i> (FL), April 5, 1968, pp. 1A, 16A.
153	<i>rioting across the country</i> : See, e.g., "Rioting Stuns Capital, GIs in Action," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , April 6, 1968, p. 1; "Shun Violence, LBJ Asks Nation," <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , April 6, 1968, p. 4; "Fires, Lootings in Nation's Capital: LBJ to Appeal to Congress for Action on Rights, Cities," <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), April 6, 1968, p. 1; "Dr. King Is Slain by Sniper Bullet: Nation Shocked, LBJ Pleads for Restraint," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , April 5, 1968, p. 1; "Turn Tear Gas on DC Mobs; Guard Called as Terror Grows," <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), April 5, 1968, p. 1; "Martin Luther King Slain," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , April 5, 1968, p. 1.
153	<i>enact firearms controls</i> : There were also calls at the state and local levels. See, e.g., "Legislators Have Been Busy," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 19, 1968, p. 4.
153	<i>firearms gone wrong</i> : See, e.g., Thomas J. Dodd, "Statement on Martin Luther King," April 4, 1968, Thomas J. Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5618 (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut Thomas J. Dodd Research Center) (hereinafter Dodd Papers) (holding up King's assassination to that of President Kennedy's and calling for firearms controls); Bill Riviere and Edward M. Kennedy, "The Great Gun Debate," <i>Boston Sunday Globe</i> , April 7, 1968, pp. 8-13; Hubert H. Humphrey, "Remarks After the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.," undated, W. Willard Wirtz Personal Papers, box 114, folder 1 (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereinafter Wirtz Papers).
153	<i>something is not done</i> : "Senate Unit Turns Down Gun Control Proposals," <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 5, 1968, p. A2.
153	<i>before it is too late</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, Press Release, "A Single Gun in the Wrong Hands Could Change the World, Dodd Says," April 8, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5619.

153	<i>stay the political course</i> : For some other gun rights views of the post-King assassination riots, see Rex Applegate, “Guns and the Law: Some Thoughts on Riots and Gun Laws,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1968, pp. 32-33, 72-73 (“The breakdown in respect for law and order that is so highly publicized and concerning which the politicians in Washington have not finally begun beating the drums, has really little to do with firearms. Placed in its proper perspective it is a social and national condition brought about, not by an intimate object such as a firearm, but rather by the nature of the permissiveness of our society... Major riots that have occurred in our metropolitan areas occurred principally because the police were not allowed, by the political fathers, to go in—in force—and quell the triggering incidents or the center of the disturbance when <i>it happened.</i> ”); Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1968, p. 17 (“[King’s] death did not directly cause the violence, his death was only a signal, an excuse for young hoodlums to openly defy authority. The malcontents knew that others of their kind outnumbered police authority to such proportions that together they could do pretty much what they pleased.”).
153	<i>could have prevented</i> : “Rifle Group’s View of Death,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), April 7, 1868, p. 2. <i>See also</i> Henry Moore, “NRA Chief, in Hub, Says No Law Would Have Saved King,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , April 7, 1968, p. 15.
154	<i>misguided emotionalism</i> : Peter Laine, “Pressure Committee to Reverse Self on Gun Bill,” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), April 12, 1968, p. 3.
154	<i>television executives</i> : “Kennedys, Dodd Urge to Back Workable Gun Bills,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1968, p. 43.
154	<i>Hruska’s S. 1853</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> The belief that it was the chief proponents of firearms control that were hindering the passage of effective firearms legislation was a common talking point within the gun rights community. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Ed Neal, “The Great Outdoors: Latest on Gun Bills,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , March 20, 1968, p. 56; “Summary of Major Gun Legislation in Congress,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), March 20, 1968, p. 6; Harold Brand, “Outdoors,” <i>Alton Evening Telegraph</i> (IL), March 18, 1968, p. B3; Bill Quimby, “Pro-Gun Bills Blocked,” <i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i> (AZ), March 15, 1968, p. 30; Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1968, pp. 18-19.
154	<i>dissipating</i> : “Do Americans Really Want New Gun Laws?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1968, p. 16; John M. Snyder, “Why Anti-Gun Polls Are Open to Doubt,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1968, pp. 20-21.
154	<i>vote on the Senate floor</i> : “Senate Panel Approves Curb on Gun Sales,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), April 6, 1968, p. A3.
154	<i>support for Hruska’s S. 1853</i> : <i>See</i> “Republican Party Statement Seems to Endorse Hruska Firearms Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 3, 1968, pp. 1, 3; “Hruska Bill Should Replace Administration Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 26, 1968, p. 4; Woodson D. Scott, “NRA Committee on Firearms Legislation,” April 2, 1967, Roman Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8 (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society) (hereinafter Hruska Papers) (noting that should a firearms control bill advance out of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee the NRA “could safely fall back on the two Hruska bills”).

154	<i>annual convention</i> : “97th Annual Meetings,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1968, pp. 21, 22.
154	<i>like Hruska’s S. 1853</i> : “Rifle Group Head Asks Defeat of Gun Proposal,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), April 12, 1968, p. 31.
154	<i>their political affiliation</i> : Ibid.
154	<i>opposition to Dodd’s S. 1</i> : Ibid. For <i>Gun Week</i> ’s coverage of the NRA’s 97th annual convention, see “NRA President Urges Members to Seek Passage of Hruska Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 19, 1968, pp. 1, 3, 5.
154	<i>killing of Dr. King</i> : Letter from Ben Avery to Paul J. Fannin, April 16, 1968, Paul J. Fannin Papers, box 139, folder 8, Firearms Control Correspondence, January 1967-April 1968 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University) (hereinafter Fannin Papers).
154	<i>to advance S. 1</i> : “Who’s Distorting the Facts?” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 12, 1968, p. 4.
155	<i>might be a criminal</i> : “National Rifle Body Head Scores Rigid Gun Controls,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 16, 1968, p. B2; “[Image and Caption of Harold W. Glassen],” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 14, 1968, p. A16.
155	<i>stated Glassen</i> : “Gun Laws Don’t Deter Assassins,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), April 17, 1968, p. 16A; “Gun Bill Can’t Stop Killing, Rifle Association Head Says,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), April 17, 1968, p. 15A; “Doubts Effects on Gun Curbs,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), April 16, 1968, p. 5.
155	<i>Safe Streets Act</i> : Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Roman Hruska, April 17, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5619.
155	<i>supporting senators</i> : Memorandum from Bob Perry to Thomas J. Dodd, “Conference with Senator Hruska Regarding Gun Bill,” April 17, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5619.
155	<i>technical objections</i> : Ibid.
155	<i>before the gun lobbies</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, Speech Before Georgetown University, Washington, DC, Untitled, April 30, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5623. <i>See also</i> Thomas J. Dodd, Press Release, “Senator Dodd Calls Upon Senate to Ignore Gun Lobby and Vote for Gun Control Legislation,” May 7, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5630; Thomas J. Dodd, Speech Before Young Democratic Convention, Hartford, CT, “The Sickness of Violence,” May 4, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5628; Thomas J. Dodd, Press Release, “Senator Dodd Urges Those Who Favor Legislation to Control the Sale of Firearms to Write to Their Senators and Representatives,” April 30, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5622.
155	<i>with angry letters</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Senate Debates Tough Gun Curbs,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), May 8, 1968, p. 14; “Gun Lobby Mobilizes Again,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , May 9, 1968, p. 22; William McGaffin, “How the Rifle association Lobby Fights Gun Control,” <i>Kansas City Star</i> (MO), May 9, 1968, p. 19B; Inez Robb, “How to Terrorize Congress,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), May 5, 1968, editorials

	page; William McGaffin, "Gun Lobby Floods Congress With Mail," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), April 30, 1968, p. 14A.
155	<i>editors, and the public: See, e.g.,</i> William McGaffin, "Gun Lobby vs. Facts on Gun Control," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), May 12, 1968, p. 6T; "Senate Crime Bill Debate Delayed; Sen. Hruska Prepares Amendment," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 10, 1968, pp. 1, 2; James H. Marquis, "NRA Gun Control Bills Applauded," <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), May 10, 1968, p. 4; James J. Kilpatrick, "Groundless Objections to Gun Control," <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), May 9, 1968, p. 12; Grits Gresham, "Bayou Browsing," <i>Eunice News</i> (LA), May 7, 1968, p. 5; "Public Opinion: Gun Laws Draw Fire...Mildew War Waged...Parkway Poem," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), May 3, 1968, p. 30.
155	<i>Safe Streets Act: "Senate Debate Begins on Firearms Measure,"</i> <i>Gun Week</i> , May 17, 1968, pp. 1, 2; "Senate Begins Debate on Gun Control Bill," <i>Lincoln Star Journal</i> (NE), May 15, 1968, p. 2; "Hruska Versus Ted Kennedy: Sharp Gun Control Debate in Senate," <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , May 15, 1968, p. 7.
156	<i>45 to 37: For background more on the amendments, see</i> <i>Congressional Record</i> 114, part 11 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 13620-23, 13629-39; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Dodd & Co., Defeated, Block NRA Plan," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1968, pp. 46-47; "Administration-Dodd Bill Bombed; Hruska Bill Defeated by Narrow Vote," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 24, 1968, pp. 1, 2; "Changes in Gun Sale Bill Beaten in Senate," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), May 16, 1968, p. 2A; Thomas J. Dodd, Press Release, "Dodd Scores Hruska Substitute Gun Measure as 'Grossly Inadequate.' Says It Is Gun Lobby Ploy," May 16, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5641; Thomas J. Dodd, Press Release, "Senator Dodd Urges Controls Over Long Guns," May 16, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5638; Thomas J. Dodd, Press Release, "Senator Dodd Asks Gun Controls Be Extended to Included Long Arms," May 15, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 209, folder 5636.
156	<i>72 to 4 vote: Congressional Record</i> 114, part 11, p. 14798.
156	<i>on the same side: Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Roman Hruska, May 24, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 87, folder 2500.</i>
156	<i>wiretapping authorities: "Senate Passes Crime Bill; Would Undo Court Rulings,"</i> <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), May 24, 1968, p. 12; "Senate-Passed Crime Bill Hits Supreme Court Rulings," <i>Boston Globe</i> , May 24, 1968, p. 10.
156	<i>constitutional questions: "Senate Okays Crime Bill,"</i> <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (FL), May 24, 1968, p. 1.
156	<i>would veto it: See, e.g., "Congress and Court—The Anti-Crime Debate,"</i> <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), June 4, 1968, p. 26; "Crime, Celler and LBJ," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , May 29, 1968, p. 30; Jesse Shaffer, "Crime Bill in Trouble, Says Taft," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), May 28, 1968, p. 19; "Anti-Crime Bill: 'Big Brother' Tactics Aren't the Answer," <i>Miami News</i> (FL), May 27, 1968, p. 14A. <i>See also</i> "LBJ Gives His Crime Bills Priority; Congress Favors Tougher Approach," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 12,

	1968, pp. 1, 3 (noting that if the Senate adopted the House version of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, President Johnson may veto it).
156	<i>senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York</i> : For a detailed history, see Lawrence O'Donnell, <i>Playing with Fire: The 1968 Election and the Transformation of American Politics</i> (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2017).
156	<i>protection or pleasure</i> : Hubert H. Humphrey, [Form Letter on Firearms Controls], March 21, 1967, Hubert H. Humphrey Papers, Vice Presidential Legislation Files, 1964-1968, box 1006, folder January-April 1967 (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Humphrey Papers). <i>See also</i> Hubert H. Humphrey, Speech Before League of Cities, July 31, 1967, Wirtz Papers, box 115, folder 2 ("The President has also proposed firearms control, and narcotic control legislation. What kind of nonsense is this that you are able to go on out and buy yourself automatic weapons? I like to hunt pheasants. I've never [needed] a submachine gun to get one. And our laws and our firearms controls are totally inadequate."). It appears that 1960 is the earliest that Humphrey is on record supporting an individual right to arms. <i>See</i> "Know Your Lawmakers," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1960, p. 4 (statement of Minnesota senator Hubert H. Humphrey) ("Certainly one of the chief guarantees of freedom under any government, no matter how popular and respected, is the right of the citizen to keep and bear arms. This is not to say that firearms should not be very carefully used, and that definite safety rules should not be taught and enforced. But the right of the Citizen to bear arms is just one more guarantee against arbitrary government, one more safeguard against tyranny, which now appears remote in America, but which historically has proved to be always possible.").
156	<i>set in stone</i> : Memorandum from Gerry Bush to John G. Stewart, May 23, 1968, Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control.
157	<i>inquired about it</i> : Letter from Neal Knox to Hubert H. Humphrey, April 29, 1968, Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control. <i>See also</i> "Presidential Candidates Present Their Views on Gun Legislation," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 24, 1968, pp. 1, 2; "How Lawmakers Vote," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 10, 1968, p. 4 (informing readers that the editors of <i>Gun Week</i> were writing each member of Congress to get their firearms control position).
157	<i>state and local governments</i> : Letter Draft from Hubert H. Humphrey to Neal Knox, [May 23, 1968], Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control.
157	<i>might be warranted</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
157	<i>concept of firearms registration</i> : "HHH: 'Must Require Registration, Licenses'," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 26, 1968, pp. 1, 2. <i>See also</i> "Humphrey Wants Gun Registration," <i>Ada Weekly News</i> (OK), September 26, 1968, p. 2; "Need Gun Laws: HHH," <i>Arizona Daily Sun</i> (Flagstaff, AZ), August 3, 1968, p. 9; "Humphrey Favors Gun Registration," <i>Casa Grande Dispatch</i> (AZ), August 7, 1968, p. 3.
157	<i>sardonic laugh</i> : The story in this paragraph was reported in newspapers across the country through the Associated Press. <i>See, e.g.,</i> "Gun Controls Opposed," <i>New York</i>

	<i>Times</i> , June 6, 1968, p. 22; John Herbers, “Kennedy Heckled in Oregon Over Controls,” <i>New York Times</i> , May 28, 1968, p. 10; “Kennedy Debates Gun Controls in Oregon; Two Planes Nearly Collide,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), May 28, 1968, p. A3; “Planes Carrying Kennedy, Party in Near Collision,” <i>Times and Democrat</i> (Orangeburg, SC), May 28, 1968, p. 2; “RFK, Press Planes in Near Miss,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , May 28, 1968, p. 28.
158	<i>he died</i> : For more details of the events leading up to and after Robert F. Kennedy’s assassination, see O’Donnell, <i>Playing with Fire</i> , pp. 269-72.
158	<i>their own hands</i> : See, e.g. “The Gun Under Fire,” <i>Time</i> , June 21, 1968, pp. 13-18.
158	<i>firearms and ammunition</i> : It is worth noting that this was not the first time that businesses reacted this way in response to the death of a Kennedy. See, e.g., “Sears Halts Mail, Store Pistol Sales,” <i>Atlanta Journal Constitution</i> , December 1, 1963, p. 41.
158	<i>Sears-Roebuck</i> : “Montgomery Ward, Sears Has Gun Policy,” <i>Johnson City Press</i> (TN), June 20, 1968, p. 21; John Chamberlain, “We Need Something More than Gun Laws,” <i>Daily News</i> (Lebanon, PA), June 14, 1968, p. 4.
158	<i>Kennedy’s assassination</i> : See Peter Grose, “Rifle Group Head Disputes Need of Controls,” <i>New York Times</i> , June 8 1968, p. 16; “Glassen Still Opposes Curbs,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> , June 6, 1968, sec. F, p. 1; “House Rushes Gun Control Bill,” <i>News</i> (Patterson, NJ), June 6, 1968, p. 33; “No Gun Control Law Would Have Helped—Head of the NRA,” <i>Herald-News</i> (Passaic, NJ), June 6, 1968, p. 6.
158	<i>sale of firearms</i> : Joseph D. Tydings, Press Release, June 5, 1968, Tydings Papers, series 6, box 22, folder 22, Statements on Gun Control 1967-1970. Tydings response was understandable seeing how close he was with senator Kennedy. In fact, Tydings had been on the campaign trail with senator Kennedy for 60 days, and only flew back to Maryland to vote in his state’s primary election. Audio Interview with Joseph D. Tydings by Patrick J. Charles, July 12, 2018, Part 1, 16:50-17:10 (on file with author).
158	<i>guns compulsory</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Statement on Shooting of Senator Kennedy,” June 5, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5651. The following day, after Kennedy succumbed to his wounds, Dodd issued a much less political statement, with no mention of firearms controls. See Statement of Thomas J. Dodd on the Floor of the Senate, June 6, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 89, folder 2551.
158	<i>controls were expected</i> : See, e.g., Joseph S. Clark, News Release, “Statement of Senator Joseph S. Clark on the Death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy,” June 6, 1968, Joseph S. Clark Papers, box 271, folder News Releases (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Society) (hereinafter Clark Papers).
158	<i>both political parties</i> : See, e.g., Ben Cole, “Guns and Mental Health Spotlited in Congress,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), June 6, 1968, p. 17; “‘Pass the Anticrime Bill’ Cries Arise in Congress,” <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), June 5, 1968, p. 11; “Gun Control Demands,” <i>Lincoln Journal Star</i> (NE), June 5, 1968, p. 24; Marquise W. Childs, “Capitol Horrified Over Shooting,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), June 5, 1968, p. 2A; “Gun Bill Speedup Demanded,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton,

	NY), June 5, 1968, p. 10C; “House Pace Quickens on Gun Control,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), June 5, 1968, p. 3.
158	<i>June 6</i> : Jack Miller, “Congress Moves on Gun Control,” <i>Springfield News-Leader</i> (MO), June 6, 1968, p. 30.
160	<i>strong firearms controls</i> : “Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Urging Passage of an Effective Gun Control Law,” June 6, 1968, <i>Public Papers of the President of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson: Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President 1968-69</i> , vol. 1 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1970), 296-97.
160	<i>John F. Kennedy</i> : Ibid.
160	<i>Law it needs</i> : Ibid.
160	<i>long gun controls</i> : CBS TV, Special Report, “Gun Bill Debated in House, Harold Glassen Comments,” June 6, 1968, Harold W. Glassen Papers, box 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Glassen Papers).
161	<i>responded Glassen</i> : Ibid.
161	<i>upon deaf ears</i> : NRA officials continued to push this argument even after the House vote. See, e.g., “No Law Could Have...Yet NRA is Blamed,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 41; “Guns,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , June 11, 1968, p. A12; Robert A. Hunt, “Action on Gun Ban Bill Said Being Readied,” <i>Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph</i> (CO), June 7, 1968, p. 7B; “Rifle Chief: Bill No Help,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), June 7, 1968, p. 32A.
161	<i>369 to 17 margin</i> : See, e.g., Clark Mollenhoff, “House Passes Gun Controls in Crime Bill,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), June 7, 1968, pp. 1, 8.
161	<i>bomb threats</i> : See, e.g., “Bomb Threats, Profanity and Pickets,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 21; “10 Million Names Sought: Drive Started for Tough Gun Law,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), June 12, 1968, p. A2; Robert Sherrill, “Gun Laws Fail Because of Rifle Lobby,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), June 9, 1968, pp. H1, H4; Dorothy Ricciardi, “Angered by RFK Shooting: Four Profs Picket Rifle Unit Offices,” <i>Courier-Post</i> (Camden, NJ), June 7, 1968, p. 20; “Pickets Ask: ‘Who’s Next...John John?’” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), June 8, 1968, p. 6.
161	<i>federal firearms controls</i> : See Robert W. Lucas, “LBJ Charges Panel to Look Under All Rugs,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), June 11, 1968, p. 6C; “Commission to Study Violence,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), June 7, 1968, p. 15.
161	<i>take up the matter</i> : See, e.g., Letter from George W. Romney to Price Daniel, Assistant to the President for Federal-State Relations, June 26, 1968, George W. Romney Papers, box 219, folder Gun Control Law (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Romney Papers); Letter from Price Daniel, Assistant to the President for Federal-State Relations, to Albert Brewer, June 19, 1968, Alabama Governor Legislative Tracking Files, 1955-1979, SG23187, folder 12, June 1968-July 1968, Gun Control (Montgomery, AL: Alabama Department of Archives and History) (hereinafter Alabama Governor Files); Letter from Price

	<p>Daniel, Assistant to the President for Federal-State Relations, to Raymond Shafer, June 19, 1968, Raymond P. Shafer Papers, Subject Files, 1964-1971, carton 36, folder 2, Firearms Control (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania State Archives) (hereinafter Shafer Papers); Letter from Price Daniel, Assistant to the President for Federal-State Relations, to Phillip H. Hoff, June 19, 1968, Phillip H. Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 29 (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Silver Special Collections Library) (hereinafter Hoff Papers); Letter from Phillip H. Hoff to Price Daniel, Assistant to the President for Federal-State Relations, June 12, 1968, Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 29; Letter from Benjamin M. Collins, Vermont Secretary of Civil and Military Affairs, to James L. Oaks, Vermont attorney general, June 10, 1968, Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 28; "House Committee, in Tie Vote, Refuses to Send Johnson Gun Curb Bill to Floor," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), June 11, 1968, pp. 1, 11. <i>See also</i> "Gun Control Legislation Remains Hot Item on State, Local Levels," <i>Gun Week</i>, July 19, 1968, p. 5; "Gun Bills Blooming Across Nation," <i>Gun Week</i>, July 5, 1968, p. 5; "Comments Across Nation Indicate Coming Push for State Gun Laws," <i>Gun Week</i>, June 28, 1968, pp. 1, 9.</p>
161	<p><i>delivery will be made</i>: United States Postal Office, General Release No. 109, June 12, 1968, <i>in</i> Carl Albert Papers, box LG 112, Folder 14, Majority Leader Files, Special Files, Summary of Pending Gun Control Legislation (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Albert Papers).</p>
161	<p><i>record pace</i>: <i>See</i> "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Gun Issue Livened Up; Probe Threatened," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1968, pp. 28-30; "A Special Report: Gun Owners Faced with Stiff Controls," <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1968, pp. 41-43; "A Call for Nationwide Registration," <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), June 12, 1968, p. 17; "Battle Begins: Senate Eyes Gun Control," <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), June 11, 1968, p. 2A.</p>
161	<p><i>vote was taken today</i>: Thomas L. Kimball, "Firearms Control Legislation," June 11, 1968, William E. Guckert Papers, box 6, folder 11 (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Special Collections) (hereinafter Guckert Papers).</p>
162	<p><i>dictated their every move</i>: Harold W. Glassen, "Another Opinion: The Right to Bear Arms," <i>New York Times</i>, June 16, 1968, p. E17. A speech that parrots this editorial can be found in Glassen's personal papers but reads a bit differently. <i>See</i> Harold W. Glassen, Press Release, undated 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1 ("It is reminiscent of the 1930's before and during World War II when the Goebel's propaganda machine worked so well on the German people using the principle of the big lie."). <i>See also</i> "NRA Leader Calls Talk on Gun Laws 'Cover Up'," <i>Daily Press</i> (Newport News, VA), August 25, 1968, p. 13D; "NRA President: Gun Bill Clamor 'Mass Hysteria'," <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), June 24, 1968, p. 3.</p>
162	<p><i>keep and bear arms</i>: Harold W. Glassen, "Another Opinion: The Right to Bear Arms," <i>New York Times</i>, June 16, 1968, p. E17.</p>
162	<p><i>supporting firearms control</i>: The National Committee for the Control of Weapons (NCCW), formed in 1963, was technically the first such organization to arrive on the scene since the short-lived contributions of the National Anti-Weapons Association (1931-1933). <i>See</i> Philip Benjamin, "New Group Urges Laws to Curb Sale of</p>

	Firearms,” <i>New York Times</i> , December 4, 1963, p. 19; “Anti-Weapon Association,” <i>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</i> 22 (1932): 768; “Antiweapon Group Formed in Capital,” <i>Lincoln Evening Journal</i> (NE), October 30, 1931, p. 2; “Antiweapon Group Is Being Formed,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), October 30, 1931, p. 26. Also, in 1967, the National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy (NCRFP) was formed. See Ben A. Franklin, “Gun Curb Fight Opens in Capital,” <i>New York Times</i> , April 9, 1967, p. 96; John D. Morris, “Congress Seen Favoring Crime Control Measure,” <i>New York Times</i> , March 6, 1967, p. 22. However, it was not until the arrival of the Emergency Committee for Gun Control (ECGC) that a formidable adversary to the gun-rights movement was effectively in place.
162	<i>ECGC</i> : “Gun Law Lobby Formed,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , June 25, 1968, p. 13; “DC Bracing for Marchers; Gun Curbs Notch New Gain,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 18, 1968, p. 1.
162	<i>talking point</i> : Emergency Committee on Gun Control, “All Those Working for More Effective Gun Control Legislation,” undated, John H. Glenn Archives, Senate Papers, Personal/Political Series, box 53, folder 23 (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Congressional Papers) (hereinafter Glenn Papers).
162	<i>should not have them</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1.
162	<i>intention to do so</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 3.
162	<i>grassroot tactics</i> : For behind-the-scenes documentation on the ECGC’s grass roots tactics, see generally William L. Dunfey Personal Papers, box 15, folder 17 (Boston, MA: (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereinafter Dunfey Papers).
164	<i>gun violence</i> : See “Push Weapons Control towards Floor Debate,” <i>Salina Journal</i> (KS), July 11, 1968, p. 2; David R. Jones, “Gun Controls: Pressures to Disarm,” <i>New York Times</i> , July 7, 1968, p. E6; Richard H. Stewart, “Gun Registration Runs into Senate Rule Snags,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , June 27, 1968, p. 1; “Dodd, NRA Head Debate Gun Law,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), June 24, 1968, p. 6C; Richard Harwood, “US Mood on Gun Controls Shifting, Citizens Growing Angry, More Vocal,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), June 23, 1968, p. 4; James Doyle, “Congress Flooded by Mail Demanding Controls,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , June 16, 1968, p. 1; “Gun Law Backers Picket at NRA,” <i>Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), June 12, 1968, p. A2.
164	<i>said it to your Senators</i> : See, e.g., “Ad 37,” <i>New York Times</i> , June 15, 1968, p. 21.
164	<i>Congress to act</i> : “Ad 48,” <i>New York Times</i> , June 17, 1968, p. 27. For gun rights advocates response to the ECGC’s advertising, see “A Special Report: Anti-Gun Ad Campaign Lacks Boom,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, pp. 24-25; “Anti-Gun Lobby Hits with Well-Organized Campaign,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 19, 1968, p. 6.
164	<i>sale of ammunition</i> : See Statement by Senator Thomas J. Dodd on the Floor of the Senate, June 11, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5655; Letter from Ramsey Clark, Attorney General of the United States, to Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States Senate, June 10, 1968, <i>in</i> Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5655; Letter from Ramsey Clark, Attorney General of the United States, to James O. Eastland,

	Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman, June 10, 1968, <i>in</i> Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5655.
164	<i>he chaired</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, untitled, June 18, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5661.
164	<i>H.R. 17735</i> : On June 11, 1968, the House Judiciary Committee conducted its first vote on President Johnson's firearms bill proposal, which resulted in a 16 to 16 tie. <i>See</i> Philip Dodd, "House Group's Tie Vote Hits Gun Curb Bill," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , June 12, 1968, p. 1B.
164	<i>Judiciary Committee</i> : "Judiciary Committee Clears Tight Gun-Control Measure," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), June 21, 1968, p. 6.
164	<i>S. 3634</i> : For more on Tydings push for firearms registration and licensing, see Joseph D. Tydings, News Release, untitled, June 18, 1968, Tydings Papers, series 6, box 22, folder 22, Statements on Gun Control 1967-1970; National Broadcasting Company, Transcript, Meet the Press, June 9, 1968, in Tydings Papers, series 6, box 22, folder 22, Statements on Gun Control 1967-1970.
164	<i>S. 3633</i> : <i>See</i> Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, untitled, June 10, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5652; Letter from Ramsey Clark, Attorney General of the United States, to Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States Senate, June 10, 1968, <i>in</i> Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5655 (includes bill titled "An Act to Require the Registration of Firearms"). However, President Johnson's firearms registration and licensing bill, S. 3691, was officially introduced weeks later.
166	<i>wrong approach</i> : Memorandum from Bob Perry to Thomas J. Dodd, "Prospects for the Various Gun Bills," June 17, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 89, folder 2531. It was questionable for Dodd's staff to label Tydings' firearms registration and licensing bill as the "most extreme." This was because Tydings' bill placed the onerous on the state governments to resolve the issue. <i>See</i> Letter from Joseph D. Tydings to Bourke B. Hickenlooper, June 10, 1968, Hickenlooper Papers, box 21, folder 3, Gun Control 1968 ("The bill will place primary responsibility on each state to enact a strong gun law, but will provide Federal government protection to the extent any state fails to act.").
166	<i>additional firearms controls</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Change of Heart on Gun Bills," <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), June 20, 1968, p. 6; "West Holsters Gun-Control Animosity," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 17, 1968, p. 2; "Stricter Gun Controls Probable as Pressures Grow on Congress," <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), June 17, 1968, p. 6A; Solons Back Gun Ban Bill; Support Given Johnson; Magnuson Alters Views," <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (WA), June 15, 1968, p. 1.
166	<i>voting dynamic</i> : Memorandum from Bob Perry to Thomas J. Dodd, "Prospects for the Various Gun Bills," June 17, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 89, folder 2531.
166	<i>back the next day</i> : The account of this conversation was taken from the University of Virginia's secret white house tapes project. <i>See</i> Conversation Between Lyndon B. Johnson and Joseph Tydings, June 19, 1968, Secret White House Tapes: Lyndon Johnson Presidency, University of Virginia Miller Center, https://millercenter.org/the-

	presidency/secret-white-house-tapes/conversation-joseph-tydings-june-19-1968. For a much different recollection of this conversation, see Joseph D. Tydings and John W. Frece, <i>My Life in Progressive Politics: Against the Grain</i> (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2018, p. 298.
166	<i>registration proposal</i> : Audio Interview with Joseph D. Tydings by Patrick J. Charles, July 12, 2018, part 2, 5:15-6:00 (on file with author).
166	<i>filed in the Senate</i> : “LBJ Asks Rifle-Shotgun Sales Ban; Dodd Introduces Registration Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 21, 1968, pp. 1, 2.
166	<i>two days later</i> : See, e.g., “Stiff Gun Law a Must: Ted,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), June 26, 1968, pp. 1A-2A; “U.S. Gun Bill Seeks Registration, Permits, State Control,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , June 26, 1968, p. 3; “Stiffer Gun Law Urged by Johnson,” <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (WA), June 25, 1968, p. 1; Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Senator Dodd Opens Hearings on Registration Bills,” June 26, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5668.
166	<i>mount a response</i> : “Johnson Demands Gun Registration, Owner Licensing; Backlash Building,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 5, 1968, pp. 1, 2; John Chadwick, “Senate Group Postpones Gun Control Law Action,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), June 28, 1968, p. A2.
166	<i>overwhelmingly so</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Philip A. Hart to Howard C. Ross, August 5, 1968, Philip A. Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Hart Papers) (noting the receipt of over 30,000 letters on firearms controls); Jacob K. Javits, Press Release, “The Congress and Gun Control,” July 22, 1968, Jacob K. Javits Papers, box 41, folder Kiwanis Club of Ithaca, Gun Control (Stony Brook, NY: Stony Brook University Special Collections and Archives) (hereinafter Javits Papers); Letter from Bob Dole to George Logan, July 2, 1968, Bob Dole Papers, series 1, subseries 4, box 46, folder 1 (Lawrence, KS: Kansas University Dole Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Dole Papers) (“We had in excess of 700 letters running 4-1 against federal licensing and federal registration of firearms.”); Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Avalanche of Mail Pours In, As America Speaks Out for Strong Gun Controls,” June 21, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 210, folder 5664 (“In the last ten days, a total of 16,574 letters, cards, and petitions...have been received...Of these, 13,827 were in favor of strict gun controls, including registration of all firearms.”); Joseph D. Tydings, News Release, untitled, June 18, 1968, Tydings Papers, series 6, box 22, folder 22, Statements on Gun Control 1967-1970 (“In the past seven days I have received more than 10,000 letters, telegrams and telephone calls from all over the country demanding, by 20 to 1, a strong Federal gun control law.”); “Ervin’s Mail Favors Gun Control; Others Solons Get Mixed Reaction,” <i>News and Observer</i> (Raleigh, NC), June 13, 1968, pp. 1, 13; Gene S. Goldenberg, “‘Peoples Lobby’ Backs Gun Control,” <i>Oneonta Star</i> (NY), June 12, 1968, p. 3 (reporting that 70% of New York senator Jacob K. Javits mail was in favor of firearms controls since the assassination).
166	<i>overwhelmingly in opposition</i> : See, e.g., “Gun Mail Heavy, Reports Congressional Delegation,” <i>Bangor Daily News</i> (ME), July 11, 1968, p. 8; “Griffin Says Gun Control Mail Changes,” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), July 9, 1968, p. 1; “Flood of Mail Against Gun Controls Reverses Trend After RFK Slaying,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i>

	(CA), June 26, 1968, p. A2; "Solons' Mail Now Strongly Against Stiff Gun Control," <i>Courier</i> (Waterloo, IA), June 26, 1968, p. 2; Richard Harwood, "U.S. Mood on Gun Controls Shifting, Citizens Growing Angry, More Vocal," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), June 23, 1968, p. 4G; "Gun-Curb Tide Rises," <i>Times</i> (Munster, IN), June 21, 1968, p. 13A; Roulhac Hamilton, "Floridians Deluging Solons With Gun Control Mail," <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), June 21, 1968, pp. 1A, 2A; "Gun Law Mail Reverses Form, Now Evenly Split, Eshleman Says," <i>Lancaster New Era</i> (PA), June 20, 1968, pp. 1, 22; "Sportsmen: Immediate Action is Needed to Preserve Your Right to Keep and Bear Arms!" <i>Jackson Hole Guide</i> (WY), June 20, 1968, p. 15; Donald M. Rothberg, "The National Rifle Association: How it Battles Gun Control," <i>Janesville Daily Gazette</i> (WI), June 18, 1968, p. 4.
167	<i>history of our country</i> : Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to all NRA members, June 14, 1968, reprinted in <i>Bangor Daily News</i> (ME), July 1, 1968, p. 20. <i>See also</i> Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to all NRA members, June 14, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.
167	<i>all but certain</i> : Ibid. The NSSF also sent out a letter to its members regarding the sudden onslaught of restrictive firearms bills being filed at the federal, state, and local level. Letter from Charles Dickey, NSSF director, to all NSSF members, June 21, 1968 (on file with author).
167	<i>firearms are confiscated</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Bob Neal, "Panic on the Hill," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1968, pp. 36-37, 105; E.B. Mann, "Tilting at Windmills," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1968, pp. 28-29, 54-56.
167	<i>political action</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Registration</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), 5, 10; NRA Head Scoffs at Gun License Law in New York," <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), January 7, 1955, p. 14; C.B. Lister, "Simple Arithmetic," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1949, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Matter of Proportion," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Optimist – Or Sucker?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1948, p. 12; C.B. Lister, "Pattern in Red," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1948, p. 10; C.B. Lister, "Passion for Crisis," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1948, p. 10; "C.B. Lister, "Invasion," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1943, p. 11; "Suggest Training in Use of Small Arms By Citizens," <i>Oshkosh Daily Northwestern</i> (WI), June 25, 1940, p. 9; "C.B. Lister Assails Cummings Speech," <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), November 29, 1935, p. 3; "The Sinister Influence," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1935, p. 6; "Stick to the Issue, Mr. Alco!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1934, p. 6; "Powder Smoke," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1934, p. 4; "Shades of the Pioneers!" <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1934, p. 4; "Gun Registration," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1934, p. 4; Karl T. Frederick, "Are You Men or Mutton?" <i>Field and Stream</i> , February 1932, p. 13. <i>See also</i> C.B. Lister, "Registration-Confiscation," <i>Lexington Advertiser</i> (MS), March 14, 1946, p. 4 ("Confiscation of guns owned by the people is always the first step in the imposition of the will of a minority. (Two million Communists took over a hundred and seventy million unarmed other Russians in 1918). Registration is the first step in confiscation.").

167	<p><i>about to come true: See, e.g.,</i> Martin Stoffel, “Firearms Registration,” <i>McHenry Plaindealer</i> (IL), July 3, 1968, sec. 2, p. 2 (“The other night on of our spacemen and a T.V. personality assured fifteen million viewers that there would never be firearms confiscation. But at this very time some Congressmen and Senators are demanding confiscation of all hand firearms.”); E.T., “Takes Issue with Views in Editorial on Gun Laws,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), July 1, 1968, p. 26 (“Of course anti-gun forces (including communists) who wish to see Americans disarmed see no problem to the sportsman by use of registration, but who will guarantee that after registration that confiscation...would not follow...”); Eric E. Shawver, “Firearms Registration a Threat,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (FL), July 1, 1968, p. 16A (“What then, is the purpose of a centralized list of firearms and their owners? It seems that the only use for such a list would be the eventual confiscation of the firearms.”); Robert E. Schulz, “Suggests Registering Ropes Besides Guns,” <i>Oshkosh Northwestern</i> (WI), July 1, 1968, p. 8 (“This [armed citizenry] defense system can be destroyed only by registration of firearms, which would create an eventual means of confiscation or disarmament of the citizenry by an undesirable group in power...such as happened in Nazi Germany.”); J.H. Dupuy, “Gun Registration Dangerous Precedent,” <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), June 24, 1968, p. 4 (“The law-abiding citizens will register their firearms and thereby set themselves up as sitting ducks, awaiting the day when the order will come: ‘Turn in your firearms.’”). <i>But see</i> “Half a Loaf is Better Than None,” <i>Montgomery Advertiser</i> (AL), July 23, 1968, p. 4 (editorial stating that firearms registration will lead to firearms confiscation as much as vehicle registration leads to vehicle confiscation); “Gun Confiscation—Can It Happen?” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i>, July 21, 1968, p. 2B (editorial responding to sportsmen’s that claim firearms registration leads to firearms confiscation).</p>
167	<p><i>remind them of it: See, e.g.,</i> “Registration Raises Issue of Confiscation, NRA Holds,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1968, pp. 42-43; “Truths to Remember: Part 2,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1968, p. 23; Letter from Harold W. Glassen to Robert J. Martin, July 8, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“[Anti-firearms lawmakers] go one step at a time; first control of mail order shipment, then prohibition of mail order shipment, then prohibition of interstate sale of handguns, then prohibition of interstate sale of all firearms, then <i>national</i> registration, then a discretionary permit to possess. I cannot subscribe to the last several of the above steps, but there is another step to be taken which many of the supporters of anti-gun legislation are frank to state and that is the ultimate prohibition of private ownership of firearms.”); “Why Gun Controls?” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), June 27, 1968, p. 8; “Dodd, NRA Head Debate Gun Law,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), June 24, 1968, p. 6C (debate between senator Dodd and NRA president Glassen, with the latter claiming that if a federal firearms registration law passes it is the first step towards confiscation); Richard H. Stewart, “‘Panic’ Gun Laws Feared by McCarthy,” <i>Boston Globe</i>, June 24, 1968, p. 2 (NRA president Glassen quoted as saying, “Many of the supporters of Senator Dodd’s legislation are in favor of confiscation. They are against private ownership of firearms.”); “President of NRA Fears ‘Confiscation’,” <i>Greenville News</i> (SC), June 24, 1968, p. 11.</p>
167	<p><i>in a similar light: See, e.g.,</i> Rex Applegate, “Guns and the Law: Some Thoughts on Riots and Gun Laws,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1968, pp. 32-33, 72-73; Drew Pearson,</p>

“Smathers, Kennedy Miss Key Gun Vote,” *News-Press* (Fort Myers, FL), July 9, 1968, p. 4; Letter from W.F. Wichers to Bob Dole, July 10, 1968, Dole Papers, series 1, subseries 4, box 46, folder 1 (“Registering all guns of law-abiding citizens will only enable them to be taken from them later, leaving them defenseless against the criminals or communists who will have guns. Registration was Hitler’s tactic. I hope we can learn from Germany’s lesson.”); “The Cold Facts About Firearms Legislation,” *Bangor Daily News* (ME), July 1, 1968, p. 20; “Federal Gun Control Laws Will Bring on Police State!” *Alert Newsletter*, June 25, 1968, in Alabama Governor Files, SG23187, folder 13, June-July 1968, Gun Control (“Communists and their supporters have infiltrated every echelon of our government...It is they who seek to disarm the citizens, knowing that they cannot take us over if we are armed.”); Letter from Fred W. Clarke to Albert Brewer, June 26, 1968, Alabama Governor Files, SG23187, folder 12, June-July 1968, Gun Control (noting opposition to firearms controls on several grounds, including that the aim of controls is the “Communist philosophy” of confiscation); Duncan J. Parks, “Plug Immigration Loopholes,” *Star-Gazette* (Elmira, NY), June 25, 1968, p. 6 (“The NRA recognizes the Communist threat to our life and liberty. It would do Tydings well to remember when he referred to right wing extremists, that it was a left wing extremist that assassinated President Kennedy.”); Letter from Thomas E. Wessel to Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, June 20, 1968, Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to NRA Lifetime Members, January 29, 1969, Thomas E. Wessel Papers (owned by author) (hereinafter Wessel Papers) (“Let us AWAKE the ‘sleeping GIANT’ of moderate Americans and soundly trounce the pro-Socialist columnists and TV commentators, the DISARM-AMERICA-AND-GIVE-IT-TO-THE-RUSSIANS liberals—and the rest of these treasonous Kremlinites...A well-written mailing piece with the GUNS MADE AMERICA...FREE approach would well turn the tide in our favor and destroy the positions of the power hungry politicians, the bleeding hearts, and the candy-ass old women, the do-gooders who never fired a shot in anger, and other associated vermin in our midst. We could call it OPERATION VARMINTER...”); Letter from Al Alexander to Thomas Jefferson Steed, June 19, 1968, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box 45, folder 4, Judiciary-Gun Control 1968 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers) (“All the liberal voices have been joined into a high pitch scream for gun laws. Makes us wonder that’s the REAL purpose behind Kennedy’s murder... With the communists leading the riots in the streets, why should we, the law abiding, be disarmed and defenseless?”); Letter from C.R. Janssen to Thomas Jefferson Steed, June 19, 1968, Steed Papers, box 45, folder 4, Judiciary-Gun Control 1968 (“Compulsory registration is the first step to confiscation. In all the communist countries one of the first steps in the ‘take over’ was the registration and eventual confiscation of firearms. Please, don’t let it happen here.”); Resolution of Redwood Republican Assembly, June 17, 1968, Hickenlooper Papers, box 31, folder 3, Gun Control 1968 (noting how “much of the legislation demanded [in the wake of senator Kennedy’s assassination] would better serve to aid the criminals and subversive groups (including Communists)...”). See also Letter from Frank DePalo to Phillip H. Hoff, July 31, 1968, Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 30 (inferring that Kennedy’s assassination was in part due to his sympathizing with “leftists” and “communists,” and stating, “I’ll die first with gun in

	hand before any legislature <i>comes to</i> take my protection away from me.”); James L. Glackin, “Gun Laws vs. the Constitution,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , June 1968, pp. 22-23, 81 (linking firearms control with Nazi and communist ideals just before senator Kennedy’s assassination).
167	<i>into communist hands</i> : “Gun Control Makes Strange Bedfellows,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, p. 18.
167	<i>gun rights advocates</i> : Anti-Defamation League, “Research and Evaluation Report: Extremism, Violence and Guns,” June 26, 1968, in Hickenlooper Papers, box 21, folder 4, Gun Control July 1968 (listing the political positions of several gun rights advocacy groups); “Gun Control Fight Crystallizes Pressure Groups,” <i>Group Research Report</i> , June 28, 1967, William D. Ford Papers, box 3, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Ford Papers) (same); Everett C. Lerch, <i>Don’t Let Them Take Away Your Gun!</i> (Bristol, TN: Urgent Publications, 1968), 6-7, Hickenlooper Papers, box 21, folder 4, Gun Control July 1968 (“[Firearms controls] are the cries of the punks and the Communists who want this nation disarmed for an easy takeover... It is the cry of the ‘liberal’ in government who wants to see socialism triumph over democracy”); “Gun Control Will Be Final Move Before Takeover,” <i>Common Sense</i> , July 1968, p. 1, Hickenlooper Papers, box 21, folder 4, Gun Control July 1968 (stating that the deep state is pushing for firearms controls and “the success of the Communist Black Revolution with all that it implies: anarchy and the end of American as we have known it.”).
167	<i>appeasing communists</i> : <i>Wake Up, America! Before the “Liberals” Take Away Your Guns!</i> (Phoenix, AZ: July 1, 1968), in Romney Papers, box 219, folder Gun Control.
168	<i>Sherwood in an editorial</i> : Earl Sherwood, “Slaying Spurs Propaganda for Federal Gun Controls,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , September 1968, p. 4.
168	<i>restore law and order</i> : Ibid.
168	<i>lose steam</i> : See, e.g., “Opposition to Gun Laws Building as Delays Slow ‘Mail Order’ Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 12, 1968, p. 1.
168	<i>art of the possible</i> : Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to Lyndon B. Johnson, July 5, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 89, folder 2551.
168	<i>cautioned Dodd</i> : Ibid.
168	<i>gun nuts</i> : For reporting on the hearing, see “Dodd Loses ‘Cool’ at Hearing; California May Vote on Gun Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 9, 1968, p. 12; Alan E. Schoenhaus, “Dodd is Booed at Haring on Gun Controls,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), July 17, 1968, pp. 1, 26; Charles F.J. Morse, “Sportsmen Boo Dodd at Gun Bill Hearing,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), July 17, 1968, pp. 1, 4. The crowd was organized by James E. Murray III, chairman of the Connecticut Board of Firearms Permit Examiners and officer of the Connecticut Rifle and Revolver Association. “Murray Hits Back at Dodd, On ‘Packed’ Hearing Blast,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), July 19, 1968, p. 31; “Murray Denies Claim He ‘Packed’ Hearing,” <i>Bridgeport Telegram</i> (CT), July 19, 1968, pp. 1, 2; Dodd Asks Ouster of Gun Chairman,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), July 18, 1968, p. 4;

	<p>“Dodd Rips Murray, Calls on Governor to Oust Him,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), July 18, 1968, pp. 1, 2.</p>
169	<p><i>going to pass Congress</i>: The day after the hearing, Dodd issues a press release referring to the actions of the attending sportsmen, hunters, and gun owner as “hysterical mob rule.” Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Senator Dodd Assails ‘Mob Rule’ at State Legislative Hearing on Guns,” July 17, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 211, folder 5682.</p>
169	<p><i>firearms registration bill</i>: Tydings and, <i>My Life in Progressive Politics</i>, p. 299. <i>See also</i> “Prospect of Stricter Gun Law Fades,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), July 6, 1968, p. 6. Prior to senator Kennedy’s assassination, Mansfield would be best described as a cautious moderate on firearms controls. <i>See</i> “Montana Lawmakers Reply on Firearms Legislation,” <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT), September 2, 1966, p. 4; John Kamps, “Delegation Opposes Arms Control,” <i>Missoulian</i> (Missoula, MT), June 6, 1965, p. 16; Letter from Mike Mansfield to Riley Johnson, Fishing and Hunting News editor, March 9, 1964, Lee Metcalf Papers, box 154, folder 5, Firearms (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society) (hereinafter Metcalf Papers).</p>
169	<p><i>made political sense</i>: <i>See</i> John Kamps, “After Kennedy’s Death...Rocky Mountains Ease Gun Control Objections,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 18, 1968, p. 7; “Mansfield Favors Tydings Bill,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 18, 1968, p. 2; Kenneth Scheibel, “Why Did Mike Switch on Guns?” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 16, 1968, p. 2; “Pressure Builds for Tougher Gun Controls,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), June 17, 1968, p. 1; “Mike Backs ‘Toughest’ Gun Registration Bill,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 16, 1968, pp. 1, 10; “Mansfield Favors Gun Registration,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 11, 1968, pp. 1, 2.</p>
169	<p><i>support of firearms controls</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, Gene S. Goldenberg, “‘Peoples Lobby’ Backs Gun Control,” <i>Oneonta Star</i> (NY), June 12, 1968, p. 3.</p>
169	<p><i>Philip A. Hart</i>: In the case of senator Hart, the assassination of senator Kennedy completely changed his firearms control position. <i>See</i> Letter from Philip A. Hart to Lawrence Powers, September 10, 1968, Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Control (“My position on gun control has, indeed, changed. Originally, I felt that when the only proposal was to provide mail order control of long guns it was a useless gesture, since such action would in no way provide adequate controls but would simply provide an inconvenience to the catalogue buyers. Since proposals for registration and licensing of shoulder arms have now been made, it seems to me that this, coupled with a mail-order ban, represents a real answer and I am supporting such legislation.”).</p>
170	<p><i>Tydings’ bill</i>: “Our Readers’ Opinions...About Gun Controls and Senator’s Stand,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), July 6, 1968, p. 6; “Proposed Gun Controls Arouse Readers,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 30, 1968, p. 5; “Mike and Gun Control,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), June 28, 1968, p. 4; “Anti-Gun Bill Mail Deluging Mike,” <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), June 26, 1968, p. 10; “Our Readers’ Opinions...Aim Gun Control Law at Criminal Element,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 24, 1968, p. 6; Kenneth Scheibel, “Montana Blistering Mike for Gun Stand,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 20, 1968, p. 1; “Petitions Seek to Block Gun Control,” <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), June 19, 1968, p. 1. <i>But see</i> “Mansfield Shows His Courage,” <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT),</p>

	June 28, 1968, p. 4 (defending Mansfield's decision to cosponsor and back firearms registration and licensing); "Time for Sound Thinking About...Gun Control Legislation," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 23, 1968, p. 6 (same); "Change of Heart on Gun Controls," <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), June 20, 1968, p. 6 (same).
170	<i>carried out</i> : Mike Mansfield, Press Release, "Remarks of Senator Mike Mansfield at the Annual Dinner of the American Advisory Committee, European Institute of Business Administration," June 27, 1968, Mike Mansfield Papers, box 44, folder 42 (Missoula, MT: Mansfield Library, University of Montana) (hereinafter Mansfield Papers).
170	<i>regulate firearms</i> : "Sen. Mansfield Gives Views on Anti-Gun Legislation," <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), June 19, 1968, p. 10.
170	<i>way-of-life</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Mike Mansfield to Steve Rapkoch, June 27, 1968, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Mike Mansfield to Hugh W. Dresser, June 19, 1968, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.
170	<i>registration proposal</i> : "Mike Opposing Gun Registration," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), July 4, 1968, p. 1; "Mike Opposes Johnson's Gun Measure," <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), July 4, 1968, p. 3; "Speaks Out Against Administration Bill," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), July 4, 1968, p. 2; "Mansfield Says 'No' to LBJ Gun Proposal," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 27, 1968, p. 1.
170	<i>Senator Kennedy</i> : "LBJ Cites N.Y. Ambush in Appeal," <i>Argus</i> (Fremont, CA), July 4, 1968, p. 5; John Kamps, "Shooting of Young Montanan Changed Mansfield," <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), July 4, 1968, p. 3; "Fishtail Marine Shot in Washington," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 6, 1968, p. 1.
170	<i>question of gun-control</i> : Letter from Mike Mansfield to Mrs. Leo Lesnik, June 26, 1968, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.
170	<i>cities of the nation</i> : Ibid.
172	<i>opposed to firearms registration</i> : Gun Count as of August 3, 1968, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1. See also "Mike is Target of Firing Line," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 26, 1968, p. 1; "Mail Heaviest in 25 Years...Mike Standing Firm on Gun Control Legislation," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 26, 1968, p. 7.
172	<i>political fanfare</i> : See, e.g., "Babcock Urges Demos to Oppose Gun Laws," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), September 17, 1968, p. 4; H.W.C. Newberry, "Outdoors with Doc," <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), July 28, 1968, p. 8; Ken Scheibel, "Metcalf Opposing Gun Registration," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), July 12, 1968, pp. 1, 2.
172	<i>alongside Mansfield</i> : "By Opposing Gun Registration...Rep. Olsen Riddles 'Mike and Me' Image," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), July 10, 1968, pp. 1, 2.
172	<i>2,800 votes</i> : Ibid.
172	<i>10 to 1 against</i> : John Morrison, "Gun Law Battle Rages," <i>Montana Standard</i> (Butte, MT), July 30, 1968, p. 9; "Olsen Favors State Control for Firearms," <i>Independent-</i>

	<i>Record</i> (Helena, MT), July 9, 1968, p. 8; “Olsen’s Mail is Running 10-1 Against Gun Laws,” <i>Montana Standard</i> (Butte, MT), July 8, 1968, p. 5.
172	<i>he stated</i> : “Olsen Will Vote Against Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT), July 18, 1968, p. 8; “Olsen to Vote No on Gun Law,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), July 18, 1968, p. 12. <i>See also</i> “Gun Control Aim to Fail,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), October 31, 1968, p. 8.
172	<i>obey firearms controls</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Daniel J. Foley, “Smiley Dislikes ‘Politician’ Image,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), October 23, 1968, p. 23; “Dick Smiley Attacks Arnold Olsen,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), July 28, 1968, p. 7; “Smiley Questions Olsen on Guns,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), July 21, 1968, p. 12; “Crime Control, Says Smiley, Not Gun Control,” <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), July 2, 1968, p. 2.
172	74,974 to 64,862: “Anderson Wins by Biggest Majority Since 1920,” <i>Independent Record</i> (Helena, MT), November 22, 1968, p. 12.
172	<i>Kelleher</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
172	<i>federal firearms controls</i> : John Morrison, “Congressional Race a Matter of Record,” <i>Independent-Record</i> (Helena, MT), October 30, 1968, p. 18; “‘Poor’ Gun Law—Battin,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), July 29, 1968, p. 3; Kenneth Schiebel, “Gun Proposals ‘Loaded’—Battin,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), July 10, 1968, p. 18.
173	<i>issue altogether</i> : Letter from James F. Battin to Robert Ellsworth, Nixon Headquarters executive director, October 2, 1967, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum) (hereinafter Nixon Presidential Papers).
173	<i>most indignation</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
173	<i>deal of a difference</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
173	<i>Battin’s advice</i> : Letter from Richard M. Nixon to James F. Battin, October 17, 1967, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation (“This is just a note of thanks for the benefit of your counsel on all the ramifications of gun control legislation. I will keep those thoughts in mind when studying this issue.”); Letter from Robert Ellsworth, Nixon Headquarters executive director, to James F. Battin, October 12, 1967, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation (“I want to thank you once again for sending over the excellent material and letter on gun legislation. I see that you have sent a carbon copy to Dick, but I am taking the liberty of forwarding the material I have to him so that he will be sure to see it.”).
173	<i>noncommittal on firearms controls</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Richard M. Nixon, <i>Toward Freedom from Fear</i> (May 8, 1968) (making no mention of firearms controls in a five-point plan to stop crime).

173	<i>law and order message</i> : Memorandum from William H. Webster to Alan Greenspan, June 10, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control.
173	<i>opposed to it</i> : Memorandum from Marty Pollner to Leonard Garment et al, “Re: RMN’s Statement Gun Control Legislation,” June 13, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control.
173	<i>1968 election</i> : Ibid.
173	<i>middle-of-the-road approach</i> : Memorandum from Marty Pollner to Richard M. Nixon et al, “Re: Gun Registration Legislation,” June 15, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 74, Staff Member Office Files, folder Len Garment, 1968 Political Campaign File, Gun Control.
173	<i>problems and needs</i> : Ibid.
173	<i>hunters and sportsmen</i> : Ibid.
173	<i>signing it into law</i> : Ibid. For a contemporaneous editorial addressing the paradox of Nixon’s “law and order” message and the ‘more guns, less crime’ mantra, see William F. Buckley, Jr., “Gun Buyers, Not Guns, Need Regulating,” <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), July 5, 1968, p. 6A.
174	<i>gun control laws</i> : Ibid.
174	<i>own in their states</i> : Ibid.
174	<i>in recent years</i> : Ibid.
174	<i>supporting firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “Nation’s Leaders Deplore Senseless Shooting,” <i>Star-Gazette</i> (Elmira, NY), June 6, 1968, p. 12; “Rocky Asks Legislature to ‘React’,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), April 5, 1968, p. 6A; “Rocky Pushes Still Gun-Control Legislation,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), March 9, 1968, p. 7; “Stronger Gun Controls Needed—Rockefeller,” <i>Star-Gazette</i> (Elmira, NY), January 28, 1968, p. 17C; “Rocky’s Gun Control Plan Hits Snag,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), January 25, 1968, p. 6C; “Gun Controls, More State Police Urged,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), January 3, 1968, pp. 1A, 2A.
174	<i>armed criminal</i> : Richard M. Nixon, <i>Disarming the Criminal Class</i> (July 9, 1968), in Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control. The firearms control statements within the Nixon campaign’s July 1968 brochure were reprinted in <i>Gun Week</i> . See “Humphrey Allegation Ires Nixon Supporters,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 27, 1968, p. 6. Part of Nixon’s July 9th statement was reprinted in the October 1968 edition of <i>American Rifleman</i> . See “Gun Control and the Election,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 48. For examples of newspapers publishing snippets of Nixon’s July 9th statement, see John H. Averill, “Candidates’ Views on Gun Controls Reviewed,” <i>Alton Evening Telegraph</i> (IL), October 16, 1968, p. A4; “Bill to Prohibit Mail Order Gun Sales Cleared for House Action,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 10, 1968, pp. 1, 18; “Nixon-

	Lindsay Ticket Urged,” <i>Odessa American</i> (TX), July 10, 1968, p. 9B; “Nixon Snubs Rocky Plan for a Poll,” <i>South Bend Tribune</i> (IN), July 10, 1968, p. 12; “Nixon Stumps Ohio,” <i>Journal News</i> (White Plains, NY), July 10, 1968, p. 12.
174	<i>common thugs</i> : Richard M. Nixon, <i>Disarming the Criminal Class</i> (July 9, 1968), in Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control.
174	<i>evaded it</i> : Ibid.
174	<i>commission of a major crime</i> : Ibid.
174	<i>serious Federal crime</i> : Ibid. In two 1969 speeches, NRA president Harold W. Glassen quoted Nixon’s statement verbatim in making the case against firearms controls. Glassen then closed his speech, stating, “I think Mr. Nixon has said it all.” See Harold W. Glassen, Remarks Before Stetson University, Deland, Florida, April 14, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1; Harold W. Glassen, Remarks Before the Duke Law Forum, Duke University, February 18, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1.
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175	<i>hunters and shooters</i> : Ibid.
175	<i>Congressional election</i> : Ibid.
175	<i>current debate</i> : William L. Wallace, “A Recommended Policy Position on the Gun Issue,” July 22, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation.
175	<i>restrictive firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “Wallace Opposed to Gun Controls,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , October 19, 1968, sec. 1, p. 10; “Wallace Calls Gun Control Bill ‘Silly’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 4, 1968, p. 9; “Shrewd Political Move,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 20, 1968, p. 4.
175	<i>on the ballot</i> : William L. Wallace, “The Gun Legislation Issue,” [June-July] 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation.
176	<i>runaway crime rates</i> : William L. Wallace, “A Recommended Policy Position on the Gun Issue,” July 22, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation.
176	<i>when it did</i> : Nixon’s pivot also sought to garner the support of California governor Ronald Reagan, who had been applauded in several for his support of gun rights. See, e.g., Excerpts from Speech by Governor Ronald Reagan, Fourth of July Celebration Columbia, California, July 4, 1968 Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Press Files (Simi Valley, CA: Ronald Reagan Presidential Library) (hereinafter Reagan Gubernatorial Papers); Duane V. Cardall, “Reagan Keynotes, Wins GOP Convention,” <i>Daily Utah Chronicle</i> (Salt Lake City, UT), July 16, 19068, p. 6.

176	<i>political state of play</i> : Adam Spiegel, "All Md. Congressmen Favor Stricter Law," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), June 7, 1968, p. C24.
176	<i>support for strict controls</i> : "Gun Control Causes Furor," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , November 2, 1968, p. B7; Michael Parks, "Senate Candidates Debate Leadership, Vietnam, Cities," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , October 21, 1968, pp. C11, C24, Phil Ebersole, "Brewster Hunts for Union Vote Here," <i>Morning Herald</i> (Hagerstown, MD), October 4, 1968, p. 16; Edward G. Pickett, "Brewster, Mathias, Fallon, Friedel Triumph," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , September 11, 1968, pp. A1, A9; "Candidates View War, Gun Control," <i>Cumberland Evening Times</i> (MD), September 3, 1968, p. 13; "Sen. Brewster Campaigning in County," <i>Cumberland News</i> (MD), August 1, 1968, pp. 25, 31; "Mail of Gun Control is Slackening Off," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), July 25, 1968, pp. F3, F12; Cliff Ellner, "County Gun Clubbers Unite to Battle Gun Control Laws," <i>Morning Herald</i> (Hagerstown, MD), June 28, 1968, p. 17; Jerome Kelly, "Mail Strongly Backs Stricter Gun Curbs, Congressmen Say," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), June 15, 1968, pp. 6, 18. <i>See also</i> "Agnew Favors Gun Control," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), June 18, 1968, p. C4 (showing that Maryland governor Spiro Agnew supported strict firearms controls prior to being named Richard M. Nixon's vice presidential running mate).
176	<i>three months</i> : "Sen. Brewster Drops Support of Tydings Bill," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 6, 1968, p. 2; "Gun Views Clarified," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , August 21, 1966, p. C6.
176	<i>back firearms registration</i> : Gardner L. Bridge, "Sign or Veto Gun Control Bill, Ford Tells LBJ," <i>The Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), June 14, 1968, p. 9A; "People of the Times," <i>Corpus Christi Caller-Times</i> , June 14, 1968, B1.
176	<i>not Nelson</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Nelson Clarifies Gun Control Position," <i>Capital Times</i> (WI), June 24, 1968, p. 34.
176	<i>amateurs and professionals</i> : "Foes on Gun Control Step Up Campaign," <i>Daily Telegram</i> (Eau Claire, WI), June 19, 1968, p. 5A.
177	<i>fight to stay</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
177	<i>seem to justify</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
177	<i>upcoming elections</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1968, pp. 21, 64; "Organizations Designed to Fight Anti-Gun Lobby Springing Up Across United States," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 26, 1968, p. 5; "Gun Owners Won't Forget," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 12, 1968, p. 4; "Gun Control Law: Heated Pre-Election Issue," <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), July 7, 1968, p. 26; "Guns vs. Votes," <i>Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , May 1968, pp. 1, 12. <i>See also</i> Letter from James G. O'Hara to Richard G. Smith, August 6, 1968, James G. O'Hara Papers, box 10, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter O'Hara Papers) ("One should not underestimate the intensity of feelings of members of the National Rifle Association in their opposition to gun control laws. Comparable intensity of interest on the part of those in favor of gun controls is a recent development, precipitated by the tragic assassination of Robert Kennedy. This is why the NRA has been so successful in the

	past, and why those in support of gun control—by an outpouring of millions of letters—were able to achieve a modest success this year.”).
177	<i>office in 1967</i> : Frank M. Matthews, “Shafer to Seek Gun Curb Plank,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , June 14, 1968, p. 8.
177	<i>Tim Babcock</i> : “Governors Shy Off Guns,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , June 15, 1968, p. 5; “GOP Governors May Differ on Gun Control in Platform,” <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), June 15, 1968, p. 4A; “Babcock Aligns Himself Against Gun Controls,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 15, 1968, p. 7; James Ragsdale, “Republicans Worry About Gun Controls,” <i>South Idaho Press</i> (Burley, ID), June 14, 1968, p. 1.
177	<i>restrictive firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “State Opponents Use Same Tired Arguments vs. Gun Control,” <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> (Long Beach, CA), June 23, 1968, p. B3; “Babcock and Hundreds of Montanans Oppose ‘Emotion’ Gun Control Bills,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), June 20, 1968, p. 12; “Deluge of Letters on Gun Controls,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), June 14, 1968, pp. 1, 8; “State Gun Control Bill Killed,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), June 12, 1968, p. 17.
177	<i>against totalitarianism</i> : Walter R. Mears, “Rocky Says He’ll Overtake Nixon,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), June 15, 1968, p. 18; Walter R. Mears, “Governors Advise GOP Listen to Advice,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), June 15, 1968, p. 2.
177	<i>right to possess arms</i> : “GOP Governors Urge Gun Curbs,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), June 16, 1968, p. A3 (emphasis added); Charles Whiteford, “GOP Leaders Say Integrity is Main Issue,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), June 16, 1968, p. 3 (emphasis added).
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178	<i>each of the several states</i> : “Governors OK Gun Control,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , July 24, 1968, p. 4.
178	<i>legislative possibilities</i> : Letter from Phillip H. Hoff to James L. Oakes, Vermont attorney general, June 10, 1968, Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 28.
178	<i>urban concentration</i> : Letter from James L. Oakes, Vermont attorney general, to Phillip H. Hoff, June 19, 1968, Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 29.
178	<i>delivery of a firearm</i> : Ibid.
178	<i>late June</i> : “Free Port Urged by N.E. Governors,” <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), June 28, 1968, p. 1; “NE Governors, at Stowe, Talk Guns, Power, Crime,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), June 28, 1968, p. 1; “Oakes Wants Gun Owners to Register,” <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), June 20, 1968, p. 3; “Vt. Gun Controls Pushed by Chittenden County DA,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), June 18, 1968, p. 2.
178	<i>stated Hoff</i> : Joe Fisher, “Governors’ Confab Winds Up with Gun Control Fight,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), July 25, 1968, p. 3; “Governors OK Gun Control,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , July 24, 1968, p. 4. See also “Gov. Hoff Assails Fellow Governors,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), July 25, 1968, p. 1; Walter R. Mears, “Nixon

	Men See Seven Running Mate Possibilities,” <i>Terre Haute Tribune</i> (IN), July 25, 1968, p. 15; “Gov. Hoff Critical of Colleagues,” <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), July 24, 1968, p. 1.
178	<i>strict firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Everett Dirksen, Form Letter on Gun Control, September 8, 1966, Everett M. Dirksen Papers, Form Letters, folder Firearms 1966 (Pekin, IL: Dirksen Center) (hereinafter Dirksen Papers); NBC’s <i>Meet the Press</i> Transcript, August 7, 1966, in Dirksen Papers, Remarks, Releases, and Interviews, folder Meet the Press, NBC.
178	<i>soften his stance</i> : “Dirksen Alters Position on Stiffer Gun Controls,” <i>Daily Chronicle</i> (De Kalb, IL), June 14, 1968, p. 6. See also Transcript of the Republican Leadership of the Congress Press Conference, June 13, 1968, in Robert T. Hartman Papers, box 51, folder Eve and Jerry Show, June 13, 1968 (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hartman Papers).
178	<i>federal requirements</i> : Philip Dodd, “Maneuvering Slows Senate Action on Guns,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , July 11, 1968, sec. 1A, p. 7; “Senate Waters Down Gun Control,” <i>Herald and Review</i> (Decatur, IL), July 11, 1968, p. 1. See also Everett Dirksen, Form Letter on Gun Control, July 18, 1968, Dirksen Papers, Form Letters, folder Firearms 1968 (“I expect that Congress will act on this in the near future. The stickler seems to be the registration and licensing provisions and on that point the two Houses are at variance. I submitted an amendment to the Tydings’ bill, which in turn is an amendment to the administration’s bill, to the effect that the registration and licensing provisions would not apply to any person in possession of a valid license or permit issued pursuant to state law if that law was adequate to protect the public against the issuance or transfer of a license or permit to narcotic addicts, felons, mental incompetents, and so forth. The whole concept of the Tydings’ bill is to put all this in the hands of the state if they will take the necessary action. It further provides that the states would have two years in which to accomplish this purpose. This is in essence the substance of the Illinois law which is presently in effect. Between the ordinances adopted by a good many cities, the state law and the proposed federal law, one finds himself in a rather awkward position and we have merely endeavored to reconcile these.”).
179	<i>firearms control plank</i> : Oscar Griffin, “GOP Viet Plank May Reach Floor Fight at Convention,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), August 4, 1968, p. 6A; “Platform Unit Faces Rift on Vietnam,” <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), August 3, 1968, pp. 1, 2; “Javits Denies Storming Out of Platform Hearing,” <i>Tribune</i> (Scranton, PA), August 2, 1968, p.1; “Adequate Curb on Guns Urged as GOP Plank,” <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> (FL), July 30, 1968, pp. 1B, 2B; Letter from Vincent Broderick, New York Citizens Committee for Gun Control Laws chairman, to Everett Dirksen, July 29, 1968, Dirksen Papers, Politics, folder RNC Platform Committee Correspondence (“The need for dealing with violence in our country today requires a comprehensive effort on many fronts. We must both strengthen law enforcement and remove underlying causes of violence. No one single step will suffice to solve the problem... Obviously, there are proper uses of firearms, and persons should be allowed to have them for purposes of official duty, protection, and appropriate sports. Farmers have legitimate needs for guns for killing destructive animals that eat their crops or attack their stock. But, a gun

	<p>is by definition dangerous to the rights of others. Unlike a mote vehicle, its very function is destruction.”); Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, “Dirksen as Platform Chief Riles Governors,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), June 24, 1968, p. 4. <i>But see</i> Telegram from Saugerties Area Sportsmen’s Clubs, New York to Everett Dirksen, August 2, 1968, Dirksen Papers, Politics, folder RNC Platform Committee Correspondence (urging Dirksen to not include the “registration of firearms or licensing of owners” in the Republican Party Platform); Letter from Clifford M. Larson, Right to Bears Arms, Inc. secretary, to Everett Dirksen, July 31, 1968, Dirksen Papers, Politics, folder RNC Platform Committee Correspondence (urging the Republican Party adopted a plank that “promise[s] the voter that the...candidate for president will not request or otherwise attempt to pass any restrictive anti-gun legislation.”).</p>
179	<p><i>meet their responsibilities</i>: Republican Party Platform of 1968, August 5, 1968. <i>See also</i> “GOP Adopts Mild Gun Plank,” <i>Gun Week</i>, August 23, 1968, p. 1; “Here are the Highlights of the 1968 Republican Platform,” <i>Dispatch</i> (Moline, IL), August 5, 1968, p. 2; “Key Highlights from the 1968 Republican Platform,” <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), August 5, 1968, p. 6A.</p>
180	<p><i>one political party over another</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, “Black Panthers and Blind Kittens,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1970, p. 20 (“The NRA is non-political and non-partisan.”); Merritt A. Edson, “In Their Own Keeping,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1952, p. 16 (“The National Rifle Association of America has never been, it is not now, nor can it ever be a partisan <i>political</i> organization. Any individual or group of individuals who would attempt to make it such would be doing a disservice to the NRA and to our country as well. On the other hand, the NRA has always been, it is now, and it must continue to be a truly <i>patriotic</i> organization actuated by love of country and devoted to its welfare.”). The NRA’s nonpartisan policy goes back to the 1930s. <i>See</i> “Why Gun Laws?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1933, p. 4; “How Will They Vote?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1932, p. 6; “High Hats and Riding Breeches,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1932, p. 4; “Hysteria in High Places,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1932, p. 4. The editors of <i>Gun Week</i> also emphasized the importance of not conflating firearms controls with party politics. <i>See, e.g.</i>, “‘Liberal’ Vs. ‘Conservative’,” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 23, 1968, p. 4 (noting that whether a politician is labeled “liberal” or “conservative” does not necessarily convey their stance on firearms controls); “Gun Laws Not Party Politics,” <i>Gun Week</i>, January 5, 1968, p. 4 (“Although a Democratic administration is pushing gun controls laws, the subject of gun control is not a Democrat-Republican issue, nor a ‘liberal-conservative’ issue. It can be more accurately described as an urban-rural issue, although like all generalities this is not without exceptions on both sides. But the gun control issue is not, has not been, and should not become a matter of partisan politics. And any of us who would make it so are playing into the hands of the opposition.”).</p>
180	<p><i>Republican one</i>: Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to F.W. Rutherford, August 13, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.</p>
180	<p><i>Johnson administration</i>: <i>Ibid.</i></p>
180	<p><i>coming election</i>: <i>Ibid.</i></p>

180	<i>strict firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy, Press Release, “Poor Progress Toward Strict Gun Controls Called ‘Massive Negligence, Campaign Issue’,” August 23, 1968, Hale Boggs Papers, box 156, folder 1968 Platform Committee, National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy (New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Howard-Tilton Memorial Library) (hereinafter Boggs Papers); Joseph S. Clark, “Eighteen Points for Democrats: A Proposal for the Democratic Platform,” August 13, 1968, Clark Papers, box 116, folder News Releases (urging the party to adopt a platform that supported a “strong Federal gun control law, providing for registration and licensing”).
180	<i>gun control legislation</i> : Statement of Senator Joseph D. Tydings on Crime and Law Enforcement Before the 1968 Democratic Platform Committee, August 22, 1968, in Boggs Papers, box 156, folder 1968 Platform Committee, Joseph Tydings, Re: Crime.
180	<i>innocent citizens</i> : Ibid.
180	<i>words for race</i> : Ibid.
180	<i>strict gun controls</i> : Testimony of Dr. J. Elliott Corbett, National Council for Responsible Firearms Policy, Before Panel I of the Platform Committee Democratic National Convention, August 23, 1968, in Boggs Papers, box 156, folder 1968 Platform Committee, National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy.
181	<i>stated Corbett</i> : Ibid.
181	<i>specific firearms policies</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Senator Dodd Calls for Strong Gun Control Plank in Democratic Party Platform,” August 18, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 211, folder 5697.
181	<i>all of our citizens</i> : Statement of Senator Thomas Dodd Before the Platform Committee of the Democratic Party’s National Convention, August 21, 1968, in Boggs Papers, box 155, folder 1968 Platform Committee, Thomas Dodd, Re: Gun Control.
181	<i>local gun control legislation</i> : Democratic Party Platform of 1968, August 26, 1968.
182	<i>middle-of-the-road position</i> : See, e.g., Hubert H. Humphrey, Remarks After the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., [April 1968], in W. Wirtz Papers, box 115, folder 1 (making no mention of firearms control).
182	<i>registration and licensing</i> : See, e.g., Statement of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey on Gun Control Legislation, July 17, 1968, Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control.
182	<i>Humphrey be nominated</i> : See, e.g., Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to F.W. Rutherford, August 13, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.
182	<i>supporting candidate</i> : The Right to Bear Arms, Inc. had also written to the Nixon campaign about offering their endorsement. The gun rights advocacy group audaciously claimed that they could “push a button and get 50,000,000 votes for the candidate of [its] choice.” Letter from Clifford M. Larson to Nixon for President

	Committee, July 13, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control Legislation.
182	<i>battle all the way</i> : “Dems Will Hear Plea for Guns,” <i>Herald-Press</i> (Saint Joseph, MI), July 30, 1968, sec. 2, p. 1.
182	<i>shall not be infringed</i> : Ibid.
182	<i>vehemently opposed</i> : Letter from Harold W. Glassen to Paul E. Jurgens, August 26, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.
182	<i>wrote NRA president Glassen</i> : Ibid.
182	<i>Nixon and the Republican Party</i> : Ibid.
182	<i>would be abolished</i> : E.B. Mann, “The Mann Says,” <i>Gun World</i> , [November] 1968, E.B. Mann Papers, box 8, folder 22 (Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming American Heritage Center) (hereinafter Mann Papers).
182	<i>majority of the news media</i> : Ibid.
182	<i>and the Republican Party</i> : Ibid.
182	<i>right to arms</i> : Ibid.
183	<i>largely rural constituencies</i> : See, e.g., Samuel C. Patterson and Keith R. Eakins, “Congress and Gun Control,” <i>The Changing Politics of Gun Control</i> , John M. Bruce and Clyde Wilcox eds. (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield), 45, 65, 68-69 (providing data on the vote for the 1968 Gun Control Act based on the rural versus urban dynamic); “Gun Control Still an Issue in Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 74 (noting that out of 87 out of 97 congressman from “large cities voted in favor of gun controls”); “Sectionalism in Gun Control Vote,” <i>Town Talk</i> (Alexandria, LA), August 2, 1968, p. B5 (same); Charles Stafford, “Florida Delegation is Split on Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), June 16, 1968, pp. 1A, 8A; “Gun Laws Not Party Politics,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 5, 1968, p. 4. Several instances of the urban-rural divide on firearms controls can be founding in congressional papers. Consider the papers of House Majority Leader Carl Albert, where one public opinion poll found that 73% of Oklahomans supported “no further gun control measures.” See Letter from Carl Albert to James W. Dunn, <i>Maysville News</i> publisher, August 12, 1968, Albert Papers, box LG 103, folder 40, Judiciary-Firearms. Only 20% of Oklahomans polled supported “gun control legislation curtailing the interstate mailing of any firearm...” Ibid. See also Transcript of Interview with Carl Albert by Dorothy Pierce McSweeny, August 23, 1969, part 4, p. 3 (Austin, TX: Lydon B. Johnson Presidential Library) (noting the 1968 Gun Control Act “caused a lot of complaint in my district...They’re very unhappy with it.”).
183	<i>becoming commonplace</i> : See, e.g., Wilson K. Lythgoe, “Outdoorsman Have Good Reasons to Weigh Voting Selections Carefully,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), November 3, 1968, pp. L21, L22 (outlining the California Democratic and Republican Party platforms on firearms controls); “State GOP, Dem Platforms Much Alike,” <i>Belvidere Daily Republican</i> (IL), September 30, 1968, p. 2; “Party Conventions Slated for Weekend; Platforms Considered to Suit Nominees,” <i>Nahua Telegraph</i> (NH),

	September 21, 1968, p. 1; “Democrats Open Tax Door,” <i>Southern Illinoisan</i> (Carbondale, IL), September 18, 1968, p. 1; “State GOP Urged to OK Strong Law, Order Plank,” <i>Monitor</i> (McAllen, TX), September 15, 1968, p. 2; “Unruh Plans Gun Control Referendum,” <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), July 26, 1968, p. 5; “Demos Press to Place Gun Control on Ballot,” <i>Hanford Sentinel</i> (CA), July 24, 1968, p. 2; “Republican Attend County Convention Held in Provo,” <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), June 30, 1968, pp. 1, 4; “Grills Shows Draft of Demo Platform,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), June 9, 1968, sec. 1, p. 18.
183	<i>involving the use of guns</i> : Platform of the Democratic Party of Texas (Austin, TX: September 17, 1968) (on file with author).
183	<i>inconvenience to gun owners</i> : “Delaware Democratic Platform Text,” <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), August 24, 1968, p. 28; “Delaware Democratic Platform Text,” <i>News Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), August 24, 1968, p. 4.
183	<i>out-of-state residents</i> : Bill Severin, “Iowa Demo Platform Backs Gun Controls,” <i>Courier</i> (Waterloo, IA), June 30, 1968, pp. 1, 2.
183	<i>support for firearms controls</i> : “Vermont Dems and Republicans Meeting Today on Their 1968 Platform Planks,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), September 21, 1968, p. 2; “Oakes Renews Plan to License Gun Owners,” <i>Times Argus</i> (Barre, VT), September 19, 1968, p. 11; “Vermont Republicans Begin to Construct Campaign Platform,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), September 13, 1968, p. 18; “GOP Moves Cautiously on Gun Control,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), September 13, 1968, p. 3.
183	<i>registration of handguns</i> : “Comparison of Platforms Shows Parties Close in Vermont,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), October 23, 1968, p. 19; “Democrats Take Gun Stand,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), September 23, 1968, pp. 1, 3; “Vermont GOP Platform Drafting Group Rejects Gun Registration,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), September 18, 1968, p. 8.
184	<i>licensing of the gun</i> : John Wyngaard, LAX UW Student Discipline Attacked in GOP Platform,” <i>Post-Crescent</i> (Appleton, WI), October 3, 1968, p. B7; John Wyngaard, “State GOP Planks Censure UW Discipline, Drug Traffic,” <i>Green Bay Post-Gazette</i> (WI), October 2, 1968, p. A11; “Wisconsin Platform Widens Split in Democratic Party,” <i>Chippewa Herald-Telegram</i> (WI), October 2, 1968, p. 4.
184	<i>most of the twentieth century</i> : Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 25-26.
184	<i>eventually fades away</i> : Ibid.
184	<i>action on firearms controls</i> : Ibid.
184	<i>House Rules Committee</i> : Dale Pullen, “Sikes Hits LBJ Gun Plea,” <i>Palm Beach Post</i> (FL), June 30, 1968, p. E11 (Florida Representative Robert F. Sikes, who served on the NRA Board of Directors, acknowledging that Colmer’s move effectively swung the political tide away from a quick firearms registration vote).

184	<i>especially firearms controls</i> : “Mail Order Gun Ban Slowed by House Rules Chairman,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , June 26, 1968, p. 9; John F. Finney, “Gun Registration Demand May Kill Control Passage,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), June 26, 1968, p. A4; “Colmer Fears Emotional Vote; Delays House Action on Guns,” <i>St. Joseph Gazette</i> (MO), June 26, 1968, p. 1.
185	<i>licensing in a conference</i> : Joseph R.L. Sterne, “One Gun Bill Sacrificed to Aid Other,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), July 9, 1968, p. 1.
185	<i>approved the State Firearms Control Assistance Act</i> : William McGaffin, “House Gun-Law Foes Ride High in Saddle,” <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), July 12, 1968, p. 11; “Committee Opposes Attaching Gun Registration to Ban on Arms Sale,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), July 9, 1968, p. 2; Philip Dodd, “LJJ’s Gun Bill Approved by House Group,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , June 12, 1968, sec. 1, p. 18 (noting the State Firearms Control Assistance Act cleared the House Judiciary Committee on June 20, 1968 by a vote of 29 to 6).
185	<i>felony with a firearm</i> : “Administration ‘Mail Order’ Bill, Casey Bill Cleared for House Vote,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 19, 1968, pp. 1, 2; John H. Averill, “Bill Curbing Mail Gun Sales Cleared for Action in House,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 10, 1968, pp. 1, 3.
185	<i>passage of the State Firearms Control Assistance Act</i> : “House Kills Registration of All Guns,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 20, 1968, p. 1 (noting “wide” opposition to the mandatory minimum provision).
185	<i>weakening amendments</i> : “Collector License Helps,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 9, 1968, p. 4; “House Approves ‘Mail Order’ Bill, Rejects Licensing and Registration,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 2, 1968, pp. 1, 2; “Claims of House Support for Gun Control Disputed,” <i>Tampa Times</i> (FL), July 18, 1968, p. 6A.
185	<i>directors a year earlier</i> : Harold Rummel, “Sikes Resigns as Director of Rifle Group,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (FL), July 1, 1967, p. 2B.
185	<i>NBPRP</i> : “House Approves Limited Controls on Sales of Guns,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), July 25, 1968, p. 1.
185	<i>role as the gun lobby</i> : See, e.g., “Licking the NRA’s Boots,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), August 13, 1968, p. 2C; “Death for Sale,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , August 4, 1968, p. 11; “Licking the Boots of the N.R.A.,” <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), August 3, 1968, p. 6. For the NRA’s rebuttal to the claim that the amendment principally benefited NRA members, see Letter from Harold W. Glassen, NRA president, to Frank Thompson, Jr., July 30, 1968, Robert F. Sikes Papers, box 315, folder Firearms Legislation 1968 (Pensacola, FL: University of West Florida Library) (hereinafter Sikes Papers). See also Dale Pullen, “Sikes Says His Amendment No Help to NRA,” <i>Pensacola News</i> (FL), July 29, 1968, p. 6B; “Exemption Hit by Glassen,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), July 25, 1968, sec. F, p. 1.
185	<i>survived the Senate</i> : Lee Hickling, “Weaker Gun Bill Gets OK,” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), July 25, 1968, pp. 1A, 2A; “Gun Control Bill Goes to Senate,” <i>Shreveport Journal</i> (LA), July 25, 1968, p. 4.

185	<i>prevail for long</i> : “Senate Gets Watered Gun Bill; No Final Action Till September,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , July 25, 1968, p. 24; “Celler Threatens Probe of Rifle Group: List of Provisions of House-Passed Gun-Control Bill,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), July 25, 1968, p. 9.
185	<i>registration and licensing</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Gun Issue Livened Up; Probe Threatened,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, pp. 28-29.
185	<i>to the House floor</i> : “Rep. Smith and Gun Controls,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 27, 1968, part 3, p. 4.
185	<i>would not be the case</i> : Ann Wood, “Celler Threatens Probe of Rifle Association: NRA ‘Exemption’ is Charged in Amendment to Gun Bill,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 26, 1968, p. 3.
186	<i>S. 3633</i> : Don Stephen Cupps, “Bullets, Ballots, and Politics: The National Rifle Association Fights Gun Control,” Ph.D. Thesis, Princeton University, 1970, pp. 199-200.
186	<i>on the Senate floor</i> : For Tydings’ reasons for supporting the amendment, see Joseph D. Tydings, “Gun Crime and the Prosecutor,” Address Before the Practicing Law Institutes Seminar, New York, NY, July 31, 1968, Tydings Papers, series 6, box 27, folder 23, Writings on Gun Control, 1967-1970.
186	<i>done in the House</i> : “Floor Fight on Registration Seen After Senate Panel Chops Up Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 26, 1968, pp. 1-2; John H. Averill, “House Passes Weakened Bill Barring Mail-Order Gun Sales,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 25, 1968, part 1, pp. 1, 13; “Interstate Sales Curbs Get Backing: Tydings Vows Fight to Reinstate Licensing,” <i>South Bend Tribune</i> (IN), July 25, 1968, pp. 1, 11; “House Approves Bill on Firearms Controls,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), July 25, 1968, p. 12A; “House Limits Sales of Long Guns,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), July 25, 1968, p. 1; “House Oks Weaker Gun Ban Measure,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), July 25, 1968, p. 1; “Senate Unit Bans Mail Order Gun Sales,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , July 24, 1968, p. 8.
186	<i>any further delay</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Senator Dodd Hails Judiciary Committee Approval of Longarm Bill,” July 24, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 211, folder 5687.
186	<i>took up S. 3633</i> : “Congressional Action on ‘Mail Order’ Bill Expected After Recess,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 9, 1968, pp. 1-2.
186	<i>pertaining to firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “Gun Registration: The Myths and Facts,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 69; “What You Can Do To Head Off More Anti-Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, pp. 32-33; “Truths to Remember: Part 2,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, p. 23; “Truths to Remember,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 42; “Registration Can Disarm Only You, Mr. Citizen,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 19, 1968, p. 4 (article was reprinted in newspapers across the country at the expense of local rifle and shooting clubs).
186	<i>with particular force</i> : See, e.g., National Shooting Sports Foundation, “A Little Inconvenience,” reprinted in <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , November 1968, pp. 33-34; Bob Neal, “Panic on the Hill,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1968, pp. 36-37, 105; “Gun Control

	Makes Strange Bedfellows,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, p. 18; “Registration Grips 5 Cities,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, pp. 34-35; “Registration of Plumbing Materials May Come Next,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, p. 16; “Administration’s Aim Now Total Gun Registration and Owner Licensing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, pp. 41-42; “Registration Raises Issue of Confiscation, NRA Holds,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, p.p. 42-43.
186	<i>repeated often: See, e.g.</i> , Bill Knutson, “Froelich Predicts Failure of State Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Post-Crescent</i> (Appleton, WI), September 13, 1968, pp. 1, 4; “Gun Restrictions Draw Heavy Fire in Hearing,” <i>Oklahoma City Times</i> (OK), September 7, 1968, pp. 1, 2; “New Gun Control Bill Gets Glassen Support,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 31, 1968, p. A2; “VFW Opposes Firearms Registration,” <i>Johnson City Press</i> (TN), August 21, 1968, p. 2; “Assemblyman Urges Drive for New State Gun Control Laws Be Switched to Enforcing Tough Statutes on Books,” <i>Valley News</i> (Van Nuys, CA), August 15, 1968, pp. 4A-6A; Jack C. Baker, “Enforcement Needed, Not More Laws,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), August 7, 1968, p. 7; A.A.F. Pyle, “Registration is Meaningless,” <i>Morning News</i> (Wilmington, DE), August 6, 1968, p. 16; “Strict Crime Curbs Urged By Sportsmen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, p. 48; Alan S. Krug, “A Practical Look at Anti-Gun Laws,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , August 1968, pp. 24-25; N.A. Winter, “Gun Registration Opposed as Ineffective Crime Curb,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), July 28, 1968, p. 13B; “What Legislators?” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), July 27, 1968, p. 4.
186	<i>on the issue: See, e.g.</i> , “Truths to Remember: Part 2,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1968, p. 23; “Half-Truths, Confusion, Misinformation Cloud National Debate on Gun Controls,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> (PA), August 3, 1968, p. 11; “Local Opinion on Guns,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), July 31, 1968, p. 26.
186	<i>smokescreen: “Gun Law Smokescreen,” Gun Week</i> , September 27, 1968, p. 4. <i>See also</i> “Shrewd Political Move,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 20, 1968, p. 4 (claiming that President Johnson’s firearms control bill was intended to draw attention away from his failed “crime control” program).
186	<i>Vietnam and crime: “NRA Chief Ridicules Case for Gun Laws,” Fresno Bee</i> (CA), August 25, 1968, p. 6A; “Dodd Debates NRA President on Gun Laws,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), August 25, 1968, p. 27.
186	<i>it was firearms control proponents: See, e.g.</i> , “Neuroticism in Chicago,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 19; “Dodd Blessed Anti-Gun Book Bears New Title, Little Else,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, pp. 54-56; “Report Belies Gun Law Claim,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 16, 1968, p. 4; Alan S. Krug, “A Practical Look at Anti-Gun Laws,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , August 1968, pp. 24-25. <i>See also</i> “Getting Away with Statistical Murder?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1968, p. 17; Dallas Turner, “Data Distorted for Gun Control,” <i>Muncie Evening Press</i> (IN), August 15, 1968, p. 4. <i>But see</i> “Dodd Says NRA ‘Lies’ on Guns,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , September 12, 1968, p. 20; Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, “Dodd Opens Debate on Long-Gun Bill; Assails NRA Leaders for Years of Irresponsible Opposition,” September 12, 1968, Dodd Papers, box 211, folder 5710.

186	<i>Gibraltors of violence</i> : E.B. Mann, "Tilting at Windmills," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1968, pp. 28, 56.
187	<i>considerably high</i> : "Senate Back to Work, Gun Bill Hassle Begins," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 20, 1968, pp. 1, 2.
187	<i>Election Day issue</i> : See, e.g., "Solon Raps Firearms Registration," <i>Arizona Daily Sun</i> (Flagstaff, AZ), September 13, 1968, p. 8 (press release from Arkansas representative John P. Hammerschmidt opposing firearms registration); "Lujan for GOP in District 1," <i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i> (NM), August 21, 1968, p. 8 (Republican candidate for New Mexico District 1, Manuel Lujan, Jr., opposing firearms registration); Donald Rumsfeld, "Progress on Gun Controls," <i>Daily Herald</i> (Chicago, IL), August 16, 1968, p. 8 (op-ed by Illinois representative Donald Rumsfeld taking moderate position on firearms controls).
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187	<i>tack on firearms registration</i> : "How the U.S. Senate Voted on Registration, Licensing," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1968, pp. 23-24; "Senate Okays Interstate Sale Ban; Rejects All Registration Proposals," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 27, 1968, pp. 1, 2; "All-Firearms Registration Rejected," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), September 18, 1968, p. 1.
187	<i>70 to 17</i> : See, e.g., William Kling, "Senate OK's Gun-Control Legislation," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , September 19, 1968, pp. 1, 4; Roy McGhee, "Senate Votes 70-17 OK of Gun Control Measure," <i>Press Democrat</i> (Santa Rosa, CA), September 19, 1968, p. 1.
187	<i>crimes of violence</i> : For some reporting on the Senate bill, see "Gun Control Bill Okayed by Senate; Registration, Licensing Plan Rejected," <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), September 19, 1968, pp. 1; "Senate Passes Ban on Mail Order Long Gun Sales; Rejects Licensing," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), September 19, 1968, pp. 1, 16; "Senate Passes Amended Bill for Control of Firearms," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), September 19, 1968, pp. 2A; "Senate Vetoes Sales of Rifles, Shotguns by Mail in 70-17 Vote," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , September 19, 1968, pp. 1, 3; "Senate Votes to Ban Mail Sale of Guns," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , September 19, 1968, p. 1. For some useful summaries of the Senate and House versions of the bill, see "What the Lawmakers are

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188	<i>approved the same day</i> : “House Accepts Conference Committee Draft of Firearms Control Measure,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 25, 1968, pp. 1, 2; “Conference Committee Toughens Gun Control Bill; Adds All Ammunition,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 18, 1968, pp. 1, 2; “The Gun Curb Bill,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , October 10, 1968, p. 26; James R. Polk, “Senate Approves Gun Control Bill,” <i>Atlanta Constitution</i> , October 10, 1968, p. 2; “Accord Reached on Gun Control,” <i>Charlotte Observer</i> (NC), October 9, 1968, p. 1.
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188	<i>wrong approach</i> : “Gun Control Still an Issue in Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, pp. 74-75; Harold W. Glassen, Address Before the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, October 8, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Harold W. Glassen, “Gun Registration and How it Affects the Sportsman,” Prepared Remarks in Rochester, New York, September 28, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1; Woodson D. Scott, “Report of the Committee on Firearms Legislation,” September 16, 1968, in Glassen Papers, box 1.
188	<i>simply law enforcement</i> : “The Answer is Simply Law Enforcement,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 16.
188	<i>anything to do with crimes</i> : “Senate Passes Gun Control Bill Somewhere Between NRA, LBJ,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), September 19, 1968, p. 1; “Senate Passes Gun Law; Sends it to House Unit,” <i>Daily Times</i> (Salisbury, MD), September 19, 1968, pp. 1, 20.
188	<i>control-supporting lawmakers</i> : “NRA Chief: ‘Minority, Hell, 50 Million Behind Us,’” <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), September 28, 1968, p. B1. <i>See also</i> Bill Roden, “Adirondack Sportsman,” <i>Post-Star</i> (Glens Falls, NY), October 3, 1968, pp. 20, 22; “Gun Control and the Election,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 48; Harold W. Glassen, “Gun Registration and How it Affects the Sportsman,” Remarks Before Rochester, New York, September 28, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1.
188	<i>supported the Second Amendment</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Political Ad Ires Solons; ‘Mistake’ Says Publisher,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 1, 1968, p. 2; “Gun Groups Inform Voters,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 1, 1968, p. 4; “Extra, Extra! Find Out How Your Candidates Stand on Gun Control,” <i>Alert! Newsletter</i> , November 1, 1968, pp. 1-4; Frank Jaffray, “A FAIR Ballot Box,” <i>Valley Times</i> (North Hollywood, CA), October 18, 1968, p. 12; “FAIR Informs California Voters of Candidates’ Gun Control Views,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 11, 1968, p. 5; “Toward Greater Strength...,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 4, 1968, p. 4; “Gun Legislation Report,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , October 1968, p. 3; “Where Do Candidates Stand on the Firearms Controversy?” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ),

	September 8, 1968, p. A11; “Let’s Get Organized!” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 2, 1968, p. 4; “Gun Owners Won’t Forget,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 12, 1968, p. 4; “Gun Control and Politics,” <i>Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , March-April 1968, p. 3.
188	<i>gun rights newsletter</i> : “Guns vs. Votes,” <i>Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , May 1968, pp. 1, 12.
188	<i>control supporting lawmakers</i> : See, e.g., “Why Gun Laws?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1933, p. 4 (“Why do we have gun laws? We have them, not <i>in spite of</i> the sportsman, but <i>because of</i> the sportsman. Because the sportsman marks his ballot blindly or not at all; because he has never taken the trouble to get acquainted with the men who represent him on law-making bodies”); “How Will They Vote?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1932, p. 6 (“The time to ask your candidates what they will do...before they are elected, and to cast your vote accordingly...It is up to the sportsmen of America to make their wants known in no unmistakable terms, and to prove to candidates and office holders alike that there are more red-blooded, clear-thinking Americans than there are weak-kneed, muddle-headed reformers, even though the latter type may occasionally command more space in the public press. If there is elected for sheriff, governor, Representative, Senator or President a man who is opposed to the interests of the sportsmen, and if he is elected with the aid of the votes of those sportsmen, these latter surely have no one to blame for the situation but themselves.”); “High Hats and Riding Breeches,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1932, p. 4 (“The sportsmen of this country this year should go to the polls with the individual records of the candidates for all offices clearly before them, and if the welfare of the sportsmen is to be considered by those who will go into office during the next few months, the sportsman himself, as a voter and campaigner among his friend who are voters, must consider the problems of the sportsman along with those other problems which normally cause him to vote for one candidate or another.”). See also Bill Kaczor, “On the Sidelines: Pistol Packing Politics,” <i>Journal Gazette</i> (Mattoon, IL), November 3, 1966, p. 7 (urging sportsmen and hunters to vote against the “bad guy” firearms control supporting lawmakers and vote for the “good guy” firearms control opposing lawmakers); C.B. Lister, “Beware Wing and Mirage,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1944, p. 5 (“Your ballot is a bullet fired in the battle for American constitutional government.”); C.B. Lister, “Dear Mr. Congressman,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1943, p. 7; C.B. Lister, “When in the Course...of Human Events...,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1942, pp. 6-7; “Politics and Propaganda,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1940, p. 4; “The Campaigns Get Under Way,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1936, p. 2; C.B. Lister, “Firearms Laws in the 73d Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1934, pp. 5, 17-18; “Quiet Efficiency,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1933, p. 6; “Tyros on the Hill,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1932, p. 6.
188	<i>Ballots Before Bullets</i> : “Even with Us—It’s Ballots Before Bullets,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1952, p. 63.
189	<i>American citizenship</i> : Ibid.
189	<i>vote next month</i> : Ibid.

189	<i>representatives of the people</i> : “Hysteria in High Places,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1932, p. 4.
189	<i>battle of ballots</i> : Ibid.
189	<i>Hansen</i> : Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc., “Let’s <i>DO</i> Keep the Record Straight About OUR GUNS!!” <i>Longview Daily News</i> (WA), November 2, 1963, p. 24.
190	<i>should be punished</i> : “Burton: Enjoy This Year’s Hunt?” <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), November 3, 1968, p. 2. <i>See also</i> “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1964, p. 4 (statement of Utah representative Laurence J. Burton) (“I believe that the Second Amendment to the Constitution clearly states the Constitutional right of all Americans to have and bear arms. As an American who owns and enjoys the use of guns, I am opposed to any legislation which would restrict or tend to take away from me that right.”).
190	<i>seeking reelection lost</i> : The four incumbents to vote for the House version of the State Firearms Control Assistance Act and lose reelection are Virginia representative Porter Hardy, Connecticut Representative Donald Irwin, Maryland Representative Harvey Machen, and New York representative John G. Dow.
190	<i>the benchmark</i> : The two incumbents to vote for the Gun Control Act of 1968 and lose reelection are Connecticut representative Donald Irwin and New York representative John G. Dow.
190	<i>a key issue</i> : Dow’s challenger, Republican Martin B. McKneally, came out in opposition to firearms registration, but only after the Senate passed its version of the State Firearms Control Assistance Act. <i>See</i> Janet Fisch, “Gun Registration Hit by District Attorney,” <i>Journal News</i> (White Plains, NY), October 23, 1968, p. 17; “McKneally Against More Gun Controls,” <i>Record</i> (Hackensack, NJ), October 7, 1968, p. C1. For McKneally’s coming out late against firearms controls, one commentator referred to him as a “poacher” who “waits until he sees which issues are popular.” “McKneally Steals Show in PBA Appearance,” <i>Journal News</i> (White Plains, NY), October 17, 1968, p. 13. It is also worth noting that Dow did not vote either for or against the Gun Control Act of 1968 when it came up for a final vote before the House.
190	<i>anti-gun senators</i> : Tom Siatos, editor-in-chief of <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , claimed a much larger victory. <i>See</i> Tom Siatos, “Editorial,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1969, p. 6 (“But the 1968 elections did manifest one indisputable fact. The firearms issue was of major importance to large segment of the voting public—as a very real part of the law and order controversy in this country. A godly number of incumbent lawmakers at virtually every level of local, state and federal offices were either voted out of office or lost substantial numbers of votes based solely on their adamant anti-firearms stands and voting records. Many have ruefully admitted it.”). The editors of Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms (APORKBA) newsletter <i>Armed Eagle</i> also claimed a large victory. <i>See</i> “Gun Control Issue Elects Senators,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , January-February 1969, p. 4 (“At least 34 Congressmen are now seated in Congress as a result of votes of firearm enthusiasts all over the United States.”).

190	<i>according to their conclusions</i> : “Effect of Gun Control Issue Seen in Vote Results,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1969, pp. 28-29.
190	<i>three such races</i> : “Gun Owners Heard During ’68 Elections,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 15, 1968, pp. 1-2.
190	<i>Guns Magazine</i> : Carl Wolff, “What the Kennedy Election Means,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1968, p. 8.
190	<i>282,100 votes</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , John J. Goldman, “Senator Clark ‘Put to Pasture’ by Pennsylvania’s Sportsmen,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), November 12, 1968, p. 12A; “Pennsylvania Hunters Gun Down Sen. Clark,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> , November 10, 1968, p. B1; John J. Goldman, “Hunters United to ‘Gun Down’ Clark in Pennsylvania Election,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , November 9, 1968, part 1, pp. 1, 7.
191	<i>Boot Clark Out</i> : Steve Szalewicz, “One Touch of Nature: Throw Him Out!” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), November 21, 1968, p. 20.
191	<i>Zapped Clark</i> : Gene Coleman, “The Inside on Outdoors: Sportsmen Zapped Clark,” <i>Times-Tribune</i> (Scranton, PA), November 17, 1968, p. D6.
191	<i>against firearms registration</i> : “Who Fired the Shots That Counted Against Gun Controls?” <i>Idaho State Journal</i> (Pocatello, ID), October 29, 1968, p. A2. <i>See also</i> “Frank Church—A Leading Conservationist in the Congress,” <i>Idaho State Journal</i> (Pocatello, ID), November 3, 1968, p. D1; “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , May 1966, p. 4 (statement of Idaho governor George V. Hansen) (“Through a strict interpretation of the 2nd Amendment, I would question the constitutionality of Federal gun control of firearms—although the right of the Federal Government to regulate the shipment of firearms in interstate commerce has been upheld by the courts. However, I believe the right of the honest American citizen to own and keep arms is fundamental. Subject to such licensing and registration as may be imposed by the states or their subsidiary governmental units under the principal of the 10th amendment.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1963, p. 6 (statement of Idaho senator Frank Church) (“The Bill of Rights provides that the right of the citizen to hold and bear arms shall not be infringed. I would certainly oppose any attempt to deprive the honest citizen of this right. Certainly restrictive laws in the past have proven that laws alone do not prevent the criminal element from obtaining firearms. Depriving honest citizens of firearms serves no useful purpose; rather, it places them at the mercy of those who flaunt the law.”).
191	<i>idea of firearms registration</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Glenn Titus, “Brooke Urges Registration of All Guns,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), May 12, 1968, sports section, p. 6.
191	<i>came out supportive</i> : “Monroney, 5 Others Switch on Gun Curbs,” <i>Oklahoma City Times</i> (OK), June 15, 1968, p. 8; “10 Senators Seek Tougher Gun Controls,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), June 13, 1968, pp. 1-2; “Mail Favoring Gun Control Swamps State Congressmen,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), June 12, 1968, p. 13 (quoting Monroney as stating, “For the first time in all the years that

	we have been receiving mail on this subject, the people who favor strict control substantially outnumber those who don't.”).
192	<i>opposing firearms registration</i> : “Mike Backs Gun Control by States,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), July 4, 1968, p. 36.
192	<i>campaign issue</i> : “Mike Backs Gun Control by States,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), July 4, 1968, p. 36.
192	<i>additional firearms controls</i> : Compare “Mike Monroney is Important to Oklahoma,” <i>Stillwell Democrat-Journal</i> (OK), October 10, 1968, p. 5, with “Who Can Best Represent Oklahoma?” <i>McIntosh County Democrat</i> (Checotah, OK), October 31, 1968, p. 8.
192	<i>Monroney</i> : See, e.g., Ed Livermore, “Bellmon Credits Revolt for Win,” <i>Sapulpa Daily Herald</i> (OK), November 6, 1968, p. 1 (Bellmon crediting the “revolt against the Johnson administration” for his win); “Incumbent Senator Faces Tough Battle,” <i>Odessa American</i> (TX), October 26, 1968, p. 8B; “Democrat Dominance Gone in Oklahoma; Humphrey 3d,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), October 14, 1968, p. A6; Jim Standard, “Bellmon Given Boost By Poll in Little Dixie,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), October 2, 1968, pp. 1, 2; Jim Standard, “Nixon, Bellmon Ahead in Four Vital Counties,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), October 1, 1968, pp. 1, 2.
193	<i>Safe Streets Act</i> : See, e.g., “Hatfield For, Morse Against Gun Control,” <i>Statesmen Journal</i> (Salem, OR), October 1, 1968, p. 4; “Senate Oks Ammo Sale Ban,” <i>Capital Journal</i> (Salem, OR), September 17, 1968, p. 16.
193	<i>provisions in the bill</i> : Floyd McKay, “Packwood Doubts Bomb Halt Will ‘Save’ Morse From Upset,” <i>Statesmen Journal</i> (Salem, OR), November 2, 1968, p. 5; “Comparing Morse, Packwood,” <i>Capital Journal</i> (Salem, OR), October 29, 1968, p. 4; Floyd McKay, “Morse, Packwood Quizzed,” <i>Statesmen Journal</i> (Salem, OR), October 20, 1968, p. 5; Floyd McKay, “Young Bob Packwood Running Hard to Score Victory Over Veteran Senator,” <i>Statesmen Journal</i> (Salem, OR), October 16, 1968, p. 23; “Public Forum: Double Talk Charged,” <i>World</i> (Coos Bay, OR), September 17, 1968, p. 4 (editorial calling out Packwood for supporting the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act).
193	<i>and this country</i> : “Packwood Flays Controls on Guns,” <i>Capitol Journal</i> (Salem, OR), May 6, 1968, p. 8.
193	<i>half a point</i> : During the Republican primary, Packwood is quoted as stating: “Guns don’t kill. People kill and a gun control bill will not change this fact.” See “McCarthy Offers to Debate RFK in Oregon; Opponent Yet Mum,” <i>Corvallis Gazette-Times</i> (OR), May 15, 1968, p. 20.
193	<i>who opposed them</i> : “Nelson Holds Firm in Debate with Leonard,” <i>Capital Times</i> (Madison, WI), November 1, 1968, p. 8; “Reprehensible Smear Tactics,” <i>Journal Times</i> (Racine, WI), November 2, 1968, p. 12; James D. Selk, “Leonard Shows His Mettle in Stretch Run,” <i>Wisconsin State Journal</i> (Madison, WI), October 31, 1968, sec. 1, p. 6; “LaFollette Urges More Pollution Action,” <i>Janesville Daily Gazette</i> (WI),

	October 29, 1968, p. 7; “Need Advisers on Resources, Candidate Says,” <i>Manitowoc Herald-Times</i> (WI), October 29, 1968, p. 10; “Nelson, Proxmire Voted for Gun Control Law,” <i>Post-Crescent</i> (Appleton, WI), October 11, 1968, p. 3; “Leonard Opposes Registration of Hunting Firearms,” <i>Daily Tribune</i> (Wisconsin Rapids, WI), October 11, 1968, p. 11.
193	<i>Gun Control Act</i> : “Optimistic Ervin Hits Campaign Trail,” <i>Charlotte News</i> (NC), October 17, 1968, p. 4A; “Ervin Favors State Gun Controls; Says He Can’t OK Fortas’ Nomination,” <i>Charlotte Observer</i> (NC), July 6, 1968, p. 4B; Edward Cody, “Mail Pours In: State Gun Controls Needed, Says Ervin,” <i>Charlotte Observer</i> (NC), July 6, 1968, p. 20B; James K. Batten, “Please for Gun Controls Flooding Congressmen,” <i>Charlotte Observer</i> (NC), June 16, 1968, p. 3B; Roy Parker, Jr., “Ervin’s Mail Favors Gun Controls; Other Solons Get Mixed Reaction,” <i>News and Observer</i> (Raleigh, NC), June 13, 1968, pp. 1, 13. Prior to the assassination of senator Robert F. Kennedy, North Carolina senator Sam Ervin was opposed to firearms controls. See “Ervin Against Gun Controls,” <i>Rocky Mount Telegram</i> (NC), April 7, 1968, p. 4A.
193	<i>legislation of any kind</i> : “Ervin Not Taking GOP Foe Lightly,” <i>News and Observer</i> (Raleigh, NC), October 18, 1968, p. 38; “Somers Offers Ervin Free Tim On TV,” <i>Charlotte Observer</i> (NC), October 18, 1968, p. 28A; “Somers Opposes Gun Controls,” <i>Charlotte Observer</i> (NC), October 10, 1968, p. 4A; Bill Stancil, “Somers Raps Scott, Attacks Ervin Vote on Gun Controls,” <i>Rocky Mount Telegram</i> (NC), September 21, 1968, p. 1; “Somers Attacks Ervin’s Record,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), September 15, 1968, p. 7D; “Somers Against Federal Gun Control Bill,” <i>News and Observer</i> (Raleigh, NC), July 3, 1968, p. 16.
193	<i>one point firearms registration</i> : “Control Guns or Die, Aiken Says,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), September 10, 1968, p. 12; “Outdoors with Ed Keenan on Gun Control,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), August 24, 1968, p. 9; “Aiken Says Vermont Should Enact Its Own Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), August 22, 1968, p. 20; “Aiken Sure St. Albans Will Get Federal Funds for Water Project,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), August 14, 1968, p. 1; Vonda Bergman, “Vermont in Washington,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), July 3, 1968, p. 9; “Senators, Safford Cool to Gun Laws,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), June 12, 1968, pp. 1, 6.
193	<i>right to keep and bear arms</i> : “These Are the Major Candidates for State Office in Vermont,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), September 6, 1968, p. 6; “Tufts, Kelley Speak Out Against Gun Registration,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), September 3, 1968, p. 7; “Gun Club Backs Tufts,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), August 22, 1968, p. 16; “Gun Club for Tufts,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), August 27, 1968, p. 5; “Legislative Gun Control Group Named,” <i>Times Argus</i> (Barre, VT), August 15, 1968, p. 16; Daniel A. Neary, Jr., “Bill Tufts: The Man and His Candidacy,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), August 13, 1968, p. 12; “Debate or Face Defeat, Challenger Tells Aiken,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), July 19, 1968, p. 2; Stephen C. Terry, “‘Giant Killer’ Stalking Aiken,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), June 25, 1968, p. 2; “Tufts Predicts He Will Defeat Senator Aiken,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), June 25, 1968, p. 10; Vic Maerki,

	<p>“Aiken to Seek Reelection to Senate,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), June 18, 1968, p. 1.</p>
193	<p><i>not law-abiding citizens</i>: “Candidates, Incumbents Strongly Oppose Further Gun-Control Legislation,” <i>Douglas County Herald</i> (Ava, MO), October 24, 1968, p. 8; “Washington Observer Gives Predictions of State Races,” <i>Jefferson City Post-Tribune</i> (MO), October 23, 1968, p. 1A; Fred W. Lindecke, “Party Label Helps Eagleton,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), October 13, 1968, p. 1B; Eagleton Urges Tougher Curbs,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), June 21, 1968, p. 3A; “Missouri Campaigns Bids in Gear Again,” <i>Kansas City Times</i> (MO), June 11, 1968, p. 4; “Eagleton Renews Gun Law Support,” <i>Jefferson City Post-Tribune</i> (MO), May 16, 1968, p. 13; “Gun Laws Have Eagleton’s Support,” <i>Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune</i> (MO), May 16, 1968, p. 3; “Eagleton Sees a Close Race in Clay County,” <i>Kansas City Star</i> (MO), May 7, 1968, p. 4.</p>
194	<p><i>cannot change</i>: “GIs Riot at Army Stockade,” <i>St. Joseph Gazette</i> (MO), August 30, 1968, pp. 1A, 2A.</p>
194	<p><i>Kennedy’s assassination</i>: “No Disagreement on Gun Control McGovern Says,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), October 25, 1968, p. 12; “GOP Urges Straight Tickets; McGovern Talks Education,” <i>Daily Republic</i> (Mitchell, SD), October 24, 1968, p. 13; “Republicans Repeat Chant; McGovern Questions Foes,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), October 23, 1968, p. 34; “GOP Continues Gun Law Attack,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), October 18, 1968, p. 1; “Gubbrud Points Fish Lake Talk to Democrats,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), July 20, 1968, p. 6; “Gun Registration Difficulty Cited,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), July 5, 1968, p. 1; “Appeal Made for Support of Gun Control,” <i>Argus-Leader</i> (Sioux Falls, SD), June 16, 1968, p. 2; “McGovern for Limited Gun Controls,” <i>Daily Republic</i> (Mitchell, SD), June 15, 1968, p. 2; Letter from George McGovern to North Dakota constituents, June 14, 1968, George McGovern Papers, box 608, folder Firearms Miscellaneous Correspondence (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library) (hereinafter McGovern Papers). <i>See also</i> “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, January 1962, p. 4 (statement of South Dakota governor Archie Gubbrud) (“In South Dakota we have no conflict between the Second Amendment...and the laws of the State of South Dakota. The rights states in the Second Amendment have not been infringed upon or modified in any way. The only legislative trend involving firearms in the state of South Dakota has been directed towards firearms training and gun handling safety for our younger citizens of the state. As Governor of the State of South Dakota, it is my wish to see the younger generations become proficient in firearms use and to recognize and practice the elements of firearm safety. I will always support sound legislation directed towards the fulfillment of these objectives.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, October 1960, p. 4 (statement of South Dakota representative George McGovern) (“The Second Amendment guaranteeing ‘the right of the people to keep and bear arms’ is an essential part of the American tradition. It has stood us well in both peace and war. I think it would be a serious mistake for the Congress to pass legislation that would in any way jeopardize this time-honored and time-tested freedom of the American people.”). <i>See also</i> Robert S. Anson, <i>McGovern: A Biography</i> (New Brunswick, NJ, Raritan, 1972, 142 (“It took the murder of Robert</p>

	<p>Kennedy to change his stand on gun control, which up to that time he adamantly opposed, both for handguns and for rifles. After Kennedy's assassination McGovern's mail, which had been running ten to one against gun control, suddenly shifted to six to one for it. 'I don't want on my conscience another murder,' McGovern said at the time. 'A stronger gun control bill won't prevent another murder, but it will help.' Then, as if to atone for his past sins, McGovern wrote a letter to everyone who had ever written him opposing gun control announcing he was not for it and listing the reasons why.').</p>
194	<p><i>in coming years</i>: "Ford Questions Humphrey's Stand on Debates," <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), October 17, 1968, p. 1.</p>
195	<p><i>gun rights over gun controls</i>: Tom Siatos, "Editorial," <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, January 1969, p. 6.</p>
195	<p><i>on the firearms control issue</i>: See, e.g., Franklin L. Orth, "Senate Debating Controversial Issue: Gun Control," <i>Muscatine Journal and New-Tribune</i> (IA), May 22, 1968, p. 12 (noting that Javits proposed a "middle ground" amendment to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act).</p>
195	<p><i>advocate for firearms registration</i>: Jacob K. Javits, "Law, Order and Justice," Speech Before the Borough of Queens, New York City, October 12, 1968, Javits Papers, box 42, folder Law, Order and Justice; "Gun Curb Versions Similar," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 19, 1968, p. 1; Jacob K. Javits, "Gun Control: Recognition that U.S. is Now 70% Urban," Remarks Before Senate Floor, September 17, 1968, Javits Papers, box 41, folder Gun Control, September 17, 1968; Jacob K. Javits, "For Gun Controls," <i>Daily Messenger</i> (Canandaigua, NY), July 17, 1968, p. 4; "New Voice on Guns," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), June 13, 1968, p. 18; Gene S. Goldenberg, "'Peoples Lobby' Backs Gun Control," <i>Oneonta Star</i> (NY), June 12, 1968, p. 3; "Three Democrats Vying for Senate Nomination Ask Stiffer Gun Laws," <i>Oneonta Star</i> (NY), June 12, 1968, p. 2.</p>
195	<p><i>federal firearms controls</i>: "Javits Urges Viet Peace with Honor," <i>Glens Falls Times</i> (NY), September 21, 1968, p. 7; Gene S. Goldenberg, "Javits Defends Gun Law," <i>Oneonta Star</i> (NY), September 18, 1968, p. 1; "Churches Ask All to Observe Guns Deadline," <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), August 12, 1968, p. 18; "Javits Won't OK Ticket Now," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), August 12, 1968, p. 10A; Jacob K. Javits, News Release, "Sen. Javits to Appear at Community Rallies for Gun Control Sunday Afternoon," August 11, 1968, Javits Papers, box 41, folder Gun Control, August 11, 1968; "Javits Denies Storming Out of Platform Hearing," <i>Tribune</i> (Scranton, PA), August 2, 1968, p.1; Jacob K. Javits, "The Congress and Gun Control," Remarks Before the Kiwanis Club of Ithaca, New York, July 22, 1968, Javits Papers, box 41, folder Kiwanis Club of Ithaca, Gun Control.</p>
195	<p><i>Dump Javits campaign</i>: Shane Crosby, "Sen. Javits is 'Sticking to His Guns'," <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), October 1, 1968, p. 5; "Federation Passes 'Dump Javits' Motion," <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), September 13, 1968, p. 19; "Area Sportsmen Clubs Want Javits—OUT," <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), August 22, 1968, p. 26; "Final SASC Poll—No Gun Legislation," <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY),</p>

	August 20, 1968, p. 21. <i>See also</i> Nick Thimmesch, "The Realities of Jack Javits," <i>New York Magazine</i> , November 4, 1968, pp. 34, 38.
195	<i>at the ballot box</i> : Frank M. Mauro and Art Sperl, "Dump Javits" co-chairmen, "Freeman Readers Write the Editor," <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), September 25, 1968, p. 5.
195	<i>he Javits</i> : Jacob K. Javits, News Release, "Local Gun Lobby Seeking to 'Dump Javits' for Influential Backing of Firearms Bills," Javits Papers, box 41, folder Gun Lobby Dump Javits Campaign.
195	<i>friendly audience</i> : "Javits Will Face Fire of State's Sportsmen," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), September 25, 1968, p. 4C.
196	<i>Dump Javits</i> : Mike Power, "Javits Defends Gun Controls," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), September 28, 1968, p. B1; "Gun Control Misreads—Javits," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 28, 1968, p. 9.
196	<i>possess a gun</i> : Jacob K. Javits, "Federal Gun Control Laws: Facts and Illusions," Speech Before the New York State Conservation Council, September 27, 1968, Javits Papers, box 42, folder New York State Conservation Council, Gun Control.
196	<i>firearms control supporting-candidate from office</i> : Bill Roden, "Adirondack Sportsman," <i>Post-Star</i> (Glens Falls, NY), October 3, 1968, pp. 20, 22.
197	<i>including registration</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Ohio Senate Race: Saxbe-Gilligan Differ Over Gun Registration," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 18, 1968, p. 12; "Guns, Pollution Topics of Saxbe, Gilligan," <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), October 17, 1968, p. A14; "Saxbe: Gun Registration Impractical," <i>Circleville Herald</i> (OH), October 17, 1968, p. 7; "Humphrey's Son Stumps Ohio for Father," <i>Circleville Herald</i> (OH), October 12, 1968, p. 1; Warren D. Wheat, "Blue Collar Workers Get Saxbe's Attention," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), October 10, 1968, p. 54; Donald L. Bandy, "Ohio Senate Race Develops Into Hot Gilligan-Saxbe Fight," <i>Logan Daily News</i> (OH), October 10, 1968, p. 12; "Gilligan Bills Self as 'Truth Squad'," <i>Newark Advocate</i> (OH), October 8, 1968, p. 22; "Gun Controls Now a Must, Gilligan Says," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), July 25, 1968, p. 9; "Saxbe Levels His Sights at Gun Control Advocates," <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), July 15, 1968, p. 7; "Saxbe Supports Gun Controls," <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), June 29, 1968, p. 3; "Gilligan Backs Gun Restrictions," <i>Circleville Herald</i> (OH), June 28, 1968, p. 1; "Saxbe Speaks on Federal Gun Control," <i>Circleville Herald</i> (OH), June 25, 1968, p. 5; "Saxbe Sides With Foes of Gun Control," <i>Marion Star</i> (OH), June 25, 1968, p. 15.
197	<i>support for Saxbe</i> : Such Ohio-based organized opposition by sportsmen did not begin until the fall of 1969. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Jim Robey, "All Outdoors: Ex-Astronaut Glenn Draws OSA Blast," <i>Journal Herald</i> (Dayton, OH), December 12, 1969, p. 33; "Ohio Sportsmen Form Statewide Lobbying, Political Organization," <i>Gun Week</i> , November 14, 1969, pp. 1-2; "20 Gun Clubs Join in Political Alliance," <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), November 5, 1969, p. 29; "Sports in Brief," <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), November 3, 1969, p. C4; "Sportsmen Eye Fight on Firearms," <i>Logan Daily News</i>

	(OH), October 30, 1969, p. 3; “Ohio Gunmen Set Meeting to Organize,” <i>Marion Star</i> (OH), October 30, 1969, p. 28.
197	<i>politically motivated</i> : The NRA understood its “strength” and “ability to accomplish its object and purposes” depended “entirely upon the support of loyal Americans who believe in the right to keep and bear arms.” See National Rifle Association, <i>Operating Report '69</i> , p. 11, Nixon Papers, Pre-Presidential Collection, Personal Papers, box 9, folder National Rifle Association. The NRA also thought it important to use its platform to fight against anti-firearms legislation. See Harold W. Glassen, “Vice-President’s Report 1967: First Board of Directors Meeting,” undated 1967, Glassen Papers, box 1 (outlining best practices for the NRA in opposing anti-firearms legislation).
198	<i>stated the NRA</i> : “Effect of Gun Issue Seen in Vote Results,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1969, pp. 28, 29. In July 1968, Gurney introduced a bill that would have imposed a 10-year mandatory minimum for a first felony committed with a firearm, and a 25-year mandatory minimum for a second. See “Gurney Tips Off the Voters,” <i>News-Press</i> (Fort Myers, FL), July 10, 1968, p. 4.
198	<i>on long guns</i> : Pete Laine, “LBJ Bats .390 With Florida Delegation,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), October 25, 1968, p. 6A; Charles Stafford, “Florida Delegation Split Over Gun Legislation,” <i>Tampa Tribune</i> (FL), June 16, 1968, pp. 1A, 8A; Peter Laine, “Gurney: Head Start Fails, Too,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), April 26, 1968, p. 8A. However, Gurney did oppose federal firearms registration. See Daile Pullen, “Gurney, Collins Differ in Senate Race Viewpoints,” <i>Palm Beach Post</i> (West Palm Beach, FL), July 21, 1968, p. A9.
198	<i>Mathias</i> : “Gun Owners Heard During ’68 Elections,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 15, 1968, p. 1.
198	<i>legitimate purposes</i> : “Sen. Brewster Drops Support of Tydings Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 6, 1968, p. 2.
198	<i>mail-order purchases</i> : See, e.g., Michael Parks, “TV Image Aids Mathias Bid,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), November 2, 1968, p. B7; “Mahoney Hits Hard on Gun Curb Issue,” <i>Daily Times</i> ,” October 20, 1968, p. A8; “Mahoney, Mathias on Offensive,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), October 12, 1968, pp. B6, B20; “Mahoney Scores Gun Law, Terms It ‘Communist Idea’,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), October 10, 1968, p. C20; “Candidates View War, Gun Control,” <i>Cumberland Evening Times</i> (MD), September 3, 1968, p. 13; “Mac Votes for Gun Control,” <i>News</i> (Frederick, MD), June 12, 1968, p. 1.

Chapter 7 Notes

199	<i>Lyndon B. Johnson</i> : “An NRA Life Member in the White House,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1969, p. 14.
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199	<i>Forward Together</i> : Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to NRA Lifetime Members, January 29, 1969, Thomas E. Wessel Papers (owned by author) (hereinafter Wessel Papers).
199	<i>Nixon's the One</i> : E.B. Mann, "In Focus," <i>Shooting Industry</i> , January 1969, p. 6.
199	<i>field of firearms legislation</i> : Tom Siatos, "Editorial," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1969, p. 6.
200	<i>support behind him</i> : S.J. Schoon, "The Nixon Position???" <i>Armed Eagle</i> , March 1969, p. 7.
200	<i>deter criminal activity</i> : American Independent Party Platform of 1968, October 13, 1968. <i>See also</i> "Wallace Opposed to Gun Controls," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , October 19, 1968, sec. 1, p. 10; "Wallace Calls Gun Control Bill 'Silly'," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 4, 1968, p. 9; "Shrewd Political Move," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 20, 1968, p. 4 (applauding Wallace's "law and order" and "get tough" approach to crime).
200	<i>already on the books</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Gun Control and the Election," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1968, p. 48; Don McKee, "Local Control is Wallace Solution," <i>Kansas City Times</i> (MO), July 8, 1968, p. 40; "George Wallace Hailed as 'Only Salvation of this Country,'" <i>Post-Crescent</i> (Appleton, WI), July 7, 1968, p. B7; "Wallace: Gun Laws Won't Stop Outlaws," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), June 17, 1968, p. A9; "Wallace Says Police Must Stop Killings," <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), June 17, 1968, p. A3; "Register Communists, Not Guns: Wallace," <i>El Paso Times</i> (TX), June 13, 1968, p. A6.
200	<i>like Schoon</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Humphrey Allegation Ires Nixon Supporters," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 27, 1968, p. 6.
200	<i>misuse of firearms</i> : <i>Compare</i> Statement of Richard M. Nixon, June 17, 1968, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library) (hereinafter Nixon Papers); Richard M. Nixon, <i>Disarming the Criminal Class</i> (July 9, 1968), in Hubert H. Humphrey Papers, 1968 Presidential Campaign Files, John G. Stewart Research Files, box 1, folder Gun Control (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Humphrey Papers), with Alan C. Webber, "Where the NRA Stands on Gun Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1968, p. 22; Franklin L. Orth, "Where the NRA Stands..." <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1966, pp. 21-22; "NRA Policy Statement on Firearms Legislation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1958, p. 35.
200	<i>NRA life membership</i> : "Nixon Urged to Resign NRA Life Membership," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 31, 1969, p. 1.
200	<i>active participant</i> : Daniel Rapoport, "National Rifle Association: Nixon Belongs to Club Opposing Gun Controls," <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), January 13, 1969, p. 4C; "Rifle Club Says Nixon is Member," <i>News and Observer</i> (Raleigh, NC), January 13, 1969, p. 5; "Rifle Group Notes Nixon is a Member," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), January 13, 1969, p. 2.
200	<i>owns no guns</i> : "President Quits Rifle Association," <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , February 23, 1969, p. 6A; "No NRA Membership—Nixon," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), February 23, 1969, p. 2A; "Membership Disavowed," <i>Tallahassee Democrat</i> (FL), February 22, 1969, p. 12A; Daniel Rapoport, "Nixon Shuns Link to NRA," <i>Town Talk</i> (Alexandria, VA), February 23, 1969, p. 1.

201	<i>ceremonial than real</i> : “NRA President Argues His Case: ‘Gun Laws Don’t Control Crime’,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , February 9, 1969, p. 17A (noting that the NRA memberships of Presidents Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy were “unsolicited” and “honorary,” and that a similar membership was offered to President Lyndon B. Johnson, “but nothing came of it.”).
201	<i>NRA’s annual meeting</i> : “Executive Director’s Report,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1954, pp. 34-37. <i>See also</i> Drew Pearson, “Nixon Fails to Produce ‘Plan’,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), March 14, 1969, p. A17.
201	<i>resignation statement</i> : Nixon could not have maintained and owned these handguns even if he wanted to. As required by law, such honorary gifts are not kept by the recipients, but are rather cataloged and stored by the federal government. <i>See</i> Jack Maskell, <i>Gifts to the President of the United States</i> (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, August 16, 2012).
201	<i>Smith & Wesson</i> : “Executive Director’s Report,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1954, p. 37.
201	<i>handling of firearms</i> : “83 Years of Public Service,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1954, pp. 38-39.
201	<i>double-crosser</i> : <i>See</i> Letter from William Loeb to Pat Buchanan, July 18, 1972, White House Central Files, box 35, Staff Member Office Files, folder Michael P. Balzano, Gun Control; Letter from William Loeb to Ashely Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, June 30, 1971, Robert F. Sikes Papers, box 444, folder Ballew Shooting (Pensacola, FL: University of West Florida Library) (hereinafter Sikes Papers).
201	<i>anti-gun zealots</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “A Statement Concerning President Nixon,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1969, p. 16; “President Nixon Resigns Honorary Membership in NRA,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 21, 1969, p. 5.
201	<i>campaign promises</i> : <i>See</i> Bob Neal, “Washington Report: Nixon Backs Sport Shooters!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , November 1969, pp. 8, 73; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Administration Opposes Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1969, pp. 32-34; “Administration Officials Oppose Federal Gun Registration-Licensing,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 8, 1969, pp. 1-2. <i>See also</i> “Administration Takes Stand on Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1970, p. 35.
201	<i>federal firearms controls</i> : Statement of Donald E. Santarelli, Associate Deputy Attorney General Department of Justice, Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate on S. 100, S. 849, S. 8977, S. 2433, July 24, 2019, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Egil Krogh, box 65, folder Gun Control 1969, pp. 1-2.
201	<i>State and local governments</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 2.
202	<i>equitable in application</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 3.
202	<i>advocates’ political playbook</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “What the Lawmakers are Doing: Legislators Crack Down on Criminals Who Misuse Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, pp. 47-50; “Punish Criminals, Not Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, p. 16; “NRA Sessions Hailed as

	Success,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1969, pp. 25, 26; John W Campbell, “Magazine Editor Offers Fresh Look at Gun Laws,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, pp. 8, 10.
202	<i>Saturday Night’ Specials</i> : Statement of Donald E. Santarelli, Associate Deputy Attorney General Department of Justice, Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate on S. 100, S. 849, S. 8977, S. 2433, July 24, 1969, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Egil Krogh, box 65, folder Gun Control 1969, pp. 3-5. Santarelli’s proposed ban on Saturday Night Specials quickly became a political flashpoint for many with the gun rights community. This was primarily due to the recently published findings for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, which was commissioned by President Lyndon B. Johnson in the wake of senator Robert F. Kennedy’s assassination. The commission called for the strict handgun controls, including licensing. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Willis L. Hobart, “Violence Commission Says...Confiscate Handguns,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , November 1969, pp. 28-29, 85-87; “Gun Legislation Report,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , November 1969, p. 4; Bob Bell, “Handgunfiscation?” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , October 1969, p. 1; “The ‘Violence Report’ Explodes,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, p. 31; “Conclusion of Commission Report,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 5, 1969, p. 19; “Knowledge of Violence Commission Report Important to Sportsmen,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 29, 1969, pp. 7, 15; “Handgun Ban Proposal Draws Mixed Reaction,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 15, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Panel Says Turn ‘Turn Them In,’” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 15, 1969, p. 4; Wallace F. Bennett, News Release, “Bennett Calls Violence Commission Report Unrealistic, Unreasonable,” July 28, 1969, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 228, folder 18. However, it was an idea that the NRA had repeatedly endorsed. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Let’s See Who Backs This Handgun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, p. 10; “Restraint on TV, Cheap Handguns Wins Favor,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1968, p. 15; National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, “NRA Offers Program on Gun Control Legislation,” April 7, 1967, in Milton Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Library) (hereinafter Reckord Papers); “Mail-Order Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1963, p. 16.
202	<i>licensed firearms dealers</i> : Statement of Donald E. Santarelli, Associate Deputy Attorney General Department of Justice, Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate on S. 100, S. 849, S. 8977, S. 2433, July 24, 1969, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Egil Krogh, box 65, folder Gun Control 1969, p. 4. <i>See also</i> Memorandum from Bud Krogh to Henry Cashen, “Gun Registration Laws,” May 7, 1969, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Egil Krogh, box 65, folder Gun Control 1969.
202	<i>burdensome and unnecessary</i> : <i>See., e.g.</i> , Jack O’Connor, “Keeping Up with the Gun Control Act of 1968,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1969, pp. 68-69, 74-77; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Movement to Lift Ammo Restrictions Gains Backers,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1969, pp. 36-40, 42; Bob Bell, “35,000,001...And Then?” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , March 1969, p. 1; Bob Neal, “What the 1968 Gun Control Act Means to You!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1969, pp. 20-21, 71; “Get Rid of Ammo Rules!” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 28, 1969, p. 4; “Action on Ammunition,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, p. 18; “The Ammunition Farce,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1969, p. 14; “Senator Bennett Asks Ammo Rules Revision,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, pp. 1, 3; Warren Page, “The New Gun Law Does Affect Sportsmen,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , February 1969, pp. 129-28, 130-32;

	Bob Neal, "What the Gun Control Law Means to You!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1969, pp. 8, 16-18; "Gun Legislation," <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , January 1969, p. 17; "ATFD Eases Ammunition Rules for 'On-Premises' Use by Clubs," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 20, 1968, pp. 1-2; "Final IRS Rules Expected After December 16," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 13, 1968, p. 1; "Firearms Fraternity Representatives Oppose 'Paperwork' Rules at Hearing," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 6, 1968, pp. 1-2. It is worth noting that the NRA's first summary of the Gun Control Act's ammunition record keeping was objective and even keeled. See "ATTD Rules on Ammunition and Gun Club Activities," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1969, p. 33.
202	<i>backdoor registration</i> : "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Ammo Bill Hits 'Backdoor' Registration," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, pp. 34-38.
203	<i>registration on firearms owners</i> : Ibid. See also Willis L. Hobart, 1968 Gun Control Act—STEP ONE: COMPLETED!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , July 1969, pp. 24-25, 70-71; "Real Impact of '68 Gun Control Act Yet to Be Felt in Vermont," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), March 1, 1969, p. 3; National Shooting Sports Foundation, News Release, "Back-Door Registration," March 1969, in Wallace F. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 265, folder 8 (Salt Lake City, UT: J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections) (hereinafter W. Bennett Papers); "Get Rid of Ammo Rules!" <i>Gun Week</i> , February 28, 1969, p. 4; James L. Myers, Federation of Sportsmen Clubs, "New Gun Legislation," <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), February 4, 1969, p. 5; "Gun Law Barrage Hits Pride, Profit," <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), February 2, 1969, p. B3; "Many Resent Law Requiring Signatures on Ammo Sales," <i>Salina Journal</i> (KS), January 12, 1969, p. 6; Ray P. Corlett, "Federal Gun Control Act Tougher Than First Look," <i>Nevada State Journal</i> (Reno, NV), January 2, 1969, p. 14; Archie Blount, "Outdoors: Gun Law Stirs Up Loud Protest," <i>Tampa Times</i> (FL), January 1, 1969, p. 3C; "No Registration? Gun Control Act Calls for Names," <i>Daily Press</i> (Newport News, VA), December 22, 1968, p. D5; "This Unconstitutional Law Must Be Repealed," <i>Armed Eagle</i> , December 1968, p. 1.
203	<i>law or fact</i> : Memorandum from Paul W. Eggers to Egil Krogh, "Memorandum to Mr. Egil Krogh, Jr. Staff Assistant to the Counsel," April 29, 1969, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Egil Krogh, box 65, folder Gun Control 1969, p. 2.
203	<i>any central location</i> : Ibid.
203	<i>National Rifle Association</i> : Ibid.
203	<i>western states</i> : "Senate Support Grows for Ammo Removal Bill," <i>Gun Week</i> , March 7, 1969, pp. 1-2.
203	<i>opponents of firearms controls</i> : "Bennett Against New Federal Gun Control," <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), July 11, 1968, p. 3; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Walter G. Koplin, October 12, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 9, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Lee A. Wankier, September 29, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 8, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, September 11, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 8, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Ralph R. Dymont, February 14, 1967, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 333, folder 8, Firearms 1967; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to P.O. Ackley, September 16, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Tom C. Korologos, administrative assistant to

	Wallace F. Bennett, to Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, August 16, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Franklin L. Orth, NRA executive vice president, to Wallace F. Bennett, August 12, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 322, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Alden E. Roylance, May 3, 1966, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 322, folder 6, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Judge Sterling R. Bossard, October 5, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Oma E. Wilcox, June 28, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Maynard M. Sorenson, April 27, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Robert L. Bradley, March 26, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966; Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to John D. Stewart, February 17, 1965, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 316, folder 4, Firearms 1965-1966.
203	<i>facto firearms registration</i> : See, e.g., “Senator Bennett Asks Ammo Rule Revision,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, pp. 1, 3; “Bennett Urges Elimination of Ammunition Registration,” <i>Transcript-Bulletin</i> (Toole, UT), January 31, 1969, p. 6; “Bennett Moves to Change Ammunition Registration,” <i>Richfield Reaper</i> (UT), January 30, 1969, p. 3; “Ammunition Licensing Draws Denunciation by Sen. Bennett,” <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), January 15, 1969, p. 13A; Frank Hewlett, “Bennett Seeking to Repeal Ammo Registration Law,” <i>Salt Lake City Tribune</i> (UT), January 12, 1969, p. A3. See also Letter from Wallace F. Bennett to Fred R. Harris, January 22, 1969, Fred A. Harris Papers, box 143, folder 27, Crime-Firearms Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Harris Papers) (providing reasons for Oklahoma senator Fred R. Harris to cosponsor the bill that would become S. 849).
203	<i>gained political traction</i> : See, e.g., “Action on Ammunition,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, p. 18.
204	<i>Mississippi River</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Ammo Bill Hits ‘Backdoor’ Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, p. 34; National Shooting Sports Foundation, News Release, “Back-Door Registration,” March 1969, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 265, folder 8; “Demos Back Bennett Bill,” <i>Tooele Bulletin</i> (UT), March 4, 1969, p. 4; Thomas Jefferson Steed, News Release, February 27, 1969, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box 46, folder 16, Judiciary-Gun Control 1969 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers).
204	<i>long gun ammunition</i> : “Attempts to Redraft Gun Control Act Get Added Push,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> , July 30, 1969, p. 1; “Gun Control Foe is Given New ‘Ammo’,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), July 30, 1968, p. 43; “Most Federal Gun Bills Would Aid Firearms Owners,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1969, p. 62; “What the Lawmakers are Doing: Easing of Ammunition Rules Seems Likely,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1969, p. 38.
204	<i>forty-six senator cosponsors</i> : “Senate Ammo Bill Reported Favorably in Senate; Dodd Pushes Handgun Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, pp. 1-2; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Fresh Moves Made on Ammo,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, pp. 52-53, 55. See also Richard S. Schweiker, News Release, “[Bennett Ammo Amendment to Gun Control Act],” October 9, 1969, Richard S. Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58 (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Special Collections) (hereinafter Schweiker

	Papers); Richard S. Schweiker, News Release, ["Statement on S. 845"], July 29, 1969, Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58.
204	<i>on their calendar</i> : Letter from the Montana Arms Collectors Association to Sportsmen/Gun Owners, October 23, 1968, Mike Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 (Missoula, MT: Mansfield Library, University of Montana) (hereinafter Mansfield Papers); "Mike is Target of Firing Line," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 26, 1968, p. 1; "Mail Heaviest in 25 Years...Mike Standing Firm on Gun Control Legislation," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 26, 1968, p. 7.
204	<i>back-door registration</i> : Henry Moore, "Rod and Gun: Senators Ask Change in Gun Control Act," <i>Boston Globe</i> , March 25, 1969, p. 32; Bob Hood, "Senators Rewrite Gun Control Bill," <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), March 7, 1969, p. 3C; "Bill Seeks to Ease Ammunition Guides," <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), March 16, 1969, p. H12; Robert A. Barnes, "Members of Congress Charge 'Backdoor' Gun Registration," <i>Times Herald</i> (Port Huron, MI), March 13, 1969, p. 12; "'Backdoor' Gun Registration Rules Charged," <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), March 5, 1969, p. A9. Mansfield was well aware that he was mischaracterizing the provisions within the Gun Control Act. See "Facts About the Gun Crime Law," undated [1969], Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1 (noting that the Gun Control Act "does <i>not</i> compile or make gun owner lists available").
204	<i>cities of our nation</i> : Mike Mansfield, Press Release, "Remarks of Senator Mike Mansfield at the Annual Dinner of the American Advisory Committee, European Institute of Business Administration," June 27, 1968, Mike Mansfield Papers, box 44, folder 42 (Missoula, MT: Mansfield Library, University of Montana) (hereinafter Mansfield Papers).
204	<i>opposite opinion</i> : "Gun Misuse Penalties Asked in Senate Bills," <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, p. 1 (noting how sportsmen are aware that Mansfield changed positions).
204	<i>law-abiding Montanans</i> : Statement of Mike Mansfield, July 23, 1969, Mansfield Papers, box 45, folder 5.
204	<i>firearms control burdens</i> : Ibid.
204	<i>he stated</i> : Ibid.
204	<i>mandatory minimums</i> : See, e.g., Bob Bell, "Handgunfiscation?" <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , October 1969, p. 1; "Criminals Need Punishment!" <i>Gun Week</i> , August 22, 1969, p. 4; "What the Lawmakers are Doing: Legislators Crack Down on Criminals Who Misuse Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, pp. 47-50; "Punish Criminals, Not Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, p. 16; "NRA Sessions Hailed a Success," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1969, pp. 25, 26 (listing "increased mandatory sentences for criminals using firearms" as the first and foremost legislative issue that the NRA should focus on); "Panacea Laws Not Needed!" <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, p. 4 (noting the need for the "enforcement of existing laws and the elimination of the frenzied efforts to pass more gun control laws that will serve only as panaceas."); "Gun Misuse Can Be Reduced," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 17, 1969, p. 4 (urging a "return to the judicial principal of 'swift and sure justice,' for the criminal"); "Mandatory Penalty Laws Gaining Acceptance," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1968, p. 22; "The Answer is Simply Law Enforcement," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 16. Punishing the criminal misuse of firearms through mandatory minimums dates to the first gun rights advocacy group, the United States Revolver Association. See United States

	<p>Revolver Association, "An Incorrect Theory," Bulletin No. 11, March 28, 1923, Mansfield Family Papers, box 5, folder 53 (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Historical Society) (hereinafter Mansfield Papers) ("The way to curb the use of pistols and revolvers by criminals is not by making it difficult for the reputable citizen to buy and possess such weapons, but by surrounding the sale of these weapons with restrictions which will operate only against the crook."); United States Revolver Association, "Criminals Not Made by Pistols," Bulletin No. 5, February 15, 1923, Mansfield Papers, box 5, folder 53 ("The criminal fears punishment. If he knows that the use of a weapon in the commission of crime means the certainty of an added term of imprisonment, he will hesitate to use one. Likewise, if he knows that all citizens have the right to possess weapons and presumably have availed themselves of that right and are therefore in a position to defend themselves, he will hesitate to attack."); United States Revolver Association, "Disarming the Criminal," Bulletin No. 3, January 31, 1923, Mansfield Papers, box 5, folder 53; United States Revolver Association, "Sane Regulation of Revolver Sales: Why Revolver Sales Should be Uniform," Bulletin No. 2, January 24, 1923, Charles Lewis Gilman Papers, box 2, folder Gun Law Correspondence (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Gilman Papers), p. 1. <i>See also</i> Harold W. Glassen, "Remarks of the President at the NRA Annual Members Meeting," March 29, 1969, <i>Minutes of the Members Meeting of the NRA, March 29, 1969</i> (Washington, DC: 1969), in Glassen Papers, box 1, pp. 1-4.</p>
205	<p><i>S. 849</i>: Although similar bills were presented in previous Congresses by both Democrats and Republicans, for the 91st Congress, the mandatory minimum proposal proffered by Mansfield was first considered by Republicans. <i>See</i> "GOP Seeks Gun Misuse Sentences," <i>Gun Week</i>, December 13, 1968, p. 1.</p>
205	<p><i>sentence for a second</i>: John Willard, "Outdoor Montana: Gun Plans Bloom Like Dandelions," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), March 16, 1969, p. 20; Charles H. Nehf, "Field Sports: Four Federal Gun Bills of Concern for Sportsmen," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), March 2, 1969, p. C11; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Ammo Bill Hits 'Backdoor' Registration," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1969, p. 34; "Tough Penalties for the Gunman," <i>San Francisco Examiner</i>, February 9, 1969, p. B2; "Mansfield Urges Prison for Using Guns in Felonies," <i>Montana Standard</i> (Butte, MT), February 5, 1969, p. 14; "Mansfield Offers Bill to Curb Gun Use in Crimes," <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), February 5, 1969, p. 21. <i>See also</i> Statement by Senator Richard S. Schweiker on S. 849, A Bill to Strengthen the Penalty Provision of the Gun Control Act of 1968, November 11, 1969, Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58; Richard S. Schweiker, News Release, ["Remarks of Speech Before Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs"], Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58.</p>
205	<p><i>law-abiding gun owners</i>: Statement of Mike Mansfield, July 23, 1969, Mansfield Papers, box 45, folder 5.</p>
205	<p><i>Lesnik</i>: "Fishtail Marine Shot in Washington," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 6, 1968, p. 1.</p>
205	<p><i>behind federal firearms controls</i>: "LBJ Cites N.Y. Ambush in Appeal," <i>Argus</i> (Fremont, CA), July 4, 1968, p. 5; John Kamps, "Shooting of Young Montanan Changed Mansfield," <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), July 4, 1968, p. 3; Letter from Mike Mansfield to Mrs. Leo Lesnik, June 26, 1968, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.</p>

205	<i>firearms control issue</i> : “Explanation of Lesnik Mandatory Sentencing Bill,” undated 1969, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 3; “Senate Bill Sets Jail for Gun Use: Montana Marine’s Murder Sparks Mansfield Motion,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , November 20, 1969, p. A1.
205	<i>thinking on gun legislation</i> : “Senators Say Yes: Lesnik Gun Bill Passes,” <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (Spokane, WA), November 20, 1969, p. 5.
206	<i>mail order sale of firearms</i> : See generally Hugh Scott Papers, box 78 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Special Collections) (hereinafter Scott Papers).
206	<i>up voting for</i> : “How the U.S. Senate Voted on Registration, Licensing,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1968, pp. 23-24.
206	<i>amendments to the Gun Control Act</i> : See, e.g., “Scott Urges Senate Reject Gun Law Curbs,” <i>Lebanon Daily News</i> (PA), September 16, 1968, p. 15; “Scott Fights Weakening of Gun Controls,” <i>Lancaster New Era</i> (PA), September 16, 1968, p. 34; “Tydings Pushes for Senate Action on Gun Control Law,” <i>Daily Notes</i> (Canonsburg, PA), July 10, 1968, p. 10; “Senate Support for Gun Control Law Builds Up,” <i>Tyrone Daily Herald</i> (PA), June 17, 1968, p. 4.
206	<i>under the Gun Control Act</i> : “Gun Control Act to Be Softened?” <i>Ithaca Journal</i> (NY), July 30, 1969, p. 2; “Attempts to Ease Gun Control Act Get Boost,” <i>Courier</i> (Waterloo, IA), July 30, 1969, p. 28.
206	<i>Mansfield’s S. 849</i> : “Scott, Schweiker Back Gun Control,” <i>Progress</i> (Clearfield, PA), November 10, 1969, p. 10; “Scott Supported by 38 Other Senators in Ammunition Bill,” <i>Express</i> (Lock Haven, PA), July 1, 1969, p. 11; Letter from Hugh Scott to Zehnder H. Confair, March 27, 1969, reprinted in Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), April 16, 1969, p. 5.
206	<i>hands of Pennsylvania sportsmen</i> : Email from Kenneth E. Davis, former staffer for Hugh Scott, to Patrick J. Charles, “Re: Hugh Scott and Sportsmen,” February 28, 2018 (on file with author).
206	<i>sportsman’s bloc vote</i> : Letter from Jack L. Conmy, Richard S. Schweiker press secretary, to Gene Cowan, Hugh Scott administrative assistant, March 26, 1969, Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58.
206	<i>defeating Clark</i> : Ibid.
206	<i>ally to the Pennsylvania sportsmen</i> : Email from Kenneth E. Davis, former staffer for Hugh Scott, to Patrick J. Charles, “Re: Hugh Scott and Sportsmen,” February 28, 2018 (on file with author). See also Letter from Richard S. Schweiker to James W. Spicer, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Association legislative director, September 26, 1969, Schweiker Papers, box 20, folder 58 (letter apologizing for being unable to speak before the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Rifle & Pistol Association but noting that senator Hugh Scott will speak in his place and touting Scott’s ability to help “outdoorsman and conservationists”).
206	<i>flipping on firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “Sportsmen Choosing Sides in Scott’s Election Bid,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 20, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Public Interest Comes First,” <i>Valley Times-Star</i> (Newville, PA), October 15, 1969, p. 4; “Schuylkill Sportsmen Aroused: State Charged with Aiding Hunt Club,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), October 15, 1969, p. 29; Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), August 20, 1969, p. 13; “Scott

	Campaign Technique Tested,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , August 18, 1969, p. 9; “Rod and Gun: Beat Gun Law Drum,” <i>Pottsville Republican</i> (PA), July 26, 1969, p. 3; L.A. Mohney, “Letter to the Editor,” June 3, 1969, <i>Simpson’s Leader-Times</i> (Kittanning, PA), June 3, 1969, p. 6; Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), April 23, 1969, p. 7.
206	<i>supporting firearms controls</i> : “Lest We Forgive & Forget!” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, p. 4.
206	<i>Sen. Dodd</i> : Ibid.
207	<i>politically accountable</i> : Ibid.
207	<i>voted for it</i> : “Scott Continues Fence Mending in Pennsylvania,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 24, 1969, p. 2.
207	<i>Bennett’s S. 849</i> : “Scott Speaks Out on Final Ammo Repeal,” <i>Call</i> (Schuylkill Haven, PA), December 4, 1969, p. 9; “Sportsmen Will Welcome: Bennett-Scott Anti-Gun Control Bill Cleared for Senate Action,” <i>Elizabethtown Chronicle</i> (PA), September 25, 1969, p. 1; “Bennett-Scott Anti-Gun Bill Sent to Senate,” <i>Argus</i> (Benton, PA), September 25, 1969, p. 8; “Senator Scott Visits County in Effort to Align with Sportsmen,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), August 20, 1969, p. 1; “Scott Supported by 38 Other Senators in Ammunition Bill,” <i>Express</i> (Lock Haven, PA), July 1, 1969, p. 11; “Scott Hearing Set to Help Sportsmen,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazelton, PA), July 15, 1969, p. 14.
207	<i>He was not</i> : For a list of S. 849’s original cosponsors, see “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Ammo Bill Hits ‘Backdoor’ Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, p. 34.
207	<i>printed in Gun Week</i> : “Scott Admits Gun Act ‘Mistake’; Challenges <i>Gun Week</i> Editorial,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 5, 1969, p. 3.
207	<i>printed in Guns & Ammo</i> : “G & A Exclusive Report: Leading Senator Admits Gun Law Mistake!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1970, pp. 46-47.
207	<i>on their side</i> : “Scott Admits Gun Act ‘Mistake’; Challenges <i>Gun Week</i> Editorial,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 5, 1969, p. 3.
207	<i>scales of any election</i> : Memorandum from Donald E. Santarelli to Egil Krogh, “Gun Control,” March 16, 1970, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Textual Materials, Box 3, Folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
207	<i>reckoned with</i> : “Washington Whispers,” <i>U.S. News & World Report</i> , July 6, 1970, p. 7. A similar political shift was taking place at the state level. See, e.g., Bill Davidson, “Few Governors Favor New State Gun Control Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1969, pp. 42-43.
208	<i>own and use weapons</i> : For copies of Sikes speech, see Robert F. Sikes, [Speech Before the National Rifle Association’s 1969 Annual Meetings], March 30, 1969, Carl A. Albert Papers, box BI 8, folder 48, Robert Sikes (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Albert Papers); “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1969, pp. 12-15.
208	<i>total firearms confiscation</i> : News from the...Shooters Club of America: Government Confiscates All Firearms,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1969, p. 5; “Prohibit Handguns,

	<p>Report Urges,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1969, pp. 29-30; “New Threat of Gun Registration Raised,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1969, pp. 44-45, 116; “News from the...Shooters Club of America,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, August 1969, p. 5; Willis L. Hobart, 1968 Gun Control Act—STEP ONE: COMPLETED!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, July 1969, pp. 24-25, 70-71; “Anti-Gun Group Would ‘Disarm Law-Abiding’,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1969, p. 63; “Gun Legislation,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i>, April 1969, p. 12; “’68 Gun Act ‘First Step’ Says Official,” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 21, 1969, p. 17; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Again, a Gun Registration Drive,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1969, pp. 22-24; “Gun Legislation Report,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i>, February 1969, p. 9; James D. Mason, “The Futility of Prohibitions!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, February 1969, pp. 20-21, 61; “United We Stand—Divided?” <i>Gun Week</i>, January 24, 1969, p. 4; Edward Breese, “‘Big Brother’ vs. Gun Owners!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, January 1969, pp. 20-21.</p>
208	<p><i>congressional sub-committee</i>: In the summer of 1969, the advocacy group Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) published a proposal supporting a complete ban on the private ownership of handguns. See Americans for Democratic Action, Proposal for Crime and Law Enforcement, June 6-9, 1969, Lowell P. Weicker Papers, box 1785, folder 15, 1969-1970 Research Files-Gun Control (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Special Collections) (hereinafter Weicker Papers), p. 8 (“ADA believes that society should be totally disarmed. ADA believes that all private ownership of handguns and other concealable weapons should be outlawed now.”). See also “Who’s ‘Moronic Babbling’?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1969, p. 18. Throughout the 91st Congress, not one senator or representative endorsed the idea. The closest any member of Congress got were two bills introduced by Illinois representative Abner Mikva, H.R. 16250 and H.R. 16990 respectively. Both bills sought to severely cut the importation and domestic production of handguns. In the case of H.R. 16990, a voluntary handgun buyback program was included. In the end, neither bill received a hearing in the House Judiciary Committee. However, gun rights advocates used the very existence of the bills to motivate the gun rights community to political action. For relevant sources pertaining to Mikva’s bills, see Letter from Emilio Q. Daddario to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, September 18, 1970, Emilio Q. Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives) (hereinafter Daddario Papers); Letter from Abner Mikva to Burt Saxon, August 21, 1970, Abner Mikva Papers, box 45, folder 2, Gun Control General File 1969-1972 (Springfield, IL: Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum) (hereinafter Mikva Papers); Letter from Emilio Q. Daddario to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, August 14, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms; Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Emilio Q. Daddario, August 7, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms; Letter from Emilio Q. Daddario to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, July 30, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms; Letter from Burt Saxon to Abner Mikva, June 4, 1970, Mikva Papers, box 45, folder 2, Gun Control General File 1969-1972; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Anti-Bomb Bills Pile Up in Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1970, pp. 50-51, 67; Abner Mikva, “To Control Handgun Crime and Violence,” May 3, 1970, Mikva Papers, box 45, folder 2, Gun Control General File 1969-1972; “H.R. 16250 and the Soviet System,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1970, p. 16; “Rep. Mikva Introduces Measure Calling for Handgun Restrictions,” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 20, 1970, pp. 1-2, 7-8; “Confiscation Bill Offered!” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 20, 1970, p. 4; “Mikva’s Staff Still Working on Confiscation</p>

	Measure,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 13, 1970, p. 3; Abner Mikva, Press Release, “Mikva Introduces Bill to Curb Mushrooming Handgun Traffic,” March 3, 1970, box 45, folder 2, Gun Control General File 1969-1972; “Confiscation Bill is Here!” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 9, 1970, p. 4.
208	<i>stay politically engaged</i> : : See, e.g., Woodson D. Scott, “What You Can Do: On Repeal of the Gun Control Act,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1970, p. 17; Ashley Halsey, Jr., “A Commentary: Where We Stand on U.S. Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1970, p. 26; Woodson D. Scott, “A Statement By the President of the National Rifle Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1970, p. 16; “Pro-Gun Group Info Sought,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 17, 1969, p. 4; “Lest We Forgive & Forget,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, p. 4; “Time to Stand and Be Counted,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, p. 16; Franklin L. Orth, “A Special Message: Sportsmen and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1969, pp. 46-47; “Goodbye ’68; Hello ’69,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 3, 1969, p. 4; “Activity Needed in ’69!” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 27, 1968, p. 4. See also Letter from Morgan Norval, Firearms Lobby of America (FLA) national director, to FLA members, February 18, 1970 (on file with author) (“Never before in history has the threat to the rights and privileges of responsible gun owners been so great as now!...Those irresponsible lawmakers who would deprive us of our right to keep and bear arms must be opposed and voted out of office...The fight for the survival of the shooting and hunting sports is threatened by the ‘confiscators’ and FLA needs your help.”).
209	<i>increase in crime</i> : See, e.g., “Toledo Crime Rate Increases 14.6 Percent,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 19, 1970, p. 2; “NY Crime Rise Follows Gun Bill,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1970, p. 34; “Statistics Betray Anti-Gun Ohioans,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1970, p. 37; “Toledo’s Miracle Ordinance,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 9, 1970, p. 4; “D.C. Crime Increases Despite 1968 Gun Law,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1970, p. 40; “Toledo Crime Rate Up For Second Month,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 19, 1969, p. 1; “Toledo Marks Increase in Crime Rate,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 12, 1969, p. 1; “Detroit Gun Crime Study Shows Gun Controls Futile,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 12, 1969, p. 1; Allen Hargrove, “Why Must Gun Laws Protect Criminals?” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , December 1969, pp. 24-25, 63; “Crime Higher in Gun Control Cities,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1969, p. 43; “The Tale of Two Cities!” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 21, 1969, p. 4; John M. Snyder, “Crime Rises Under Rigid Gun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, pp. 54-55; “Facts About the Firearms Issue,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, p. 27; “Panacea Laws Not Needed!” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, p. 4; “A Special Report: Crime Rises Despite State Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1969, pp. 20-21. See also Allen Hargrove, “The Facts Prove...Firearms Prevent Crime!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , August 1970, pp. 28, 29, 70, 72.
209	<i>ruse of crime control</i> : “So Gun Laws Work—It Says There,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1969, p. 18.
209	<i>restrictions are recommended</i> : Harold W. Glassen, Remarks Before the Duke Law Forum, Duke University, February 18, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 7.
209	<i>would be no more</i> : Ibid. See also Harold W. Glassen, Speech Before the Arkansas Wildlife Federation, March 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 8 (“Let us be aware that, despite the apparent defeat so far, in their attempt to impose registration and licensing on American gun owners, those who believe Americans should not have the right to own guns will continue to

	<p>press for the negation of this right. They will undoubtedly redouble their efforts this year for passage of such laws.”); Harlon B. Carter, Speech Before the 46th Annual State Convention of the Arizona Wildlife Federation, “Confiscation is Their Goal!” January 19, 1969, reprinted in <i>Armed Eagle</i>, May 1969, pp. 1, 3 (“Confiscation of our guns is what they seek and even if guns were eliminated from the face of the earth, crime and violence, which they purportedly oppose, would still be with us...Indeed, my friends. Crime is their theme. Confiscation is their goal.”).</p>
209	<p><i>criminals and irresponsible: Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Rifle Association, April 9-10, 1968</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), Harold W. Glassen Papers, box 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Glassen Papers), p. 17. <i>See also</i> Letter from Harold W. Glassen to Dwain E. Fritz, August 7, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1 (“At the last Executive Committee meeting in Washington, with its unanimous consent, I referred to the Legislative Committee and to the Staff the proposition of coming up with a proposed model law for the states for a permit or so-called ID card. This does not mean that the Committee or board would necessarily adopt any action of the committee...I think most of our members and most sportsmen do not object to reasonable restriction on the sale or possession of handguns provided there was not a clause in the law that permits some government official to deny, for reasons best known to himself, the issuance of the permit to buy.”); The “Data Retrieval System” idea was indeed controversial for NRA officials. <i>See</i> Woodson D. Scott, “Report of the Firearms Legislation Committee,” April 9, 1968, <i>Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Rifle Association, April 9-10, 1968</i>.</p>
209	<p><i>licensing proposals</i>: Letter from National Shooting Sports Foundation to [Philip H. Hoff], June 21, 1968, Phillip H. Hoff Papers, drawer 11-2, folder 29 (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Silver Special Collections Library) (hereinafter Hoff Papers).</p>
209	<p>categories of firearms: <i>Ibid.</i></p>
209	<p><i>decided against the idea</i>: Woodson D. Scott, “A Statement by the President of the National Rifle Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1970, p. 16 (“We perceive no need at this time for any registration, licensing, I.D. card, data retrieval or certification law...The way to solve [the crime] problem is to enforce existing laws against criminal acts.”). It is worth noting that the NRA did give serious consideration to both a data retrieval system and model firearms purchaser identification cards legislation. <i>See</i> Harold W. Glassen, “Remarks of the President at the NRA Annual Members Meeting,” March 29, 1969, <i>Minutes of the Members Meeting of the NRA, March 29, 1969</i>, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 4 (“I think we must equally oppose discretionary licensing. Lately the concept has come up called the ID card, which some of you know about from personal experience, and all of you know about from reading. Insofar as I can see up to this time, I don’t find it distinguishable from licensing and registration. I don’t believe that we should close our minds, but I question it.”); Harold W. Glassen, Address Before the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, October 8, 1968, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 20 (“The National Rifle Association is giving careful study to determine the merits of this [identification] system, together with the application of computer data retrieval technology to the identification of those individual who all agree should not possess or use firearms...”); Woodson D. Scott, “Report of the Committee on Firearms Legislation,” September 16, 1968, <i>Minutes of the Meeting of the</i></p>

	<i>Executive Committee of the National Rifle Association of America, December 7-8, 1968</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), Glassen Papers, box 1.
209	<i>approach to firearms control</i> : George Skelton, "License Firearm Owner, Gun Lobby Says," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), December 25, 1968, p. 33.
209	<i>gun rights hostility</i> : The editors of <i>Gun Week</i> took the lead in bringing the issue to the attention of the gun rights proponents. See "Should We Compromise?" <i>Gun Week</i> , February 7, 1969, p. 4. Of the <i>Gun Week</i> readers to respond, 74 out of 79 gave a resounding "no compromise" answer. See "'No Compromise'—Readers," <i>Gun Week</i> , March 7, 1969, pp. 4, 7.
209	<i>defending the NSSF</i> : See, e.g., E.B. Mann, "Has Industry Betrayed Us?" <i>Guns Magazine</i> , June 1969, pp. 28-30, 64; John Stetson, "Outdoors," <i>Alton Evening Telegraph</i> (IL), April 28, 1969, p. 17.
210	<i>keep and bear arms</i> : Robert M. Price, "Rebuttal: Yes, Industry Has Betrayed Us," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1969, pp. 18-20, 51. See also Roy Hannibal, "Expediency is the Betrayer," <i>Armed Eagle</i> , June-July 1969, pp. 1, 3; "Gun Legislation Report," <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , May 1969, p. 5; Citizens League for Honest Government, Inc., "The Last Act," <i>Gun Week</i> , March 28, 1968, p. 7.
210	<i>read the advertisement</i> : National Shooting Sports Foundation, Inc., "Policy on Firearms Legislation," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 4, 1969, p. 16.
210	<i>registration and licensing</i> : Ibid.
210	<i>anyone interested</i> : Ibid. See also "NSSF Explains Position Concerning 'ID' Bill Draft," <i>Gun Week</i> , March 14, 1969, p. 2.
210	<i>group was founded</i> : See John W. Randolph, "Movement to Prevent Law Restricting Firearms Draws Bead on Target," <i>New York Times</i> , June 9, 1960, p. 41; Letter from Alan S. Krug, Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Club legislative director, to William C. Sennett, March 13, 1967, Raymond P. Shafer Papers, Subject Files 1964-71, carton 36, folder 3, Firearms Control (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania State Archives) (hereinafter Shafer Papers). See also Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 264, 306-7; Marquis Childs, "Gun Lobby Proves Power in Congress," <i>Daily Telegram</i> (Eau Claire, WI), August 11, 1966, p. 6A; Drew Pearson, "Gun Lobby Still Blocks Arms Regulation," <i>Capital Times</i> (Madison, WI), September 9, 1965, p. 44; Charles Nicodemus, "Shots of Ridicule Blast Gun Lobbies," <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , June 11, 1965, p. 13.
210	<i>model firearms bills</i> : See, e.g., "Shooting Sports Prepares Model for Contiguous State Measures," <i>Gun Week</i> , March 14, 1969, pp. 1-2.
210	<i>upon deaf ears</i> : "Compromise Cart Upset!" <i>Gun Week</i> , June 20, 1969, p. 4.
210	<i>legislative portfolio</i> : See "Model Firearms Legislation," <i>Fact Pack II on Firearms Ownership</i> (Riverside, CT: National Shooting Sports Foundation, 1970), pp. 17-42.
210	<i>no longer accepted</i> : "No Compromise" was later adopted as the slogan of the gun rights extremist organization, the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms. See National Association to Keep and Bear Arms, <i>What is the National Association to Keep and Bear</i>

	<i>Arms?</i> (Medford, OR: 1972), Benedict Collection, box 7L, folder National Association to Keep and Bear Arms (Fullerton, CA: California State University-Fullerton Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Benedict Collection).
211	<i>confiscation of our guns</i> : “‘Never Yield’ Carter Says: NRA Past President Challenges Sportsmen to Grass Roots Action,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 21, 1969, p. 7. Carter was not the first prominent NRA official to embrace the idea of ‘no compromise’. Writing in 1950, NRA executive director C.B. Lister espoused a similar opinion. See C.B. Lister, “The Shooter’s No. 1 Problem,” <i>Official Gun Book</i> , Charles R. Jacobs ed. (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1950), 4-6.
211	<i>organization’s political influence</i> : See, e.g., “United We Stand—Divided?” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 24, 1969, p. 4 (claiming a lack of coordination and cooperation among the “firearms fraternity”).
211	<i>lawmakers from office</i> : See, e.g., Letter from Ken Carrell, Josephine County Sportsman Association secretary, to Robert W. Packwood, February 14, 1969, Robert W. Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (Salem, OR: Willamette University Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Packwood Papers); Letter from N. Douglas Yeager, Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc. chairman, to Robert W. Packwood, January 23, 1969, Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969. Such political action groups included the recently founded Allied Pennsylvania Sportsmen, The Right to Bear Arms, Inc., and Firearms and Individual Rights (FAIR). See, e.g., “Pro-Gun Group Info Sought,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 17, 1969, p. 4.
211	<i>unprecedented rate</i> : “Sportsmen’s Groups Forming,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 28, 1969, p. 4.
211	<i>Committee for Effective Crime Control</i> : “Minnesota Candidates Switch Election Goals,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 13, 1970, pp. 1, 5; “Bun Lobby Seeks Head’s Political Head,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), February 10, 1970, p. 23; “Minnesota Sportsmen Lead Anti-Head Drive,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 6, 1970, pp. 1-2; Ted Smebakken, “Gun Lobby Zeroes in on Head,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), February 9, 1970, p. 14B; “Bill Limiting Gun Controls Shelved,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), May 7, 1969, p. 11; “Minnesota Group Forms to Fight Bad Gun Proposals,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 2, 1969, p. 18; “Backers Outgunned in Permit Battle,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), April 2, 1969, p. 13; “LeVander’s Gun Control Proposals Termed ‘Harsh’,” <i>Pioneer</i> (Bemidji, MN), March 31, 1969, p. 1.
212	<i>Virginia Gun Owners Sportsman Alliance</i> : “Virginia Sportsmen Chalk Up Election Wins,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 5, 1968, p. 2; “Virginia Sportsmen Establish Organization to Fight Anti-Gun Legislation at All Levels,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 7, 1969, p. 3; “Virginia Alliance Tops 900 Members,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 18, 1969, p. 16; “Will Fight Laws Against Guns,” <i>Progress-Index</i> (Petersburg, VA), August 19, 1968, p. 8.
212	<i>Ohio Sportsmen’s Alliance</i> : “Ohio Sportsmen’s Group Opposes Five, Supports Three in Primary,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 1, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Lukens Firms Law-Order Stand,” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), April 6, 1970, p. 27; “Ohio Alliance Starts Drive for Members,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 3, 1970, p. 3; “Ohio Sportsmen Form Statewide Lobbying, Political Organization,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 15, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Sportsmen Eye Fight on Firearms,” <i>Logan Daily News</i> (OH), October 30, 1969, p. 3; “Ohio Gunmen Set Meeting to Organize,” <i>Marion Star</i>

	(OH), October 30, 1969, p. 28; “Gun Control Bill in Trouble,” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), March 29, 1967, p. C6.
212	<i>firearms control supporting lawmakers</i> : See “West Virginia Site of New Organization,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 24, 1970, p. 3; “SCOPE Issues Resolution Opposing Goodell, McCarthy,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 13, 1970, p. 10; “Michigan Sportsmen Form New Organization,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 20, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Pro-Gun Group Directory Adds Names,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 30, 1970, p. 2; “Missouri-Kansas Firearms Group Works for Sportsmen’s Causes,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 23, 1970, p. 5; “State Pro-Gun Organization Forms in North Carolina,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 23, 1970, p. 2; “Directory of Pro-Gun Organizations,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 2, 1970, p. 2; “Michigan Group Plans to Fight Anti-Gunners,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 19, 1969, p. 7; “Utah Sportsmen United to Form Intermountain Gun Owners Group,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 5, 1969, p. 5; “Group Forms to Combat Bad Gun Laws,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 25, 1969, p. 9; “United Firearms Owners Oppose Gun Compromise,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 4, 1969, p. 6; “Kansas Sportsmen United to Promote Common Goals,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 28, 1968, p. 2; “California Organization Provides Information on Anti-Gun Proposals Via Phone Network,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 7, 1969, p. 9; “Connecticut to Organize,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 19, 1969, p. 3.
212	<i>43,000 members</i> : National Rifle Association, <i>Operating Report '69</i> (Washington, DC: 1970), 11, Nixon Papers, Pre-Presidential Collection, Personal Papers, box 9, folder National Rifle Association.
212	<i>1,092,000</i> : Compare “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1968, p. 2, with “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1969, p. 2. For all of 1969, circulation of <i>American Rifleman</i> dropped as low as 1,069,000. “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, p. 2.
212	<i>\$100,000</i> : National Rifle Association, <i>Operating Report '69</i> , p. 17.
212	<i>financial losses</i> : To maintain its current operating budget, the NRA needed to grow by 100,000 to 120,000 members by the close of 1969. See “Report of the Executive Vice President Franklin L. Orth to NRA Executive Committee Meeting,” December 7, 1968, <i>Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Rifle Association of America, December 7-8, 1968</i> (Washington: 1968), in Glassen Papers, box 1.
212	<i>least one new member</i> : “Time to Stand Up and Be Counted,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, p. 16.
212	<i>across the country</i> : Franklin L. Orth, “A Special Message: Sportsmen and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1969, pp. 46-47.
212	<i>axe on election day</i> : Ibid., p. 47.
212	<i>extremists from any direction</i> : Ibid. See also “Show Your Voter Registration Card,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1970, p. 14 (urging NRA members to show their voter registration card to firearms dealers so that the latter can make a list of supporters “inclined to oppose anti-gun moves”).

213	<i>recruiting new members</i> : This can be seen in the continued drop in circulation of <i>American Rifleman</i> . “Table of Contents,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1970, p. 2 (stating an <i>American Rifleman</i> circulation of 1,080,000, which was down 12,000 from December 1969).
213	<i>pages of Gun Week</i> : For some instances where the NRA placed advertisements in more traditional hunting and shooting magazines, see National Rifle Association, “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1970, p. 9; “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1970, p. 9; National Rifle Association, “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1970, p. 9; National Rifle Association, “Mr. Hunter—Right Now Is Your Minute of Decision!” <i>Field & Stream</i> , May 1970, p. 36; National Rifle Association, “Shooters Beware!” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1970, p. 7; National Rifle Association, “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , March 1970, p. 5; National Rifle Association, “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , February 1970, p. 113; National Rifle Association, “If You Enjoy Hunting or Shooting—You Belong in the NRA!” <i>Field & Stream</i> , January 1970, p. 9.
213	<i>Gun Week was increasing</i> : Compare “Total Net Subscriptions Paid,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 31, 1969, p. 1, with “Total Net Subscriptions Paid,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 30, 1970, p. 1 (showing a 70% increase in <i>Gun Week</i> circulation from 35,878 to 51,114).
213	<i>minute of decision</i> : National Rifle Association, “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 13, 1970, p. 3.
213	<i>responsible gun owners</i> : Ibid.
213	<i>so great as today</i> : Ibid. See also “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 14, 1970, p. 3; “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February July 10, 1970, p. 3; “Mr. Gun Owner,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 5, 1970, p. 3.
213	<i>That Time is Now</i> : National Rifle Association, “Shooters Beware!” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 13, 1970, p. 3.
213	<i>new member every minute</i> : Ibid.
213	<i>sports shooter and hunter</i> : Ibid.
213	<i>anti-gun campaign</i> : See, e.g., Otto R. Keiter, “Anti-Legislation Plaintiff,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1939, p. 36; C.B. Lister, “The Remedy,” <i>Du Pont Magazine</i> , March 1924, p. 10. See also Elizabeth S. Hall, “A Lady Speaks,” <i>Field and Stream</i> , January 1936, p. 15; Harry McGuire, “Behold, the Popgun Crusaders!” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1932, p. 16; Harry McGuire, “Farewell to the Popgun Crusaders,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , December 1931, pp. 20-21; Harry McGuire, “The Good Women of the Friday Morning Club,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , April 1929, p. 1.
213	<i>Nazi operatives</i> : See, e.g., C.B. Lister, “The Nazi Deadline,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1942, p. 7; “Danger Ahead!! Help!!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1941, insert, p. 2; “Zero Hour,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1940, p. 4; “Important Decisions,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1940, p. 22; “‘National Defense’ Decoy,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1940, p. 4.
213	<i>public relations devices</i> : See, e.g., Harold W. Glassen, Remarks Before Stetson University, Deland, Florida, April 14, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 2. See also Harold W. Glassen, “Remarks of the President at the NRA Annual Members Meeting,” March 29, 1969,

	<p><i>Minutes of the Members Meeting of the NRA, March 29, 1969</i> (Washington, DC: 1969), in Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 4. (“Recently...our enemies have been unmasked. We now know that what they seek is confiscation of firearms, absolute prohibition of private ownership. That is the goal now. They don’t even bother denying most of the time now, some of them still do, but not convincingly.”); Harold W. Glassen, Speech Before the Arkansas Wildlife Federation, March 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 8 (“those who believe Americans should not have the right to own guns will continue to press for the negation of this right. They will undoubtedly redouble their efforts this year for passage of such laws.”).</p>
214	<p><i>America can live with: “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Congress Threshes Out the Gun Law Issue,” American Rifleman</i>, November 1968, pp. 22-23.</p>
214	<p><i>forced to follow suit: Ashley Halsey, Jr., “A Commentary: Sentiment Grows for Gun Law Repeal,” American Rifleman</i>, October 1970, pp. 47-48; Woodson D. Scott, “What You Can Do: On Repeal of the Gun Control Act,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1970, p. 17; “The Gun Control Act: How Much Longer?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1970, p. 16; Ashley Halsey, Jr., “A Commentary: Where We Stand on U.S. Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1970, p. 26; Woodson D. Scott, “A Statement by the President of the National Rifle Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1970, p. 16.</p>
214	<p><i>Gun Control Act provisions: For examples where the NRA expressed it did not oppose the Gun Control Act in its entirety or claimed political victory in the outcome, see “Time to Stand Up and Be Counted,” American Rifleman</i>, October 1969, p. 16; “NRA Averted Worse Gun Laws, Congressman Says,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1969, pp. 46-47. The NRA was not alone in this view. See, e.g., Letter from Robert W. Packwood to Ray Hannibal, Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc. secretary, July 18, 1969, Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (“it is my feeling that the significant amount of support which has been generated by supporters of this legislation would make repeal all but impossible. In my judgment, it is more realistic and more effective to examine the particular provisions of the Gun Control Act which are causing difficulties and which need modification and/or revision.”).</p>
214	<p><i>NRA’s other legislative initiatives: NRA congressional surrogate, Florida representative Robert F. Sikes expressed little confidence that repeal Gun Control Act was politically possible. See Robert F. Sikes, [Speech Before the National Rifle Association’s 1969 Annual Meetings], March 30, 1969, Albert Papers, box BI 8, folder 48, Robert Sikes There was also concern that any attempt to repeal the Gun Control Act could result in additional firearms controls once the bill made it floor for a vote. See Letter from Charles L. Ward to Carl Albert, February 12, 1969, Albert Papers, box LG 121, folder 3, Judiciary-Gun Control 1969.</i></p>
214	<p><i>movement wanted repeal: See, e.g., “What’s in Store for 1970?” Gun Week</i>, January 2, 1970, p. 2; John P. Saylor, “Gun Control Act of 1968,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, December 1969, pp. 29, 53-54; Letter from Ray Hannibal, Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc. secretary, to Robert W. Packwood, July 1, 1969, Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (urging repeal of the Gun Control Act); Letter from Ray Hannibal, Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc. secretary, to Robert W. Packwood, May 28, 1969, Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (claiming the receipt of over 1,000 letters daily for</p>

	<p>the repeal of the Gun Control Act); “Gun Control Act Repeal Urged,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), May 21, 1970, p. 12; “Right to Bear Arms Group Discusses Law,” <i>Red Bluff Daily News</i> (CA), April 28, 1969, p. 1; “Sportsmen’s Club Asks for Repeal of Gun Control Act,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (PA), April 23, 1969, p. 6; “Gun Control Rules: Sportsmen Up in Arms,” <i>Republic</i> (Meyersdale, PA), April 10, 1969, p. 4; Ernie Kelley, “Unwarranted Gun Controls, Legislation,” <i>Californian</i> (Salinas, CA), March 1, 1969, p. 6; “This Unconstitutional Law Must Be Repealed,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, December 1968, p. 1. <i>See also</i> “Rambling Afield: Bill Fights Gun Act,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i>, March 30, 1969, sec. 4, p. 8 (noting how the Oklahoma delegation introduced a bill to repeal the Gun Control Act); “Oklahoma Congressmen Introduce Bill to Repeal Gun Control Act,” <i>Big Basin Herald</i> (Muldrow, OK), March 20, 1969, p. 17 (same).</p>
214	<p><i>law-abiding sportsmen</i>: Copies of the letter can be found in several congressional papers. <i>See</i> Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Mike Mansfield, July 29, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1; Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Winston L. Prouty, July 29, 1970, Winston L. Prouty Papers, carton A112, folder 26 (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Special Collections) (hereinafter Prouty Papers); Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to George D. Aiken, July 29, 1970, George D. Aiken Papers, crate 19, folder 1 (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Special Collections) (hereinafter Aiken Papers); Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Thomas Jefferson Steed, July 29, 1970, Steed Papers, box BL 7, folder 19, Steed Bill-Repeal Gun Control Act 1969; Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Page Belcher, July 29, 1970, Page Belcher Papers, box 138, folder 13A, Firearms Legislation (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Belcher Papers); Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Fred R. Harris, July 29, 1970, Harris Papers, box 183, folder 16b, Crime-Firearms Control. Not every member of Congress replied to the letter. For examples of those members of Congress who did, <i>see</i> Letter from Fred R. Harris to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, August 25, 1970, Harris Papers, box 183, folder 16b, Crime-Firearms Control (“Thank you for your recent letter concerning the 1968 Gun Control Act. I recently discussed this matter in a ‘Capitol Report’ which is enclosed. I think you will find that this answer provides you with the needed information relative to my position on this matter.”); Letter from Lee Metcalf to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, August 11, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 (“I favor repeal of the Act, assuming it is replaced by legislation covering machine guns, automatic weapons and silencers, among others. If repeal is impossible, I favor amending the Act to eliminate provisions of little or no use in crime control and which apparently serve principally to harass or inconvenience law-abiding sportsmen.”); Letter from Page Belcher to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, July 31, 1970, Belcher Papers, box 138, folder 13A, Firearms (“I received your letter of July 29. I voted against the Gun Control Act; I would vote to repeal it; and, of course, would support a replacement which would be more practical and workable in preventing crime.”).</p>
214	<p><i>right to arms</i>: <i>See</i> Patrick J. Charles, “The ‘Reasonable Regulation’ Right to Arms: The Gun Rights Second Amendment Before the Standard Model,” <i>A Right to Bear Arms?: The Contested Role of History in Contemporary Debates on the Second Amendment</i>, Jennifer Tucker, Barton C. Hacker, and Margaret Vining eds. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press,</p>

	2019), 167-84. <i>See also</i> John Reid, “Gunning for Game: Group Fights Gun Controls,” <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (Spokane, WA), January 9, 1964, p. 4; William Fulton, “Sullivan Law, Boon to Thugs, 40 Years Old,” <i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> , November 1, 1951, p. F6.
214	<i>2 to 1 vote</i> : “New Constitution Ok’d,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , December 16, 1970, sec. 1, pp. 1, 8.
214	<i>shall not be infringed</i> : Sam Zuidema writes that the records of the Illinois Constitutional Convention provide “few definitive answers with which” to discern the amendment’s meaning. <i>See</i> Sam Zuidema, “An Illusory Right? Revisiting Illinois’ Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>University of Illinois Law Review</i> 2018: 228, 230. “Perhaps only two things can be made certain: that the delegates vehemently disagreed on the desirability and efficacy of strict gun-control laws, and that there was no universal consensus on the meaning or scope of the proposed new constitutional right to bear arms.” <i>Ibid.</i> If one limits themselves to the records of the Illinois Constitutional Convention, Zuidema’s claims have merit. However, if one expands their research beyond these records, it becomes clear that the amendment was principally adopted to accomplish two effects. First, it provided individuals with the assurance that the state could not confiscate sporting type firearms—not automatic or military type firearms. Second, it allowed for firearms localism, particularly the strict firearms registration laws enacted by Chicago and its suburbs. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “The Proposed Constitution,” <i>McHenry Plaindealer</i> (IL), December 2, 1970, pp. 12-13; “New Constitution Strikes at Discrimination,” <i>Daily Chronicle</i> (De Kalb, IL), November 24, 1970, p. 1; “The Way Area Officials See It: Proposed Constitution Spells Out Existing Rights,” <i>Southern Illinoisan</i> (Carbondale, IL), December 1, 1970, p. 2; “Con-Con Compromises on Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Mt. Vernon Register-News</i> (IL), June 18, 1970, p. 7A; “Con-Con Gives Nod to Possessing Guns,” <i>Rock Island Argus</i> (IL), June 12, 1970, pp. 1, 3; Bill Lhotka, “Gunowners Get Encouragement from Con Con,” <i>Alton Evening Telegraph</i> (IL), June 12, 1970, p. 1; Larry Kramp, “Right to Bear Arms Issue Compromised by Con-Con,” <i>Freeport Journal-Standard</i> (IL), June 12, 1970, p. 1; “The Way We See It: Overturn Gun Rule,” <i>Bensenville Register</i> (IL), March 27, 1970, p. 6; “Con Con Unit Again Backs Arms Clause,” <i>Rock Island Argus</i> (IL), March 12, 1970, p. 37; Coleman T. Mobley, “Gun Lobby Scores Victory at Con-Con,” <i>Herald and Review</i> (Decatur, IL), March 12, 1970, p. 1; “Con-Con and the Gun Law,” <i>Southern Illinoisan</i> (Carbondale, IL), March 8, 1970, p. 26; “Gun Statement Not Innocent,” <i>Decatur Daily Review</i> (IL), March 2, 1970, p. 4.
214	<i>bear arms language</i> : “Illinois’ Right or Fright?” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 10, 1970, p. 4.
214	<i>welfare of the community</i> : “Illinois Sportsmen Scorn Constitutional Provision,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 4, 1970, p. 1. <i>See also</i> “Committee Likes Big Boom, But Silence Would Be Better,” <i>Pantagraph</i> (Bloomington, IL), February 28, 1970, p. 4. Such conclusions were based on the explanatory language submitted by the 1970 Illinois Constitutional Convention to the voters, which read: “This new section states that the right of the citizen to keep and bear arms cannot be infringed, except as the exercise of this right may be regulated by appropriate laws to safeguard the welfare of the community.” <i>Record of Proceedings, Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention</i> , vol. 7 (Springfield, IL: State of Illinois, 1972), 2689.
214	<i>dismissed this interpretation</i> : The NRA had long acknowledged the existence of the “police power” as a regulatory check on the right to arms. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Harold W. Glassen, “Right to Bear Arms is Older Than the Second Amendment,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1973, p. 22

	<p>(“It is necessary...for you and me and the millions who think as we do to recognize at once that all the State courts of last resort, insofar as I know without exception, have recognized that the constitutional right of the people, of the individual, to keep and bear arms is subject to the <i>police power</i> of the States. ‘Police power’ simply means that the State has the right of reasonable regulation for the general health, welfare and safety of its citizens. The key word here is ‘reasonable’ and this has been quite universally interpreted to include within such police power tight regulations on the carrying of concealed firearms, the carrying thereof in public places and the carrying of firearms in automobiles...”); Harold W. Glassen, Remarks Before the Duke Law Forum, Duke University, February 18, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 8 (“Under the police power states have a right to control firearms.”); Judge Bartlett Rummel, “To Have and Bear Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1964, p. 41 (“Despite all constitutional provisions, under the police power of the States the courts generally have upheld what they have considered the reasonable regulation of concealed weapons, the possession of weapons not ordinarily used for defense or warfare, the firing of guns in populous areas, and many other like regulations. Although the Federal government has no police power and can impose controls over firearms only through its right to tax, and its jurisdiction over the mails, all the States do have what is known as police power. Police power is the right to regulate the conduct of persons in furtherance of the health, the safety, and the general welfare of the citizens.”); “Basic Facts of Firearms Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1964, p. 14 (“Thirty-five states have constitutional provisions guaranteeing the right ‘to keep and bear arms’. The courts have held that the states under there general and broad police powers may regulate, within the limits of their constitutions, the possession and use of firearms in furtherance of the health, safety, and general welfare of their citizens. In the exercise of this power and in the due administration of criminal justice, the states have adopted various controls over the possession, purchase, sale, carrying, or use of firearms.”); National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 4 (“By a judicious use of its police power [a state] may properly regulate the use of firearms as a means of preventing crime but legislature cannot exercise this power in an arbitrary manner but must make reasonable use of the police powers granted to them by the state constitutions under which they operate.”); Karl T. Frederick, <i>Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History</i> (Washington, DC: National Rifle Association, 1932), 26-27 (“The decisions of courts have generally been to the effect that the particular laws under consideration regulating the possession or use of pistols were not unconstitutional by reason of [state constitutional right to arms provisions], but that in the particular cases presented they constituted an exercise of what is known as the ‘police power’ of the State and were valid.”).</p>
215	<i>further from the truth</i> : Raymond F. Hamel, “Con-Con Protects Gun Owners,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , December 8, 1970, sec. 1, p. 20.
215	<i>state militia</i> : Ibid.
215	<i>safety of their citizens</i> : Ibid.
215	<i>he added</i> : Ibid.
215	<i>constitutional safeguard</i> : Ibid.
215	<i>outspoken against firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Robert J. Kukla, <i>Gun Control</i> (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973); Thomas Gregory, “Support Increases for Gun Law,” <i>Herald</i>

	<i>and Review</i> (Decatur, IL), August 17, 1969, sec. 4, p. 1; “Gun Support Assailed,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , June 15, 1968, p. 5.
215	<i>police power language</i> : “NRA Official Supports Illinois Constitution,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 18, 1970, pp. 1-2.
215	<i>to the individual states</i> : Ibid., p. 1.
215	<i>adaption of the thing</i> : Ibid., p. 2.
216	<i>reasonable firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “Tydings Reelection Bid Attacks NRA,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1970, p. 52.
216	<i>oppose all firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., National Rifle Association, <i>Some Questions and Answers on Firearms Controls</i> (Washington, DC: 1970); National Rifle Association, <i>The Gun Law Problem</i> (Washington, DC: 1968); National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Registration</i> (Washington, DC: 1968).
216	<i>titled Firearms and Freedom</i> : The film was screened by gun rights advocates in rural and suburban areas. See, e.g., “Dates to Keep,” <i>Ukiah Daily Journal</i> (CA), April 23, 1969, p. 4; “Sportsmen View Firearms Film, Slate Trap Shoots,” <i>Tyrone Daily Herald</i> (PA), February 20, 1969, p. 6; George Hahn, “ <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), January 27, 1969, p. 15; “Neillsville Briefs,” <i>Marshfield News-Herald</i> (Marshfield, WI), January 11, 1969, p. 5; “Around Town,” <i>Green Bay Press-Gazette</i> (WI), December 2, 1968, p. 3; “Gun Control Films Slated,” <i>News-Pilot</i> (San Pedro, CA), November 14, 1968, p. 2. The film was particularly popular within the Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms (APORKBA). See, e.g., Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, “Guns! Registration! Taxation! Confiscation!” <i>Spokane Chronicle</i> (WA), August 27, 1969, p. 4; “Film Shows Facts and Fallacies in Gun Registration,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , June-July 1969, p. 3.
216	<i>political demonstrations</i> : See, e.g., “Birch Film Hits ‘Subversion Aid’,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), July 22, 1971, p. 33; “Birch Film Set,” <i>Delaware County Daily Times</i> (Chester, PA), April 19, 1968, p. 18; Pat Hill, “Society and Clubs,” <i>Payson Chronicle</i> (UT), March 14, 1968, p. 6; “John Birch Society Will Present Vietnam War Film,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), February 22, 1968, p. 8; John Schaefer, “‘Land of the Free’: Critics Angry and Militant,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), January 1, 1968, pp. B1, B3.
216	<i>every way possible</i> : To watch the film, see Publius & Associates, Inc., <i>Firearms and Freedom</i> (1968), https://youtu.be/OyxIV-RWNOk . This view of “bleeding-heart liberals” as being soft on crime was commonplace among gun rights advocates. See, e.g., Shooters Club of America, “America Must Have the Respect of It’s Young,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1970, p. 4 (“[Bleeding-heart liberals] will come up with the same old story about how and poor and deprived these kids were, and how it is really not their fault...Our weak courts will probably listen to this nonsense and give them a few years in prison. When they are older and professional criminals, they will have the protection of the Supreme Court and all the laws that the liberals have pushed through for the protection of ‘human rights’...”).
217	<i>remarkably little looting</i> : Publius & Associates, Inc., <i>Firearms and Freedom</i> , 5:15-5:32.
217	<i>who are the victims</i> : Ibid., 5:32-6:32.

217	<i>cripple anyone looting</i> : For video see, “Mayor Daley of Chicago-1968,” <i>Associated Press</i> , April 15, 1968, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=olNN2iT41S4 .
217	<i>issuing the order</i> : Daley later revised his order by having Chicago police limit themselves to “minimum force.” “Return to Reason,” <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> (MI), April 21, 1968, sec. 2, p. 2; “Chicago Mayor Clarifies Order to ‘Shoot to Kill’,” <i>Times Herald</i> (Port Huron, MI), April 18, 1968, p. 6A.
217	<i>approach to riot control</i> : For more on the 1968 political debate on shooting looters and rioters, see George Kennedy, “Police: Feared, Disliked and Depended On,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), May 1, 1968, p. 3B; Joseph Zullo, “New York’s Mayor Opposes Daley Police Get-Tough Order,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , April 17, 1968, sec. 1, p. 2; ‘Daley’s Order Had Future in Mind; Dirksen,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , April 17, 1968, sec. 1, p. 2; Henry DeZutter, “The Case Against It: ‘Shoot’ Order Cuts Across Policy of FBI and Army,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), April 16, 1968, p. 11; Fred P. Graham, “What Should Be Done About Riot Looters?” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), April 13, 1968, p. A7; “Clark: Shooting Rioters Could Escalate Violence,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 18, 1968, p. A8; “Raferty Urges: Shoot Looters When Caught,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 18, 1969, p. A8; Ben Funk, “Miami Chief’s ‘Get Tough’ Orders Reduce Crime in Negro Districts,” <i>Herald Statesman</i> (Yonkers, NY), April 17, 1968, p. 21.
217	<i>Any Other Crime</i> : E.E. Schmitz, “Proclamation of the Mayor,” April 18, 1906 (San Francisco, CA: Museum of the City of San Francisco). <i>See also</i> “Use of Bullets on Looters,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , April 20, 1906, p. 8; “Mayor’s Proclamation,” <i>Leavenworth Times</i> (KS), April 20, 1906, p. 1.
217	<i>order was both unusual</i> : What was unusual was that law enforcement were able to disarm anyone seen carrying a weapon on site, as well as “shoot without warning any person acting suspiciously.” <i>See</i> “Among the Dead,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), April 19, 1906, p. 2. According to one report, on the first day of the shooting order, law enforcement “did not hesitate to shoot anyone suspected of looting,” and killed 20 such persons. “College Boys Join the Gun Brigade: Twenty Looter Shot Dead Amid Ruins,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), April 20, 1906, p. 4.
217	<i>stopping the looting</i> : Despite the harshness of the order, looting continued to ravage San Francisco for weeks. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Making Looters Clear the Street,” <i>Bakersfield Morning Echo</i> (CA), May 13, 1906, p. 4; “Oakland Landlords Overreach Themselves,” <i>Santa Cruz Sentinel</i> (CA), April 29, 1906, p. 1; “Searching in Ruins for Loot,” <i>Los Angeles Evening Express</i> , April 28, 1906, p. 1; “Looting in the City,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), April 28, 1906, p. 1; “Bullets Will Await Looting Sightseers,” <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i> (CA), April 28, 1906, p. 4; “Men Shoot Fiends Who Try to Rob,” <i>San Francisco Call</i> , April 22, 1906, pp. 1-2.
217	<i>conflicts and death</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Wanton Murder by the Guards,” <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i> , April 24, 1906, p. 8; “Bullet Ends Life of Millionaire,” <i>Los Angeles Herald</i> , April 24, 1906, p. 6.
217	<i>taking part in the looting</i> : “Blame Militia for Looting,” <i>Evening Sentinel</i> (Santa Cruz, CA), May 1, 1906, p. 2.

218	<i>enshrine an armed citizenry</i> : Publius & Associates, Inc., <i>Firearms and Freedom</i> , 0:36-2:10.
218	<i>one and the same</i> : For a detailed history and legal analysis, see Charles, <i>Armed in America</i> , pp. 70-120.
218	<i>early to mid-twentieth century</i> : See, e.g., Captain Charles S. Wheatley, "The People, the Constitution, and Firearms," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , June 1930, p. 104; Eltinge F. Warner, "You Have No Constitutional Rights!" <i>Field and Stream</i> , March 1932, p. 15; "Constitutional Provision on Arms," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , August 1921, p. 148.
218	<i>strengthened this gun rights belief</i> : See, e.g., Shooters Club of America, "America's Founding Fathers Wanted All Citizens to Keep Guns in Their Homes," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , September 1970, p. 5; Bob Neal, "Washington Report," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , August 1970, pp. 8, 78; E.B. Mann, "Is the Supreme Court Taking Away Your Guns?: Part 2," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1970, pp. 24-25, 68; E.B. Mann, "Is the Supreme Court Taking Away Your Guns?: Part 1," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1970, pp. 22-23, 69; E.B. Mann, C.W. Reynolds, "The American and His Gun," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1968, pp. 22-23, 62-63; Alan S. Krug, "The Forgotten Amendment: Part 2," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1967, pp. 20-21, 72-73; Alan S. Krug, "The Forgotten Amendment: Part 1," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1967, pp. 20-21; "The Right to Arms for Self-Defense," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1967, p. 16; Nicholas V. Olds, "The Second Amendment and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms," <i>Michigan State Bar Journal</i> 46 (October 1967): 15-25; Alan S. Krug, <i>Current Constitutional and Statutory Aspects of the Right to Keep and Bear Arms</i> (Riverside, CT: National Shooting Sports Foundation, 1966); Charles T. Erion, "Right to Keep and Bear Arms," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , July 1964, p. 22-23, 69-73 "As Allowed By Law," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1953, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, "In Their Own Keeping," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1952, p. 16; Merritt A. Edson, "To Keep and Bear Arms," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1952, p. 16. See also John Q. Youngblood, "Right to Bear Arms; Temperament of Dogs," <i>Johnson City Press</i> (TN), July 31, 1969, p. 4 ("it would be well to remember that is we are disarmed we will fall victim to a Red Guard type of crime and terrorism. The only thing that prevents it now is a well-armed American citizenry."); "How the Czechs Resisted," <i>Pottsville Republican</i> (PA), August 30, 1968, p. 4 ("If anything, the [Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia] proved beyond a doubt that a well armed citizenry is vital to any country making the break to democracy or 'liberal Communism'."); W.O. Tisdale, "Armed Citizenry Regarded as Deterrent to Crime," <i>Shreveport Journal</i> (LA), December 1, 1967, p. 8A ("The act of disarming citizens prevented the Communists from having to meet with armed opposition by the citizenry... We cannot stand idly by without a protest and see all weapons of protection taken from our citizens, leaving them helpless to defend themselves while criminals roam our streets, highways, and the dark alleys of our cities, ready and waiting to rob, rape, and murder our women, children and other innocent people."); E. Bradley, "Self-Protection," <i>South Bend Tribune</i> (IN), June 5, 1967, p. 8 ("I and my neighbors, who believe it our right to remain an armed citizenry, decide to keep the law allowing us to keep our rifles... Wouldn't the thugs, sneak thieves, looters, mobs, yes, even the Red menace have a heyday in your [disarmed] neighborhood?...Not in my neighborhood...I agree with the N.R.A. I would much rather live in my personally protected society..."); Myron Akana, "Citizens Armed for Self-Defense," <i>Honolulu Star-Bulletin</i> (HI), May 30, 1967, p. 11 ("An armed citizenry is one of the greatest deterrents to crime.").

218	<i>deter criminal activity</i> : See, e.g., “Posse Comitatus,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , October 1972, p. 4; Tom Tiede, “Black and White Bigots Show Firearm Philosophy,” <i>Evening Standard</i> (Uniontown, PA), August 1, 1968, p. 2; “Extremist Views on Gun Controls,” <i>St. Louis Jewish Light</i> (MO), July 3, 1968, p. 7; Anti-Defamation League, “Research and Evaluation Report: Extremism, Violence and Guns,” June 26, 1968, in Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, box 21, folder 4, Gun Control July 1968 (West Branch, IA: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hickenlooper Papers); Bernard Gavzer, “Far-Right ‘Minutemen’ See Defense of U.S. as Their Task,” <i>Green Bay Press-Gazette</i> (WI), January 23, 1966, p. A11; Carl Bakal, <i>The Right to Bear Arms</i> (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), 105-6, 117, 126, 142-44.
218	<i>hesitate to attack</i> : United States Revolver Association, “Criminals Not Made by Pistols,” Bulletin No. 5, February 15, 1923, Mansfeld Papers, box 5, folder 53.
218	<i>unarmed citizenry</i> : “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1939, p. 36.
218	<i>discontinued in 1941</i> : “Guns vs. Bandits,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1941, p. 36.
218	<i>revived in 1958 as The Armed Citizen</i> : Walter J. Howe, “The Armed Citizen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1958, p. 32.
218	<i>calls for law and order</i> : See, e.g., Connecticut Sportsmen’s Alliance, “The Right to Keep and Bear Arms—Crime Control,” undated 1970, Weicker Papers, box 1785, folder 15, 1969-1970 Research Files-Gun Control (stating that the “safety of the United States depends upon a responsible citizenry, skilled in the safe and effective use of firearms” and the “right of each citizen to own firearms is the strongest deterrent to crime. Almost 200 years of experience has proven that our faith in an open society is not misplaced, provided we do not chip away at the basic freedoms in our Bill of Rights.”); “The Answer is Simply Law Enforcement,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 16; “Law and Order,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1964, p. 16.
218	<i>wouldn’t have a chance</i> : “Loeb Calls for Arming Citizens for Protection,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 23, 1970, p. 7.
218	<i>indeed supported arming citizens</i> : See, e.g., John E. Osborn, “Guns, Crime, and Self-Defense,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1967, p. 143 (“Murders, kidnappings, rapes, holdups, and other crimes of violence would become drastically reduced if the law-abiding citizenry were permitted to keep and bear arm for defense. The average armed criminal, aware of what he would be facing, would just about fold up and turn to other pursuits. Those few of the more daring would continue to take their slimmer chances.”); C. Richard Rogers, “The NRA Story,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1962, pp. 16, 46 (“NRA has been the leader in the warfare which has kept the U.S.A. fairly unique among modern nations, holding to the idea of our Founding Fathers that an armed citizenry is a national asset, not a cause for fear.”).
218	<i>homebound self-defense</i> : Paul L. Shumaker, “Sportsmen Must Educate Public on Defending Home with Firearms,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 13, 1970, p. 18; “Who Guards America’s Homes?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1967, p. 16; Bill Clede, “Gun Safety Begins at Home,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , June 1963, pp. 28-30, 38, 40.

218	<p><i>role of law enforcement: See, e.g., “Creating ‘Vigilantism’ Where None Exists,” American Rifleman, June 1967, p. 16; Ashley Halsey, Jr., “Rifleman Fire Back,” Miami News (FL), May 20, 1967, p. 2; “The Private Army Hoax,” American Rifleman, September 1965, p. 20. But see “The Attorney General is Inconsistent,” American Rifleman, January 1934, p. 4 (stating that crime could be effectively “stamped out by an aroused armed citizenry, either called to the aid of the police as possemen, or, as in the days of the Old West, disgusted with corrupt police officials and organized into their own law-enforcement groups—the Vigilantes.”).</i></p>
219	<p><i>other societal problems: Bill R. Davidson To Keep and Bear Arms (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1969), 23-57; Rex Applegate, “Guns and the Law: Some Thoughts on Riots and Gun Laws,” Guns Magazine, August 1968, pp. 32-33, 72-73.</i></p>
219	<p><i>law enforcement auxiliaries: James B. Whisker, Our Vanishing Freedom: The Right to Keep and Bear Arms (McLean, VA: Heritage House Publishers, 1972), 55-57. It is worth mentioning that right-wing, gun rights extremists often pulled their ideas from material within in the NRA’s magazine American Rifleman. See, e.g., Jac Weller, “A Nation of Armed Citizens,” American Rifleman, September 1970, pp. 48-51; “Communism Versus Gun Ownership,” American Rifleman, August 1970, p. 16.</i></p>
219	<p><i>maligned Sullivan Law of 1911: See, e.g., National Rifle Association, Americans and Their Guns, ed. James E. Serven (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1967), p. 290; Judge Bartlett Rummel, “Pistol Licensing Laws: Do They Deny Your Right to Self-Defense?” American Rifleman, April 1961, pp. 23-24; Robert Dymont, “The People vs. The Sullivan Law,” Guns Magazine, July 1960, pp. 24-25, 49, 51-52, 54; William B. Edwards, “Why Not Have a Pro Gun Law?” Guns Magazine, September 1957, pp. 22, 24; “NRA Head Scoffs at Gun License Law in New York,” Albuquerque Journal (NM), January 7, 1955, p. 14; William Fulton, “Sullivan Law, Boon to Thugs, 40 Years Old,” Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1951, p. F6.</i></p>
219	<p><i>firearms-related crimes: Before the view was edited for public consumption, some within the gun rights community were worried that the film would depict anti-gun propaganda. See Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” Guns Magazine, August 1969, pp. 12-14; “Gun Legislation,” Muzzle Blasts, August 1969, pp. 3, 25.</i></p>
219	<p><i>television crime drama: The film was first shown to select senators and changes were made at the request of gun rights proponents. See Randolph W. Thrower, Internal Revenue Service commissioner, to Jacob K. Javits, October 7, 1969, Jacob K. Javits Papers, box 44, folder Gun Control 1970-1976 (Stony Brook, NY: Stony Brook University Special Collections and Archives) (hereinafter Javits Papers); Letter from Jacob K. Javits to Randolph W. Thrower, Internal Revenue Service commissioner, September 29, 1969, Javits Papers, box 44, folder Gun Control 1970-1976; Letter from Emil F. to Jacob K. Javits, September 11, 1969, Javits Papers, box 44, folder Gun Control 1970-1976. Months later, the final edited version was shown in only certain geographic areas. See “Dodd Asks Gun Film Showings Reinstated,” Greeley Daily Tribune (CO), February 12, 1970, p. 2 (reporting the film was selectively shown in 30 cities); “Television Programs,” St. Louis Post-Dispatch (MO), January 29, 1970, p. 6F; “Television for the Week,” Miami News (FL), January 3, 1970, p. 21B; “Television,” Arizona Daily Star (Tucson, AZ), January 2, 1970, p. 11C; “Sunday [Television],” Fort Lauderdale News (FL), January 2, 1970, p. 14F; “Television</i></p>

	Programs,” <i>Decatur Daily Review</i> (IL), January 2, 1970, p. 8. Weeks later, the Department of Treasury gave a private showing to representatives of the NRA, sportsmen’s clubs, and conservation groups. See Saul Friedman, “Sportsmen Lobby Gets Gun-Law Film Killed as ‘Too Violent’,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> (MI), February 23, 1970, p. 10C.
219	<i>show his driver’s license</i> : To watch the film, see Department of Treasury, <i>That’s What It’s All About</i> (1970), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/11904 . For secondhand accounts of the film, see “But Gun-Control Flick Bites the Dust: James Bond Would Like U.S. Treasury Movie,” <i>Albany Democrat-Herald</i> (OR), January 28, 1970, p. 24; David R. Boldt, “Bond-Type Flick Flops on Capitol Hill,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1970, p. 81; “Treasury Film Hit: Bond, Gun Laws Bad Mix: Critics,” <i>News Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), January 22, 1970, p. 29.
219	<i>sexy and violent content</i> : See, e.g., “Why Senator Dodd is Unfit to Conduct an Impartial Investigation of Treasury’s Gun Control Film,” <i>Aim & Fire: The Official Publication of Firearms Lobby of America</i> , no. 4, undated 1970, p. 1 (criticizing the film as “nothing more than a grade ‘c’ Hollywood gangster movie embellished with bikini-clad girls and symbols of sex and violence.”); Carl Wolff, “Anti-Gun Movie Marked for Death,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , April 1970, pp. 16-17 (describing the final film as having “removed” any pertinent information related to the Gun Control Act, thus leaving “only the sex and violence”); Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), March 4, 1970, p. 7; “Lobby Force Gun Film Ban,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (FL), February 21, 1970, p. 4A; Jimmy Jordan, “IRS Gets It Coming and Going,” <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> , February 3, 1970, p. 18.
220	<i>watching the film</i> : Saul Friedman, “Sportsmen Lobby Gets Gun-Law Film Killed as ‘Too Violent’,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> (MI), February 23, 1970, p. 10C.
220	<i>immediately pulled</i> : Ibid.
220	<i>Gun Control Act worked</i> : Ibid.
220	<i>defending the film</i> : Ibid.
220	<i>repugnant television programming</i> : Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , October 1968, pp. 21, 64; “Non-Violence Begins at Home—On the TV,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1968, p. 18; “Are We Really So Violent?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1968, p. 16.
220	<i>crime-firearms relationship</i> : “Congressman, Sportsmen Blast ATFD Movie ‘Explaining Gun Law’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 13, 1969, pp. 1-2.
221	<i>Department of Treasury</i> : Memorandum from the White House to Eugene Rossides, January 21, 1970, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, Textual Materials, Box 3, Folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
221	<i>any further showings</i> : “Congressman, Sportsmen Blast ATFD Movie ‘Explaining Gun Law’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 13, 1969, pp. 1-2.
221	<i>salvage the film</i> : “Congress Probe of ATFD Movie Sought by Firearms Lobby Leader,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 13, 1970, p. 13; Letter from Jacob K. Javits to David Kennedy, Department of Treasury secretary, February 27, 1970, Javits Papers, box 44, folder Gun Control 1970-1976; “Gun Lobby’s Scored in New Dodd Blast,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT),

	February 19, 1970, p. 8; Letter from Thomas J. Dodd to David Kennedy, Department of Treasury secretary, January 27, 1970, Javits Papers, box 44, folder Gun Control 1970-1976.
221	<i>segment on the film</i> : “CBS Airs Special Report on ATFD’s Gun Act Movie,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 6, 1970, pp. 1-2; “CBS Shows ATFD Movie,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 27, 1960, p. 1.
221	<i>That’s What It’s All About pulled</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: U.S. Drops Firearms Mail Label,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1970, pp. 34-37.
221	<i>.22 caliber rimfire</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: ‘Backdoor Registration’ of Ammo Partly Ended,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1970, pp. 34-36; “President Nixon Signs Measure Removing Ammo-Record Keeping,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 12, 1969, pp. 1-2; “House Okays Ammo Records Measure; Senate Approves Added Penalty Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 7, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Ammo Move Wins in Senate,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1969, pp. 44-45; “House Delaying Action on Ammo Repeal Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 31, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Ammo Repeal is First Step!” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 24, 1969, p. 4; “Senate Passes Ammo Record-Keeping Repeal,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 24, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Dodd-Kennedy Actions Delay Senate Consideration of Ammo Amendment,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 17, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Bennett Ammo Bill Reported Favorably in Senate; Dodd Pushes Handgun Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, pp. 1-2; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Fresh Moves Made on Ammo,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, pp. 53-53, 55; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Legislators Crack Down on Criminals Who Misuse Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, pp. 47-50. In June 1970, NRA congressional surrogate Robert F. Sikes filed a bill, H.R.1790, to exempt .22 rimfire ammunition. See “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: .22 Rimfire Exemption Move Gains Momentum,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1970, pp. 50-52; Sikes Papers, box 337, folder H.R. 17920.
221	<i>state firearms bills</i> : “Contiguous Bill Passed in Arizona,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 19, 1970, p. 1; “Two More States Okay Contiguous State Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 24, 1970, p. 1; “Laws Aid Half of U.S. in Buying Longarms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, p. 52; “Rhodes Signs Contiguous Bill in Ohio,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 19, 1969, pp. 1-2; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Administration Opposes Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1969, pp. 32-33 (noting the passage of the Pennsylvania’s contiguous firearms bill); “Ohio Passes Contiguous Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 29, 1969, p. 1; “Pennsylvania Contiguous Bill Approved,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 15, 1969, p. 1; “Alabama Approves Contiguous State Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 13, 1969, p. 1; “Additional States Pass Contiguous State Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 23, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Nevada Okays Contiguous State Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 16, 1969, p. 1; “North Carolina Okays Contiguous State Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 2, 1969, p. 1; “More State Bills Needed!” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 11, 1969, p. 4; “Four More Contiguous Bills Offered,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 4, 1969, p. 8; “Georgia, Colorado, Iowa Offered Contiguous Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 28, 1969, p. 2; “More States Considering Sales in Adjacent States,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 21, 1969, p. 3; “Legislation Proposed in 17 States to Legalize Contiguous State Sales,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 14, 1969, pp. 1, 3; “Shooting Sports Prepares Model for Contiguous State Measures,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 14, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Montana-Wyoming Study Bills for Contiguous Sales,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 28, 1969, p. 2; “Louisiana Passes First Law Allowing Gun Transactions in Adjacent States,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 24, 1969, pp. 1-2.

221	<i>neighboring state</i> : For examples of contiguous firearms bills, see Model Firearms Legislation,” <i>Fact Pack II on Firearms Ownership</i> , pp. 24-27.
221	<i>state firearms bills</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 28.
221	<i>identification card requirement</i> : “Sportsmen Get Michigan Explosives Bill Amended,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 15, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Illinois House Committee Okays Measure Changing Licensing Law,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 15, 1970, pp. 1, 3; “Cincinnati Licensing Ordinance Draws Opposition of Sportsmen,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 3, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Verbal Debate Erupts Over Ky. Gun Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 20, 1970, p. 1; “Licensing Bill Shot Down in Tennessee,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 27, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Part of Illinois ID Card Monies Goes to Game Fund Under New State Law,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 7, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Illinois ID Card Repeal Vetoed By Gov. Ogilvie,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 31, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Washington County Votes Down Handgun License Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 5, 1969, p. 3; “Dual Victory for Sportsmen,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 25, 1969, p. 4; “Illinois Senate Okays Repeal Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 11, 1969, pp. 1, 7; “I.D. Card Bill Stirs Ohio Debate,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, p. 49; “Sponsor Sees Defeat of Ohio ID Card Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 27, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Connecticut Sportsmen Beat Down Compromise ID Licensing Measure,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 20, 1969, pp. 1-2; “ID Card Repeal Clears First Hurdle in Illinois,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 30, 1969, p. 1; “Maine Citizens Voice ID Card Opposition,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 9, 1969, pp. 1, 3; “Maine Sportsmen Support Five Bills, Nix Licensing,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 4, 1969, p. 14; “Maryland Sportsmen Oppose Licensing Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 28, 1969, pp. 1-2; “New York Conservation Council to Oppose Long Gun Restrictions,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 21, 1969, pp. 11-12; “Another Round for Oregon Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 21, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Cleveland Registration, Licensing Bill Defeated,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 21, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Arkansas Sportsmen Seek Defeat of Gun Licensing-Registration Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 14, 1969, pp. 1-2.
221	<i>ordinances in 1968</i> : “Optimism Still Held for San Francisco Law,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 5, 1969, pp. 1-2; “San Francisco Begins Gun Registration,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 25, 1969, pp. 1, 6; “State Supreme Court Upholds SF Gun Law,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 9, 1969, pp. 1-2; “The ‘Wrong’ of Bearing Arms,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , April 30, 1969, part 2, p. 6; Gene Blake, “State High Court Opens Door to Gun Controls,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , April 28, 1969, part 1, p. 3.
221	<i>preemption law</i> : E.B. Mann, “In Focus,” <i>Shooting Industry</i> , January 1970, p. 4; “Another Anti-Gun Setback” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 26, 1969, p. 4; “Reagan Signs California Bill Barring Local Laws,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 19, 1969, pp. 1, 3; Gerald Faris, “3 Councilmen to Fight for B.H. Firearms Law,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , September 18, 1969, part 7, pp. 1, 10; “Reagan Signs Flood of Bills, Including Gun Law, Tax Break,” <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), September 5, 1969, pp. A1, A2; “SF Mayor Rips New Measure on Gun Registration,” <i>Chico Enterprise-Record</i> (CA), September 5, 1969, p. 1B; “Police Ask for Veto of Gun Bill,” <i>San Francisco Examiner</i> , August 11, 1969, p. 8; “Alioto Raps Gun Control Bill by Sen. Richardson,” <i>Daily News-Post</i> (Monrovia, CA), August 8, 1969, p. 1; “Gun Control Bill Worries S.F. Mayor,” <i>Times</i> (San Mateo, CA), August 8, 1969, p. 1; “City Gun-Control Ban Gains,” <i>Independent</i> (Long Beach, CA), August 7, 1969, p. A7; “Gun Control Bill Goes to Senate,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> (CA), August 7, 1968, p. F7. A

	similar firearms preemption bill was offered in Kentucky. See “Pre-emption Bill Offered in Kentucky,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 10, 1970, p. 1.
222	<i>affect election outcomes</i> : See, e.g., “Lest We Forgive & Forget,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, p. 4; “Time to Stand and Be Counted,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1969, p. 16; Franklin L. Orth, “A Special Message: Sportsmen and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1969, pp. 46-47; E.B. Mann, “In Focus,” <i>Shooting Industry</i> , January 1969, p. 6; Tom Siatos, “Editorial,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1969, p. 6; “Goodbye ’68; Hello ’69,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 3, 1969, p. 4; “Activity Needed in ’69!” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 27, 1968, p. 4.
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222	<i>most of our states</i> : E.B. Mann, “The Mann Says,” <i>Gun World</i> , [June] 1970, pp. 14, 57, E.B. Mann Papers, box 9, folder 33 (Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming American Heritage Center) (hereinafter Mann Papers).
222	<i>regardless of his party</i> : Ibid. See also “Election Showdown Near!” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 16, 1968, p. 4; “The Name of the Game Is—Grab the Guns,” <i>Right to Bear Arms, Inc. Newsletter No. 3</i> , June 1, 1970, p. 1 (“Keep this list for future reference. If you see the name of your Senator or your Representative on this list, vote against him. Cross party lines if necessary. He voted against you, now you have the opportunity to vote against him and send him down the road to political oblivion.”); “Car Pools to the Polls...,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 24, 1970, p. 4.
223	<i>in the election primaries</i> : “Preparing for the Primary,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , February 1970, p. 9.
223	<i>unprecedented level</i> : See, e.g., John Lachuk, “Sportsmen’s Organized Might...” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , October 1970, pp. 32-33, 86-87; “Americans Take Action,” <i>Armed Eagle</i> , April 1970, pp. 1, 5.
223	<i>law-abiding citizens</i> : “A Middle Ground,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), September 18, 1967, p. 4 (reporting on McGee’s proposal that any firearms controls be aimed at the “larger cities without penalizing the less populated areas”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , August 1964, p. 4 (statement of Wyoming senator Gale McGee) (“The history of our nation is the history of a people skilled in the use of arms. We may not be called upon in the space age to defend our homes with our arms, but the right to possess those arms is still an integral part of our individual rights and way of life. Our nation is one where recreational hunting...is enjoyed by people of all walks of life. The tragedy of the President’s assassination had led to demands that the ownership of firearms be somehow restricted. But

	we must remember that it is people who do the killing and other methods will be found if one means is eliminated. The end result of such restrictions would be severe damage to both our traditional rights and our recreational opportunities.”); “Know Your Lawmakers,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1960, p. 4 (statement of Wyoming senator Gale McGee) (“The fact that American citizens have enjoyed the right to bear arms throughout our history is a remarkable testimonial to the strength and stability of four democratic institutions. There are few nations where this right has been persevered so long and, where it has, it has become the symbol of responsible citizenship. The groups which cry for laws which would prevent the responsible citizen from bearing arms evidently do not realize that the danger to a society which stems from firearms is immensely increased when honest citizens are disarmed and prevented from learning enough about firearms to handle them safely.”).
223	<i>crimes of violence</i> : “McGee Adds Opposition to Gun Bill,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), May 17, 1968, p. 12.
223	<i>derelects and criminals</i> : “McGee Says He Will Vote for Control of Firearms,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), June 24, 1968, p. 12.
223	<i>stated McGee</i> : “McGee Insists on Gun Registration,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), July 12, 1968, p. 2. <i>See also</i> “Sen. McGee Use Special Summary Answering Letters on Gun Control Laws,” <i>Jackson Hole Guide</i> (WY), July 25, 1968, p. 3 (copy of McGee form letter on supporting Tydings’s firearm registration bill).
224	<i>long gun ammunition</i> : “Wants Sports Ammo Removed from List,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), February 2, 1969, p. 22.
224	<i>mail-order provisions</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Senators Move to Ease Law on Sporting Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1970, pp. 35-36; “Moss to Join McGee in Move to Change 1968 Gun Control Act,” <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), February 25, 1970, p. 13A; “Rod and Gun” <i>Pottsville Republican</i> (PA), February 18, 1970, p. 3; “McGee Moves to Ease Gun Restrictions Set By Act,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), February 8, 1970, p. 2; “Wyoming Solon Introduces Firearms Bill,” <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), February 9, 1970, p. 20.
224	<i>against the Gun Control Act</i> : Chuck Morrison, “Hunting and Fishing: Sen. McGee and the Gun Control Act,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), March 30, 1969, p. 18.
224	<i>their firearms registration law</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> <i>See also</i> “Park Demos Back McGee on Gun Bill,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 25, 1969, p. 12.
224	<i>strategy was working</i> : “McGee Says Dr. Eisenhower Gun Law is ‘Unacceptable’,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), July 31, 1969, p. 3.
224	<i>Wyoming State Shooting Association</i> : “Gun Club Lauds McGee’s Stand on Gun Control,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), September 30, 1969, p. 2.
224	<i>on firearms controls</i> : James E. Billings, “Press Release ‘Smells’,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 6, 1969, p. 7. <i>See also</i> “Rooney Replies to Brimmer,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 22, 1969, p. 22; “Brimmer Questions McGee Vote Against Gun Control,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 30, 1969, p. 3.

224	<i>one-inch black letters</i> : “McGee Reports on Budget, Post Office Reorganizing,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), February 24, 1970, p. 2. The reason McGee took credit was that he had just introduced a bill that would have overridden the Johnson administration’s rule. <i>See</i> “McGee Offers Firearms Bill,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), January 24, 1970, p. 9.
224	<i>expressed their frustration</i> : “Saddle Burr in the Senate?” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 6, 1970, p. 4.
224	<i>one gun rights supporter</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
224	<i>right to bear arms</i> : Ann Kormylo, “Wold Raps Proposed Federal Gun Control,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 30, 1968, p. 15; “Gun Control Waste of Time: Wold,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), August 13, 1968, p. 2; “Wold Continues Attack on WHH,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), July 30, 1969, p. 12.
224	<i>supported firearms registration</i> : “Wold Says Alexander Falls for McGee’s ‘Propaganda,’” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 22, 1970, p. 2; “Wold Decides He’ll Run for Senate Seat,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 7, 1970, p. 1. <i>See also</i> “Robert Calls for Brake on Spending,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 30, 1970, p. 18.
224	<i>requirements of the Gun Control Act</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Anti-Bomb Bills Pile Up in Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1970, pp. 50, 51, 67; “McGee Moves to Free .22 Ammo from Curb,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 18, 1970, p. 2.
225	<i>endorsement of his candidacy</i> : Heidi Norskog, “NRA Endorses Senator McGee,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 3, 1970, p. 1.
225	<i>opponent Wold</i> : “Stone Says McGee ‘Deceives’ Public on NRA Endorsement,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 10, 1970, p. 5.
225	<i>dispensed with until 1976</i> : “Tydings Reelection Bid Attacks NRA,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1970, p. 52 (“Any NRA members supporting [Citizens Against Tydings] do so personally and on an individual basis. The NRA, which is non-partisan and non-political, has taken no position in this or other State campaigns.”).
225	<i>set the record straight</i> : “Report of NRA Backing Sen. McGee Called Untrue,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 30, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Stone Says McGee ‘Deceives’ Public on NRA Endorsement,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 10, 1970, p. 5.
225	<i>McGee’s integrity</i> : John Wold, “Time to Put Wyoming First,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), November 1, 1970, pp. 37-44; “Time for the Whole Truth!” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 10, 1970, p. 19; “Time for the Whole Truth!” <i>Jackson Hole Guide</i> (WY), October 10, 1970, p. 19. <i>See also</i> “Wold Points to His Conservation Record,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 22, 1970, p. 12 (Wold stating, “I will never try to misrepresent [my letter from the NRA] as an endorsement.”).
225	<i>personal nor glowing</i> : Michael Frome, “Rate Your Candidate,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1970, pp. 60, 65.
225	<i>good, fair, and poor</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 60-65.
225	<i>fair category</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 65.

225	<i>Sportsman's Choice</i> : See, e.g., "Let's Shoot Straight," <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), October 21, 1970, p. 15.
225	<i>Philip H. Hoff</i> : Michael Frome, "Rate Your Candidate," <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1970, pp. 60, 65. For other instances where candidates touted their <i>Field & Stream</i> endorsement, see Beaty-for-Congress Committee, "Those Who Know the Facts Endorse Beaty for Congress!" <i>Arizona Daily Sun</i> (Flagg Staff, AZ), November 2, 1970, p. 14; "Grossman Cites Differences," <i>Arizona Daily Sun</i> (Flag Staff, AZ), October 26, 1970, p. 12; Chippewa County Thoresen for Congress Committee, "Congressmen Rated on Conservation Record," <i>Chippewa Herald-Telegram</i> (WI), October 19, 1970, p. 11; Committee of Good Government, " <i>Field & Stream</i> Rates the Candidates," <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), October 16, 1970, p. 2D; "Several State Candidates for U.S. House Campaign," <i>Daily Press</i> (Newport News, VA), September 22, 1970, p. 16.
227	<i>for all firearms purchases</i> : Charles Bonenti, "Hoff Answers GOP 'Baloney', Comments on 'Vile Whispers' at Burr & Burton," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), October 6, 1970, pp. 1, 14.
227	<i>curbing criminal activities</i> : David Scribner, "Hoff Answers GOP 'Baloney', Comments on 'Vile Whispers' in North Shire," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), October 6, 1970, pp. 1, 14.
227	<i>nor is it needed here</i> : Ibid.
227	<i>flipped on firearms controls</i> : "Hoff," <i>Times Argus</i> (Barre, VT), October 27, 1970, pp. 1, 2; "Hoff," <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), October 27, 1970, pp. 1, 20.
227	<i>unnecessary controls</i> : Re-Elect Senator Prouty Committee, "Compare These Statements on Gun Control," <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), October 29, 1970, p. 14; Re-Elect Senator Prouty Committee, "Compare These Statements on Gun Control," <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), October 29, 1970, p. 13; Re-Elect Senator Prouty Committee, "Compare These Statements on Gun Control," <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), October 29, 1970, p. 7.
227	<i>urging federal firearms registration</i> : Mike Rosenberg, "Gun Control Conspiracy?" <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), August 22, 1968, p. 16; Pat Slattery, "Vermont's Largest Gun Dealer in Favor of Stringent Controls," <i>Times Argus</i> (Barre, VT), June 19, 1968, p. 13; "Senators, Stafford Cool to Gun Laws," <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), June 13, 1968, pp. 1, 6.
227	<i>flip-flopped on the firearms control issue</i> : Hoff merely accused Prouty of distorting his firearms control position. "Prouty-Hoff Arbitration Said to be 'Impossible'," <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), October 31, 1970, p. 1.
227	<i>wrong in 1968</i> : The apology came in the form of a newspaper advertisement and was taken from a speech Hoff delivered on October 7th before the Vermont Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs. See "Phil Hoff Speaks Out on Gun Control," <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), October 31, 1970, p. 13 ("Following the death of Robert Kennedy in June 1968, I was deeply concerned about the spread of violence in public life. I believe millions of Americans shared those feelings with me. It seemed imperative to do something strong and effective to prevent a recurrence of this tragedy. When firearms control measures were proposed in the Congress that summer, I endorsed them. Since the debate and passage of the Gun Control Act of 1968, I have had time to reflect upon those earlier feelings. My honest conclusion is that I was wrong in 1968. In the first place, the licensing and registration of gun owners and their firearms would be of dubious value in the battle against crime. Secondly, after

	traveling around Vermont for many months it is perfectly obvious to me that the vast majority of Vermonters do not favor licensing and registration measures.”).
227	<i>strong gun rights proponent</i> : See, e.g., “Hale Mt. Club Endorses ‘Sportsmen’s’ Candidates,” <i>Bennington Banner</i> (VT), October 28, 1970, p. 3; Re-Elect Senator Prouty Committee, “Prouty News,” October 14, 1970, Prouty Papers, carton D13, folder 67; Winston L. Prouty, Press Release, “[Vermont Sportsmen’s Clubs], undated 1970, Prouty Papers, carton A112, folder 26; Draft Letter from Winston L. Prouty to Vermont Federation of Sportsmen Clubs, Inc., October 5, 1970, Prouty Papers, carton A112, folder 26; Hugh Barron, “The World Outdoors,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), September 15, 1970, p. 6; “Speech of Sen. Prouty Heard by Sportsmen,” <i>Brattleboro Reformer</i> (VT), September 12, 1970, p. 5; Frank Dion, Speech Given on Behalf of Winston L. Prouty to Sportsmen, September 10, 1870, Prouty Papers, carton A115, folder 29. The Prouty campaign knew firearms controls was an “emotional” issue that “unites 1 of 4; a large group of firearms people.” [Election Report from Field], September 29, 1970, Prouty Papers, carton A112, folder 26.
227	<i>and the Gun Control Act</i> : “Congress Finds Quorum Difficult,” <i>South Bend Tribune</i> (IN), September 24, 1968, p. 5; “Gun-Control Bill Passed By Senate,” <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), September 19, 1968, p. 2; “Hartke Votes with Majority,” <i>Terre Haute Tribune</i> (IN), September 17, 1968, p. 10; “Senate OK’s Gun Mail Ban,” <i>South Bend Tribune</i> (IN), September 17, 1968, p. 6.
227	<i>in reducing crime</i> : Jack Alikire, “Black Powder Restriction Bill Considered by Congress,” <i>Journal and Courier</i> (Lafayette, IN), July 24, 1970, p. 14; “Law Protects Muzzle Loaders,” <i>Republic</i> (Columbus, IN), July 10, 1970, p. 15; “Hartke Sponsors Bill to Protect Sport Shooting,” <i>Anderson Daily Bulletin</i> (IN), July 9, 1970, p. 11; “Hartke Proposes Amendment to Gun Control Act,” <i>Daily Reporter</i> (Greenfield, IN), September 11, 1969, p. 2.
228	<i>Roudebush</i> : Republican State Central Committee, “A Review of the Actions in the United States Senate by Senator Vance Hartke,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), November 1, 1970, p. sec. 2, p. 17; Republican State Central Committee, “A Review of the Actions in the United States Senate by Senator Vance Hartke,” <i>Times</i> (Munster, IN), November 1, 1970, p. 8C; Republican State Central Committee, “A Review of the Actions in the United States Senate by Senator Vance Hartke,” <i>Terre Haute Tribune-Star</i> (IN), November 1, 1970, p. 22; Republican State Central Committee, “A Review of the Actions in the United States Senate by Senator Vance Hartke,” <i>Bedford Daily-Times Mail</i> (IN), November 1, 1970, p. 9; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, “Will Strike by GM Doom GOP Hopes in the Middle West,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , October 26, 1970, p. 9; “Sportsmen’s Council to Back Rep. Roudebush,” <i>Noblesville Ledger</i> (IN), August 25, 1970, p. 4; Robert P. Mooney, “Roudebush Lauds Nixon’s Viet Policy, Issues Blast at Hartke,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), August 2, 1970, sec. 2, p. 4; Robert J. Miller, “Sen. Hartke Has a Sorry Record,” <i>Indianapolis News</i> , February 24, 1970, p. 7; Right to Bear Arms, Inc., “We Need Your Help!” undated, in Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 13, folder Gun Control.
228	<i>supported federal firearms registration</i> : Committee of Concerned New Mexicans, “Attention New Mexicans,” <i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i> (NM), November 1, 1970, p. D12; Sportsmen Against Montoya, “Attention Sportsmen,” <i>Albuquerque Journal</i> (NM), November 1, 1970, p. C16; “Montoya is Deceiving New Mexicans,” <i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i>

	(NM), November 1, 1970, p. B5; Truth or Consequences, "Attention Sportsmen," <i>Deming Headlight</i> (NM), October 29, 1970, p. 3B.
228	<i>licensed firearms dealers</i> : See, e.g., "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: 'Backdoor Registration' of Ammo Partly Ended," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1970, pp. 34-36.
228	<i>not firearms registration</i> : "State Political Briefs," <i>Las Vegas Optic</i> (NM), October 27, 1970, p. 6 (noting that Montoya voted against firearms registration four times in 1968); Joe Montoya for Senator Club, "The Truth About Senator Montoya's Stand on Gun Control," <i>Clovis News-Journal</i> (NM), October 23, 1970, p. 3.
228	<i>after the 1968 elections</i> : "Sen. Would Exclude Ammunition Clause," <i>Clovis News-Journal</i> (NM), August 12, 1969, p. 12; "Montoya Backs Bill," <i>Carlsbad Current-Argus</i> (NM), August 12, 1969, p. 1.
228	<i>two years earlier</i> : "Montoya Retraces Gun Control Stand," <i>Clovis News-Journal</i> (NM), October 26, 1970, p. 8; "Montoya Considers Gun Repeal," <i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i> (NM), October 25, 1970, p. A6.
228	<i>campaign season kicked off</i> : "Moss Addresses Utah Sportsman Association," <i>Sun Chronicle</i> (Roy, UT), July 30, 1970, sec. 2, p. 1; "Moss Sees No Repeal of Gun Control Laws," <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), July 13, 1970, p. 4; "Environmental Cleanliness Stressed at Sportsman Convention," <i>Sun-Advocate</i> (UT), May 7, 1970, p. 6; Dave Kadleck, "Pollution? Touch and Go!" <i>Deseret News</i> (Salt Lake City, UT), April 29, 1970, p. 4C; "Burton Asks Firearms Bill Repeal," <i>San Juan Record</i> (Monticello, UT), March 19, 1970, p. 2.
228	<i>early and often</i> : "Moss Co-Sponsors Amendment Allowing Ammo Hand Loading," <i>Southern Utah Free Press</i> (Hurricane, UT), September 3, 1970, p. 16; "Moss Co-Sponsors Bill Eliminating Ammo Registration," <i>Sun Chronicle</i> (Roy, UT), June 25, 1970, p. 1; "Burton Prepares Opinion Survey for Constituents," <i>Richfield Reaper</i> (UT), April 9, 1970, p. 8B; "Burton Asks Repeal of Gun Curbs," <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), March 10, 1970, p. 2; "Utah Senator Joins Movement to Amend '68 Gun Control Act," <i>Sun-Advocate</i> (Price, UT), March 5, 1970, p. 6; "Moss and McGee Join to Amend 1968 Gun Control Act," <i>Gunnison Valley News</i> (UT), March 5, 1970, p. 3; "Law on Gun Control to Come Under Fire," <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), March 1, 1970, p. 11; "Moss to Join McGee in Move to Change 1968 Gun Control Act," <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), February 25, 1970, p. 13A; "Burton Urges Hearings on Gun Ammunition," <i>Eureka Reporter</i> (UT), November 14, 1969, p. 1; "Burton Offers Ammo Bill," <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), September 4, 1969, p. A3; "Moss Decries 'Futility' of Gun Control," <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> (UT), August 21, 1969, p. B9; "Firearms Licensing Opposed By Burton," <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), March 2, 1969, p. 5C; "Sen. Bennett: Ammunition Sale Bill Introduced," <i>Deseret News</i> (Salt Lake City, UT), February 10, 1969, p. A7; "Utah Senators Seek to Amend Gun Control Act," <i>Sun-Advocate</i> (Price, UT), February 6, 1969, p. 9; "Moss Asks Gun Clarity," <i>Deseret News</i> (Salt Lake City, UT), January 15, 1969, p. 8B.
228	<i>politically agree</i> : See "One Small Slip Hurt Burton's Chances?" <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), October 15, 1970, p. 11A; "Campaign '70: Analyst on Moss-Burton Race: 'Both are Good Men'," <i>Daily Herald</i> (Provo, UT), October 16, 1970, p. 5.
228	<i>with a registered gun</i> : Lee Byrd, "An Outsider Views Utah's Election," <i>Deseret News</i> (Salt Lake City, UT), October 20, 1970, p. A17. The fact that Moss and Burton both adamantly

	opposed firearms controls is not to say there was not any campaign drama related to the issue. In the September 1970 issue of <i>Guns Magazine</i> appeared an advertisement accusing Moss of supporting federal firearms controls. The Moss demanded an immediate retraction given the “irreparable harm” that such an accusation could have on his reelection campaign. “Magazine Ad Angers Sen. Moss,” <i>Ogden Standard-Examiner</i> (UT), September 3, 1970, p. 11A.
228	<i>outspoken against firearms controls: See, e.g.,</i> “The Flap About Gun Control,” <i>Longview News-Journal</i> (TX), October 26, 1970, p. 4A; “Senate Rivals Are Political Look-Alikes,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), August 16, 1970, p. 10E.
229	<i>Lloyd Bentsen: Lloyd Bensten,</i> “Attention Sportsmen!” <i>Marshall News Messenger</i> (TX), November 1, 1970, p. 2B; Lloyd Bentsen, “Would You Have Voted for the 1968 Gun Control Act,” <i>Gilmer Mirror</i> (TX), October 29, 1970, p. 8. <i>See also</i> “Bentsen Attacks Gun Control Law,” <i>Austin American</i> (TX), October 8, 1970, p. 7; “Bentsen Raps Gun Control,” <i>San Antonio Express</i> (TX), October 8, 1970, p. 8A.
229	<i>renamed the Gun Control Act: See, e.g.,</i> Lloyd Bentsen, “The Truth About Gun Control,” <i>Kilgore News Herald</i> (TX), November 2, 1970, p. 9; Lloyd Bentsen, “The Truth About Gun Control,” <i>Longview News-Journal</i> (TX), October 31, 1970, p. 4A. <i>See also</i> Ector County Bentsen Campaign Fund, “Vote for the Man Who Will Vote for Texas,” <i>Odessa American</i> (TX), November 2, 1970, p. 16A.
229	<i>joint conference committee bill: Roger Summers and Jim Vachule,</i> “Credentials of Bush, Bentsen Too Similar for Many,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), November 1, 1970, p. 12A; “Bush Supporters Retract Ad,” <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> (TX), October 31, 1970, p. 16A; Ben Sargent, “Senatorial Hopefuls Take Issue on Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Marshall News Messenger</i> (TX), October 25, 1970, p. A9.
229	<i>Bentsen at a press conference: Lloyd Bentsen,</i> Press Release, [Repeal of Gun Control Act], October 7, 1970, Lloyd Bentsen Papers, box 2, folder Press Releases-Gun Control (Austin, TX: Briscoe Center of American History) (hereinafter Bentsen Papers).
229	<i>anti-firearms position: See, e.g.,</i> Bush for Senate Committee, “George Bush,” <i>Victoria Advocate</i> (TX), November 3, 1970, p. 7A; Bush for Senate Committee, “George Bush Doesn’t Believe in Hight Behind a Party Label,” <i>Austin American</i> , November 2, 1970, p. 21.
229	<i>interstate handgun restrictions: U.S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, Cl. 3</i> (that Congress has the power “[t]o regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.”).
229	<i>upon rifles and shotguns: See, e.g.,</i> Cleve Corlett, “Hart Hits Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), October 6, 1967, p. C3.
229	<i>Michigan gun rights community: See, e.g.,</i> Saul Friedman, “Also Wants Change in Gun Control Plan: Hart to Seek New Rights Bill,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , September 30, 1967, p. 15A; “Proper Firearm Use Defended: ‘Fair’ Gun Control Laws Backed,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 28, 1966, p. G9.
229	<i>vocal firearms control proponents: Letter from Philip A. Hart to Lawrence Powers,</i> September 10, 1968, Philip A. Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI:

	University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Hart Papers); “Controls on Guns Heating Up,” <i>Detroit American</i> (MI), June 18, 1968, p. 2; “Hart May Switch Sides on Gun Issue,” <i>Petoskey News-Review</i> (MI), June 17, 1968, p. 7.
229	<i>support for firearms registration</i> : Letter from Philip A. Hart to Denis Lessard, May 24, 1969, Hart Papers, box 177, folder Firearms Registration; Letter from Philip A. Hart to William G. Emmer, March 1, 1969, Hart Papers, box 177, folder Firearms Registration; “Hart, Griffin Split Votes,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), September 19, 1968, p. A9; “Congressional Support Growing for Tougher Gun Control Measures,” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), June 17, 1968, p. 1; “Hart May Back LBJ’s Gun Plan,” <i>Holland Evening Journal</i> (MI), June 16, 1968, p. 13.
229	Hart to a constituent: Letter from Philip A. Hart to Elliott E. Parrish, September 13, 1968, Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Control.
229	<i>opposing most firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Jim Lutzke, “Outdoors,” <i>Petoskey News-Review</i> (MI), December 11, 1968, p. 4; “Sportsmen Fight New Gun Controls,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), August 23, 1967, p. D1; “Sport Groups Up in Arms Over Weapons Legislation,” <i>News-Palladium</i> (Benton Harbor, MI), April 4, 1967, p. 16; “Sportsmen Urge Caution in Gun Sale Controls,” <i>Escanaba Daily Press</i> (MI), March 16, 1964, p. 2.
231	<i>twenty-month period</i> : Ibid., p. 1-2.
231	<i>increasingly fuzzy</i> : Ibid., p. 1.
231	<i>firearms registration and licensing</i> : Ibid., p. 2.
231	<i>with that of public opinion</i> : Ibid.
231	<i>firearms control message</i> : Ibid., p. 5.
231	<i>holster or bedside table</i> : Ibid., p. 4.
231	<i>restrictions on long guns</i> : Letter from Philip A. Hart to R.G. Harvey, December 11, 1969, Hart Papers, box 177, folder Firearms; Letter from Philip A. Hart to X.B. Shaffer, October 16, 1969, Hart Papers, box 177, folder Firearms.
231	<i>minimum universal standards</i> : Letter from Philip A. Hart to Charles William Moll, December 30, 1969, Hart Papers, box 177, folder Firearms. See also Statement by Senator Philip A. Hart on Gun Control, undated 1970, Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Control (“Any reasonable person discussing gun control must begin in separating hang guns and long guns. There is no escaping the fact that hand guns are designed primarily as a convenient device for the killing or wounding of human beings.”); Letter from Philip A. Hart to J. Juillet, June 6, 1970, Hart Papers, box 186, folder Gun Registration (“I have to square with you and indicate that I still think there is a real problem with [the] unrestricted purchase of handguns in this country. Michigan has some sensible rules on handgun purchase, and I think all states ought to enact some sort of minimum standards for handgun buyers. This isn’t the case with long guns. They are used almost exclusively for wholesome pursuits. And I think that anyone in this country who is over 18 and has no felony record ought to be forever guaranteed the right to own as many long guns as he pleases. I don’t buy the idea put forth by many that long guns ought to be severely restricted because they have been employed in several dramatic and unfortunate assassinations.”).

231	<p><i>political action group based in Lansing</i>: SAM was established “to engage in legislation, political and educational activities to preserve the right of the law-abiding citizen to keep and bear arms, to assist in formulating properly directed crime control legislation, and to uphold the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Michigan.” See “Sportsmen, SAM is Here!” <i>SAM Newsletter No. 2</i>, August 1, 1970, p. 4; “Sportsmen...SAM is Here!” <i>Gun Week</i>, May 8, 1970, p. 5. See also Frank Mainville, “SAMs Level Political Guns,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), May 24, 1970, p. G5; Sportsmen Alliance of Michigan, “Says Sports Gunners Are Awakening to Silly Laws,” <i>Petoskey News-Review</i> (MI), March 25, 1970, p. 10; “Sportsmen Mount New Poll-Power,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), March 21, 1970, p. C12; “SAM Group Maps Plans of Action,” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), March 18, 1970, p. 27; “Michigan Sportsmen Form New Organization,” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 20, 1970, pp. 1-2.</p>
231	<p><i>defeat of Senator Hart in 1970</i>: Tom Opre, “Politicians Beware...SAM is on Move,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i>, May 24, 1970, p. 6F; “Defeat of Sen. Philip Hart Number One Target of SAM,” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 27, 1970, p. 2; “Local Man Heads State Group,” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), March 9, 1970, p. 10; Frank Mainville, “500 Hunters Join Forces,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), March 1, 1970, p. A3.</p>
231	<p><i>senator Kennedy’s assassination</i>: See, e.g., Memorandum from John B. Martin, Chairman Michigan Commission on Crime, Delinquency and Criminal Administration, to George W. Romney, [Reexamination of Michigan Firearms Control Laws], December 2, 1968, George W. Romney Papers, box 420, folder Firearms (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library) (hereinafter Romney Papers); Letter from George W. Romney to W.A. Cole, July 31, 1968, Romney Papers, box 219, folder Gun Control (“It is vital that we keep firearms from the lawless and deranged...Meaningful control over the movement of firearms must be applied at the commercial point of purchase. And I believe that effective and reasonable gun control measures can and must be enacted on a federal and state level. Further, I believe this can be done without interfering with the right of sportsmen and collectors to possess and use arms...[the] adoption of such gun control legislation as is needed to restrict the criminal, psychopath, narcotics addict and mentally incompetent from having access to guns while avoiding interference with the legitimate citizen’s right to possess arms.”); “Romney Asks Gun Controls,” <i>Ludington Daily News</i> (MI), July 23, 1968, p. 1; “Romney Asks State Gun Control Plan,” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), July 23, 1968, p. 19; Letter from George W. Romney to Price Daniel, Assistant to the President for Federal-State Relations, June 26, 1968, Romney Papers, box 219, folder Gun Control Law.</p>
231	<p><i>group’s monthly meeting</i>: “SAM to Hear Mrs. Romney,” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), September 9, 1970, p. 10; “Lenore to Explain Gun Stand to SAM,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), September 5, 1970, p. C3; “Mrs. Romney to Meet with SAM,” <i>SAM Newsletter No. 3</i>, September 1, 1970, p. 1.</p>
232	<p><i>civil disobedience</i>: Frank Mainville, “Lenore Reiterates Arms Control Belief,” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), September 13, 1970, p. A3.</p>
232	<p><i>change my position</i>: Ibid.</p>
232	<p><i>from the United States Senate</i>: See, e.g., Sportsmen’s Alliance of Michigan, “Sportsmen!” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), November 2, 1970, p. D2; Sportsmen’s Alliance of Michigan,</p>

	<p>“Sportsmen!” <i>Lansing State Journal</i> (MI), November 2, 1970, p. C4; Sportsmen’s Alliance of Michigan, “Sportsmen!” <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), October 31, 1970, p. 24.</p>
232	<p><i>country since 1776</i>: Clark Hoyt, “Underground Campaigning: Smear Leaflets Appear as Vote Nears,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i>, October 31, 1970, p. 3A.</p>
232	<p><i>with the sportsmen of Michigan</i>: “WANTED,” <i>SAM Newsletter No. 4</i>, November 1, 1970, pp. 3-4.</p>
232	<p><i>1970 reelection campaign</i>: “Citizens Against Mansfield Group Forming in Montana,” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 6, 1970, p. 6; “Group Organizes to Oppose Mansfield,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), January 23, 1969, p. 19; David O. McKay, “Editor’s Outlook,” <i>Southern Utah Free Press</i> (Hurricane, UT), January 22, 1970, pp. 2-3; “Association on the Move,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, December 1969, p. 4. On February 15, 1970, CAM ran an advertisement officially rescinding “ALL AFFILIATION with any other organized body” “due to legal complications...” Daniel J. Masse, [CAM Advertisement], <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), February 15, 1970, p. 27.</p>
232	<p><i>CAD</i>: See, e.g., Henny Willis, “Analysis of Primary Contest in Oregon’s Fourth District,” <i>Corvallis Gazette-Times</i> (OR), May 15, 1970, p. A11; “Send Ray Hannibal to Congress,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, May 1970, p. 5; “Group Forms to Oppose Rep. Dellenback’s Election,” <i>Gun Week</i>, April 24, 1970, p. 6; “C.A.D.,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, March 1970, p. 12; “Do You Know Dellenback’s Voting Record,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, February 1970, p. 7. CAM advertisements and promotions were a frequent occurrence in the APORKBA’s monthly newsletter, the <i>Armed Eagle</i>. “Gun Owners Trying to Shoot Mansfield Out of the Saddle,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, June 1970, p. 7; “Mansfield Wants Pow-Wow,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, May 1970, p. 1; Arthur J. Hollowell, “Time to Stand and Be Counted,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, April 1970, p. 7; “Americans Take Action,” <i>Armed Eagle</i>, April 1970, pp. 1, 3.</p>
232	<p><i>Montana gun rights community</i>: Letter from Daniel J. Masse to Mike Mansfield, [December 9, 1969], Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1. See also “CAM Calls on Mansfield to Repudiate Gun Position,” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 6, 1970, p. 10; “Citizens Against Mansfield Group Forming in Montana,” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 6, 1970, p. 6 (stating the letter was dated December 9, 1969).</p>
232	<p><i>approach to politics</i>: See, e.g., “Defeat,” <i>Armed Citizen News</i>, October 1970, p. 1; “Join the Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Guns Magazine</i>, September 1970, p. 53; E.B. Mann, “In Focus,” <i>Shooting Industry</i>, August 1970, pp. 4-5; “Register Now—Vote Later!” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 13, 1970, p. 3. This ‘scorched earth’ approach to firearms control politics was embraced by the editors of <i>Gun Week</i>. See, e.g., “Sportsmen and the Press,” <i>Gun Week</i>, August 28, 1970, p. 4; “Sportsmen Believed Prime Factor in Mansfield, Tydings Campaigns,” <i>Gun Week</i>, August 7, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Saddle Burr in the Senate?” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 6, 1970, p. 4; “Lest We Forgive & Forget,” <i>Gun Week</i>, October 10, 1969, p. 4.</p>
232	<p><i>rights of gun ownership</i>: Citizens Against Mansfield, Firearms Legislation Can Disarm Only You, Mr. Citizen, April 16, 1970, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Against Mansfield.</p>
232	<p><i>and target training guns</i>: Ibid.</p>

234	<i>pistols from our citizens</i> : Ibid. See also Citizens Against Mansfield, Taxpayers and Gunowners of Montana, August 21, 1970, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Against Mansfield (inferring that Mansfield supports legislation to “impound” all handguns “for the public good” alongside “ <i>Eastern Politicians</i> ”); Citizens Against Mansfield, Here’s Your Choice, undated 1970, in Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 (claiming if Mansfield “gets reelected—he gets the mandate he needs to demand gun-registration and handgun confiscation for Montana and the nation.”).
234	<i>during the 90th Congress</i> : Citizens Against Mansfield, “Citizens of Montana: Do You Know Sen. Mansfield’s Voting Record?” February 28, 1970, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Against Mansfield.
234	<i>thorn in his side</i> : “Clinton Bar Owner After Mike,” <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), June 22, 1970, p. 9; “Mike’s Stand on Guns Leading to Headaches,” <i>Havre Daily News</i> (MT), June 23, 1970, p. 5; Citizens Against Mansfield, “Taxpayers and Gunowners of Montana,” <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), June 1, 1970, p. H14; Citizens Against Mansfield, “Attention Gun Owners!” <i>Montana Standard</i> (Butte, MT), May 31, 1970, p. 6; Citizens Against Mansfield, “Taxpayers and Gunowners of Montana,” <i>Missoulian</i> (MT), May 24, 1970, p. 14; “Gun Control Repeal Urged,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), May 21, 1970, p. 12; Letter from John Wight to Mike Mansfield, March 6, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1; Letter from John L. McKeon to Peggy DeMichael, Mike Mansfield assistant, March 4, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1; H.W.C. Newberry, “Outdoors with Doc,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), March 1, 1970, p. 7; H.W.C. Newberry, “Gun Owners Set Goals,” <i>Daily Inter Lake</i> (Kalispell, MT), February 1, 1970, p. 7; Letter from Rudy Kienle to Mike Mansfield, January 21, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.
234	<i>Mansfield Out to Pasture</i> : “Mansfield Has New Opponent,” <i>Montana Standard</i> (Butte MT), June 22, 1970, p. 12; Letter from D. Roscoe Nickerson to Joseph Meglen, May 21, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.
234	<i>at any level anywhere</i> : Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Daniel J. Masse, June 4, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.
234	<i>longstanding NRA policy</i> : Ibid.
234	<i>cease-and-desist letter</i> : Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Mike Mansfield, June 5, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 (“In order to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of anyone, I have written to Mr. Daniel J. Masse as enclosed, and wish you to know of it.”).
235	<i>American Rifleman editorials</i> : It is worth noting that Ashley Halsey, Jr. refused to step in when the Connecticut Sportsmen’s Alliance used editorials and quotes from the <i>American Rifleman</i> , in its campaign to defeat Emilio Q. Daddario, Democratic candidate for Connecticut governor. Letter from Emilio Q. Daddario to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, September 18, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms; Letter from Emilio Q. Daddario to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, August 14, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms; Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to Emilio Q. Daddario, August 7, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms; Letter from Emilio Q. Daddario to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, July 30, 1970, Daddario Papers, box 28, folder Firearms.

235	<p><i>NRA's express permission: See, e.g., "Show Your Voter Registration Card," American Rifleman, February 1970, p. 14; "Can Three Assassins Kill a Civil Right?" American Rifleman, July 1968, pp. 16-18; "Law and Order," American Rifleman, July 1964, p. 16; "A Man and His Gun," American Rifleman, March 1959, p. 14. It is also worth noting that prior to including this disclaimer the NRA did not object to persons, organizations, publishers, or news outlets reprinting their editorials in part or in full.</i></p>
235	<p><i>NRA-ILA: Charles, Armed in America, pp. 274-75.</i></p>
235	<p><i>candidate over another: See, e.g., "Black Panthers and Blind Kittens," American Rifleman, September 1970, p. 20 ("The NRA is non-political and non-partisan."); Merritt A. Edson, "In Their Own Keeping," American Rifleman, November 1952, p. 16 ("The National Rifle Association of America has never been, it is not now, nor can it ever be a partisan political organization. Any individual or group of individuals who would attempt to make it such would be doing a disservice to the NRA and to our country as well. On the other hand, the NRA has always been, it is now, and it must continue to be a truly patriotic organization actuated by love of country and devoted to its welfare.").</i></p>
235	<p><i>encouraged its members: See, e.g., "Why Gun Laws?" American Rifleman, November 1933, p. 4 ("Why do we have gun laws? We have them, not in spite of the sportsman, but because of the sportsman. Because the sportsman marks his ballot blindly or not at all; because he has never taken the trouble to get acquainted with the men who represent him on law-making bodies"); "How Will They Vote?" American Rifleman, November 1932, p. 6 ("The time to ask your candidates what they will do...before they are elected, and to cast your vote accordingly...It is up to the sportsmen of America to make their wants known in no unmistakable terms, and to prove to candidates and office holders alike that there are more red-blooded, clear-thinking Americans than there are weak-kneed, muddle-headed reformers, even though the latter type may occasionally command more space in the public press. If there is elected for sheriff, governor, Representative, Senator or President a man who is opposed to the interests of the sportsmen, and if he is elected with the aid of the votes of those sportsmen, these latter surely have no one to blame for the situation but themselves."); "High Hats and Riding Breeches," American Rifleman, October 1932, p. 4 ("The sportsmen of this country this year should go to the polls with the individual records of the candidates for all offices clearly before them, and if the welfare of the sportsmen is to be considered by those who will go into office during the next few months, the sportsman himself, as a voter and campaigner among his friend who are voters, must consider the problems of the sportsman along with those other problems which normally cause him to vote for one candidate or another."); "Hysteria in High Places," American Rifleman, January 1932, p. 4 ("It is the American shooter who had always bore the brunt on the field of battle in fighting with bullets for the principles of Americanism. It is time for him against to take the offensive in a bloodless battle of ballots with his own politicians for the upholding of these same principles of representative government.").</i></p>
235	<p><i>anti-firearms politicians: It is worth noting that less than a year prior, NRA executive vice president Franklin L. Orth had applauded the efforts of those political action groups which seek to impact the outcome of the 1970 "Senatorial elections and local races" as representing "all the legitimate firearms owners in their areas..." See Franklin L. Orth, "A Special Message: Sportsmen and Gun Laws," American Rifleman, August 1969, pp. 46, 47.</i></p>

235	<i>distributed by CAM: Citizens Against Mansfield, Show Your Voter Registration Card, April 16, 1970, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Against Mansfield.</i>
235	<i>support of the right to bear arms: "Show Your Voter Registration Card," American Rifleman, February 1970, p. 14.</i>
235	<i>politically motivated: See "Tydings Reelection Bid Attacks NRA," American Rifleman, August 1970, p. 52 (unofficially endorsing the political advocacy of Citizens Against Tydings). It is also worth noting that CAM advertised itself as a non-partisan organization. See Citizens Against Mansfield Newsletter, February 5, 1970, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Against Mansfield ("C.A.M....a non-partisan political organization, whose very existence is to REPEAL THE GUN CONTROL ACT OF 1968...and to defeat Senator Mike Mansfield..."). At no point in CAM's literature did it hint or infer it supported one political party over another. Ibid.</i>
235	<i>restrictive firearms controls: See, e.g., Letter from Mike Mansfield to Ashley Halsey, Jr., American Rifleman editor, September 11, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., American Rifleman editor, September 3, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.</i>
236	<i>faithful were appalled: See, e.g., Elmer B. Bartnem, "Has Questions About Gun Control," Great Falls Tribune (MT), October 23, 1970, p. 6; Martin Dawson, "Senator Mansfield Criticized," Great Falls Tribune (MT), October 19, 1970, p. 6; Letter from Mavis McKelvey to Mike Mansfield, September 7, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Joseph E. Bergsicker, "The Straight Record on Gun Control Act," Daily Inter Lake (Kalispell, MT), August 27, 1970, p. 4; Letter from Chas Greenfield to Mike Mansfield, August 24, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Mike Mansfield to Carl Brenden, August 18, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Joe Crisafulli to Mike Mansfield, July 22, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Thomas M. Gardner to Mike Mansfield, May 28, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from D. Roscoe Nickerson to Joseph Meglen, May 21, 1970, in Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from John Wight to Mike Mansfield, April 17, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Vernon L. Marsh to Mike Mansfield, April 1, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2. See also "Inter Lake Page of Political Opinions: United States Senate," Daily Inter Lake (Kalispell, MT), November 1, 1970, p. 4 ("Sen. Mike Mansfield has rarely voted the way the Daily Inter Lake would have like him to, particularly in the issue of gun control. The gun issue is a highly emotional one and cuts across party lines. However, one fact is clear. The outcome of Tuesday's voting won't change gun legislation because the controls are law; not because Mansfield voted for them but because Congress, dominated by large population cities and states, wanted such legislation and there is evidence to indicate the same people wish to keep laws on the books."). See also William McGaffin, "Gun Lovers Groups Work Against Tydings, Mansfield," Cincinnati Enquirer (OH), September 20, 1970, p. 7D.</i>
236	<i>Montanans' firearms: See Letter from P. Allen Martin to Mike Mansfield, October 17, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Richard J. Conklin to Mike Mansfield, August 11, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from John Staigmilller to Mike Mansfield, August 10, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Memorandum to Mike Mansfield, "Re; Critical Advertisement Appearing In, Among Others</i>

	<p><i>'The Daily Inter Lake';</i> July 14, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from John L. McKeon to Peggy DeMichael, Mike Mansfield assistant, March 4, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1; [Internal Mansfield Campaign Notes], undated 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 1; from See also Letter from Lee Metcalf to Roger Clawson, August 13, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.</p>
236	<p><i>position on firearms controls:</i> Letter from Mike Mansfield to Stewart P. Ford, October 20, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Mike Mansfield to Maxine L. Blickenstaff, October 19, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Mike Mansfield to John Wight, October 14, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2; Letter from Harry B. Mitchell to Mike Mansfield, September 28, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2.</p>
236	<p><i>pass the Gun Control Act:</i> See "Mansfield Issues Call to Get Nation Moving," <i>Montana Standard</i>, October 18, 1970, p. 8 (quoting Mansfield as stating, "I have no apologies to make for my votes to curb crime whether it be by gun or otherwise... Your guns will never be confiscated; the second amendment still stands, but guns must be and will be kept out of the hands of the criminal, the mentally retarded, the drug addict and all other potentially dangerous persons. That is what the 1968 Gun Crime Bill does..."); William D. James, "Mansfield Makes No Apologies for Gun Control Stand," <i>Great Falls Tribune (MT)</i>, September 8, 1970, p. 10; "Sen. Mansfield Comments on Gun Control Act," <i>Daily Inter Lake (Kalispell, MT)</i>, August 23, 1970, p. 13.</p>
236	<p><i>firearm-owning Montanans:</i> See, e.g., Letter from Mike Mansfield to M.D. Farnsworth, August 13, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 ("I can understand how people feel in Montana where we know how to handle guns and where there is little crime, but the difficulty is in the large urban areas where people are becoming more and more crowded and guns, until lately, easily available to the mentally incapacitated, the drug addicts, the habitually drunk and other persons for whom guns should not be available. As I have said many times, it is not a Montana problem but a national problem which must be faced up to and if we are going to cope with crime in our urban areas, then we have to do more than just talk about the problem."); Letter from Mike Mansfield to John W. Bartlett, April 6, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 ("Contrary to what some people have been led to believe, the 1968 measure assures the right to own and carry a gun, to shoot and to hunt and to protect one's self and others, and to defend one's property and the property of others... In the end, I made my decision knowing full well that to some people in the State of Montana, the whole notion of gun legislation is repugnant in any shape or form. In understand and appreciate such a view completely. We in Montana rarely experience the use of weapons by the irresponsible. We assume that the proper use of a weapon is taught to each person before access is afforded; that training and supervision precede the acquisition of a gun. That is not the case elsewhere in the land."); Letter from Mike Mansfield to Barbara Lindquist, March 13, 1970, Mansfield Papers, box 85, folder 2 ("let me first say that when strong public emotion becomes attached to any issue, the arguments on both sides—those for and against—become at times distorted in the emotion-charged atmosphere. Those in favor exaggerate their reasons just as strongly and with as much sincerity as do those opposed. In such an atmosphere the meaning of the underlying proposal is at times lost or even changed to meet or refute the arguments on one side or the other... [where the Gun Control Act] because of an unintended effect—imposes an unfair burden on the law-abiding gun owners</p>

	with little or no corresponding benefit, then I shall do everything in my power to correct the matter.”).
236	<i>firearms control-supporting past</i> : “Scott Continues Fence Mending in Pennsylvania,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 24, 1969, p. 2.
236	<i>Scott’s firearms control position</i> : “Pro-Scott Group Wants Ban on ‘Mud-Slinging’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 3, 1970, p.3; Mason Denison, “Sesler’s Candidacy,” <i>Wilkes-Barre Times Leader</i> (PA), March 4, 1970, p. 10; Ben Callaway, “Politics Splits Sportsmen,” <i>Philadelphia Daily News</i> , February 24, 1970, p. 53; “Sesler Rips Scott on Conservation,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , February 22, 1970, sec. 1, p. 27; “Sportsmen Choosing Sides in Scott’s Election Bid,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 20, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Scott Meets Outdoorsmen,” <i>New Castle News</i> (PA), February 19, 1970, p. 2; “Senator Scott Will Meet With ‘Outdoorsmen for Scott’ Group,” <i>Elizabethtown Chronicle</i> (PA), February 12, 1970, sec. 1, p. 6.
236	<i>wait-and-see approach</i> : See “Republicans Form Group to Retire Sen. Hugh Scott,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 23, 1970, p. 3; “Group Opposes Hugh Scott’s Re-Election,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 3, 1969, p. 3.
236	<i>Joseph S. Clark</i> : Del Kerr, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), February 25, 1970, p. 11.
237	<i>appeared to be in peril</i> : “Scott Election Hopes Dimming, Clark Claims,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 12, 1970, pp. 1-2.
237	<i>become the Gun Control Act</i> : “Sportsmen Choosing Sides in Scott’s Election Bid,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 20, 1970, pp. 1-2.
237	<i>firearms control bona fides</i> : Ibid.
237	<i>pro-gun narrative was disingenuous</i> : “Sen. Scott Found Wanting on Gun Control Matters,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 27, 1970, pp. 1, 7.
237	<i>have been a mistake</i> : Ibid., p. 10.
237	<i>flip-flopped on firearms controls</i> : Gene Harris, “Sesler’s Campaign to Unseat Scott is Mired in Obscurity,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , September 13, 1970, p. 22; William G. Sesler, “Debate: A Senate Voice for Pennsylvania,” <i>Daily Courier</i> (Connellsville, PA), September 4, 1970, p. 16; Del Ker, “Outdoors in Potter County,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), April 29, 1970, p. 12; “Sesler Appears at Demo Rally; Gives Stand on Leading Issues,” <i>Potter Enterprise</i> (Coudersport, PA), April 22, 1970, p. 14; Jack Moore, “Sesler Raps Sen. Scott,” <i>Lancaster New Era</i> (PA), April 21, 1970, p. 17; “Sesler, Casey, Kline Campaign Starts,” <i>Public Opinion</i> (Chambersburg, PA), April 8, 1970, p. 1.
237	<i>supporting firearms registration</i> : Ford Burkhart, “Shapp Says State Moves Toward Serious Depression,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Hanover, PA), September 22, 1970, p. 12. See also “Scott and Guns,” <i>News-Herald</i> (Franklin, PA), September 28, 1970, p. 4.
237	<i>CAS</i> : “Anti-Scott,” <i>Pittsburgh Press</i> , May 10, 1970, sec. 3, p. 2; “Another Group Forms to Oppose Sen. Scott,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 3, 1970, pp. 1-2; “Register Now—Vote Later!” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 13, 1970, p. 3.

237	<i>Don't Let Scott Go Scott Free</i> : Letter from George Alderson, Citizens Against Scott chairman, to Citizens Against Scott members, undated 1970, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Against Scott.
237	<i>throughout the land</i> : Ibid.
237	<i>political action groups</i> : "Only Against," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , October 8, 1969, p. A12; "Anti-Tydings Political Party is Registered," <i>Cumberland News</i> (MD), October 7, 1969, p. 3; Jerry Stilkind, "Anti-Tydings Group Tries to Register—And Fails Again," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , September 30, 1969, p. C8; Bill Burton, "Water and Woods," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), October 7, 1969, D13; "Sportsmen Oppose Tydings," <i>Capital</i> (Annapolis, MD), October 7, 1969, p. 8.
237	<i>CAT serious thought</i> : "Anti-Tydings Group Gathers," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , December 10, 1969, p. A19; "'Citizens Against Tydings' Oppose Gun Control," <i>Morning Herald</i> (Hagerstown, MD), November 20, 1969, p. 14; "From Our Reporter's Notebooks," <i>Daily Mail</i> (Hagerstown, MD), November 8, 1969, p. 1; "Club Hears from Tydings Opponents," <i>Daily Times</i> (Salisbury, MD), November 6, 1969, p. 14; Alice S. Vlach, "CAT and Guns," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), October 23, 1969, p. A10.
237	<i>to name a few</i> : "State Wildlife Group Seeks to Block Nuclear Plant," <i>Morning Herald</i> (Hagerstown, MD), January 27, 1970, p. 6; "Maryland Sportsmen's Clubs Join to Form 'Citizens Against Tydings'," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 26, 1969, p. 1.
237	<i>material to work with</i> : See, e.g., "Tydings Asks Mandatory ID Card to Purchase Guns," <i>Morning Herald</i> (Hagerstown, MD), November 6, 1969, p. 7.
237	<i>firearms registration bill</i> : Joseph Tydings, "American and the Gun," <i>Playboy</i> , March 1969, pp. 80-82, 207-9.
238	<i>Playboy Joe Has Got to Go</i> : "Anti-Tydings Forces Give Senator 'Welcome' at Fair," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 15, 1969, p. 3; Jerome Kelly, "Tydings Girds for Tough Senate Race, Predicts Another Mahoney Candidacy," <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), April 15, 1969, p. C1; Naomi S. Rovner, "Two Stickers Aimed at Tydings," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , April 1, 1969, p. C20.
238	<i>principled sportsmen and firearms owner</i> : Michael Parker, "Sen. Tydings Attempting to Impersonate 'Sportsman'," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, p. 3.
238	<i>warm and endearing</i> : Report from W.B. Doner & Company to Joseph D. Tydings, "Senator Tydings Qualitative Research," May 1970, Joseph D. Tydings Papers, series 5, box 4, folder 8, Tydings for Senate '70—Media, 1969-1970 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Special Collections) (hereinafter Tydings Papers).
238	<i>issue is not uniform</i> : Ibid.
239	<i>affect innocent people</i> : Ibid.
239	<i>case of Maryland</i> : Although national opinion polls showed that wide support for firearms controls, local opinion polls varied depending upon the jurisdiction and whether the polling questions were solicited or conducted randomly. One tactic used by gun rights advocates to undercut opinion polls showing wide support for firearms controls was to conduct an internally controlled poll. Such was the case in Hagerstown, Maryland, where a local gun rights advocate solicited their own public opinion poll. Unsurprisingly, the results

	overwhelmingly opposed firearms controls by a 98 to 2 percent tally. <i>See</i> Jim Gilford, “The Drumming Log: 98% Oppose Gun Control,” <i>News</i> (Frederick, MD), March 18, 1970, p. D2; Jim Gilford, “The Drumming Log: Where Do We Stand?” <i>News</i> (Frederick, MD), March 4, 1970, p. C10.
239	<i>firearms control proponents</i> : This was also made clear to Tydings in a letter from Fifth District Democratic Club. <i>See</i> Letter from Stanley L. Harrison, Fifth District Democratic Club president, to Joseph Tydings, series 5, box 3, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Howard County, 1968-1970.
239	<i>portraying his position</i> : “Crime [Talking Points I],” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “Crime [Talking Points II],” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “Democratic Leadership in Crime,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “Rebuttal of Soft on Crime Allegation,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “The Drug Crisis,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “What Tydings Had Done to Combat Narcotics Traffic,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “Prisons,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “The President’s D.C. Crime Bill, as Sponsored by Senator Tydings,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970; “Senator Tydings’ Position Regarding Pretrial Detention,” undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 1, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Crime, Labor, HEW, 1970.
239	<i>principled moderate</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Joseph D. Tydings, Radio WCUM Opening Statement Cumberland Fair Grounds, August 5, 1970, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 2, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Campaign Statements, Interviews, Questions, and Answers 1970; Gun Control Talking Points and Answers, undated, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 2, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Campaign Statements, Interviews, Questions, and Answers 1970; Memorandum to Al Salter, “Firearms Piece,” June 22, 1970, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 4, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Media, 1969-1970; W.B. Doner & Company, “The Guns of Violence,” June 14, 1970, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 4, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Media, 1969-1970; W.B. Doner & Company, “These People Are Dead,” June 9, 1970, Tydings Papers, series 5, box 4, folder Tydings for Senate ’70—Media, 1969-1970.
239	<i>sportsmen’s best friend</i> : Thomas J. Dodd, <i>The Dodd Gun Rights Act</i> (1970), Sikes Papers, box 376, folder Firearms 1970.
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245	<i>low-key campaign</i> : Jack W. Germond, “From Space to Senate Orbit Goal of Glenn,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), May 3, 1970, p. B1; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, “Inside Report: Glenn’s Campaign in Low Key,” <i>Casper Star-Tribune</i> (WY), April 18, 1970, p. 4.
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245	<i>James A. Rhodes</i> : “Ohio Primary Senate Races: Rhodes, Taft Offer Opposing Gun Control Views in Close Race,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 1, 1970, p. 2; Ken Gookins, “Outdoor Notes: How Big Do Ohio Groundhogs Grow?” <i>Newark Advocate</i> (OH), April 25, 1970, p. 13; “Rhodes Backs Fair Gun Law,” <i>Lancaster Eagle-Gazette</i> (OH), January 29, 1970, p. 19; “Rhodes Supports Sportsmen’s Position,” <i>Wilmington News-Journal</i> (OH), January 29, 1970, p. 9; Richard E. Lightner, “Inside the Statehouse,” <i>News-Journal</i> (Mansfield, OH), January 11, 1970, p. D5; “Rhodes to Speak at Killdeer: Area Sportsmen’s Spot Dedication is Set Friday,” <i>Marion Star</i> (OH), October 9, 1969, pp. 1, 19.
245	<i>2 percentage points</i> : “Ohio Candidates Offer Views on Gun Legislation,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 2, 1970, pp. 1, 10 (outlining the political differences between Taft and Metzenbaum on the firearms control issue).
246	<i>federal firearms registration</i> : “HHH: ‘Must Require Registration, Licenses,’” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 26, 1968, pp. 1, 2. See also “Humphrey Wants Gun Registration,” <i>Ada Weekly News</i> (OK), September 26, 1968, p. 2; “Need Gun Laws: HHH,” <i>Arizona Daily Sun</i> (Flagstaff, AZ), August 3, 1968, p. 9; “Humphrey Favors Gun Registration,” <i>Casa Grande Dispatch</i> (AZ), August 7, 1968, p. 3.
246	<i>anti-gun sins</i> : For the 600,000 number, see “Minnesota Sportsmen Lead Anti-Head Drive,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 6, 1970, pp. 1-2.
246	<i>buyback program</i> : Bernie Shellum, “Spannaus Tells Police: Gun Controls Needed,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), August 11, 1970, p. 18; “Spannaus Feels Gun Issue ‘Inflammatory,’” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), July 2, 1970, p. 13B; Bruce Nelson, “Spannaus’

	5-Point Urban Proposal Includes Tight Gun Control Plan,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), January 12, 1970, p. 4.
246	<i>Robert A. Forsythe</i> : “State Table,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), November 4, 1970, p. 5A; Bruce Nelson, “Some DFLers Back Away from Party’s Gun Control Plank,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), September 5, 1970, p. 5; Bruce Nelson, “Forsythe Claims Lawyers Backing Him for Office,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), August 22, 1970, p. 4; “Forsythe Against Gun Control Legislation,” <i>Winona Daily News</i> (MN), August 13, 1970, p. 17.
246	<i>proponent of firearms registration</i> : “Fraser, Enroth Disagree on Gun Control, Crime,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), October 21, 1970, p. 22; Finlay Lewis, “Elderly Tell Fraser They Fear to Go Out at Night,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), September 9, 1970, pp. 1, 6.
246	<i>Odin Langen</i> : “Latest State Return,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), November 6, 1970, p. 13; Finlay Lewis, “DFL Again Holds State Power,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), November 5, 1970, p. 1.
246	<i>firearms control plank</i> : “Head, Anderson Urge Abortion Law Change,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), October 29, 1970, p. 15; “DFL Candidates Differ on Gun Control Issues,” <i>Winona Daily News</i> (MN), September 6, 1970, p. 1; Bruce Nelson, “Some DFLers Back Away from Party’s Gun Control Plank,” <i>St. Cloud Times</i> (MN), September 5, 1970, p. 5; “DFLers Back Off Handgun Plank,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), September 5, 1970, p. 14B; “Anderson Repudiates DFL Gun-Permit Plank,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), September 5, 1970, p. 1; Gerry Nelson, “Abortion Law Repeal Major DFL Plank,” <i>Daily Journal</i> (Fergus Falls, MN), August 3, 1970, p. 9; Howard Erickson, “Third District Rivals Oppose Busing,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), July 22, 1970, p. 19.
246	<i>made by permit only</i> : “Anderson Repudiates DFL Gun-Permit Plank,” <i>Star Tribune</i> (Minneapolis, MN), September 5, 1970, p. 1.
247	<i>questioned on the issue</i> : “CECC Issues Voter’s Guide in Minnesota,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 2, 1970, pp. 1-2; Response from Hubert H. Humphrey to Committee for Effective Crime Control, Inc.’s Voter’s Guide Questionnaire, undated, Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 13, folder Gun Control; Letter from Hubert H. Humphrey to <i>Duluth Herald-Tribune</i> Editor, September 8, 1970, Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 13, folder Gun Control (responding to an editorial that criticized Humphrey’s previous support for firearms controls); Letter from Hubert H. Humphrey to John H. Martin, Committee for Effective Crime Control, Inc. attorney, August 20, 1970, Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 7, folder Gun Control; Letter from Hubert H. Humphrey to <i>Outdoor News</i> Editor, August 17, 1970, Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 7, folder Gun Control; Analysis of Humphrey/Mac Gregor Positions on Gun Control, undated, Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 13, folder Gun Control; Hubert H. Humphrey Position Paper on Gun Control, undated, Humphrey Papers, 1970 Senate Campaign Files, box 7, folder Gun Control; Memorandum from Ben Watenberg to Hubert H. Humphrey, [Gun Control], undated, Humphrey Papers, Interim Files, box 14, folder Gun Control. Humphrey’s rebuke of his 1968 firearms control position earned him notoriety in the November 1970 issue of <i>American Rifleman</i> . See “Humphrey Changes

	View on 1968 Act—Kennedy Urges Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1970, pp. 44-45.
247	<i>Ted Van Dyk</i> : Van Dyk had privately inquired about Humphrey’s change in position. <i>See</i> Memorandum from Ted Van Dyk to Hubert H. Humphrey, “Re: Gun Control,” September 23, 1970, Humphrey Papers, Interim Files, box 14, folder Gun Control.
247	<i>even got involved</i> : Letter from Hubert H. Humphrey to Ted Van Dyk, October 13, 1970, Humphrey Papers, Interim Files, box 14, folder Gun Control.
247	<i>more important things</i> : Ibid.

Chapter 8 Notes

248	<i>1972 election</i> : Memorandum from Donald E. Santarelli to Egil Krogh, “Gun Control,” March 16, 1970, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, Textual Materials, Box 3, Folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library) (hereinafter Nixon Presidential Papers).
248	<i>ire of the gun lobby</i> : Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Richard M. Nixon, “Gun Control Legislation,” August 17, 1973, Geoffrey C. Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Shepard Files).
248	<i>marksmanship purpose</i> : Ibid.
248	<i>used to commit crimes</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Saturday Night Specials (Handguns) Post U.S. Crime Problem,” <i>Star-Gazette</i> (Elmira, NY), August 20, 1970, p. 1; “Time for Action on the Flood of Pistols and Revolvers,” <i>Kansas City Times</i> (MO), March 19, 1970, p. 16D; Terry Johnson King, “Fastest Pistol in Crime,” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), February 18, 1970, p. A9; Stu Perry, “Despite Law, Cheap Gun Making Continues,” <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (VT), January 30, 1970, p. 23; “Pistols Slipping Through Loophole,” <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> (MI), January 1, 1970, p. A9; “Boom Follows Ban on Import of Cheap Guns,” <i>Daily News</i> (New York, NY), July 26, 1969, p. 20.
249	<i>organized gun rights opposition</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Claims No Effect on Crime: Gun Bill Can’t Stop Killing, Rifle Association Head Says,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), April 17, 1968, p. 15A; “Restraint on TV, Cheap Handguns Wins Favor,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1968, p. 15.
249	<i>pistols by mail</i> : C.B. Lister, “All in a Day’s Work,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1928, p. 31.
249	<i>efforts to regulate them</i> : “Mail-Order Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1963, p. 16.
249	<i>research and development</i> : National Rifle Association Office of Public Relations, News Release, “NRA Offers Program on Gun Control Legislation,” April 7, 1967,

	Milton Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 6 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Library) (hereinafter Reckord Papers).
249	<i>recent crimes involving guns</i> : “Let’s See Who Backs This Handgun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, p. 10. <i>See also</i> “IRS Standards Set for Handgun Imports,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1969, p. 39.
249	<i>It’s outrageous</i> : Frank Murray, “Loophole Allows Firms to Assemble Cheap Guns,” <i>Bridgeport Post</i> (CT), December 17, 1969, p. 18; “Many Guns Still Available Through Loophole in Gun Law,” <i>Bridgeport Telegram</i> (CT), December 17, 1969, p. 13; “Senate Group Says OK: Buy Ammunition but Not Tell the Name?” <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (OH), September 20, 1969, p. 25; “Gun Law Bill Called Loophole,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 20, 1969, p. 7.
249	<i>produced Saturday Night Specials</i> : “Bennett Ammo Bill Reported Favorably in Senate; Dodd Pushes Handgun Bill,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 10, 1969, pp. 1-2; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Dodd Seeks New Handgun Restrictions,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1969, p. 44; “IRS Standards Set for Handgun Imports,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1969, p. 39.
249	<i>handguns be outlawed</i> : ¹ <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Solving the Mystery of an Empty Noise,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1971, p. 18; “Rep. Mikva to Offer Bill for Handgun Confiscation,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 29, 1971, pp. 1-2; “Prohibition of Handguns Asked by Congress Panel,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 22, 1971, pp. 1-2; “Handgun Ownership ‘Whipped’ on TV,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1970, p. 21; “H.R. 16250 and the Soviet System,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1970, p. 16; “Anti-Gun Commission Cost \$1,000,000,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1970, p. 41; Willis L. Hobart, “Violence Commission Says... Confiscate Handguns,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , November 1969, pp. 28-29, 85-87; “Gun Legislation Report,” <i>Muzzle Blasts</i> , November 1969, p. 4; Bob Bell, “Handgunfiscation?” <i>Pennsylvania Game News</i> , October 1969, p. 1; “The ‘Violence Report’ Explodes,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1968, p. 31; “Conclusion of Commission Report,” <i>Gun Week</i> , September 5, 1969, p. 19; “Knowledge of Violence Commission Report Important to Sportsmen,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 29, 1969, pp. 7, 15; “Handgun Ban Proposal Draws Mixed Reaction,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 15, 1969, pp. 1-2; “Panel Says Turn ‘Turn Them In’,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 15, 1969, p. 4; Wallace F. Bennett, News Release, “Bennett Calls Violence Commission Report Unrealistic, Unreasonable,” July 28, 1969, W. Bennett Papers, MSS 20, box 228, folder 18.
250	<i>weeks, or even months</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Woodson D. Scott, “A Statement By the President of the National Rifle Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1970, p. 16 (“[T]he NRA pledges its continued efforts to keep the American public alerted to the dangers of firearms confiscation and of governmental interference in the private ownership of guns in ways not contemplated by the Constitution of the United States.... We perceived no need at this time for any registration, licensing, I.D. card, data retrieval or certification law, or for any law prohibiting the sale of acquisition of <i>target and sporting firearms</i> in the interstate or foreign commerce.”) (emphasis added); “Handguns Are Sporting Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1970, p. 45 (noting that 80% of all handguns are for “hunting, target shooting, or other outdoor use.”).

250	<i>sabotage from within</i> : L.R. Kershner, "Sabotage from Within Precedes Loss of Right to Possess Guns," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 29, 1970, p. 14.
250	<i>moderate gun rights advocate</i> : Ibid.
250	<i>and the Second Amendment</i> : "No Sabotage from Within," <i>Gun Week</i> , June 19, 1970, p. 4.
250	<i>editors of Gun Week</i> : Ibid.
250	<i>part of the gun rights movement</i> : This provides historians and scholars with how and why the gun rights movement of today contends that military-style weapons, such as the AR-15, are necessary for individual self-defense and therefore protected by the Second Amendment. It does not matter whether in fact the respective military-style firearm is indeed necessary or commonly used for self-defense. All that matters to the gun rights movement of today is that the weapon <i>could</i> be used in self-defense. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Michael Rezendes, "Reading Their 'Rights': Gun Lobby Challenging 2d Amendment's Interpretation," <i>Boston Globe</i> , September 10, 1995, pp. A1, A3; Katharine Q. Seelye, "GOP Aims to Repeal Assault Weapons Ban," <i>Times-Tribune</i> (Scranton, PA), April 6, 1995, p. 8; Susan Baer, "Citing Crime, NRA Woos Women," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), October 17, 1993, pp. 1A, 20A; Robert J. Cottrol and Don B. Kates, "Assault Weapon Ban is Suspect: Founders Backed Gun Ownership," <i>Democrat and Chronicle</i> (Rochester, NY), March 3, 1993, p. 13A. <i>See also</i> E. Gregory Wallace, "'Assault Weapon' Myths," <i>Southern Illinois Law Journal</i> 43 (2018): 193-241; Stephen P. Halbrook, "Reality Check: The 'Assault Weapon' Fantasy and Second Amendment Jurisprudence," <i>Georgetown Journal of Law and Public Policy</i> 14 (2016): 47-76.
251	<i>sort of gun legislation</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to John D. Ehrlichman, "Saturday Night Special Gun Legislation," November 16, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Saturday Night Specials.
251	<i>test the political waters</i> : Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Henry Cashan et al, "Meeting with Members of the Shooting Sports Fraternity," January 18, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
251	<i>gun rights position as possible</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to Chuck Colson, "Support from Gun Enthusiasts," March 27, 1971, John D. Ehrlichman Papers, box 22, folder Guns (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library) (hereinafter Ehrlichman Papers); Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Egil Krogh, Jr., March 26, 1971, Nixon Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
251	<i>topic in the middle</i> : Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Henry Cashan et al, "Meeting with Members of the Shooting Sports Fraternity," January 18, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
251	<i>eliminate these difficulties</i> : Ibid.

251	<i>firearms and explosives control</i> : Ibid. This assurance was deemed necessary by Nixon's political advisors given the recent reports of the administration considering putting together legislation that aligned with some of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence's recommendations. <i>See, e.g.</i> , "White House Frowns on Sweeping New Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1971, p. 19; "Nixon Administration Gun Policy Unchanged by Commission Report," <i>Gun Week</i> , February 12, 1971, pp. 1-2; "Federal Law Reform Urged by President," <i>Gun Week</i> , February 5, 1971, pp. 1-2; "Handguns First; Then?" <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , February 1971, p. 1.
252	<i>regulating Saturday Night Specials</i> : <i>See</i> Ashley Halsey, Jr., "150 Handguns Given Hazard Tests," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1971, p. 19; "Gun Talks at White House!" <i>Gun Week</i> , April 9, 1971, p. 4; "Friendly White House A Startling Change," <i>Rifle Magazine</i> , March 1971, n.p.p., Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition; "White House Frowns on Sweeping New Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1971, p. 19; "Speak Out on Gun Laws!" <i>Gun Week</i> , February 12, 1971, p. 4.
252	<i>have gone any better</i> : Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Egil Krogh, Jr. et al, June 2, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to G. Gordon Liddy, "Gun Week Editorial," April 8, 1971, Ehrlichman Papers, box 22, folder Guns; Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Egil Krogh, Jr. et al, April 7, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition; Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Egil Krogh, Jr. et al, March 29, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition; Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Egil Krogh, Jr. et al, March 26, 1971, Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
252	<i>could ask for more</i> : "Gun Talks at White House!" <i>Gun Week</i> , April 9, 1971, p. 4.
252	<i>ignored in future elections</i> : "Editorial," <i>Handloader Magazine</i> , March-April 1971, n.p.p., Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
252	<i>confiscation proposals</i> : "Trigger Talk," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , July 1971, p. 1.
252	<i>in a hazardous manner</i> : <i>See</i> Ashley Halsey, Jr., "Handgun Torture Tests: How Much Can They Stand?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1971, p. 17; Ashley Halsey, Jr., "150 Handguns Given Hazard Tests," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1971, p. 19.
252	<i>sportsmen and hunters</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to Donald Santarelli, "Carl Stern and NBC Coverage of Saturday Night Special Testing," April 19, 1971, Ehrlichman Papers, box 22, folder Guns.
253	<i>gun rights criticism</i> : Memorandum from G. Gordon Liddy to Egil Krogh, Jr. et al, April 19, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.

253	<i>except law enforcement officers:</i> John N. Mitchell, Transcript of Interview on the <i>David Frost Show</i> , April 1, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition.
253	<i>own firearms with criminals:</i> G. Gordon Liddy, Transcript of Remarks Before the Legislative Session of the Annual Meeting of the National Rifle Association, April 4, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Guns and Ammunition, p. 2.
253	<i>ensure product safety:</i> Ibid., pp. 3-4. <i>See also</i> “Nixon Administration Not Planning Proof House, Official Tells NRA,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 30, 1971, pp. 1-2; Doug Walker, “Worst Past on Gun Laws, Rifle Association Told,” <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), April 5, 1971, p. 22.
253	<i>to gain political steam:</i> <i>See, e.g.,</i> “Answering the Latest Humbug About Handguns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1971, p. 18; T.R.B., “Guns at Large in America,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 22, 1971, part 2, p. 7; “Guns? We’re ‘Armed to the Teeth,’” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), July 14, 1971, p. 8A; William B. Dickinson, Jr., “Shootout in New York—An Argument Against Handguns,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (FL), July 8, 1971, p. 21A; William B. Dickinson, Jr., “Other ‘High Noons’: Handguns for Sale—Not Restrictions,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , July 8, 1971, p. H7; “Death Lauds America’s Love Affair With Guns,” <i>Asheville Citizen-Times</i> (NC), July 6, 1971, p. 4; Tom Wicker, “Saturday Night Special Under Fire,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 28, 1971, p. A15; Tom Wicker, “Growing Gun Problem: The ‘Saturday Night Special,’” <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), May 28, 1971, p. A9.
253	<i>registration of all handguns:</i> Louis Harris, “Public Opinion Analysis: Gun Curbs, Yes; Own Firearms, Also Yes,” <i>Fresno Bee</i> (CA), June 3, 1971, p. A10.
253	<i>33 percent oppose:</i> Ibid.
253	<i>at least one firearm:</i> Ibid. <i>See also</i> “Harris Poll Says Public for Controls,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 18, 1971, pp. 1-2.
253	<i>this kind of thing:</i> Richard M. Nixon Tapes, Conversation No. 4-2, Telephone Call with H.R. Haldeman, June 1, 1971, 4:19 pm-4:21 pm, nixontapeaudio.org/chron1/rmn_e004a.mp3 .
253	<i>very powerful lobby:</i> Richard M. Nixon Tapes, Conversation No. 66-2, Cabinet Room Meeting, July 23, 1971, 3:11 pm-6:45 pm, nixontapeaudio.org/cab/rmn_e066a.mp3 . Nixon was subsequently briefed that the NRA had previously supported the “outlawing” of Saturday Night Specials in the past, the organization was being “kept informed of [the] Administration’s development of tests seeking objective standards for handguns, and that they will be consulted in the development of legislation if we find such legislation feasible.” <i>See</i> Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to John Ehrlichman, “Saturday Night Specials,” July 28, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Saturday Night Specials.
254	<i>such legislation feasible:</i> Ibid.

254	<i>Birch Bayh</i> : Memorandum from Donald E. Santarelli to John Mitchell, "Gun Control—Saturday Night Specials," October 6, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials ("We should have been the first on this issue. Birch Bayh has now stolen it from us by setting hearing and introducing his own bill before we were ready.").
254	<i>lawful sporting purposes</i> : "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: New Bill Would Abolish Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1971, p. 48; "Saturday Night Specials Continue," <i>Journal News</i> (Hamilton, OH), August 28, 1971, p. 29; "Would Ban Sale of Small Handguns," <i>Greensburg Daily News</i> (IN), August 11, 1971, p. 17.
254	<i>palatable to gun rights advocates</i> : "Unhappy Birthday for GCA!" <i>Gun Week</i> , October 22, 1971, p. 4; "Ban on Cheap Handguns Supported by Nixon Administration's Spokesman," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 1, 1971, pp. 1-2; "Bayh Bill Would Prohibit Sale of U.S. Produced Cheap Handguns," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 27, 1971, pp. 1-2.
254	<i>requests for information</i> : See, e.g., David Hess, "Bayh Hits Holes in Gun Law," <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), September 14, 1971, p. B1; Miles Benson, "Sen. Bayh Urges New Restrictions on Handgun Sales," <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), September 12, 1971, p. 6E; Peter Behr, "Gun Control Bill Has Police Backing," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 11, 1971, p. 11; "Senator Draws a Blank in Gun-Curb Plea," <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), September 11, 1971, p. 2A; "Bayh Ready for Talks on Guns," <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), September 11, 1971, p. 9.
254	<i>Hruska was involved</i> : See, e.g., "Handgun Sales Endanger Policemen, Lindsay Says," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), September 15, 1971, p. 10A; "Hruska to Push Gun Control Bill," <i>Beatrice Daily Sun</i> (NE), September 15, 1971, p. 15.
254	<i>formulation of legislation</i> : Memorandum from Charles Colson to Egil Krogh, Jr., October 7, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
254	<i>credibility of our legislation</i> : Ibid.
254	<i>charges of collusion</i> : Ibid.
255	<i>political advantage</i> : There was a plan in place to hold another White House meeting with the NRA and other gun rights representatives on October 18, 1971. See Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to Charles Colson, "Gun Lobby Meeting," October 5, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from Geoffrey Shephard to William Dickey, "Gun Control Meeting," October 5, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials. However, the meeting was nixed to avoid "severe political attack." Memorandum from Charles Colson to Egil Krogh, Jr., October 7, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
255	<i>extreme gun rights supporters</i> : "SNS's—Where Will It End?" <i>Gun Week</i> , October 29, 1971, p. 4; Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to John D. Ehrlichman, "Saturday

	Night Special Gun Legislation,” November 16, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from John D. Ehrlichman to Richard M. Nixon, October 30, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Egil Krogh, Jr., “Saturday Night Special Legislation,” October 19, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Ken Cole, “Saturday Night Special Legislation,” October 19, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials. <i>See also</i> “Saturday Night Specials’ May Be Doomed,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1971, pp. 50-2.
255	<i>within the Administration</i> : “Cat is Out of the Bag!” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 1, 1971, p. 4.
255	<i>wrote the editors</i> : “Watch Nixon on the ‘Saturday Night Specials’,” <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , December 1971, p. 1.
255	<i>nearly a decade</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Let’s See Who Backs This Handgun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1969, p. 10; “Claims No Effect on Crime: Gun Bill Can’t Stop Killing, Rifle Association Head Says,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), April 17, 1968, p. 15A; “Mail-Order Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1963, p. 16.
255	<i>unsafe handguns</i> : “Bayh Hearings Reveal Agreement of NRA with ‘Cheap’ Handgun Ban,” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 22, 1971, pp. 1-2.
255	<i>anti-gun contingent</i> : “The Knife is Poised!!!” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 3, 1971, p. 4; “Administration Proposed Bill Would Outlaw Sale of Certain Handguns,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 3, 1971, pp. 1-2; “Another Step—Up or Down?” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 26, 1971, p. 4; “Nixon Administration Said Preparing Legislation to Control All Handguns,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 12, 1971, pp. 1, 5; “Administration Studying Broad Handgun Controls,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 12, 1971, p. 1; “SNS’s—Where Will It End?” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 29, 1971, p. 4; “Unhappy Birthday for GCA!” <i>Gun Week</i> , October 22, 1971, p. 4. <i>See also</i> Harlon B. Carter, “After the Saturday Night Specials—What?” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1971, pp. 40-41 (providing a history behind the NRA’s support for Saturday Night Special legislation, but why Carter opposes it).
255	<i>negotiations very carefully</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to Geoffrey Shepard, October [19-28], 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
256	<i>passage of the Gun Control Act</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to William Timmons, “Saturday Night Special Legislation,” October 28, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
256	<i>Approved by the Gun Nuts</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to Geoffrey Shepard, October [19-28], 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.

256	<i>handgun testing standards</i> : Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to John D. Ehrlichman, "Saturday Night Special Gun Legislation," November 16, 1971, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
256	<i>currently on the market</i> : Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Egil Krogh, Jr., "Saturday Night Special Gun Legislation," November 18, 1971, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
256	<i>ATFD</i> : Ibid. See also "What's Going on Over Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1972, p. 46; "Put the Quest for Handgun Standards Under the U.S. Bureau of Standards?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1971, pp. 18-19; "What Happened in the Handgun Tests," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1971, pp. 19-22; "Saturday Night Specials' May Be Doomed," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1971, pp. 50-2.
256	<i>permeated in gun rights literature</i> : See, e.g., C.B. Lister, "A Foot in the Door," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1946, p. 13; C.B. Lister, "Registration—Confiscation," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1946, p. 9; C.B. Lister, "Pious Subterfuge," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1946, p. 9; "Random Shots," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1934, p. 2.
256	<i>gun rights political target</i> : See, e.g., "Goodbye to the Gun Law Administer," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1970, p. 20; "ATFD Director Serr Resigns on July 31," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 28, 1970, pp. 1-2; "Gun Law Enforcers or Anti-Gun Lobbyists?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1970, p. 17; "ATFD Library Checks Cause Stir in Capital," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 31, 1970, pp. 1, 5; "ATFD Lobbying for Gun Controls Pennsylvania Congressman Charges," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 17, 1970, pp. 1, 5; "Whose Gun Control Policy?" <i>Gun Week</i> , July 17, 1970, p. 4.
256	<i>owners were commonplace</i> : "The Gun Control Act: How Much Longer?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1970, p. 16; C.E. Clayton, "The 1968 Gun Control Act: How Much Longer?" <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , July 1970, pp. 24-25, 64-65; "Ass'n Takes Action," <i>Armed Eagle</i> , October 1969, p. 1; Allen C. Hargrove, "The Gun Is Not the Problem!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1969, pp. 28, 82-83; Form Letter from S.J. School et al, Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc., to Thomas Jefferson Steed, July 1, 1969, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box BL7, folder 18, Steed Bill-Repeal Gun Control Act, 1969 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers); Letter from Ray Hannibal, Association to Preserve Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Inc., to Robert W. Packwood, July 1, 1969, Robert W. Packwood Papers, box 6, folder 10, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1969 (Salem, OR: Willamette University Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Packwood Papers).
256	<i>storyline of the year</i> : For how the Ballew raid was covered in gun rights literature, see "Ballew Suit Charges ATFD Raid Negligence," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1972, p. 45; "Complaint Filed By Ballew Charges 'Incompetence' of Treasury Agents," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 21, 1972, p. 6; "\$5 Million Damage Suit Filed Over Ballew Shooting by ATFD," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 7, 1972, pp. 1, 10; "Ballew Attorney Assails Treasury Over Handling of Damage Claims," <i>Gun Week</i> , February 25, 1972, pp. 1-2; "Congressional Action to Aid Ballew Urged," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1971, p. 42; "Where the Biggest Blame Lies," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1971, p. 22;

	<p>“Ballews Suing Over ATFD Raid,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1971, pp. 24-25; “Inexperienced Agents Said Used in Ballew Raid,” <i>Gun Week</i>, August 6, 1971, pp. 1-2; “How the 1968 Gun Act Caused a Shooting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1971, pp. 43-46; “Demand Grows for Full Probe of Ballew Shooting,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1971, pp. 46-47; “Aftermath of a Tragedy: Congressmen Hit ATFD, Demand Inquiry,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, August 1971, pp. 48-49; “Got a Grudge? Call ATFD!” <i>Gun Week</i>, July 30, 1971, p. 4; “Federal Agents Refuse to Testify at Grand Jury Hearing in Ballew Case,” <i>Gun Week</i>, July 30, 1971, pp. 1-2; “White House Orders Investigation into Shooting of Gun Collector,” <i>Gun Week</i>, July 9, 1971, pp. 1-2; “Rep. Sikes Asks Study of ATFD, Gun Controls,” <i>Gun Week</i>, July 2, 1971, pp. 1-2; “Political Climate Changes,” <i>Gun Week</i>, July 2, 1971, p. 4; “Investigation of ATFD Sought After Shooting,” <i>Gun Week</i>, June 25, 1971, pp. 1, 7; “ATFD Needs Investigation!” <i>Gun Week</i>, June 25, 1971, p. 4; “The Raid on Quebec Terrace,” <i>Alliance</i>, June 1971, pp. 1, 4, 8. <i>See also</i> “Firing at the Weak Gun Law,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), August 18, 1971, p. 2G; Robert Welch, “‘Bungle’ Provides ‘No-Knock’ Foes with Ammunition,” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), July 1, 1971, p. B4.</p>
256	<p><i>gestapo like</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, “Are Treasury Agents the Gestapo?” <i>Post-Crescent</i> (Appleton, WI), September 20, 1971, p. 4; “Gestapo-Like Raid Has No Place in Society,” <i>Columbus Telegram</i> (NE), October 8, 1971, p. 4; Art Reid, “Outdoors,” <i>Southern Illinoisan</i> (Carbondale, IL), August 22, 1971, p. 13; “A.T.F.D.’s Substitute for a Phone,” <i>Armed Citizen News</i>, August 1971, pp. 1, 8; Letter from Daniel J. Masse, To Keep and Bear Arms, Inc. director, to Robert F. Sikes, July 8, 1971, Robert F. Sikes Papers, box 444, folder Ballew Shooting (Pensacola, FL: University of West Florida Library) (hereinafter Sikes Papers); “Letter from Raymond Reeder to Robert W. Packwood, July 7, 1971, Packwood Papers, box 18, folder 23, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1971; “ATFD Guns Down Collector,” <i>Armed Citizen News</i>, July 1971, pp. 1, 8.</p>
256	<p><i>Nazi-Storm Trooper like</i>: William Loeb, “Treasury Gestapo at Work,” <i>Manchester Union Leader</i> (NH), July 8, 1971, pp. 1, 10.</p>
256	<p><i>worthy of condemnation</i>: “Official Report Defends Raids, Admits Errors,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1971, pp. 26-27; Arnold Jeffcoat, “Continuing Investigation Uncovers More ATFD Errors Made During Raid,” <i>Gun Week</i>, July 23, 1971, pp. 1-2, 7.</p>
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257	<p><i>whitewash and coverup</i>: “Whitewash Won’t Cover All Dirt!” <i>Gun Week</i>, May 11, 1973, p. 4; “Ballew Leaves Hospital; \$5 Million Claim Filed,” <i>Gun Week</i>, October 15, 1971, pp. 1, 5; “Ballew Shooting Report Described as ‘Whitewash,’” <i>Alliance</i>,</p>

	October 1971, p. 1; "Dingell Seeking Additional Information on Shooting," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 17, 1971, pp. 1, 6; "More Study Needed in Ballew Case!" <i>Gun Week</i> , September 3, 1971, p. 4; "Ballew Shooting Report Described as 'Whitewash'," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 20, 1971, pp. 1-2. <i>See also</i> William Loeb, "Treasury Gestapo at Work," <i>Manchester Union Leader</i> (NH), July 8, 1971, pp. 1, 10 (forecasting a "coverup" before the investigation was ever underway).
257	<i>exactly the same: See, e.g.,</i> "Ballew Asks: 'Why Me?'" <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1971, p. 49; "Ballew Shows Us the Way!" <i>Gun Week</i> , October 15, 1971, p. 4; "Gun Law Enforcers Shoot Surprised Citizen, Claim Self-Defense," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1971, pp. 30, 32; Letter from Russ Schroeder to Robert W. Packwood, July 2, 1971, Packwood Papers, box 18, folder 23, Legislation-Judiciary, Gun Control 1971; Letter from John F. Sukey to Barry M. Goldwater, June 7, 1971, Barry M. Goldwater Papers, series 5, box 514, folder 11, Correspondence, Response to Article in <i>American Rifleman</i> (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Historical Association) (hereinafter Goldwater Papers); Letter from Paul E. Childress to Barry M. Goldwater, June 7, 1971, Goldwater Papers, series 5, box 514, folder 11, Correspondence, Response to Article in <i>American Rifleman</i> .
257	<i>happen to any one of them:</i> "ATFD Denies Harassment Charles in Arrest of 27 Texas Gun Dealers," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 28, 1972, p. 1; "Fresh Proof That the 1968 Gun Act is Faulty," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1972, pp. 16-17; "Ballew-Type Shooting in Detroit Stirs Dispute Over FBI Tactics," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 10, 1971, pp. 1-2; "FBI Follows ATFD Steps!" <i>Gun Week</i> , December 10, 1971, p. 4; "How the Gun Control Act 'Creates Criminals'," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1971, p. 20.
258	<i>door looking for them:</i> A.H. Pickles, "Why Some View the 1968 Gun Control Act as a National Affliction," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1971, pp. 24-25.
258	<i>Ballew's medical expenses:</i> "Rep. Gude Asks for Supplemental Report on Shooting of Ballew," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 27, 1971, pp. 1, 3.
258	<i>man like Ken Ballew:</i> "Ballew Case to Verse by Reader," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 17, 1971, p. 14.
258	<i>political assurances:</i> "Bayh Hearings Reveal Agreement of NRA with 'Cheap' Handgun Ban," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 22, 1971, pp. 1-2.
258	<i>over one million: See</i> "NRA Activities in 1972," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1973, p. 60; "NRA Activities in 1971," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, p. 61; "What they Heard," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1972, pp. 46, 47; Remarks of NRA President Fred M. Hakenjos Before the Members Meeting, April 22, 1972, <i>Minutes of the Members Meeting of the National Rifle Association</i> (Washington, DC: National Rifle Association, 1972), in Sikes Papers, box 488, folder National Rifle Association 1972; "NRA Activities in 1971," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1971, p. 62.
258	<i>1,159,000:</i> "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1968, p. 2.
258	<i>1,026,000: See, e.g.,</i> "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1974, p. 2 (circulation of 1,058,000); "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1974, p. 2 (circulation of 1,081,000); "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1973, p. 2

	(circulation of 1,075,000); "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1972, p. 2 (circulation of 1,026,000); "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1972, p. 2 (circulation of 1,027,000); "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1971, p. 2 (circulation of 1,035,000); "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1971, p. 2 (circulation of 1,080,000).
258	37,286: Compare "Total Distributed," <i>Gun Week</i> , December 28, 1973, p. 1, with "Total Distribution," <i>Gun Week</i> , February 27, 1970, p. 1.
259	<i>outlaw any types of firearms: See</i> "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: House Committee to Hold Up Gun Bills," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1974, pp. 43-45; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Handgun Ban Proposal is Storm Center," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1973, pp. 54, 56; "An Injustice to Handgun Owners," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1973, pp. 24-25; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: New Drive Against Handguns Begun," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1973, pp. 49-53; Ashley Halsey, Jr., "Can the Second Amendment Survive?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1973, pp. 17-19; "Congress and 45 Legislature Convene," <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1973, pp. 51-52; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Revival of Handgun Measure Seen," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1973, pp. 45-47; "Your Gun is Their Target," <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , July 1972, p. 1; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Drive on Handguns Gains Despite Firm Opposition," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1972, pp. 50-54; "NRA Spokesman Opposes Celler Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1972, pp. 56-57; "Answering the Latest Humbug About Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1971, p. 18; "Gun Issue Likely in September," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1971, pp. 50-51; "Let's Legislate Against Crime for a Change," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1971, p. 16; "New Drive Begun Against Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1971, pp. 42-43; "Let the Criminals Pay," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 14, 1971, p. 4; Erle Stanley Gardner, "Why Gun Registration Can't Cut Crime," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1971, pp. 17-18; "Solving the Mystery of an Empty Noise," <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1971, p. 18.
259	<i>the NRA especially: See</i> "NRA Activities in 1971," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, p. 61 ("Starting in September 1971, NRA commenced extensive efforts to obtain members from the ranks of America's 17,000,000 licensed hunters."); Form Letter from Maxwell E. Rich, NRA executive vice president, to all NRA members, October 3, 1971, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder National Rifle Association (Fullerton, CA: California State University-Fullerton Archives and Special Collections) (hereinafter Benedict Collection) ("There are well-organized, well-intentioned—though badly misinformed—citizens who are determined to make all hunting illegal... You can either ignore the smoke signals rising from the anti-hunting camp... or... You can take <i>positive</i> action—and wage your own personal campaign to protect the present and future rights of hunters... Ask each of your hunter friends to become a [NRA] member...").
259	<i>anti-hunt movement: See</i> "Beware of Wolves in Sheep's Clothing," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1973, p. 54; "Hunting: Pro or Con?" <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , summer 1972, pp. 1, 3; "Alice in Disneyland," <i>Alliance</i> , April 1972, p. 1; "Anti-Hunt Leaders Shows Lack of Game Knowledge," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 28, 1972, pp. 1, 5; Alan C. Webber, "The Anti-

	Hunting Issue Blazes Up,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1972, pp. 34-36; “Outlaws Reduce Hunting,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 7, 1972, p. 4; Ken Heuser, “Hunters!...Wake Up,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , January 1972, pp. 48-49, 93-95; “Hunters Are Own Enemy!” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 11, 1971, p. 4; “Drive to Reduce Hunting Gathers Momentum; Legislation Proposed,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 14, 1971, pp. 1-2; Lonnie L. Williamson, “Anti-Hunt Group Proposed Bill to ‘Protect’ Public Land Wildlife,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 7, 1971, pp. 1, 5; “Be Kind to Coyotes?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1971, p. 16; “At Issue: To Hunt or Not to Hunt,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1971, pp. 17, 21; “NSSF Offers Booklets to Fight Anti-Hunt Move,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 26, 1971, p. 3; Carl Wolff, “Our Man in Washington,” <i>Guns Magazine</i> , February 1971, pp. 12-13.
259	<i>all hunting extinct</i> : National Rifle Association, “Daddy, What Was a Hunter?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1972, p. 99. <i>See also</i> National Rifle Association, “Only You Can Save Hunting...” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, p. 99.
259	<i>firearms enthusiast</i> : “Why a Hunting Magazine,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1973, p. 18. The very first edition of <i>American Hunter</i> appeared as an insert in the July 1973 edition of <i>American Rifleman</i> .
259	<i>keep and bear arms</i> : <i>See</i> “Firearms Group Urges Boycott of YWCA Funds,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , winter 1973, p. 3; “Committee Attacks YWCA,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , fall 1973, p. 1; “Fund for Animals, Friends of Animals, Irresponsibility in Action,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , fall 1973, p. 2; “Tempest in a YWCA Teapot Makes a Bitter Brew,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1973, pp. 34-35; “Gun Owners Called ‘Un-American’ by YWCA Supporters,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 24, 1973, p. 4; “Why the Y.W.C.A. Wants Gun Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1973, p. 50; “National Sportsmen’s Conference to Fight YWCA Anti-Gun Movement,” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 6, 1973, pp. 1-2; Form letter from Alan C. Gottlieb to All Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arm Members, undated 1973, Benedict Collection, box 45, folder Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep And Bear Arms; “Say Goodbye to the ‘Y’?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1973, p. 18; “Dispute is Unnecessary,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 19, 1973, p. 4; “Michigan United Fund Continues to Support Anti-Gun NCCD & MCDC,” <i>Alliance</i> , October 1971, p. 1; “Busch Puts End to Rumor of ‘Anti-Gun’ Donations,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 21, 1971, p. 1.
259	<i>elections was working</i> : This stagnation or decline occurred even though the NRA and other gun rights advocates both urged political action and provided gun rights supporters with the tools to achieve it. <i>See</i> Keith M. Gaffaney, “CRPA Fights Good Fight for Firearms,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1973, pp. 53-54; James N. Spicer, Richard H. Poff, How to Write Your Congressman,” <i>Alliance</i> , May 1972, p. 10; Elliott L. Minor, “State Associations Play Vital Role,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1972, pp. 26-27; George T. Lonergan, “Your Voice in the State House,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1971, p. 51.
259	<i>NRA and other gun rights advocates</i> : <i>See</i> “Lobby for Your Cause, Sikes Urges NRA Members,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1973, pp. 34-35; “Defeat...the Anti-Gun Politicians! Be One Issue Voters!” <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , October 1972, p. 1; E.B.

	<p>Mann, "Mann Says: It Can Happen Here," <i>Gun World</i>, [September] 1972, pp. 16, 74, E.B. Mann Papers, box 11, folder 4 (Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming American Heritage Center) (hereinafter Mann Papers); William Loeb, "Happy Birthday National Rifle Assn.: 100 Years of Patriotic Service," <i>St. Albans Daily Messenger</i> (VT), November 29, 1971, pp. 1, 2; Edward Bulles, "Sportsmen Should Select Candidate, Work to Get Him Elected to Office," <i>Gun Week</i>, September 29, 1970, pp. 6-7; Peyton Autrey, "Great Gun Grab is Your Fault!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, August 1972, pp. 34-35; "SAM to Stage Conference of Sportsmen's Leaders," <i>Gun Week</i>, March 17, 1972, pp. 1, 5; E.B. Mann, "Mann Says: A Matter of Truth," <i>Gun World</i>, [February] 1972, pp. 17, 70-71, Mann Papers, box 10, folder 40; "Sen. Hart Must Be Recalled," <i>Armed Citizen News</i>, January 1972, p. 1; "What They Heard...", <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1971, pp. 55-59; Frank Mainville, "Dingell Defends Gun Rights," <i>Alliance</i>, June 1971, pp. 1, 4; Tom Urban, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," <i>Alliance</i>, June 1971, p. 3; Harlon B. Carter, "Parkerized Politicos," <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, May 1971, pp. 24-25; "Dingell Says Sportsmen Must Take Interest in Related Areas," <i>Gun Week</i>, April 30, 1971, p. 13; "In Fairness to Hunting," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1971, p. 16; "Silent Protectors," <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1971, p. 28; "From the President," <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1971, p. 29.</p>
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260	<p><i>immense political criticism: See</i> Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Egil Krogh, Jr., "Saturday Night Special Gun Legislation," November 18, 1971, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shepard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from Egil Krogh, Jr., to John D. Ehrlichman, "Saturday Night Special</p>

	Gun Legislation,” November 16, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials; Memorandum from John D. Ehrlichman to Richard M. Nixon, October 30, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
260	<i>approach going forward</i> : “Administration ‘Softening’ Stand on Handgun Control Legislation,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 17, 1971, pp. 1-2.
260	<i>outside interference</i> : There was, however, some outside pressure and criticism. <i>See, e.g.</i> , Kleindienst Favors Use of Wiretapping,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , February 23, 1972, pp. 1, 22; “U.S. Gun Laws Impractical: Kleindienst,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), February 22, 1972, p. A2; H.L. Schwartz, “Expecting 1968 Gun Control Loophole to be Plugged by Nixon Soon,” <i>Sedalia Democrat</i> (MO), February 9, 1972, p. 8A; “Nixon to Risk Gun Lobby Ire in Pistol Curb Plea,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), February 7, 1972, p. 1; Tom Tiede, “Lethal Junk: The Saturday Night Special,” <i>Ames Daily Tribune</i> (IA), January 6, 1972, p. 17; Tom Tiede, “Saturday Night Specials Are Everyday Lethal Best-Sellers,” <i>Tribune</i> (Coshocton, OH), January 6, 1972, p. 3.
260	<i>opportunity to propose changes</i> : <i>See</i> “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Nixon Handgun Bill Final,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1972, pp. 48-49 (showing the NRA obtained a draft of the bill for comment well before public release).
260	<i>advisors several suggestions</i> : Letter from John D. Dingell to Donald E. Santarelli, December 23, 1971, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Special Files, box 3, folder Geoffrey Shephard, Saturday Night Specials.
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261	<i>including handgun registration</i> : “Humphrey ‘Flip-Flops’ Again,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 16, 1972, p. 4; Carl Greenberg and John Kumbula, “Handgun Curbs Long Overdue—Humphrey,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 27, 1972, part 2, pp. 3, 6.
264	<i>and firearms localism</i> : Letter from Fred R. Harris to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, August 25, 1970, Fred R. Harris Papers, box 18, folder 16B, Crime-Firearms Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers); Fred R. Harris, Capitol Report, December 4, 1969, Harris Papers, box 183, folder 16B, Crime-Firearms Control; Letter from Fred R. Harris to Charles A. North, August 11, 1966, Harris Papers, box 40, folder 3, Firearms; Letter from Fred R. Harris to M.M. Alexander, April 21, 1965, Harris Papers, box 9, folder Firearms.

261	<i>local laws effective</i> : Letter from Fred R. Harris to William O. Morse, October 22, 1968, Harris Papers, box 103, folder 17, Crime and Criminals, Constituent Correspondence; Letter from Fred R. Harris to Elvin M. Amen, March 13, 1969, box 143, folder 27, Crime-Firearms Control; Letter from Fred R. Harris to Linda Talbutt, August 8, 1968, Harris Papers, box 103, folder 18, Crime and Criminals, Constituent Correspondence.
261	<i>Democratic challengers</i> : Memorandum from Marjorie Mosburg to Fred R. Harris, undated 1971, box 253, folder 21, Public Relations Gun Control Information.
261	<i>gun lobby, etc.</i> : Memorandum to Fred R. Harris, "Re: Gun Control Position," October 27, 1971, Harris Papers, box 224, folder 5, Firearms Control 1971.
261	<i>officers and security guards</i> : Ibid.
261	<i>without unnecessary restrictions</i> : Ibid. <i>See also</i> Letter from Fred R. Harris to Anna Martin, November 17, 1971, Harris Papers, box 224, folder 5, Firearms Control 1971 (outlining Harris's rationale for supporting Hart's bill).
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262	<i>Arthur H. Bremer</i> : "Bremer Reported at Other Rallies by Wallace Aides, Policemen," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , May 17, 1972, pp. A1, A6; Stephen J. Lynton, "Wallace Shot and Critically Wounded in Laurel; Suspect Arraigned Here; Two Guards, Woman Spectator Also Hit," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , May 16, 1972, pp. A1, A8.
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	Gun Ban,” <i>Times</i> (Shreveport, LA), May 30, 1972, p. 16C; “Sen. Hruska Backs Ban on Handguns,” <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> (FL), May 20, 1972, p. 5A; “Sen. Hruska Endorses Ban on Snub-Nosed Handguns,” <i>Lincoln Journal Star</i> (NE), May 20, 1972, p. 16; “Gun Bill’s Fate Held by Hruska,” <i>Spokesman-Review</i> (Spokane, WA), May 19, 1972, p. 1.
263	<i>bill in principle</i> : “NRA Warns Congress on Gun Control Acts,” <i>Hartford Courant</i> (CT), May 20, 1972, p. 12; “NRA Chief: Gun Control No Solution,” <i>Times</i> (Streator, IL), May 18, 1972, p. 11; George Monaghan, “Gun Controls Still Opposed by NRA, Majka,” <i>News Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), May 16, 1972, p. 35.
263	<i>purely negative position</i> : Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Maxwell E. Rich, NRA executive vice president, June 19, 1972, Sikes Papers, box 462, folder Firearms 1972.
263	<i>levels of our society</i> : National Rifle Association, Statement on Bayh Bill, S. 2507, undated 1972, in Sikes Papers, box 462, folder Firearms 1972. <i>See also</i> Marquis Childs, “Despite Tragedies, Gun Control Unlikely,” <i>Iowa City Press-Citizen</i> (IA), June 20, 1972, p. 10; John Jennings, “NRA Fights to Prevent Gun Control,” <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), May 23, 1972, p. 9.
263	<i>Judiciary Committee vote</i> : The editors of <i>Gun Week</i> primarily blamed the NRA’s policy position on Saturday Night Specials for this. <i>See, e.g.</i> , “Nixon Needs Our Support,” <i>Gun Week</i> , August 4, 1972, p. 4; “S. 2507—A ‘Sticky’ Bill!” <i>Gun Week</i> , July 21, 1972, p. 4.
263	<i>far less restrictive bill</i> : Hruska was, however, able to advance several pro-gun “features” within S. 2507. <i>See</i> Memorandum from Frank C. Daniel, NRA secretary, to NRA Official Family, June 30, 1972, Sikes Papers, box 462, folder Firearms 1972.
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263	<i>Congress on the issue</i> : <i>See</i> Memorandum from Geoffrey Shephard to Richard M. Nixon, “Gun Control Legislation,” August 17, 1973, Geoffrey C. Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Shepard Files); John M. Snyder, “The Nixon Position on Handguns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1972, pp. 54-55; “U.S. Officials Oppose Broad Gun Controls,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , June 30, 1972, part 1, p. 15; “The Text of President Nixon’s White House Press Conference,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , June 30, 1972, p. A6; “Transcript of President Nixon’s News Conference Emphasizing Foreign Affairs,” <i>New York Times</i> , June 30, 1972, https://www.nytimes.com/1972/06/30/archives/transcript-of-president-nixons-news-conference-emphasizing-foreign.html ; Richard M. Nixon Tapes, Conversation No.

	138-8, Camp David Conversation with John D. Ehrlichman, June 29, 1972, 1:33 pm-1:43 pm, nixontapeaudio.org/chron3/rmn_e135a.mp3.
264	<i>Bayh's S. 2507</i> : "NRA Reverses Stand on Handgun Legislation," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 4, 1972, pp. 1-2. <i>See also</i> "Why the NRA Must Oppose the Bayh Bill: A Statement of the NRA Executive Committee on S. 2507, the Bayh Handgun Bill, Issued Before the Senate Modified the Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, p. 22; Ashley Halsey, Jr., "What the Bayh Bill Really Would Do," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, pp. 23-24; National Rifle Association, Legislative Bulletin: The Proposed "Handgun Control Act of 1972," August 10, 1972, John N. Camp Papers, box 50, folder 39, Legislative Correspondence, Judiciary-Gun Control 1972 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Camp Papers) (stating the Bayh Bill "goes far beyond its stated purpose. It would restrict the sale or delivery of handguns to those models approved by the Secretary of the Treasury. <i>It would eliminate the sale or delivery of one-third of all handgun models now made in the United States without reference to quality or price, or their use for self-protection or the defense of home and business.</i> "). <i>See also</i> Letter from Maxwell E. Rich, NRA executive vice president, to John N. Camp, September 14, 1972, Camp Papers, box 50, folder 45, Legislative Correspondence, Judiciary-Gun Control 1972.
264	<i>anticrime program</i> : "NRA Outlines 5-Point Anti-Crime Program," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1972, p. 57.
264	<i>licensing of firearms dealers</i> : Ibid.
264	<i>criminal justice system</i> : Ibid.
264	<i>with a deadly weapon</i> : Ibid.
264	<i>passed the Senate</i> : Arnold Jeffcoat, "Senate Passes Bayh Bill; Could Stop Interstate Trade in Handguns," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 25, 1972, pp. 1-2; "Californians' Votes on Issues in Congress," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , August 16, 1972, part 2, p. 5; "Senate Passes Gun Bill," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , August 10, 1972, pp. A1, A7; "Senate Passes Ban on Selling of Easily Concealable Guns," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , August 10, 1972, part 1, pp. 1, 27; Albert Sehlstedt, Jr., "Senate Kills Bills to Ban, License Guns," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , August 8, 1972, p. A5.
264	<i>action in the House</i> : <i>See</i> "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Bayh Bill Stopped Cold for 1972," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1972, pp. 59-61, 63; "Congress Adjourns Without Further Action on Bayh's Handgun Measure," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 27, 1972, pp. 1-2; "Gun Owners Post Double Victory in House Action," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 13, 1972, pp. 1, 10; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: House Committees May Decide Bayh Bill Fate," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1972, pp. 64-65; "Judiciary Subcommittee Okays Bayh Bill," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 29, 1972, pp. 1-2; "Chasing the Wrong 'Rabbit'," <i>Gun Week</i> , September 1, 1972, p. 4; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Drive to Pass Handgun Laws May Climax Soon," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, pp. 70-71; "S. 2507 Must Be Defeated!" <i>Gun Week</i> , August 25, 1972, p. 4; "Senate Moves on S. 2507," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 18, 1972, p. 4.

264	<i>NRA's favor</i> : "Gun Controls Too Hot for Most Politicians," <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , June 29, 1972, sec. 1, pp. 1, 4.
264	<i>until after the election</i> : See Memorandum from Geoffrey Shephard to Richard M. Nixon, "Gun Control Legislation," August 17, 1973, Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control. See also Memorandum from Pat Buchanan to John Erhlichman et al, July 21, 1972, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, Staff Member Office Files, folder Michael P. Balzano, Gun Control.
264	<i>meet their responsibilities</i> : Republican Party Platform of 1972, August 21, 1972, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/republican-party-platform-1972 .
264	<i>shooting and self-defense</i> : Ibid.
265	<i>proper use of handguns</i> : Democratic Party Platform of 1972, July 11, 1972, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/1972-democratic-party-platform .
265	<i>unsuitable for sporting purposes</i> : Ibid. There was an attempt by several Democratic mayors, most notably New York mayor John V. Lindsay, to have the 1972 Democratic Party Platform advocate for "banning the sale and private ownership of handguns." See "Democrats Hear Mayors Tell Needs of U.S. Cities," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), June 20, 1972, p. 4.
265	<i>include more gun rights friendly language</i> : National Rifle Association Legislative Information Service, "Weekly Legislative Report," July 21, 1972, in Sikes Papers, box 462, folder Firearms 1972. See also "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Drive on Handguns Gains Despite Firm Opposition," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1972, p. 50. NRA executive vice president Rich made a similar request before the Republican Party Platform Committee. See National Rifle Association Legislative Information Service, "Weekly Legislative Report," September 1, 1972, Sikes Papers, box 462, folder Firearms 1972.
265	<i>its liberty and freedom</i> : Marquis Childs, "Democrats' Talk Is Irrelevant to Nation's Ills," <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , July 10, 1972, p. A13. See also "Where the Democratic Party Stands on Firearms," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1972, p. 71; "Wallace Platform Pleas Get Attention, Rejection," <i>Dayton Daily News</i> (OH), July 12, 1972, p. 3.
265	<i>statements to this effect</i> : See McGovern for President, "McGovern Issues Position Paper on Crime Control," June 9, 1972, George McGovern Papers, box 97, folder Gun Control 1972 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library) (hereinafter McGovern Papers); Carl Greenberg and John Kumbula, "Handgun Curbs Long Overdue—Humphrey," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 27, 1972, part 2, p. 1; John Kumbula, "Curb on Sales of Handguns Long Overdue, Humphrey Says," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 26, 1972, part 1, p. 3; John Rawlinson, "McGovern Says He'll Aid Minority," <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), May 25, 1972, p. A5. See also "Muskie Urges Ban on Civilian Pistol-Owning," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 20, 1972, part 1, p. 15.

265	<i>firearms licensing and registration</i> : Louis Harris, "Open Campaigning Favored," <i>Bismarck Tribune</i> (ND), July 20, 1972, p. 8; George Gallup, "71% Urges Tighter Gun Control," <i>Tennessean</i> (Nashville, TN), July 2, 1972, p. 5B. <i>See also</i> "Gun Polls Gallup Along," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 28, 1972, p. 4 (concluding that either "America's gun owners have been hoodwinked by all the anti-gun propaganda appearing lately, or the Gallup Poll is not as reliable when testing gun control attitudes").
265	<i>support behind Nixon</i> : <i>See</i> "Attention Sportsmen: Which One Will You Vote For?" <i>Alliance</i> , November 1972, p. 1; "Platforms and Views on Gun Control," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1972, p. 63 (providing Nixon with more favorable coverage than McGovern); E.B. Mann, "Mann Says: It Can Happen Here," <i>Gun World</i> , [September] 1972, pp. 16, 74, Mann Papers, box 11, folder 4; "McGovern Seeks Ban on Handguns," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 18, 1972, p. 1; "Nixon Needs Our Support," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 4, 1972, p. 4; Peyton Autrey, "Great Gun Grab Is <i>Your</i> Fault!" <i>Guns and Ammo</i> , August 1972, pp. 34-35; John M. Snyder, "The Nixon Position on Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1972, pp. 54-55 (by and large defending President Nixon's position on Saturday Night Specials without officially endorsing him).
265	<i>Man for '72</i> : Harlon B. Carter, "Nixon—The Shooters' Man for '72!" <i>Guns and Ammo</i> , October 1972, pp. 40-41, 94, 96.
265	<i>John G. Schmitz</i> : <i>See</i> A.J. Hollowell, "What Gives?" <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , November 1972, p. 1 (criticizing the editors of <i>Gun Week</i> and <i>Guns and Ammo</i> for endorsing Nixon, not AIP presidential candidate John G. Schmitz); A.J. Hollowell, "No Compromise," <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , October 1972, p. 1 (endorsing AIP presidential candidate John G. Schmitz).
265	<i>opposed firearms controls</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Lee Fremstad, "Schmitz: Opponents All Back Socialism," <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), October 26, 1972, p. A3; "Presidential Candidate Against Gun Controls," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 6, 1972, pp. 1-2; "Platforms and Views on Gun Control," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1972, p. 63; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: House Committees May Decide Bayh Bill Fate," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1972, pp. 64-64; John Schmitz, "State Roundup," <i>Tustin News</i> (CA), June 27, 1968, p. 2; "Gun Control Bill is Under Fire in Senate," <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), July 1, 1967, p. A7; Henry C. MacArthur, "Senator Schmitz Sees No Need for Stricter Control of Guns," <i>Daily Independent Journal</i> (San Rafael, CA), June 29, 1967, p. 22.
265	<i>a vote wasted</i> : "Nixon Needs Our Support," <i>Gun Week</i> , November 3, 1972, p. 4.
266	<i>owned or used firearms</i> : "President Quits Rifle Association," <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , February 23, 1969, p. 6A; "No NRA Membership—Nixon," <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), February 23, 1969, p. 2A; "Membership Disavowed," <i>Tallahassee Democrat</i> (FL), February 22, 1969, p. 12A; Daniel Rapoport, "Nixon Shuns Link to NRA," <i>Town Talk</i> (Alexandria, VA), February 23, 1969, p. 1.
266	<i>hunter, and conservationist</i> : George McGovern, "The Environment...Now and Future," <i>Field & Stream</i> , November 1972, pp. 14, 16, 122.

266	<i>for future generations:</i> Ibid., p. 14.
266	<p><i>primarily for sporting purposes:</i> See “Reigner—Reel No. 2,” October 28, 1972, McGovern Papers, box 97, folder Gun Control 1972 (“I have supported legislation to crack down on the little hand guns, the so-called ‘Saturday Night Specials’ that are used to kill so many of our policeman, that are used to hold up grocery stores, that are used to commit crimes and are responsible for most of the murders and the crimes of violence in this country. I don’t think Saturday Night Specials are necessary. I don’t think Saturday Night Specials are necessary. I don’t think they have anything to do with the right to bear arms and I think we ought to outlaw them. Now with regard to long guns—the rifles and shotguns—those are used for sporting purposes and I have not advocated additional controls on that type of gun.”); “McGovern on the Issues,” <i>Plain Dealer</i> (Cleveland, OH), September 24, 1972, p. AA1, AA2 (“I think the principal problem is the little handgun. I frankly don’t favor additional controls on shotguns and rifles. I think it is tan administrative impossibility to deal with those situations and I don’t think those are the principal problems.”); McGovern for President, “McGovern Issues Position Paper on Crime Control,” June 9, 1972, McGovern Papers, box 97, folder Gun Control 1972 (“The terrible attack on Governor Wallace has once again emphasized the need for measures to control, if not ban altogether, the sale of handguns. I am a country man from South Dakota and I am aware of the justification in rural areas and among sportsmen, for the ownership of long guns. But I see no justification for the snub-nosed handgun or the ‘Saturday Night Special’ which—let us face it—are designed for threatening and killing people.”); McGovern for President, “McGovern Calls for Control of Small Weapons and Anniversary of RFK Death,” June 6, 1972, McGovern Papers, box 97, folder Gun Control 1972 (“I have no desire to take the guns out of the hands of sportsmen and hunters. These American have no use for Saturday Night Specials. I have no illusion that outlawing the sale of cheap handguns will stop traffic in them, or that it will prevent all murders and assassinations...But swift passage of legislation to end the importation of handgun parts for assembly here, and to crack down on domestic models, could stem that proliferation of handguns, assist our law enforcement officers in preventing violent crime, and being restoring safety to the Nation’s streets.”); Response by Senator George McGovern to Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom Questionnaire, April 7, 1972, McGovern Papers, box 97, folder Gun Control 1972 (“I believe that gun control could help in reducing crime, but I feel that it is necessary to protect the rights of law-abiding sportsmen.”); [McGovern Policies on Crime and Justice], undated, Nixon Presidential Papers, 1972 Election File—George McGovern Gun Control (“McGovern’s proposals include:...2) Stricter controls and enforcement on the sale and possession of handguns without encroaching on the rights of sportsmen...7) Stronger penalties for the use of guns in violence crimes.”).</p>
266	<p><i>early twentieth century:</i> “President Quits Rifle Association,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i>, February 23, 1969, p. 6A; “No NRA Membership—Nixon,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), February 23, 1969, p. 2A; “Membership Disavowed,” <i>Tallahassee Democrat</i> (FL), February 22, 1969, p. 12A; Daniel Rapoport, “Nixon Shuns Link to NRA,” <i>Town Talk</i> (Alexandria, VA), February 23, 1969, p. 1.</p>

266	<i>in the third year</i> : These numbers were taken by analyzing the FBI's Uniform Crime Rates. <i>See also</i> Nathan James, "Recent Violent Crime Trends in the United States," Congressional Research Service, Rpt. No. 7-5700 (Washington, DC: June 20, 2018).
266	<i>deliver on the issue</i> : Jack C. Landau, "Law 'n' Order View," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), November 6, 1972, p. 4; "Liberals Adopt Law and Order," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> (PA), September 1, 1972, p. 7; Henry J. Taylor, "Law and Order is an Issue," <i>Napa Valley Register</i> (CA), July 31, 1972, p. 4A; McGovern for President, "McGovern Issues Position Paper on Crime Control," June 9, 1972, McGovern Papers, box 97, folder Gun Control 1972; Dan Lynch, "McGovern: Cut Fat, Leave Muscle in Military," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> (PA), April 16, 1972, p. 16A.
267	<i>record supporting firearms controls</i> : For the sources relative to this paragraph, see John M. Snyder, "Gun Foes Lose Out at Polls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1973, p. 44; "Celler and Mikva Dumped," <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , December 1972, p. 1; "No Rest for Gun Owners," <i>Gun Week</i> , November 24, 1972, p. 4.
267	<i>state and local campaigns</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Southwest Missouri Sportsmen for Dowd, "How Do You Feel About Gun Control?" <i>Springfield Leader and Press</i> (MO), October 29, 1972, p. D4; Texas Sportsmen for Wayne Connally Committee, "Wayne Connally Thinks Criminals Should Be Registered...Not Guns," <i>Deer Park Progress</i> (TX), June 1, 1972, p. 8A. <i>See also</i> Dan Klepper, "Outdoors," <i>San Antonio Express</i> (TX), May 31, 1972, p. 6F.
267	<i>garner the sportsmen's vote</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Scott for Senate Committee, "If You're Against Gun Control..." <i>News Leader</i> (Staunton, VA), November 5, 1972, p. 6; Richard P Noll for Congress Committee, "Memo: To: Fellow Sportsmen," <i>Sentinel</i> (Carlisle, PA), November 4, 1972, p. 2 ("I am opposed to the federal registration of firearms. As an overseas veteran and an experienced attorney I know that people not guns cause our problems.); Hubler for Congress Committee, "Sportsmen," <i>New-Item</i> (Shamokin, PA), November 3, 1972, p. 20 ("There is Only <i>One</i> Candidate for Congress who is <i>Firmly Against</i> Gun Control Registration Laws!"); Cowlitz County G.O.P., "'Skip' Says..." <i>Longview Daily News</i> (WA), November 1, 1972, p. 34; ("Julia DiD vote for registration of firearms!...Elect R.C. 'Skip' McConkey"); Committee to Elect Kury Senator, "Gun Control? NO!" <i>News-Item</i> (Shamokin, PA), October 25, 1972, p. 14.
267	<i>Oklahoma bear this out</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , People for Haskell Committee, "When Senator Allott," <i>Greely Daily Tribune</i> (CO), November 3, 1972, p. 9; Evan Barrett, "Metcalf on Guns," <i>Great Falls Tribune</i> (MT), November 2, 1972, p. 7; "Lawmen Support Sheehy," <i>Billings Gazette</i> (MT), October 31, 1972, p. 9.
267	<i>and Citizens Against Tydings (CAT)</i> : The only notable gun rights political advocacy group formed leading into the 1972 elections was Society Against Mikva. <i>See generally</i> Abner J. Mikva Papers, box 16, folder 11, Society Against Mikva (Springfield, IL: Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library) (hereinafter Mikva Papers). While Mikva ultimately lost his 1972 reelection campaign, it was not due to the sportsmen's vote. The Election Day loss was primarily due to Mikva running for reelection in a redistricted, largely rural congressional district. <i>See</i> John A. Jenkins, "The Man the Gun Lobby Couldn't Shoot Down," <i>Chicago Tribune Magazine</i> ,

	February 14, 1982, pp. 19-20, 22, 26, 28, 30; Bob Lahey, Long Campaign: A Time to Settle Political Accounts,” <i>Daily Herald</i> (Chicago, IL), October 16, 1972 sec. 1, p. 5; Al Messerschmidt, “Young, Mikva Woo New 10th District,” <i>Roselle Register</i> (IL), September 5, 1972, sec. 1, p. 2. Furthermore, Mikva’s opponent for the 1972 election, Sam Young, also supported handgun controls. See “Mikva, Young Square Off in Non-Debate,” <i>Des Plaines Herald</i> (IL), September 14, 1972, p. 1.
267	<i>firearms control front</i> : For the types of stories and topics that gun rights advocates reported on during this period, see C.E. Clayton, “Gun Control Is <i>Not</i> Crime Control,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1973, pp. 36-37; “More on Court Leniency,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 12, 1973, p. 4; “Justice’s Double Standard,” <i>Gun Week</i> , January 5, 1973, p. 4; Allen Hargrove, “Repeal the ‘68 Gun Control Act,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , January 1973, pp. 28-29; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Revival of Handgun Measure Seen,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1973, pp. 45-47; “Anti—Hunters Go to Court,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 22, 1972, pp. 1-2; “Ohio Fight Anticipated Over Gun Bill Being Considered by Senate Panel,” <i>Gun Week</i> , December 1, 1972, pp. 1-2; “Unfinished Business for Sen. Birch Bayh,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1972, p. 14; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Bayh Used ‘Gun Risk’ Pressure,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1972, pp. 15, 48-50; “Gun Dealer Challenges Validity of Gun Control Act of 1968,” <i>Gun Week</i> , pp. 1-2.
267	<i>by two assailants</i> : James T. Wooten, “Stennis is Shot in Robbery in Front of Home in Capital,” <i>New York Times</i> , January 31, 1973, https://www.nytimes.com/1973/01/31/archives/stennis-is-shot-in-robbery-in-front-of-home-in-capital-stennis-shot.html ; “Senator Stennis’ Vital Signs Reported ‘Stable’,” <i>Greenwood Commonwealth</i> (MS), January 31, 1973, p. 1.
268	<i>but to no avail</i> : Richard M. Nixon, President’s News Conference, January 31, 1973, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-86 .
268	<i>all that sort of thing</i> : Ibid.
268	<i>get through Congress</i> : Ibid.
268	<i>another political frenzy</i> : Richard M. Nixon, State of the Union Message to the Congress on Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention, March 14, 1973, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/state-the-union-message-the-congress-law-enforcement-and-drug-abuse-prevention .
268	<i>defend the Constitution</i> : “The Presidential Oath and Richard Nixon,” <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , April 1973, p. 4.
268	<i>Nixon any political cover</i> : “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: .22 and Blackpowder Bills Offered,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1973, pp. 42-44. Although the NRA outright opposed any Saturday Night Special legislation, two of the NRA’s congressional surrogates, Michigan representative John D. Dingell and Nebraska senator Roman Hruska, once again introduced Saturday Night Special bills before their respective chambers. See William McGaffin, “New Gun Control Legislation Move in Congress,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), February 7, 1972, p. 22; “In Brief,” <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), February 6, 1973, p. 5; “Justice Dept. Cooperating: New

	<p>Gun Control Bill is Readied by Hruska,” <i>Lincoln Star Journal</i> (NE), February 1, 1973, p. 13. This subjected Dingell and Hruska to some criticism from more extreme gun rights advocates. See “Dingell’s Disaster: Defining ‘Saturday Night Special,’” <i>Point Blank</i>, August 1974, pp. 1, 4; Arthur J. Hollowell, “Open Letter to Rep. Dingell,” <i>Armed Citizen News</i>, March 1973, p. 4; S.I. Hayakawa, “Backs Proposal to Ban Cheap Handguns,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), February 24, 1973, p. 6. However, these extremist gun rights advocates failed to understand that it was important—especially as a matter of political optics—that gun rights proponents be seen taking a positive approach. See Letter from Robert F. Sikes to Maxwell E. Rich, NRA executive vice president, January 8, 1974, Sikes Papers, box 539, folder Firearms Legislation 1974 (urging the NRA to revise its position on Saturday Night Special legislation by solving “the principal problem rather than simply being...in opposition to all gun control bills.”). The fact of the matter is that after the Stennis there were a flood of firearms control bills filed in Congress. See, e.g., “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: New Drive Against Handguns Begun,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1973, pp. 49-52; “Kennedy Bill Requires Registration of All Firearms,” <i>Evening Herald</i> (Shenandoah, PA), March 14, 1973, p. 16; “Stennis Shooting Brings Additional Firearms Bills,” <i>Gun Week</i>, March 2, 1973, pp. 1, 6; “Stennis Attack Spurs Gun Control Debates,” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 16, 1973, pp. 1-2.</p>
268	<p><i>Saturday Night Special bill</i>: “NRA Reverses Stand on Handgun Legislation,” <i>Gun Week</i>, August 4, 1972, pp. 1-2.</p>
268	<p><i>who shot Stennis</i>: Bob Barnes, “After the Ball: NRA Offers Reward in Stennis Shooting,” <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), February 14, 1973, p. 13; Jeanette Kliejunas, “Self-Defense is Kohler Program Topic,” <i>Sheboygan Press</i> (WI), February 8, 1973, p. 26.</p>
268	<p><i>Columbia firearms controls</i>: “NRA Officials Says Stennis Attack Shows Gun Control Not the Answer,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), February 12, 1973, p. 4.</p>
268	<p><i>armed criminals</i>: Ibid. See also “Why ‘A Gun Law That Works’ Can’t Be Found,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1974, p. 18 (using the Stennis shooting as a strawman to make the broader argument against firearms controls in general). The editors of <i>Gun Week</i> offered a similar response to Nixon’s support for Saturday Night Special legislation. See “Can We Save Handguns from Emotions?” <i>Gun Week</i>, February 16, 1973, p. 4.</p>
269	<p><i>not to individuals</i>: “Government Asks Court to Dismiss Challenge of ’68 Gun Control Act,” <i>Gun Week</i>, January 26, 1973, pp. 1, 2.</p>
269	<p><i>an antiquated right</i>: See Ashley Halsey, Jr., “Can the Second Amendment Survive?” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1973, pp. 17-19; “How to Kill a Republic,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1973, p. 16.</p>
269	<p><i>protect the citizen</i>: Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, <i>Layman’s Guide to Individual Rights Under the United States Constitution</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 8 (hereinafter <i>Laymen’s Guide</i>, 1973 ed.).</p>

269	<p><i>extremist gun rights supporters</i>: This did not include the NRA. For at that time the NRA had long acknowledged that such limitations of the Second Amendment were in the confines of governmental “police power.” See, e.g., Harold W. Glassen, “Right to Bear Arms is Older Than the Second Amendment,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1973, p. 22; “NRA Official Supports Illinois Constitution,” <i>Gun Week</i>, December 18, 1970, pp. 1-2; Raymond F. Hamel, “Con-Con Protects Gun Owners,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i>, December 8, 1970, sec. 1, p. 20; Harold W. Glassen, Remarks Before the Duke Law Forum, Duke University, February 18, 1969, Glassen Papers, box 1, p. 8; National Rifle Association, <i>Basic Facts of Firearms Control</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), 2-3; National Rifle Association, “<i>Be It Enacted</i>” <i>May Mean Goodbye Guns!</i> (Washington, DC: 1967), 2; Judge Bartlett Rummel, “To Have and Bear Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1964, p. 41; “Basic Facts of Firearms Control,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1964, p. 14; National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Legislation</i> (Washington, DC: 1940), 4; Karl T. Frederick, <i>Pistol Regulation: Its Principles and History</i> (Washington, DC: National Rifle Association, 1932), 26-27.</p>
269	<p><i>other than military uses</i>: <i>Layman’s Guide</i>, 1973 ed., p. 8. The 1973 <i>Layman’s Guide</i>’s portion on the Second Amendment was identical to previous editions. See Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, <i>Layman’s Guide to Individual Rights Under the United States Constitution</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 6; Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, <i>Layman’s Guide to Individual Rights Under the United States Constitution</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), 4-5.</p>
269	<p><i>printed at government expense</i>: “More Anti-Gun Propaganda,” <i>GW</i>, May 4, 1973, p. 4.</p>
269	<p><i>reinterpret a constitutional provision</i>: Patrick J. Charles, <i>Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry</i> (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2018), 279-95.</p>
269	<p><i>as being misinformed</i>: See, e.g., John Brabner-Smith, “Firearm Regulation,” <i>Law and Contemporary Problems</i> 1 (1934): 400-14; Daniel J. McKenna, “The Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Marquette Law Review</i> 12 (1928): 138-49; Lucilius A. Emery, “The Constitutional Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Harvard Law Review</i> 28 (1915): 473-77.</p>
269	<p><i>handful of nineteenth-century cases</i>: See Judge Bartlett Rummel, “To Have and Bear Arms,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1964, pp. 38-41. Rummel pulled many of the materials for his article from a 1960 student note that questioned the legitimacy of longstanding Second Amendment jurisprudence. See Stuart R. Hays, “The Right to Bear Arms, a Study in Judicial Misinterpretation,” <i>William and Mary Law Review</i> 2 (1960): 381-406. A month later, the editors of <i>Guns & Ammo</i> also provided a historical justification for an individual-rights interpretation of the Second Amendment. See Charles T. Arion, “Right to Keep and Bear Arms: Is the ‘2nd’ Obsolete?” <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, July 1964, pp. 22-23, 69-71, 73.</p>

270	<p><i>big lie techniques</i>: “Statement of Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Section of Criminal Law, Americana Hotel, New York,” August 12, 1964, James V. Bennett Personal Papers, Subject File, 1933–1966, box 10, American Bar Foundation-Panel Discussion (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library) (hereafter Bennett Papers). Dodd was extremely critical of this interpretation of the Second Amendment. In a 1965 press release Dodd stated the Second Amendment had become “misrepresented by certain 20th-century Daniel Boones, who proclaim that every American has the indisputable right to go abroad fully armed,” and who “piously” repeat only the last half of the amendment. See Thomas J. Dodd, News Release, March 28, 1965, Thomas J. Dodd Papers, box 201, folder 5184 (Storrs, CT: Thomas J. Dodd Research Center). For another example of a staunch gun control supporting politician referring to gun rights advocates’ interpretation of the Second Amendment as a “big lie,” see Speech by Abner J. Mikva, “The ‘Right’ to Bear Arms,” undated, Mikva Papers, box 45, folder 2, Gun Control General File 1969-1972.</p>
270	<p><i>congressional testimony</i>: See, e.g., Department of Justice Memorandum, “Re: Federal Firearms Control and the Second Amendment,” undated 1965, <i>Federal Firearms Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency on the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate</i> (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 41-48; Statement by Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on S. 1592, a Bill to Amend the Federal Firearms Act,” Department of Justice, May 19, 1965, p. 7. See also Vincent A. Doyle, “The Second Amendment as a Limitation on Federal Firearms Legislation,” Library of Congress Legislative Research Service Report No. A-251, July 8, 1968, p. 21 (“From what we know of the history and construction of the Second Amendment, it would seem that the major [1968 firearms control] proposals [in Congress]...are not subject to any serious Second Amendment challenges.”).</p>
270	<p><i>such a right existed</i>: Statement of Richard M. Nixon, June 17, 1968, Nixon Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 26, Staff Member Office Files, folder Martin Anderson, Gun Control.</p>
270	<p><i>private or public</i>: E.B. Mann, “In Focus,” <i>Shooting Industry</i>, September 1973, pp. 4-5; Letter from E.B. Mann to Jerry [Unknown], “Re: Robert M. Price Article ‘The 2nd Amendment...,’” June 26, 1973, Mann Papers, box 41 (“I think the way to go might be to get a new, direct Supreme Court ruling on the present Second Amendment. First, examine the individual beliefs of the present Court as to gun ownership. I’ve been told that we now have more friends than enemies there. Next, hire the best legal talent available and force a test case to the Supreme Court. This, too, would be difficult, expensive, possibly disappointing. But surely not <i>as</i> difficult, expensive, hazardous, as the procedures necessary for a Constitutional amendment...if the word-by-word definitions of words recorded in their debates are consulted, their meanings as to the Second Amendment are clear enough—including the meaning of the word ‘militia!’”); Harold W. Glassen, “Right to Bear Arms Is Older Than the Second Amendment,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1973, pp. 22-23.</p>
270	<p><i>The Lost Amendment</i>: Robert A. Sprecher, “The Lost Amendment,” <i>American Bar Association Journal</i> 51 (1965): 554-57, 665-69. This was Sprecher’s second time</p>

	winning an ABA writing competition. In 1945, Sprecher won the ABA’s annual Ross Essay Competition for best legal short fiction article. <i>See</i> “Robert A. Sprecher Dies at 64; Judge on U.S. Court of Appeals,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , May 17, 1982, sec. 5, p. 7.
270	<i>interpretation of the Second Amendment</i> : During his tenure on the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals, Sprecher decided more than fifteen firearms-related cases. In every case, despite the contents of his essay, Sprecher never ruled a firearms law unconstitutional, nor did he attempt to interject an individual rights interpretation of the Second Amendment into the legal opinion. <i>See</i> <i>United States v. Howze</i> , 668 F.2d 322 (7th Cir. 1982); <i>Stein’s Inc. v. Blumenthal</i> , 649 F.2d 463 (7th Cir. 1980); <i>United States v. Lisk</i> , 559 F.2d 1108 (7th Cir. 1977); <i>United States v. Gusan</i> , 549 F.2d 15 (7th Cir. 1977); <i>United States v. Sutton</i> , 521 F.2d 1385 (7th Cir. 1975); <i>United States v. Calhoun</i> , 511 F.2d 861 (7th Cir. 1975); <i>United States v. Three Winchester 30-30 Caliber Level Carbines</i> , 504 F.2d 1288 (7th Cir. 1974); <i>United States v. Kowalski</i> , 502 F.2d 203 (7th Cir. 1974); <i>United States v. Tankersley</i> , 492 F.2d 962 (7th Cir. 1974); <i>United States v. Hornbeck</i> , 489 F.2d 1325 (7th Cir. 1973); <i>United States v. Adams</i> , 484 F.2d 357 (7th Cir. 1973); <i>United States v. Wilson</i> , 479 F.2d 936 (7th Cir. 1973); <i>Casanova Guns Inc. v. Connally</i> , 454 F.2d 1320 (7th Cir. 1972); <i>United States v. Gross</i> , 451 F.2d 1355 (7th Cir. 1971). In terms of upholding firearms-law convictions, out of the more than fifteen cases Sprecher presided over, he overturned only one conviction. <i>See</i> <i>United States v. Gates</i> , 491 F.2d 720 (7th Cir. 1974) (overturning the conviction because the federal government failed to provide sufficient evidence that the defendant did in fact possess two unregistered grenades). As a side note, it is worth noting that Sprecher served on the 7th Circuit alongside Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens. <i>See</i> John Paul Stevens, “In Memoriam: Honorable Robert A. Sprecher,” <i>Northwestern University Law Review</i> 78 (1983): 287. Years later, seemingly unaware of Sprecher’s essay, Stevens wrote: “When I joined the [Supreme] Court in 1975...the Second Amendment [was understood to be limited] to the uses of arms that were related to military activities. During the years when Warren Burger was chief justice, from 1969 to 1986, no judge or justice expressed any doubt about the limited coverage of the amendment, and I cannot recall any judge suggesting that the amendment might place any limit on state authority to do anything.” <i>See</i> John Paul Stevens, <i>Six Amendments: How and Why We Should Change the Constitution</i> (New York, NY: Little, Brown and Company, 2014), 127.
271	<i>member of the militia</i> : Sprecher, “The Lost Amendment,” p. 557.
271	<i>sound public purpose</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 666.
271	<i>through the Second Amendment</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 668.
271	<i>keep and bear arms</i> : <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 669.
271	<i>gun rights advocates</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , David I. Caplan, <i>The Second Amendment: A Basic Underpinning in the Constitutional System of Checks and Balances</i> (Bloomington: Indiana Sportsmen’s Council, 1975); David I. Caplan, “The 2nd Amendment—It’s Meaning Today,” <i>Point Blank</i> , March 1974, pp. 2-3; Jack Hillock, “The Non-Shooter and the Second Amendment,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1974, pp. 22-23; Robert J. Kukla, <i>Gun Control</i> (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973); Harold W. Glassen,

	<p>“Right to Bear Arms Is Older than the Second Amendment,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1973, p. 22; James B. Whisker, <i>Our Vanishing Freedom: The Right to Keep and Bear Arms</i> (Skokie, IL: Publishers Development Corp., 1972); “The Right to Arms for Self-Defense,” <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1967, p. 16; Nicholas V. Olds, “The Second Amendment and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” <i>Michigan State Bar Journal</i> 46 (October 1967): 15-25; Alan S. Krug, <i>Current Constitutional and Statutory Aspects of the Right to Keep and Bear Arms</i> (Riverside, CT: National Shooting Sports Foundation, 1966), 1-6.</p>
271	<p><i>intellectual credibility</i>: See Adam Winkler, <i>Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America</i> (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2011), 96 (“Sprecher’s essay was the first of what would be an explosion of pro-individual rights scholarship.”); Carl T. Bogus, “The History and Politics of Second Amendment Scholarship,” <i>The Second Amendment in Law and History</i>, ed. Carl T. Bogus (New York: The New Press, 2002), 1, 3 (“Sprecher’s article . . . was to become the forerunner of an entire genre of Second Amendment writings.”).</p>
271	<p><i>view of the Second Amendment</i>: See, e.g., William L. Garrison, Jr., <i>Bibliography of Pro-Gun Literature, 1960-1978</i> (Bellevue, WA: Second Amendment Foundation, 1979); <i>1975 NRA Firearms and Laws Review</i>, 33-38; National Rifle Association Legislative Reporting Service, “Notes and Sources on the Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” June 13, 1967, Roman Hruska Papers, box 249, folder 8 (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society) (hereinafter Hruska Papers).</p>
271	<p><i>hunting, and the Second Amendment</i>: See “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the NRA Board of Directors,” April 9-10, 1968, Harold W. Glassen Papers, box 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan) (hereafter Glassen Papers). See also Patrick J. Charles, “The Second Amendment in Historiographical Crisis: Why the Supreme Court Must Reevaluate the Embarrassing ‘Standard Model’ Moving Forward,” <i>Fordham Urban Law Journal</i> 39 (2012): 1727, 1751. The first publication of such historical literature appeared in 1967. See National Rifle Association, <i>Americans and Their Guns</i>, ed. James E. Serven (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1967).</p>
271	<p><i>provided with three</i>: Memorandum from Geoffrey Shephard to Richard M. Nixon, “Gun Control Legislation,” August 17, 1973, Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control.</p>
272	<p><i>aggravating the gun lobby</i>: Ibid.</p>
272	<p><i>in future years</i>: Ibid.</p>
272	<p><i>possessing handguns</i>: Ibid.</p>
272	<p><i>law enforcement officers</i>: Ibid.</p>
272	<p><i>menace of handguns</i>: Ibid.</p>
272	<p><i>shrinking political base</i>: See Memorandum from William E. Timmons to Geoffrey Shepard, “Gun Control Legislation,” September 4, 1973, William E. Timmons Papers, box 30, folder Crime-Gun Control Ammunition (Yorba Linda, CA: Richard Nixon Presidential Library) (hereinafter Timmons Papers); Memorandum from Tom</p>

	<p>C. Korolgos to William E. Timmons, "Shepard's Gun Memo," August 31, 1973, Timmons Papers, box 30, folder Crime-Gun Control Ammunition; Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Mel Laird, "Gun Control," August 20, 1970, Timmons Papers, box 30, folder Crime-Gun Control Ammunition. <i>See also</i> Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to David Parker, "Listening Session on Possible Gun Control Legislation," September 12, 1971, Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control; Memorandum from Geoffrey Shepard to Richard M. Nixon, "Gun Control Legislation," September 12, 1973, Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control.</p>
272	<p><i>across State lines</i>: "Backwash from Watergate: New U.S. Attorney General Turns Out to be Kennedy Anti-Gun Pal," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1973, p. 21.</p>
272	<p><i>privately owned handguns</i>: "An Injustice to Handgun Owners," <i>American Rifleman</i>, October 1973, pp. 24-25; "New Problems for Nixon!" <i>Gun Week</i>, October 5, 1973, p. 4. <i>See also</i> "Panel Urges Gun Ban," <i>Gun Week</i>, August 24, 1973, p. 1.</p>
273	<p><i>firearms control issue altogether</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, C.E. Clayton, "Watergate Events Threaten Nixon Pro-Gun Stand," <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, January 1974, pp. 8, 73; "Watergate Provides a 'Breather'," <i>Gun Week</i>, August 10, 1973, p. 4. This is not to say the NRA and other gun rights advocates do their utmost to sensationalize the potential for firearms controls, especially when Watergate ended. <i>See</i> "Act Before It Is Too Late," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1974, pp. 24-25; Harlon B. Carter, "The Issue Is Crime Not Guns!" <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, August 1974, pp. 30-31, 86; Harlon B. Carter, "The Saturday Night Special," <i>Guns & Ammo</i>, June 1974, pp. 24-25; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Senate Blocks Kennedy Anti-Gun Campaign," <i>American Rifleman</i>, May 1974, pp. 39-41; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: New House Bills Aimed at Prohibiting Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1974, pp. 46-49; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: House Committee to hold Up Gun Bills," <i>American Rifleman</i>, March 1974, pp. 43-45; "'Saturday Night Special' Issue Sparks Fresh Drive on Handguns," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1974, pp. 18-19; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Justice Denies Plans for 'Comprehensive' Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i>, February 1974, pp. 44-46; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Sikes Urges Firm Stand Against More Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i>, January 1973, pp. 47-49.</p>
273	<p><i>Michigan constituency</i>: <i>See, e.g.</i>, "Ford Sees New Respect for Law, Opposes Gun Controls," <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> (MI), December 4, 1970, p. A2; Gerald R. Ford, "Your Washington Review," July 31, 1968, Gerald R. Ford Congressional Papers, box D2, folder Newsletters May-October 1968 (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Ford Congressional Papers); Gerald R. Ford, "Your Washington Review," July 3, 1968, Ford Congressional Papers, box D2, folder Newsletters May-October 1968; Gerald R. Ford, "Your Washington Review," June 19, 1968, Ford Congressional Papers, box D2, folder Newsletters May-October 1968; Gerald R. Ford, Speech Before Virginia Press Association, June 15, 1968, Ford Congressional Papers, box D25, folder Virginia Press Association Annual Banquet; Gerald R. Ford, "Your Washington Review," April 28, 1965, Ford Congressional Papers, box D2, folder Newsletters January-May 1965.</p>

273	<i>opposing most firearms controls</i> : Memorandum from Jack Marsh to Jim Cannon, March 10, 1975, James Cannon Papers, box 21, folder Dick Parsons (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Cannon Papers) (noting that most of Ford's statements on firearms controls fell into the "anti-gun regulation category").
273	<i>Charles Whitman</i> : See, e.g., Press Conference Transcript, "The Republican Leadership of the Congress," June 13, 1968, Robert T. Hartman Papers, box 51, folder Eve and Jerry Show, June 13, 1968 (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Hartman Papers); Carl Wolff, "Our Man in Washington: The Cry for Gun Laws," <i>Guns Magazine</i> , November 1966, pp. 18-19; "LBJ Calls for Gun Control Measure Passage," <i>Traverse City Record-Eagle</i> (MI), August 3, 1966, sec. 2, p. 1; Gerald R. Ford, Press Release, "Statement by House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford-Michigan," August 2, 1966, Ford Congressional Papers, box D7, folder Ford Press Releases.
273	<i>succeed Agnew</i> : "Ford Replacing Agnew," <i>Gun Week</i> , October 26, 1973, p. 4.
273	<i>movement moving forward</i> : "Anti-Rockefeller Stand Brings Nationwide Publicity," <i>Point Blank</i> , November 1974, p. 6; "Anti-Gun Rockefeller To Be Vice-President," <i>Armed Citizens News</i> , September 1974, p. 1; "Citizens Committee...Opposes Rockefeller," <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1974, pp. 1, 4.
273	<i>organization's full support</i> : Letter from Gerald R. Ford to Maxwell E. Rich, NRA executive vice president, August 28, 1974, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Papers, White House Central Files, box 2300, folder National Rifle Association (Ann Arbor, MI: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library) (hereinafter Ford Presidential Papers).
273	<i>Nixon a year earlier</i> : Memorandum from Kenneth Cole to Gerald R. Ford, "Firearms," September 6, 1974, Shepard Files, box 5, folder Gun Control.

Chapter 9 Notes

274	<i>expanding its own stature</i> : Frustration within the gun rights community over the NRA's handling of several affairs had been brewing for some time. See "Legality of NRA Board Election Challenged by New 'NRA Membership' Organization," <i>Gun Week</i> , March 2, 1973, p. 5; "New Jersey Shooter Forms Organization Called 'NRA Membership for Better NRA'," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 26, 1973, pp. 1-2; "Gary Anderson Replaces True Davis on NRA Board of Directors Election Ballot," <i>Gun Week</i> , February 18, 1972, pp. 1-2; "Donation of Funds by NRA Directors to Tydings' Campaign Prompts Study," <i>Gun Week</i> , January 21, 1972, pp. 1-2; Harlon Carter, "NRA Membership Will Run NRA, So Do It, Says Former President," <i>Gun Week</i> , August 6, 1971, pp. 1, 5; "Members Have NRA Sitting on Powder Keg," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 23, 1971, p. 4; "NRA Rejects New Jersey Group's Petition for Self-Control Status," <i>Gun Week</i> , April 23, 1971, p. 3.
274	<i>political action groups</i> : See, e.g., "NRA Completing Shooting Center Land Acquisition," <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1973, p. 12; "NRA Acts to Buy 32,500 Acres as Center Site," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1973, pp. 18-21; "New Mexico May Be Site of NRA National Center," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May

	1973, p. 8; “National Shooting Center Gets NRA Go-Ahead at Annual Meet,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 20, 1973, pp. 1-2; “NRA Conclaves Breaks Records in Portland,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 12, 1972, pp. 1, 5; “What They Decided...,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1971, p. 60.
274	<i>away from Washington, D.C.</i> : “National Shooting Center Proposed,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1971, p. 42.
274	<i>getting politically involved</i> : “NRA Outlines Position on Lobbying Controls,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 29, 1973, p. 5; “The Knight in Rusty Armor Tackles an Imaginary Dragon,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1973, p. 16.
274	<i>pocketbooks elsewhere</i> : See, e.g., John S. Carroll, “NRA Should Form Separate Lobby Group,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 23, 1973, p. 5; W.S. Vickerman, “Gun Owners Must Improve Image of Legitimate Usage of Firearms,” <i>Gun Week</i> , February 16, 1973, p. 5; The Sportsmen Alliance of Michigan (SAM) was one such gun rights advocacy group. See “National Sportsmen’s Conference Annual Meeting in June,” <i>Gun Week</i> , June 1, 1973, p. 1; “National Group Forms in Michigan,” <i>Gun Week</i> , November 24, 1972, pp. 1, 3; “State Federation Planned,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 5, 1972, p. 4; “Sportsmen’s Conference Recommends Federation of State Associations,” <i>Gun Week</i> , May 5, 1972, pp. 1-2; “Sportsmen’s Talks Needed,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 17, 1972, p. 4; “SAM to Stage Conference of Sportsmen’s Leaders,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 17, 1972, pp. 1, 5.
274	<i>separately funded lobbying branch</i> : John M. Snyder, “Committee to Conduct Lobbying Study,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1973, p. 36.
275	<i>municipal governments</i> : Ibid.
275	<i>was non-partisan</i> : Ibid. See also “NRA Board Approves Lobbying Unit Study,” <i>Gun Week</i> , April 20, 1973, pp. 1-2.
275	<i>proposed firearms control legislation</i> : “NRA to Step Up Legislative Action,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1973, p. 15.
275	<i>\$500,000 in annual donations</i> : Ibid.
275	<i>response would be appropriate</i> : Ibid.
275	<i>efforts of the NRA</i> : “Snyder Selected for National Council,” <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), November 28, 1971, p. 3.
276	<i>support for firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., “Tell Gillette You’re Upset,” <i>Point Blank</i> , January 1976, p. 4; “The First Step,” <i>Point Blank</i> , March 1974, p. 1; “Guns, Media, and Politics,” <i>Point Blank</i> , February 1974, p. 1; “To Turn the Tide...,” <i>Point Blank</i> , January 1974, p. 1; “Committee Attacks YWCA,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , vol. 3, no. 3 (1973), p. 1; “The Violators,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , vol. 3, no. 1 (1972), p. 4; “Rapid Fire...,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , vol. 2, no. 3 (1972), p. 3; “Maryland Emulates Soviet Gun Controls,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , vol. 2, no. 1 (1971), p. 3; “Ultra Left Organizations Unify to Oppose 2nd

	Amendment of Bill of Rights,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , vol. 1, no. 1 (1970), p. 1.
276	<i>state, and national level</i> : “Right to Bear Arms Political Action Fund,” <i>Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Newsletter</i> , vol. 3, no. 4 (1973), p. 1. This helped attract nearly a dozen members of Congress to join the CCRKBA’s National Council Advisory within just a matter of months. <i>See</i> “Draw Bead at Backers of Gun Lid,” <i>Des Moines Tribune</i> (IA), May 11, 1974, p. 2; “Goldwater Joins Citizens Committee,” <i>Point Blank</i> , April 1974, pp. 1-2; “Congressional Advisory Council Increases to 10 Members in U.S. House of Representatives,” <i>Point Blank</i> , March 1974, pp. 4-5.
276	<i>Office of Legislative Affairs (OLA)</i> : Maxwell E. Rich, “Report by the Executive Vice President,” <i>Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Rifle Association of America, July 13-14, 1974</i> , Milton Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 8 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Library) (hereinafter Reckord Papers), pp. 2-3; “Report of the Firearms Legislation Committee,” <i>Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Rifle Association of America, July 13-14, 1974</i> , Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 8, p. 1; “Report of the President,” March 25, 1974, <i>Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Rifle Association, March 25-26, 1974</i> , Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 7, pp. 3-4. <i>See also</i> E.B. Mann, “In Sharp Focus,” <i>Shooting Industry</i> , April 1974, pp. 4-5.
276	<i>between the NRA and lawmakers</i> : John M. Snyder, “NRA Registers as Lobby to Uphold Gun Ownership,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1974, pp. 16-17.
276	<i>one inevitable word—money</i> : “Act Before It Is Too Late,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1974, p. 22.
276	<i>to gun control issues</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>
276	<i>well-heeled anti-gun organizations</i> : “The Terrible Thirty: Do We Need Them?” <i>Point Blank</i> , June 1974, p. 8; “The Terrible Thirty: Do We Need Them?” <i>Point Blank</i> , April 1974, p. 8. <i>See also</i> E.B. Mann, “In Sharp Focus,” <i>Shooting Industry</i> , September 1974, pp. 10-11; Harlon B. Carter, “Politicians Plot to Grab Our Freedoms and Arms,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , July 1974, pp. 24-25, 79 (making the argument why sportsmen, hunters, and firearms owners needed to be politically active come the 1974 elections).
277	<i>firearms control proponents</i> : “What the Lawmaker’s Are Doing: Risk of Anti-Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1975, p. 56.
277	<i>their election attempts</i> : “Election Results Threaten Right to Keep & Bear Arms: Demonstrated Need for Politicization of 50,000,000 Gun Owners,” <i>Point Blank</i> , November 1974, p. 1.
277	<i>guise of crime control</i> : “1975: The Outlook,” <i>Point Blank</i> , January 1975, p. 5. <i>See also</i> “Gun Control Again,” <i>News-Messenger</i> (Fremont, OH), February 20, 1975, p. 4 (CCRKBA stating that “1975 may prove to be the most trying year for gun

	owners and others who support the constitutionally guaranteed right to own firearms since 1968...”).
277	<i>total to fifty-three</i> : For the dramatic growth of the CCRKBA’s National Advisory Council, see “Rep. Marjorie S. Holt Joins the National Advisory Council,” <i>Point Blank</i> , June 1975, p. 2; “Citizens Committee Takes Lead of Pro-Gun Political Movement,” <i>Point Blank</i> , May 1975, p. 2; “National Advisory Council,” <i>Point Blank</i> , January 1975, p. 8.
277	<i>grew to seventy-one</i> : See Muriel Dobbin, “Gun Control: Congress Caught in the Crossfire,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> , July 27, 1975, p. K3.
277	<i>Robert F. Sikes</i> : Don Campbell, “Chiles Handed Ticklish Job,” <i>Florida Today</i> (Cocoa, FL), February 22, 1975, p. 6B.
277	<i>publications and public affairs</i> : See “Snyder Chairs Action Panel,” <i>Point Blank</i> , April 1975, p. 3; “Committee Steps Up Public Activities,” <i>Point Blank</i> , February 1975, pp. 1, 7.
277	<i>Institute for Legislative Action (ILA)</i> : See “We Must Continue Our Fight,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1975, p. 16; C.R. Gutermuth, “A Message from the President,” <i>National Rifle Association Official Family Newsletter</i> , January 20, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; National Rifle Association, “Report of the Vice President-Finance & Treasurer,” January 11-12, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; National Rifle Association, “Report of the Finance Committee,” January 11, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; Report from NRA president C.R. Gutermuth to NRA Executive Committee, January 11, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; Report from NRA executive vice president Maxwell E. Rich to the NRA Executive Committee, January 11, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; National Rifle Association, “Report of the NRA Publications Division,” January 10-11, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; Maxwell E. Rich, “Letter from the Executive Vice President,” <i>National Rifle Association Official Family Newsletter</i> , December 16, 1974, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 3; National Rifle Association, “Report of the Finance Committee,” July 13, 1974, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4; Memorandum from Ashley Halsey, Jr., NRA Publications Director, to NRA Executive Committee, “NRA Magazine Operations,” July 10, 1974, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 3; Letter from Maxwell E. Rich, NRA executive vice president, to Voting Members of the National Rifle Association, January 1975, Robert F. Sikes Papers, box 611, folder National Rifle Association 1975 (Pensacola, FL: University of West Florida Special Collections) (hereinafter Sikes Papers).
277	<i>OLA or LAU</i> : National Rifle Association, “Executive Committee Action Report,” January 11-12, 1975, Reckord Papers, series 5, box 14, folder 4, pp. 6-7.
278	<i>partisan political action</i> : Ibid.
278	<i>served at their behest</i> : Ibid. See also “NRA Forms Legislative Action Unit to Check Anti-Gun Moves,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1975, p. 16.

278	<i>Harlon B. Carter</i> : “1975 Seen Year for Gun Controls,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), September 28, 1975, p. A10; “Carter Ready to Tackle NRA’s Foes,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1975, p. 17; “NRA Establishes Institute for Legislative Action,” <i>NRA Unified Sportsmen of America Reports from Washington</i> , May 5, 1975, p. 1.
278	<i>gun rights movement</i> : “‘Never Yield’ Carter Says: NRA Past President Challenges Sportsmen to Grass Roots Action,” <i>Gun Week</i> , March 21, 1969, p. 7.
278	<i>encourage crime</i> : Harlon B. Carter, “Saturday Night Special,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , June 1974, pp. 24-25.
278	<i>prelude to a police state</i> : Harlon B. Carter, “Anti-Gun Hysteria Prelude to a Police State,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , December 1974, pp. 24-25; Harlon B. Carter, “The Issue is Crime Not Guns!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , August 1974, pp. 30-31, 86.
278	<i>methods of tyranny</i> : Harlon B. Carter, “Gun Control: Denial of Free Men’s Rights!” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1975, pp. 26, 27.
278	<i>created by firearms controls</i> : See, e.g., Harlon B. Carter, “Gun Control: Cure-All for a Soft-Boiled Society,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , July 1975, pp. 26-27; Harlon B. Carter, “Crime Without Punishment,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1974, pp. 38-39; Harlon B. Carter, “Politicians Plot to Grab Our Freedom and Arms,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , July 1974, pp. 24-25, 79.
278	<i>fixed values</i> : Harlon B. Carter, “Liberalism and Gun Control: JUST WHERE DO YOU DRAW THE LINE?” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , March 1975, pp. 28, 76.
278	<i>law-abiding, society</i> : Ibid.
278	<i>law-and-order society</i> : Ibid. For more on Carter’s view of race, racism, and firearms controls, see Harlon B. Carter, “Crime Control= Gun Control = Race Control???” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , February 1974, pp. 26-27, 76-78.
279	<i>conservative politicians</i> : See, e.g., Barry M. Goldwater, Speech Before the 100th Anniversary Banquet of the National Rifle Association, Washington, DC, April 7, 1971, Barry M. Goldwater Papers, series 6, box 58, folder 36 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Historical Association) (hereinafter Goldwater Papers).
279	<i>almost inseparable</i> : See, e.g., James A. McClure, Remarks Before the NRA Annual Convention’s General Session, April 1976, James A. McClure Papers, box 630, folder 16961 (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Special Collections) (hereinafter McClure Papers); Lawrence P. McDonald, “Guns in the Hands of the People,” <i>Point Blank</i> , January 1976, pp. 6-7; Barry M Goldwater, “Why Gun-Control Laws Don’t Work,” <i>Readers Digest</i> , December 1975, pp. 183-88; “Rep. Shulze Raps Anti-Gunners,” <i>Point Blank</i> , August 1975, p. 2; Lawrence P. McDonald, “Gun Control: We Must Defend the Second Amendment,” <i>American Opinion</i> , May 1975, pp. 1-8; G. Gordon Liddy, “Gun Control as People Control,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , April 1975, pp. 28-29; James K. Fitzpatrick, <i>How to Survive in Your Liberal School</i> (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1975), 161-73; Phoebe Courtney, <i>Gun Control Means People Control</i> (Littleton, CO: American Independent, 1974). This was particularly true among gun rights extremists. See, e.g., “The Oath Violators,”

	<i>Armed Citizen News</i> , March 1974, p. 1; Margaret Benson, "Posse Comitatus Will Seek Out Constitution Violators," <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , February 1974, p. 2; "NAKBA to Support Posse Comitatus Nationwide!" <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , January 1974, p. 1.
279	<i>license to do so</i> : See, e.g., "More Amendments Are Due: Assembly Unit Holds Fire on Gun Control Bill," <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), May 27, 1967, p. A5; "Assembly Unit Okays Gun Control Bills; Another is Deferred After Intrusion," <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), May 3, 1967, p. A12.
279	<i>he's going to do the shooting</i> : "Heavier Guard Set to Protect Reagan," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , May 10, 1967, pp. 13, 17. See also John Moon, "Reagan Gives His Views: Citizen's Right to Bear Arms," <i>Daily News-Post</i> (Monrovia, CA), May 10, 1967, p. 3; "Armed Negroes Disrupt California House Debate," <i>Gun Week</i> , May 26, 1967, p. 2 (quoting Reagan as stating there is "no reason why on the streets today a citizen should be carrying a loaded weapon."); Jeremy Rankin, "Armed Youths Invade Capitol: Legislators Stunned by Sudden Move," <i>San Bernardino County Sun</i> (CA), May 3, 1967, pp. A1, A2 (quoting Reagan as stating: "There's no reason why on the street today a citizen should be carrying loaded weapons... Americans don't go around carrying guns with the idea they're using them to influence other Americans.").
279	<i>announced his candidacy</i> : "[Bottom of Page]," <i>Point Blank</i> , June 1975, p. 2. See also "Former Governor Ronald Reagan Attacks Attorney General Levi's Anti-Gun Proposal," <i>Point Blank</i> , August 1975, pp. 4-5 (urging Point Blank readers to write Reagan and urge him to run for President).
279	<i>and a few others</i> : Ronald Reagan, "Ronald Reagan Champions Gun Ownership," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , September 1975, pp. 34-35.
279	<i>distrusted government</i> : Ibid., p. 35.
279	<i>promise of future security</i> : Ibid.
280	<i>forced to get behind</i> : Letter from Harlon B. Carter, NRA-ILA executive Director, to Robert F. Sikes, April 26, 1976, Sikes Papers, box 627, folder Firearms 1976; Letter from Harlon B. Carter, NRA-ILA executive Director, to Carl A. Albert, April 26, 1976, Carl A. Albert Papers, box LG 206, folder 21, Judiciary-Gun Control (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Albert Papers); Letter from Harlon B. Carter, NRA-ILA executive Director, to Thomas Jefferson Steed, April 26, 1976, Thomas Jefferson Steed Papers, box 80, folder 16, Judiciary-Gun Control 1976 (Norman, OK: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center) (hereinafter Steed Papers). Carter was, however, able to continue criticizing any perceived 'liberal thinking' hypocrisies. See Harlon B. Carter, "Why Gun Control is a National Menace," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1976, pp. 42-43.
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289	<i>availability of handguns</i> : Democratic Party Platform of 1976, July 12, 1976, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/1976-democratic-party-platform .
289	<i>supporting handgun registration</i> : See, e.g., Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign, Press Release, "The Hand-Gun Issue," January 16, 1976, Jimmy Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Sam Bleicher Subject Files, box 34, folder Gun Control (Atlanta, GA: Jimmy Carter Presidential Library) (hereinafter Carter Pre-Presidential Papers).
290	<i>candidate over the other</i> : By the summer of 1976, following Idaho senator James A. McClure's request that the NRA to get more politically involved, the NRA-ILA explored the possibility of forming a Political Action Committee (PAC). Robert Rees, "NRA's Members Told Group is Not 'Political' Enough," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> (IN), April 4, 1976, sec. 1, p. 26. However, it was not until October 1976 that an NRA-ILA PAC was formed. See "Records Show Talcott Outspent Panetta in Congressional Race," <i>Californian</i> (Salinas, CA), December 7, 1976, p. 16; Harlon B. Carter, "Why We Must Fight on Against Gun Controls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1976, p. 18 (the first mention of the NRA PAC in <i>American Rifleman</i>); "Charge NRA Harassment," <i>Kenosha News</i> (WI), October 29, 1976, p. 29 (noting the NRA PAC sent out postcards opposing Democratic congressmen Abner Mikva and Martin Russo).
290	<i>statements and articles on Carter</i> : See, e.g., "Ford-Carter Views on Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1976, p. 24; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Ford

	Signs NRA-Backed Measure,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1976, pp. 52-53; Harlon B. Carter, “Anti-Gunners Surround Jimmy Carter,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1976, p. 51; “Rifle Association Chief Hails Ford Pro-Gun Stance,” <i>Daily Oklahoman</i> (Oklahoma City, OK), September 16, 1976, p. 54; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: New Gun Curbs Urged by Party,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1976, p. 50; NRA-ILA, News Release, “President Gives Strong Pro-Firearms Statement,” September 16, 1976, Ford Presidential Papers, White House central Files, box 2300, folder National Rifle Association. <i>See also</i> Letter from Gerald R. Ford to Harlon B. Carter, NRA-ILA executive director, October 18, 1976, Ford Presidential Papers, White House central Files, box 2300, folder National Rifle Association (“I was pleased to see the October issue of <i>The American Rifleman</i> , and the article you wrote about the position of Jimmy Carter and his associates on the freedom to own firearms. I was glad that this same issue also gave good coverage to my position on this matter.”); Letter from Richard B. Cheney to Harlon B. Carter, NRA-ILA executive director, September 21, 1976, Ford Presidential Papers, White House central Files, box 2300, folder National Rifle Association.
290	<i>after the 1976 elections: See, e.g.,</i> “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: Two Gun Control Bills Still Loom as Threat,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1976, p. 46; “Sen. Mansfield Says ’76 Action Unlikely on Gun Bill,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), May 22, 1976, p. A23.
290	<i>legislation in this area:</i> Letter from Gerald R. Ford to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, September 14, 1976, Ford Presidential Papers, Wayne Valis Files, box 5, folder Gun Control Meeting; “Ford-Carter Views on Guns,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1976, p. 24.
290	<i>some federal official:</i> James Deakin, “Ford Promises Crusade Against Crime,” <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), September 27, 1976, p. 1A.
290	<i>national protection, period:</i> <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 4A (emphasis added).
291	<i>possession under our Constitution:</i> <i>Ibid.</i>
291	<i>considerable political outreach:</i> <i>See</i> Letter from Lindsey P. Henderson, Jr., Georgia Wildlife Federation president, to Jimmy Carter, July 20, 1976, Carlton Neville Papers, box 20, folder Gun Control (Atlanta, GA: Jimmy Carter Presidential Library) (hereinafter Neville Papers).
291	<i>sophisticated sportsman:</i> <i>See</i> Letter from Lindsey P. Henderson, Jr., Georgia Wildlife Federation president, to Jimmy Carter, July 20, 1976, Carlton Neville Papers, box 20, folder Gun Control (Atlanta, GA: Jimmy Carter Presidential Library) (hereinafter Neville Papers).
291	<i>statements on long guns:</i> Memorandum from Jane Yarn to Stu Eizenstat, “Registration of Handguns,” August 6, 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, Sam Bleicher Subject Files, box 34, folder Gun Control.
291	<i>on the firearms control issue:</i> Memorandum from Thomas Kimball, Jimmy Carter for President Task Force, “Sportsmen’s Concern with Gun Control,” August 6,

	1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, Sam Bleicher Subject Files, box 34, folder Gun Control; Memorandum from Stu Eizenstat to Jimmy Carter, "Re: Gun Control," August 3, 1976, Neville Papers, box 20, folder Gun Control.
291	<i>sponsored as governor</i> : Form Letter from Tom Lowndes to "Shooting Enthusiast," undated 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Jane Yarn Subject Files, box 253, folder Gun Control.
291	<i>since Theodore Roosevelt</i> : Form Letter from Jim Morrison, Conservationists for Carter, to sportsmen, undated 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Jane Yarn Subject Files, box 253, folder Gun Control.
292	<i>firearms was no more</i> : Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign, Flyer, "Jimmy Carter on Guns and Hunting," undated 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Jane Yarn Subject Files, box 253, folder Gun Control.
292	<i>protecting the sportsman's rights</i> : Ibid.
292	<i>wrote Carter</i> : Ibid.
292	<i>licensing, and waiting periods</i> : Ibid.
294	<i>and another in the South</i> : Jimmy Carter for President, Press Release, "Gerald Ford's Record on Gun Control," undated 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, Sam Bleicher Subject Files, box 34, folder Gun Control.
294	<i>for four more years</i> : Ibid.
294	<i>were not having it</i> : See, e.g., Ed Eck, [Campaign Report on Jimmy Carter in Montana], October 18, 1976, Ford Presidential Papers, Ford Committee Campaign Records, box C15, folder Montana (noting that Carter's support for handgun registration is making many Montanans nervous).
294	<i>anti-gun presidential candidate ever</i> : See, e.g., "President Issues Pro-Gun Statement," <i>Point Blank</i> , October 1976, pp. 8, 10; Jeffrey S. John, "Carter's Secret Stand on Firearms," <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , October 1976, pp. 33-34, 130-34; "What the Lawmakers Are Doing: New Gun Curbs Urged by Party," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1976, p. 50; "Jimmy Carter is Anti-Gun," <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , September 1976, pp. 3-4; "Democratic Convention Indulges in Anti-Gun Lust as Candidates, Platform, Fund Raiser Call for Gun Ban," <i>Point Blank</i> , August 1976, pp. 6-7; Ted Lattanzio, "National Democratic Platform Has Anti-Gun Plank," <i>NRA-ILA Reports from Washington</i> , July 7, 1976, p. 1; "Carter's Suspicious Cronies," <i>Gun Week</i> , July 2, 1976, p. 1; "Carter Fund-Raiser Mounts Attack on NRA," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1976, p. 39.
294	<i>end to our Second Amendment rights</i> : Form Letter from P.M. Goldman, Georgia Outdoor Sportsmen's Club, to firearms owners, undated 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Thomas Lowndes, Jr. Subject File, box 302, folder Gun Control.
294	<i>close friends and associates</i> : Harlon B. Carter, "Carter's Column," <i>NRA-ILA Reports from Washington</i> , September 20, 1976, p. 2.

294	<i>firearms depended on it</i> : Ibid.
294	<i>really wanted to stress</i> : Memorandum from Sam Bleicher to Carlton Neville, "Attached Paper on Ford Position on Gun Control," October 1, 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Jane Yarn Subject Files, box 253, folder Gun Control.
294	<i>abandoned it altogether</i> : See Letter from Jim Morrison, Conservationists for Carter executive director, to Seward Eber, Vermont Natural Resources Council executive director, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Jane Yarn Subject Files, box 253, folder Gun Control; Letter from Jim Morrison, Conservationists for Carter executive director, to Carlton Neville, September 30, 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, 1976 Presidential Campaign, Thomas Lowndes, Jr. Subject File, box 302, folder Guns and Hunting.
294	<i>and Field & Stream</i> : George Reiger, "Field & Stream Interviews Jimmy Carter," <i>Field & Stream</i> , November 1976, pp. 102-5; Charles Elliott, "Ford, Carter on the Issues," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , November 1976, pp. 82-83, 157
294	<i>anti-firearms control stand</i> : E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: The Record Speaks," <i>Field & Stream</i> , November 1976, pp. 14, 20.
294	<i>publication, American Hunter</i> : E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: The Record Speaks," <i>Field & Stream</i> , November 1976, pp. 14, 20.
295	<i>circulation of American Rifleman</i> : Compare, "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1976, p. 4 (showing a circulation of 1,125,000), with "Table of Contents," <i>American Hunter</i> , November 1974, p. 4 (showing the last publicized <i>American Hunter</i> circulation at 165,000).
295	<i>even remotely political</i> : From the first, October 1973 issue of <i>American Hunter</i> through the October 1976 issue, not one article or editorial appeared that remotely resembled the politically charged articles and editorials within the pages of <i>American Rifleman</i> . The November 1976 issue of <i>American Hunter</i> was notably the first and only issue until November 1977. From therein, following infamous 1977 Cincinnati Revolt, where the NRA's voting members reformed the organization to oppose any and all firearms controls, issues of <i>American Hunter</i> contained a reoccurring segment titled "Your NRA Update," which frequently contained politically charged articles and editorials. See, e.g. "Hunters Stunned by F.W.S. Study," <i>American Hunter</i> , March 1978, pp. 9-10; "Gun Owners Score Wings in Off Year Elections," <i>American Hunter</i> , February 1978, p. 12; "NRA Opposes Alaskan Bill," <i>American Hunter</i> , January 1978, p. 12; "Field Rep Program Increased by NRA," <i>American Hunter</i> , December 1977, pp. 10, 12.
295	<i>hunters to join the NRA</i> : "Why a Hunting Magazine," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1973, p. 18.
295	<i>until September 14</i> : Letter from Gerald R. Ford to Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, September 14, 1976, Ford Presidential Papers, Wayne Valis Files, box 5, folder Gun Control Meeting; "Ford-Carter Views on Guns," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1976, p. 24.

295	<i>for the November issue</i> : Letter from Ashley Halsey, Jr., <i>American Rifleman</i> editor, to John M. Carlin, Democratic Presidential Committee Southwest Regional Coordinator, October 5, 1976, Carter Pre-Presidential Papers, Sam Bleicher Subject Files, box 34, folder Gun Control.
295	<i>published in full</i> : “Mr. Carter’s Position Paper on Guns, Hunting,” <i>American Hunter</i> , November 1976, pp. 12-13.
295	<i>President John F. Kennedy</i> : Ashley Halsey, Jr., “The Election vs. You as a Hunter,” <i>American Hunter</i> , November 1976, pp. 11-12.
295	<i>Georgia Wildlife Foundation</i> : Ibid., pp. 12-13.
295	<i>Take your choice</i> : Ibid., p. 13.
295	<i>question on firearms controls</i> : “Transcript of the Final Debate Between 2 Presidential Candidates,” <i>New York Times</i> , October 23, 1976, https://www.nytimes.com/1976/10/23/archives/transcript-of-the-final-debate-between-2-presidential-candidates.html .
296	<i>handguns to commit crimes</i> : Ibid.
296	<i>only viable solution</i> : Ibid.
296	<i>who owned a handgun</i> : Ibid.
296	<i>registration of long guns</i> : Ibid.
296	<i>lead over Ford</i> : “Gallup Presidential Election Trial-Heat Trends, 1936-2008,” undated, <i>Gallup</i> , https://web.archive.org/web/20170630070844/http://www.gallup.com/poll/110548/gallup-presidential-election-trialheat-trends-19362004.aspx#4 .
296	49-48: Ibid.
296	<i>political pundits believed</i> : See, e.g., Charles Overby, “Ford Appears to Win Gun Control Duel,” <i>News-Messenger</i> (Fremont, OH), October 28, 1976, p. 20; “Important that Sportsmen Vote,” <i>Intelligencer Journal</i> (Lancaster, PA), October 22, 1976, p. 14.
296	<i>vote was politically exposed</i> : See, e.g., “Carter Victor Raises Hope for National Law (Despite Pro-Gun Lobby),” <i>Washington Report</i> , November 1976, Donald M. Fraser Papers, box 151, folder Gun Control 1976 (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society) (hereinafter Fraser Papers).
296	<i>hang their political hat</i> : In the December issue of <i>American Rifleman</i> , the NRA placed the blame on other gun rights advocacy groups, especially the CCRKBA and for ‘dividing’ gun rights efforts. See “Competing Groups Divide Gun Forces,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1976, p. 16.
296	<i>gun rights advocacy groups</i> : See, e.g., Morton Mintz, “Gun Control Candidates Contributing to Candidates,” <i>News Herald</i> (Port Clinton, OH), November 3, 1976, p. 7; “Gun Control Foes Full-Bore in Political Spending,” <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), November 3, 1976, p. 42; “Gun Control Opponents Give Funds,” <i>Lubbock</i>

	<i>Avalanche-Journal</i> (TX), November 2, 1976, p. 14C; "State Candidates Take Anti-Gun Control Funds," <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), November 2, 1976, p. 5. <i>See also</i> Alan Gottlieb, <i>The Gun Owner's Political Action Manual</i> (Ottawa, IL: Greenhill Publishers, 1976).
296	<i>pro-gun candidates</i> : Eric Rohrbach, "Victory Fund Helps Pro-Gun Candidates," <i>Point Blank</i> , July 1976, p. 2.
296	<i>creeping confiscation</i> : "Target 66," <i>Point Blank</i> , August 1976, p. 10.
297	<i>for the criminal element</i> : Form letter from Gun Owners of America Target '76 to Robert F. Sikes, undated 1976, Sikes Papers, box 627, folder Firearms 1976. <i>See also</i> Mark K. Shell, "Gun Rights Advocates Raising \$16,000 a Day," <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> (CA), June 27, 1976, p. 20; "Gun Enthusiasts Raise Thousands for Candidates Who Oppose Controls," <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ), April 25, 1976, p. A23; Letter from H.R. Richardson, Gun Owners of America chairman, to L. Francis Bouchey, October 41, 1975, Sikes Papers, box 627, folder Firearms 1976.
297	<i>Political Action Committee (PAC)</i> : Harlon B. Carter, "Why We Must Fight on Against Gun Controls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1976, p. 18. <i>See also</i> Neal Knox, "Institute Reports: Knox On: The Upcoming Congressional Elections," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1978, p. 99.
297	<i>cards on the firearms control issue</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Michael Frome, "Rate Your Candidate," <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1970, pp. 60-65.
297	<i>group was issuing them</i> : <i>See, e.g.</i> , Gun Owners of America, <i>A Voting Index on Firearms Legislation: How Your Legislators Stand on the Private Ownership and Use of Your Firearms</i> (Sacramento, CA: 1976); E.B. Mann, "The Record Speaks: Our Endangered Tradition," <i>Field & Stream</i> , November 1976, pp. 14, 16, 20; "Congressional Voting Records," <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , November 1976, pp. 4-6; "Dent's Record as Evaluated by Others," <i>Ligonier Echo</i> (PA), October 27, 1976, p. 31; Letter from Eric Rohrbach, CCRKBA projects director, to Thomas Jefferson Steed, October 18, 1976, Steed Papers, box 80, folder 16, Judiciary Gun-Control 1976; "CCRKBA Rates Congress," <i>Point Blank</i> , October 1976, pp. 2, 5, 8, 10; "U.S. House of Representatives Roll Call Votes 1968-1976," <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1976, pp. 4-11; "Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Rates Congress," <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1976, p. 1.
297	<i>no bearing on Election Day</i> : "Bill Frazier Takes a Stand on the Issues," <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), November 1, 1976, p. 13; "Laird Guttersen to U.S. Congress," <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), November 1, 1976, p. A12; "Frazier Cites His Firm Stand on All the Issues," <i>Palladium-Item</i> (Richmond, IN), October 31, 1976, p. 29; "N.R.A. Claim is Rebutted by Rep. Keys," <i>Kansas City Times</i> (MO), October 30, 1976, p. 5A; "Mazzoli's Gun Control Record is Being Distorted for Voters," <i>Courier-Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), October 29, 1976, p. A14; Bill Roden, "Gun-Control Views," <i>Post-Star</i> (Glens Falls, NY), October 28, 1976, p. 24; "Pattison: Rifle Unit's Statements Are False," <i>Times Record</i> (Troy, NY), October 27, 1976, p. 7; Ed Ryan, "Sportsmen's Group, NRA Endorse Ramsey," <i>Courier-</i>

	<i>Journal</i> (Louisville, KY), October 27, 1976, p. D4; “Open Forum,” <i>Telegraph-Forum</i> (Bucyrus, OH), October 26, 1976, p. 2.
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297	<i>This included Tydings:</i> “White House Tactics Hurt Him, Tydings Says,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), December 7, 1970, p. C4.
299	<i>overall political climate:</i> Letter from Joseph D. Tydings to Don C. Matchan, May 9, 1974, Joseph D. Tydings Papers, series 8, box 1, folder Gun Control 1965-1983 (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Special Collections) (hereinafter Tydings Papers).
299	<i>wrote Tydings:</i> Ibid.
299	<i>manufacture of Saturday Night Specials: See</i> Kay Mills, “It’s Who You Coalesce,” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), May 3, 1976, p. A11; Norman Wilson, “Tydings Issues Major Paper Repeating Stands on Crime,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), April 20, 1976, pp. C1-C2; Joseph D. Tydings, “Tydings Responds to Questions on Conservation, Handguns,” <i>News</i> (Frederick, MD), March 24, 1976, p. A4.
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	p. 5; “Tydings Trying to Defuse Gun Control Support Issue,” <i>Cumberland News</i> (MD), May 6, 1976, p. 2; Barry C. Rascover, “Tydings Admits ‘Mistake’ in Seeking Curb on Rifles,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), May 5, 1976, p. C1; Robert Timberg, “Tydings: Major Effort Set to Win Over Old Gun-Control Adversaries,” <i>Evening Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 4, 1976, p. C2; Barry C. Rascover, “Gun Issue Continues to Dog Tydings,” <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (MD), May 4, 1976, pp. C1-C2.
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300	<i>self-fulfilling prophecy</i> : Ralph Nader Congress Project, <i>The Judiciary Committees: A Study of the House and Judiciary Committees</i> (New York, NY: Grossman Publishers, 1975), 326.
300	<i>true within the NRA</i> : “Competing Groups Divide Gun Forces,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1976, p. 16.
300	<i>resigned his post</i> : <i>See</i> “Briefly, the Great Outdoors: Fish Plans Yield Trout Trophies,” <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), December 3, 1976, p. 59; Stan Green, “Greenhorn Notes,” <i>Alamogordo Daily News</i> (NM), November 21, 1976, p. 21.
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300	<i>over \$1 million</i> : “Streamlined NRA Staff Offers More Activities Within Balanced Budget,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1977, p. 18.
300	<i>after a year in Washington</i> : “Carter Resigns as Head of ILA,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1977, p. 42.
300	<i>Raton, New Mexico</i> : “New Leaders of National Rifle Association to Concentrate on Battle Against Gun Control,” <i>Cumberland News</i> (MD), May 24, 1977, p. 1; “NRA Dissidents Depose Chief in Gun-Control Fight,” <i>Independent</i> (Long Beach, CA), May 23, 1977, p. A7; “Gun Group Focus Spurs Agreement,” <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i> (OH), May 22, 1977, p. C7. <i>See also</i> “At the Outdoor Center Conservation is King,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1976, pp. 46-47; “Millions to Be Raised for Outdoor Center,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1976, p. 14.

300	<i>rest of our freedom</i> : Craig G. Mader, "Editor's Mailbag: Rifle Association Infiltrated, He Says," <i>News-Palladium</i> (Benton Harbor, MI), February 2, 1977, p. 2.
301	<i>Colorado Springs, Colorado</i> : "Progress Made Toward New NRA Headquarters," <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1976, p. 14. The decision to move the NRA headquarters was not all that really a surprise. The NRA announced the possibility of such a move as early as 1971. See "National Shooting Center Proposed," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1971, p. 42.
301	<i>National Rifle Association by 1978</i> : See John F. McManus, "NRA Being Subverted?" <i>Del Rio News Herald</i> (TX), May 15, 1977, p. 7; John F. McManus, "Open Revolt Threatened," <i>Daily Chronicle</i> (Centralia, WA), May 14, 1977, p. 6.
301	<i>defending the Second Amendment</i> : See Peter Leo, "NRA Pushing for Crime Control, Not Ban on Guns," <i>News Journal</i> (Wilmington, DE), May 9, 1977, p. 4; "Gun-Control Bills Face Bleak Future in House," <i>Naples Daily News</i> (FL), April 19, 1977, p. 13A; Peter C. Stuart, "US Gun-Control Movement Regrouping for New Assault," <i>Morning Herald</i> (Hagerstown, MD), March 14, 1977, p. 16; Bob Brink, "NRA Rallies against Gun Control," <i>Palm Beach Post</i> (FL), March 10, 1977, p. C2; Ralph Williams, "Rifle Group Opposing County Gun Control Rule," <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> (MO), January 23, 1977, p. 2C; Jack Anderson, "NRA, China Lobby, Yearly Review," <i>Jackson County Banner</i> (Brownstown, IN), January 8, 1977, p. 2; "Rifle Group Fighting DC Gun Controls," <i>Orlando Sentinel</i> (FL), December 9, 1976, p. 10B; "NRA in Court Fight Over DC Gun Control Law," <i>Des Moines Register</i> (IA), December 9, 1976, p. 2B. See also Ed Bedinghaus, "4 NRA Officers Ousted in Fight over Gun Curbs," <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , May 23, 1977, p. 1.
301	<i>funded to achieve this purpose</i> : In 1975 alone, the NRA-ILA raised over \$4,000,000 for operations in its first year—eight times its annual budget of \$500,000. See "NRA Stand: No Compromise on Gun Laws," <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1975, p. 44.
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301	<i>government control and interference</i> : Ibid.
301	<i>by the NRA board of directors</i> : Ibid., pp. 3-32.
302	<i>47.7 percent of respondents</i> : "Membership Drive, Survey Help NRA," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1977, p. 50.
302	<i>12.2 percent of respondents</i> : Ibid.
302	<i>general headquarters funds</i> : E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: For the NRA: A Mandate," <i>Field & Stream</i> , August 1977, pp. 14-15.

302	<i>right to keep and bear arms: See, e.g.,</i> Merrill W. Wright, “Dear NRA Member,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1977, p. 52; “Our Strength is Unity,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1977, pp. 18-20; “What If the Gun Lobby Moved Out of Washington?” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1977, pp. 44-45; “What the Lawmakers Are Doing: McClure Pro-Gun Bills Face the 95th Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1977, p. 47; “Last Year This Was a Saturday Night Special,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1977, pp. 42-43; “An Open Letter to the President Elect,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1977, p. 19.
302	<i>NRA’s first job: “The First Job: Protecting the Second Amendment,”</i> <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1977, p. 54.
302	<i>efforts of NRA lobbyists: “NRA Unwelcome in Washington: Annual Meeting Switched to Cincinnati,”</i> <i>Kingston Daily Freeman</i> (NY), May 20, 1977, p. 5.
302	<i>as a better solution: Ibid.</i>
302	<i>officials that supported him: Davidson, Under Fire</i> , p. 36. <i>See also</i> Jim Carmichael, “The NRA Revolution,” <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1977, pp. 102–105; Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, “Unleashed: Militants of the National Rifle Association,” <i>Ithaca Journal</i> (NY), May 30, 1977, p. 10; Reginald Stuart, “Rifle Group Ousts Most Leaders in Move to Bolter Stand on Guns,” <i>New York Times</i> , May 23, 1977, p. 16.
302	<i>fight against firearms controls: See</i> Harry Kelly, “New NRA Chief Draws a Bead on Gun Control,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , May 29, 1977, pp. 1, 14; “Rifle Group to Push Right to Bear Arms,” <i>Clarion-Ledger</i> (MS), May 24, 1977, p. 2; “Dissidents Take Control of Rifle Association,” <i>Clarion-Ledger</i> (MS), May 23, 1977, p. 25; “NRA Dissidents Stage Coup,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , May 23, 1977, p. 5; “Rifle Association Rebels Dispose Top Officer in Coup,” <i>Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD), May 23, 1977, p. 1. For the NRA’s version of what transpired immediately after the fact, see “Concerned NRA Members Redirect Their Association,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1977, pp. 16–17.
302	<i>own and use firearms: Harlon B. Carter, “This Is Your NRA,”</i> <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1978, p. 60. <i>See also</i> “Your NRA Update: Field Rep Program Increased by NRA,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1977, p. 8. To get a sense of how significant this change was in effectively advancing the NRA’s lobbying and advocacy efforts, just a decade earlier there were only four lobbyists, lawyers, and researchers working at the NRA’s headquarters, yet this small group was rather effective at stalling or thwarting the passage of firearms controls. <i>See</i> Franklin L. Orth, “Sportsmen and Gun Laws,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1969, pp. 46-47
302	<i>most basic freedoms: See, e.g., “Institute Reports: Carter White House Gets Taste of Gun Lobby Might,”</i> <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1978, p. 78; “Your Check on Congress!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1978, p. 64.
303	<i>no evidence you ever will: Harlon B. Carter quote taken from “Guns: A Rare Look at the NRA,”</i> <i>60 Minutes</i> , September 18, 1977, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cKWhZofa2BU .

303	<i>as political saviors</i> : See, e.g., E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: The NRA: Bigger, Better, Bolder," <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1979, pp. 10, 28; E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: The NRA: An Update," <i>Field & Stream</i> , November 1978, pp. 8, 10, 67; "Mailroom Problems at NRA Headquarters Will Be Corrected," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1977, p. 8; "By Laws Available," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1977, pp. 60-68; Jim Carmichael, "The NRA Revolution," <i>Outdoor Life</i> , September 1977, pp. 102-105; "Your NRA Update: Executive Committee Meets," <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1977, pp. 8, 10; E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: For the NRA: A Mandate," <i>Field & Stream</i> , August 1977, pp. 14-15; "Concerned NRA Members Redirect Their Association," <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1977, pp. 16-17.
303	<i>decrease in membership</i> : The circulation numbers of <i>American Rifleman</i> weigh this out. At the time of the 1977 Cincinnati Revolt, <i>American Rifleman</i> circulation was at 1,242,000. "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1977, p. 4. A year later, circulation dropped as low as 1,040,000. "Table of Contents," <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1977, p. 4.
303	<i>two million by 1982</i> : "Membership Hits New High of More Than 1.3 Million," <i>NRA Official Journal</i> , reprinted in <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1979, p. 1. See also E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: The NRA: Bigger, Better, Bolder," <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1979, p. 10. The NRA would reach its goal five months early. See Harlon B. Carter, "A Bigger and Better NRA," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1981, p. 50 (noting that NRA membership reached 2,008,011 on July 31, 1981). For a helpful chart of the NRA's membership growth from the close of 1974 to the close of 1980, see "Never Before in History Has the NRA Offered More Benefits, Programs and Services. Be Sure You Know," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1981, p. 42.
303	<i>good first step</i> : Memorandum from Robert Lipshutz et al to Jimmy Carter, "Draft Handgun Control Legislation," June 13, 1977, Jimmy Carter Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control (Atlanta, GA: Jimmy Carter Presidential Library) (hereinafter Carter Presidential Papers).
304	<i>speculative claims</i> : For an accurate summary of the draft bill's contents, see Memorandum from Stuart Eizenstat to Annie M. Gutierrez, "Summary of Draft Handgun Legislation," July 18, 1977, Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control.
304	<i>President over gun control</i> : "Possible Move Seen on BATF/Justice Dept Bill," <i>Weekly Bullet</i> , June 27, 1977, in Carter Presidential Papers, Annie Gutierrez's Subject File, box 20, folder Gun Control.
304	<i>with the Carter administration</i> : See "CCRKBA Leads Fight in Nation's Capital for Gun Owners' Rights as Snyder Moves to Thwart White House-Congressional Anti-Gun Gang Up," <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1977, pp. 4-5.
304	<i>NRA was in disarray</i> : The memorandum was stapled to a CCRKBA letter dated September 13, 1977, which denotes the memorandum was written not long after the letter's receipt. See "Reasons for Proceeding Expeditiously with an Administration

	Handgun Control Proposal,” [mid-to-late September 1977], Carter Presidential Papers, Annie Gutierrez’s Subject File, box 20, folder Gun Control; Letter from John M. Snyder, CCRKBA, to Annie M. Gutierrez, September 13, 1977, Annie Gutierrez’s Subject File, box 20, folder Gun Control.
304	<i>traditional sportsmen’s attitudes</i> : Reasons for Proceeding Expeditiously with an Administration Handgun Control Proposal,” [mid-to-late September 1977], Carter Presidential Papers, Annie Gutierrez’s Subject File, box 20, folder Gun Control.
304	<i>take immediate action</i> : Ibid.
304	<i>larger crime bill</i> : See Memorandum to Media Liaison Staff, “Gun Control,” July 29, 1977, Carter Presidential Papers, Press Files, box 76, folder Handgun Control; Memorandum from Stuart Eizenstat to Jimmy Carter, “Gun Control Bill,” July 22, 1977, Carter Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control.
304	<i>federally licensed dealers</i> : “Worst Firearms Bill Yet Has White House Okay,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1978, p. 47.
304	<i>from selling handguns</i> : Memorandum from Stuart Eizenstat to Annie M. Gutierrez, “Summary of Draft Handgun Legislation,” July 18, 1977, Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control.
305	<i>handguns were purchased from</i> : Ibid.
305	<i>we quietly drop it</i> : Memorandum from Stuart Eizenstat to Annie M. Gutierrez, “Summary of Draft Handgun Legislation,” July 18, 1977, Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control.
306	<i>firearms control campaign promises</i> : Memorandum from Stuart Eizenstat to Annie M. Gutierrez, “Summary of Draft Handgun Legislation,” July 18, 1977, Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control.
306	<i>timetable has been set</i> : See Memorandum from Annie Gutierrez to [Franklin White], “[Handguns],” July 2, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 9, folder Handgun Working File; Memorandum from Stuart Eizenstat and Annie Gutierrez to Jimmy Carter, “Handgun Policy,” May 23, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Subject File, box 165, folder Gun Control; Memorandum to Media Liaison, [Gun Control], April 27, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers, White House Press Office, box 16, folder Gun Control.
306	<i>improving its firearms tracing program</i> : See “Firearms,” <i>Federal Register</i> , vol. 43, pp. 11803-10 (March 21, 1978).
306	<i>changes were modest</i> : Memorandum from Annie Gutierrez to [Franklin White], “[Handguns],” July 2, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 9, folder Handgun Working File. See also Memorandum from Robert Carswell, Department of Treasury deputy secretary, to Stuart E. Eizenstat, “Proposed Firearms Regulations,” March 3, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers, Annie Gutierrez Subject File, box 20, folder Gun Control.

306	<i>attempt at federal firearms registration: See, e.g.,</i> E.B. Mann, “Our Endangered Tradition: Rex and Richard...and Jimmy, <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1978, pp. 14, 16; Lee Roderick, “NRA Sounds Alarm,” <i>Daily Journal</i> (Flat River, MO), May 19, 1978, p. 2; “NRA Up in Arms Again,” <i>Clarion-Ledger</i> (Jackson, MS), May 12, 1978, p. 10; “Ashbrook Attacks Proposed BATF Regulations as Gun Lobbyists Confront Treasury on Issue,” <i>Point Blank</i> , May 1978, p. 3; “BATF: National Gun Registration,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , May 1978, p. 54.
306	<i>claimed Knox:</i> Paul Stone, “Battle Lines Are Drawn in News Gun Control Fight,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , July 23, 1978, p. A3. <i>See also</i> “Congress Moves Against BATF Regs,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , June 1978, pp. 28-29.
306	<i>Nazi Germany:</i> “DeConcini Says Ad Was Wrong,” <i>Arizona Daily Sun</i> (Flagstaff, AZ), July 30, 1978, p. 5; “Congressman Ashbrook Skewers U.S. Treasury Department Officials as CCRKBA and NRA Unite to Battle Proposed BATF Firearms Regulations,” <i>Point Blank</i> , June 1978, pp. 4-5, 7; Tom Fegely, “Outdoors: Rifle Association, Sen. Schweiker Take Aim at Treasury Dept. Firearms Registration Proposal,” <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), April 18, 1978, p. C3.
306	<i>95 percent of which were in opposition:</i> “Looking Back on the 95th Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , December 1978, pp. 81, 82; “Carter White House Gets Taste of Gun Lobby Might,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1978, p. 78.
306	<i>against law-abiding firearms owners: See, e.g.,</i> Bert S. Sanborn, “The Taggant Question,” <i>Bangor Daily News</i> (ME), November 6, 1978, p. 18; “NRA Resolution Protests Bureaucratic Harassment,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1978, pp. 91, 96; William S. Garrison, “Citizens’ Rights,” <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), August 18, 1978 p. 4; Fenton Roskelley, “Bureau Agents ‘Intimidating’,” <i>Spokane Chronicle</i> (WA), July 10, 1978, p. 22; Ken Leal Jr., Lone Oak Rifle Club president, “Guns Preserve Laws,” <i>Longview Daily News</i> (WA), June 21, 1978, p. 83; Gary D. Warner, “Gather ‘Round Your Radio—And Don’t Answer the Door,” <i>Kansas City Star</i> (MO), May 24, 1978, p. 4C; Tom Opre, “It’s Time to Join the Fight Against ‘Carter Gun Bill’,” <i>Detroit Free Press</i> , May 21, 1978, p. 8E; Bob Barnet, “After the Ball: ‘Revenuers’ and Guns—the Wrong Watchdogs?” <i>Star Press</i> (Muncie, IN), May 21, 1978, p. C1. <i>See also</i> David T. Hardy, <i>The BATF’s War on Civil Liberties: The Assault on Gun Owners</i> (Bellevue, WA: Second Amendment Foundation, 1979).
306	<i>parroted them: See, e.g.,</i> Charles Stafford, “The Rifle Lobby Takes Aim and Again Hits a Bull’s-Eye,” <i>St. Petersburg Times</i> (FL), June 12, 1978, pp. 1A, 5A; “Bauman Blasts BATF ‘Honored’ to be CCRKBA Advisor,” <i>Point Blank</i> , June 1978, pp. 1, 3.
306	<i>improve the firearms-tracing program:</i> “Carter White House Gets Taste of Gun Lobby Might,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1978, pp. 78-80.
307	<i>for firearms registration purposes:</i> “Carter White House Gets Taste of Gun Lobby Might,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , July 1978, pp. 78-80.

307	<i>Treasury regulations</i> : Memorandum from Annie Gutierrez to [Franklin White], “[Handguns],” July 2, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 9, folder Handgun Working File.
307	<i>office-seekers ever attempted</i> : Neal Knox, “The Front Line: Choosing Political Candidates,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1978, pp. 83-84. Conversely, in line with previous election cycles, the CCRKBA published their political grades in full. <i>See</i> “Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Compiles Congressional Votes on Firearms Legislation,” <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1978, pp. 1, 3-5.
307	<i>health PAC category</i> : Federal Election Commission, “Leading PACs in 1978 Elections,” <i>The Washington Lobby</i> (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1979), 75; E.B. Mann, “Our Endangered Tradition: Let’s Not Fight Each Other!,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , February 1979, pp. 14, 16; “Gun Lobby’s Mixed Record,” <i>Lincoln Star Journal</i> (NE), January 17, 1979, p. 8; “Pro-Gun Voters Shape 96th Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1979, pp. 66-68; “NRA Expects Attacks But Not From Friends,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1978, pp. 80-82.
307	<i>executive director Knox</i> : “Pro-Gun Voters Shape 96th Congress,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1979, pp. 66-68. According to the NRA, the 83% number was up from 72% for the 1976 elections. <i>See</i> Neal Knox, “Knox On: The Upcoming Congressional Elections,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1978, p. 99.
308	<i>Hubert H. Humphrey</i> : For information on the “Dump Fraser” campaign, see “NRA-PVF Scores ‘Dump Fraser’ Campaign Success,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1978, p. 82; Form Letter from Neal Knox, NRA-ILA executive director, to NRA members, “Democratic-Farmer-Labor,” August 14, 1978, Fraser Papers, box 151, folder Gun Control 1978; Form Letter from Neal Knox, NRA-ILA executive director, to NRA members, “NRA Political Victory Fund,” August 28, 1978, Fraser Papers, box 151, folder Gun Control 1978. The “Dump Fraser” campaign appears to have been a joint campaign with pro-life advocates. <i>See</i> David S. Broder, “Minnesota’s Democrats in Turmoil,” <i>Washington Post</i> , September 10, 1978, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/09/10/minnesotas-democrats-in-turmoil/926383a6-3d44-420c-9b4b-f43ffbf431b/ .
308	<i>400,000 votes</i> : Short and Durenberger maintained a similar firearms control policy position. <i>See</i> “Durenberger and Short on the Issues,” <i>Minneapolis Star</i> (MN), November 3, 1978, p. 6A.
308	<i>provisions in the Gun Control Act</i> : <i>See</i> “More Than 40% of Representatives Now Co-Sponsor Gun Law Reform Bill,” <i>Point Blank</i> , October 1980, pp. 3, 7; “Senate Majority Backs McClure Reform Effort,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1980, p. 55; “56 Senators Co-Sponsor Gun Law Reform Measure,” <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1980, p. 1; Mary McGrory, “McGovern a Disappointment to Advocates of Tougher Gun Control,” <i>Rapid City Journal</i> (SD), August 7, 1980, p. 4; Mary McGrory, “NRA Outguns the Public: Candidates Shut Suicide on Pistol Control,” <i>News and Observer</i> (Raleigh, NC), August 4, 1980, p. 4; “Update: Volkmer-McClure Reform Bill,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1980, p. 57; “Over 1/4 of House Now Supporting Reform Bill,” <i>Point Blank</i> , August 1980, p. 3; Mary McGrory, “Guns: Both Sides Continue to Argue Over Controls,” <i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix, AZ),

	<p>July 29, 1980, p. A7; "Support for H.R. 5225 Increases," <i>Point Blank</i>, June 1980, p. 2; "Anti-Gun Control Bill Draws Broad Support," <i>Ithaca Journal</i> (NY), May 26, 1980, p. 8; "Over 100 Congressmen Now Gunning for GCA-68," <i>Point Blank</i>, May 1980, p. 1; Bob Traxler, "America Needs H.R. 5225," <i>Point Blank</i>, March 1980, pp. 3, 7; "40 Senators Now Support Gun Law Reform," <i>Point Blank</i>, November 1979, p. 2; "One-Third Senate Supports McClure Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i>, December 1979, p. 55; "Gun Law Support Growing," <i>Point Blank</i>, December 1979, p. 3. <i>See also</i> "GCA Failures Breed BATF Abuses," <i>American Rifleman</i>, July 1980, pp. 57-58 (describing how the McClure-Volkmer Firearms Control Act would both repeal Gun Control Act provisions and curtail BATF abuses); "Direction of BATF Questioned," <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1980, p. 67; "Institute Reports: Senators Told of More BATF Abuses," <i>American Rifleman</i>, June 1980, pp. 66-67; "Volkmer Joins Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms and Discusses Pro-Gun Legislative Strategy With Two CCRKBA Lobbyists," <i>Point Blank</i>, March 1980, pp. 4-6; John M. Snyder, "H.R. 5225," <i>Point Blank</i>, March 1980, p. 1; "Rep. Volkmer Introduces Reform Bill," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1979, p. 58; "Institute Reports: BATF Abuses Exposed to Senators," <i>American Rifleman</i>, September 1979, pp. 56-57; "Institute Reports: Knox Declares War on GCA '68," <i>American Rifleman</i>, April 1979, p. 61.</p>
308	<p><i>gun rights supporting lawmaker</i>: <i>See</i> Neal Peirce, "Gun Control: The Issue That's a Non-Issue," <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>, October 6, 1980, p. 9A; Louis Harris, "78% Now Favoring Handgun Controls," <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), August 19, 1979, p. 3E; Louis Harris, "Big Majority Favors Controls on Handguns," <i>St. Petersburg Times</i> (FL), August 16, 1979, p. 17A; "Pollster's Opinion: Americans Back Gun Controls," <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), October 25, 1975, p. 5A.</p>
308	<p><i>lure the sportsmen's vote</i>: "The Two Faces of Birch Bayh," <i>Point Blank</i>, October 1980, p. 7.</p>
308	<p><i>basic Constitutional rights</i>: Birch Bayh, "Bayh Lines: Right to Bear Arms," <i>Times-Mail</i> (Bedford, IN), September 24, 1980, p. 2.</p>
308	<p><i>having endorsed Bayh</i>: Despite denying having endorsed Bayh, the NRA did publish a positive article on the Indiana senator going into the 1980 election. <i>See</i> "Institute Reports: Bayh Questions BATF 'Reforms'," <i>American Rifleman</i>, November 1980, p. 50.</p>
308	<p><i>stated an NRA spokesperson</i>: "Bayh NRA Letter Just a 'Thank You'," <i>Indianapolis News</i> (IN), October 22, 1980, p. 8. <i>See also</i> "Quayle, Bayh Trade Accusations," <i>Call-Leader</i> (Elwood, IN), October 21, 1980, p. 1.</p>
310	<p><i>on Congress's shoulders</i>: <i>See</i> Memorandum from Franklin White and Mark Cunha to Stuart Eizenstat, "Policy on Handgun Legislation," December 12, 1979, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 9, folder Handgun Working File; Letter from Franklin White to David J. Steinberg, National Council for Responsible Firearms Policy, June 15, 1979, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 10, folder Handgun Working File; Letter from Stuart E. Eizenstat to R.T. Stern, May 15, 1979, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 10, folder Handgun Working File; Jimmy Carter, "The</p>

	President's News Conference," April 10, 1979, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-981 ; Letter from Stuart E. Eizenstat to Abner J. Mikva, February 15, 1979, Carter Presidential Papers, Stuart Eizenstat Form Letters, box 108, folder Gun Control; Memorandum from W. Michael Blumenthal, Department of Treasury, to Jimmy Carter, February 1, 1979, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 10, folder Handgun Working File. <i>See also</i> "The President Retreats; Senator Kennedy to Act," <i>Washington Report</i> , May 1979, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 10, folder Handgun Working File.
310	<i>record opposing firearms controls</i> : "Reagan, Connally, Crane Big Winners in Nation's First Presidential Preference Poll of Firearms Owners, Conducted by Citizens Committee," <i>Point Blank</i> , February 1980, pp. 4-5.
310	<i>calling Anderson a traitor</i> : For some different accounts of the forum, see E.B. Mann, "Our Endangered Tradition: Gun Ownership Views," <i>Field & Stream</i> , July 1980, pp. 22-23; "Institute Reports: N.H. Rally Draws Presidential Hopefuls," <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1980, pp. 59-60; Mark Nelson, "Anderson Hopes Plain Talk, Liberal Bent Aid Him in NH," <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> , February 24, 1980, p. 2A; "Gun Supporters' Boos Shoot Down Anderson's Speech," <i>Daily Record</i> (Morristown, NJ), February 19, 1980, p. 3; "Rep. Anderson Draws Fire for Favoring Gun Control," <i>St. Louis Dispatch</i> (MO), February 19, 1980, p. 4A; "N.H. Crowd Hits Licensing: Gun Control Fans Boo Anderson," <i>Lancaster New Era</i> (PA), February 19, 1980, p. 7.
310	<i>advertisements, and broadcasts</i> : The CCRKBA was also very critical of Kennedy. <i>See, e.g.</i> , "Kennedy Measure Would Establish Justice Department Dictatorship," <i>Point Blank</i> , December 1979, pp. 1, 4-5, 8; "Ted Kennedy: A Man Whose Time Has Come...and Gone," <i>Point Blank</i> , November 1979, pp. 2, 7.
310	<i>Kennedy Wins, You Lose</i> : The first NRA-ILA advertisement against Kennedy appeared in the September 1979 edition of <i>American Rifleman</i> , wherein the NRA-ILA used the possibility of a Kennedy run for President to fundraise for the Political Victory Fund. <i>See</i> "The Next President?" <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1980, p. 59.
310	<i>memory on the firearms control issue</i> : Neal Knox, "Will the Real Kennedy Please Stand Up?" <i>Sioux City Journal</i> (IA), January 20, 1980, p. C9.
310	<i>with you to the polls</i> : Neal Knox, "Seventeen Good Reasons for Sportsmen to Vote Against Senator Ted Kennedy on April 22 in the Democratic Primary," <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), April 13, 1980, p. C11.
310	<i>cause of gun rights</i> : "Close the Door on Kennedy!" <i>Morning Call</i> (Allentown, PA), April 18, 1980, p. C7.
312	<i>right to keep and bear arms</i> : "Four Years of the Carter Administration: An Affront to the Rights of Gun Owners," <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1980, p. 59.
312	<i>firearms and hunting rights</i> : <i>Ibid.</i>

313	<i>owners and hunters</i> : “Institute Reports: NRA Endorses Reagan: A Reagan Victory Equals Gun Owner Victory,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1980, p. 58.
313	<i>polls by 4 points</i> : “Gallup Presidential Election Trial-Heat Trends, 1936-2008,” undated, <i>Gallup</i> , https://web.archive.org/web/20170630070844/http://www.gallup.com/poll/110548/gallup-presidential-election-trialheat-trends-19362004.aspx#4 .
313	<i>gun owners at the polls</i> : “Institute Reports: Sportsmen Key to November Victories,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , January 1981, p. 62.
313	<i>sportsmen across the country</i> : Ibid.
313	<i>certainly thought so</i> : See, e.g., E.B. Mann, “Our Endangered Tradition: Friendly Fall Out from Election,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , March 1981, pp. 16, 19; “Reagan Wins with Pro-Gun Support,” <i>Point Blank</i> , December 1980, p. 3; Ben Callaway, “Reagan Election is Good Medicine for the Sportsman,” <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , November 6, 1980, p. 8C.
313	<i>evidence that confirms it</i> : See “NRA: Top Gun in Washington,” <i>The Washington Lobby</i> (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1982), 131-36.
313	<i>further firearms regulations</i> : See, e.g., Jack Samson, “Reagan on Guns, Hunting,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , October 1980, pp. 56-57, 131-35; Rich Kirkpatrick, “Reagan, Bush Woo Sportsmen,” <i>Standard-Speaker</i> (Hazleton, PA), September 25, 1980, p. 20; Scott Macleod, “Bush Addresses Sportsmen: Freedom for Gun Owners Promised by Candidate,” <i>Tyrone Daily Herald</i> (PA), September 20, 1980, p. 1; Ronald Hawkins, “Bush Speaks to Sportsmen in Carlisle,” <i>Sentinel</i> (Carlisle, PA), September 20, 1980, p. 1; “Reagan Runs on Pro-Gun Platform,” <i>Point Blank</i> , September 1980, pp. 4-5; John D. Lofton, Jr., “Reagan-Bush Views Compared,” <i>Clarksdale Press Register</i> (MS), August 3, 1980, p. 5A. When Bush and Reagan were both vying for the Republican nomination, the latter hit the former for having voted for the Gun Control Act. See David Nyhan, “Right Wing Comes to Reagan’s Aid,” <i>Boston Globe</i> , May 3, 1980, p. 3.
313	<i>law-abiding firearms owners</i> : “Reagan Gets Gun Owners’ Endorsement,” <i>Miami Herald</i> (FL), October 30, 1980, p. 8A.
313	<i>Reagan-Bush</i> : David Rossie, “Reagan Uses a Fake Lure to Troll for the Votes of Sportsmen,” <i>Press and Sun-Bulletin</i> (Binghamton, NY), September 19, 1980, p. 3A; Bill Quimby, “Outdoor Leaders Ride Reagan Wagon,” <i>Tucson Citizen</i> (AZ), September 19, 1980, p. 3D; “Metaksa Named ILA Deputy Director,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , April 1980, p. 60. Metaksa would go on to conduct a pro-gun interview with Reagan and publish it in the November 1980 issue of <i>Guns & Ammo</i> . See “Reagan Speaks Out on Gun Control,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , November 1980, pp. 28, 112-13.
313	<i>overly restrictive firearms controls</i> : George Reiger, “Carter on Gun Laws and the Environment,” <i>Field & Stream</i> , September 1980, 92, 94, 96-98; “What is Your View on Gun Control,” undated 1980, Carter Presidential Papers, Franklin White Subject File, box 9, folder Handguns.

315	<i>anti-gun lobby: See, e.g.,</i> “I Will Never Lie to You,” <i>Point Blank</i> , October 1980, p. 1; “Four Years of the Carter Administration: An Affront to the Rights of Gun Owners,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1980, p. 59; “CCRKBA Attacks: Carter Record Hit During Pro-Gun Rally,” <i>Point Blank</i> , June 1980, pp. 1, 3, 7-8.
315	<i>firearms controls were swift: See, e.g.,</i> Institute Reports: Emotionalism Ignores Facts,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , February 1981, p. 58; John M. Snyder, “John Lennon and Gun Law Inanity,” <i>Point Blank</i> , January 1981, p. 1; “America’s Hunters: Sickest of the Sick,” <i>Courier-News</i> (Bridgewater, NJ), December 27, 1980, p. 6; “NRA Prepares Gun Control Fight,” <i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> (VT), December 14, 1980, p. 2; “Loading Up...NRA Defensive After Lennon Death,” <i>Sacramento Bee</i> (CA), December 14, 1980, p. A3.
315	<i>steadfast in opposition:</i> “Reagan’s Position Against Gun Control Remains Firm,” <i>Messenger-Inquirer</i> (Owensboro, KY), December 10, 1980, p. 6B.
315	<i>15 years to his prison sentence:</i> “The Diplomatic Rifle,” <i>Point Blank</i> , February 1981, p. 3.

Epilogue Notes

306	<i>dispense with partisanship: See, e.g.,</i> “Black Panthers and Blind Kittens,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , September 1970, p. 20 (“The NRA is non-political and non-partisan.”); Merritt A. Edson, “In Their Own Keeping,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1952, p. 16 (“The National Rifle Association of America has never been, it is not now, nor can it ever be a partisan <i>political</i> organization. Any individual or group of individuals who would attempt to make it such would be doing a disservice to the NRA and to our country as well. On the other hand, the NRA has always been, it is now, and it must continue to be a truly <i>patriotic</i> organization actuated by love of country and devoted to its welfare.”).
316	<i>vote for on Election Day: See, e.g.,</i> “A Paul Revere Organization,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1958, p. 14; Merritt A. Edson, “Our Common Interests,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , October 1954, p. 6; Merritt A. Edson, “In Their Own Keeping,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , November 1952, p. 14.
316	<i>American constitutional government:</i> C.B. Lister, “Beware Wing and Mirage,” <i>American Rifleman</i> , August 1944, p. 5.
316	<i>totalitarian system of government: See, e.g.,</i> National Rifle Association, <i>The Pro and Con of Firearms Registration</i> (Washington, DC: 1968), 10; F.C. Daniel, “Registration of Private Guns Branded Usual Step Toward Imposition of Dictatorship,” <i>Tampa Bay Times</i> (St. Petersburg, FL), May 14, 1950, p. 19.
317	<i>entire Bill of Rights: See, e.g.,</i> Daniel K. Stern, “Tell the People!” <i>American Rifleman</i> , March 1955, pp. 39, 40 (stating that the right to arms and freedom of the press are the “anchors of democracy and the founding for the other freedoms”).
317	<i>would never be infringed:</i> “Freedom!” <i>Armed Citizen News</i> , January 1971, p. 1.

317	<i>first such presidential candidate</i> : Barry Goldwater, “A Proper Balance,” <i>Guns & Ammo</i> , November 1964, p. 26.
317	<i>legitimate use of firearms</i> : Republican Party Platform of 1980, July 15, 1980, <i>American Presidency Project</i> , https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/republican-party-platform-1980 .
318	<i>election or reelection campaign</i> : See, e.g., “NRA: Top Gun in Washington,” <i>The Washington Lobby</i> (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1982), 131-36; Louis Harris, “78% Now Favoring Handgun Controls,” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), August 19, 1979, p. 3E; Louis Harris, “Big Majority Favors Controls on Handguns,” <i>St. Petersburg Times</i> (FL), August 16, 1979, p. 17A; “Pollster’s Opinion: Americans Back Gun Controls,” <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson, AZ), October 25, 1975, p. 5A.