TITLE: The Personal and Political Papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater (1909-1998)

DATE RANGE: 1880s-2008

CALL NUMBER: FM MSS #1

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 1180 linear feet (970 boxes)

PROVENANCE: Donated by Barry M. Goldwater 1959-1998

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RESTRICTIONS: This collection is unrestricted except for certain family correspondence which is closed until 2023.

Although considered sensitive, case files (48 boxes) have been retained and are available to researchers. Contact the archivists or librarians for conditions and permissions of use.

CREDIT LINE: The Personal and Political Papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater, FM MSS #1, Arizona Historical Foundation

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ORIGINAL CATALOGING: Elizabeth Claire

DEDICATED TO: The Arizona State Legislature whose generous allocation made the preservation of and world wide access to the Goldwater papers possible

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE:

Barry M. Goldwater was born in Phoenix, Arizona January 1, 1909. He attended grade school in Phoenix and at age 13, succeeded in setting up the first commercial radio transmitter in Arizona, KFDA – the 36th station licensed in the U.S. He attended high school at Staunton Military Academy in Virginia where he became an outstanding cadet and student athlete. He played football, ran track, and was captain of the record-setting swim team. After graduation, he enrolled at the University of Arizona. His academic career was cut short in 1929 by his father’s death where upon he entered the family business, Goldwaters department store. Starting as a junior clerk, Goldwater progressed to become President and eventually Chairman of the Board – a position he held until 1953.

In 1940, he joined Norman Nevills on a 42-day trip down the Green and Colorado Rivers and became the 71st person to travel the full length of the Colorado. His film, photographs, slides and lecture “Shooting the Rapids” took him to venues throughout Arizona. He drew large audiences, thus setting the stage for future political campaigns. His award-winning photography was exhibited worldwide and won him membership in the prestigious Royal Photographic Society.

Barry Goldwater’s military career spanned 37 years. During WWII, he volunteered for active duty in 1942 but was rejected due to his age and previous athletic injuries. He persisted and eventually was assigned to Yuma, Arizona where he was a gunnery instructor and perfected a technique that increased target accuracy. He later became one of 10 pilots to fly P-47 Thunderbolts across the North Atlantic to Europe. He retired in 1969 as a Major General in the U.S. Air Force Reserves. By the end of his career, he logged 15,000 hours of flight time, flew over 250 aircraft, and received numerous awards, medals, and commendations.

He launched his political career in 1949 on a Republican reform platform and won a seat on the Phoenix City Council. In 1952, Barry Goldwater challenged the incumbent Ernest McFarland and won a seat in the U.S. Senate. He served two terms then ran for President against Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. Although it was a landslide defeat, Goldwater emerged as a political icon for the conservative movement and the Republican Party. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1968 and served until his retirement in 1986. During his thirty-year career, he served on the Banking and Currency, Labor and Public Welfare, Interior and Insular Affairs, Aeronautical and Space Sciences, Armed Forces, Labor and Public Welfare, Select Committee on Intelligence, Indian Affairs, and Commerce, Science and Transportation and Small Business committees. These reflect his lifelong interests in aviation, amateur radio, technology, defense, labor and union issues, national security, and Native Americans.


**CHRONOLOGY:**

1909 January 1, Baron (Barry) Morris Goldwater is born at home to Baron Goldwater and Josephine (JoJo) Williams Goldwater in Phoenix, Arizona. He is later joined by brother Robert and sister Carolyn.

1912 Arizona becomes the 48th state in the union on February 14th. Young Barry is the ring bearer at the first wedding performed in the State of Arizona. The couple, Joe Melczer and Hazel Goldberg, delayed their wedding until they received word that Arizona had become a state.

1920 His father gives him his first crystal radio set sparking a lifelong interest in ham radio.
1922  At age 13, assists in setting up the first commercial radio transmitter in Arizona, KFDA. It is the 36th station licensed in the United States.

1923-1928  Attends Staunton Military Academy in Virginia. Plays center in football, runs track and is the captain of the swim team. Named Outstanding Cadet of the senior class.

1928  Applies for a commission as Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Army. Attends the University of Arizona the fall semester of that year.

1929  Baron Goldwater dies at age 62. Barry leaves the university to assume his position in the family department store, Goldwaters, while brother Bob finishes college at Stanford.

1930  Commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Army Reserve. Registers for the first time as a Republican. Takes flight lessons and makes his first solo flight after 10 hours of instruction. Flying becomes a life long passion. Meets Peggy Johnson, daughter of industrialist R.P. Johnson, in December of that year.

1931  Makes his first cross country flight to Los Angeles. During his lifetime, clocks 15,000 hours of flight time in 270 different types of aircraft including helicopters, sail planes and gliders.

1933  Promoted to First Lieutenant in the U.S. Infantry Reserve. Proposes marriage to Peggy Johnson.

1934  Barry Goldwater and Peggy Johnson marry in her hometown of Muncie, Indiana.

1935  Enters his first photographic art exhibit at The First Annual Salon of The Arizona Pictorialists. Becomes a serious photographer exhibiting in over 200 juried shows nationally and internationally.

1936  First child, Joanne is born. Organizes winter relief flights to the Navajo Nation.

1937  Serves as General Chairman of the Phoenix Community Chest drive.

1938  Second child, Barry Jr. is born.

1939  Creates a national fad with Antsy Pants, men’s underwear printed with large red ants. *Women's Wear Daily* describes him as a creative merchandising dynamo. Sells first photograph “Coalmine Canyon” to *Arizona Highways*.

1940  Publishes *Arizona Portraits* resulting in his induction into the Royal Photographic Society. Joins the Norman Nevills party on a trip down the Green and Colorado Rivers and for 42 days runs the rapids in a wooden boat. Becomes the 71st known person to travel the full length of the Colorado River. Shoots many photographs and a film “Shooting the Rapids,” which he takes on tour throughout Arizona. Third child, Michael is born.
1941 The Goldwater stores expand. The family business yields $1,000,000 annually. Becomes Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of Phoenix Chamber of Commerce. Assigned as Public Relations Officer to Luke Air Force Base.

1942 Transferred to Yuma, Arizona where he oversees construction and requisitions supplies for an advanced flight school for combat pilots. Serves as an aerial gunnery instructor and perfects a technique that increases target accuracy. Participates in training programs for Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist Chinese pilots. This begins a life-long relationship with the Republic of China (Taiwan).

1943 Transferred to the 27th Ferry Squadron and is selected as one of the first 10 pilots to ferry P-47 Thunderbolts across the North Atlantic to Europe. Awarded the Air Medal for meritorious achievement while participating in aerial flight.

1944 Serves in the Asian Theatre and flies three major supply routes, Snowball, Crescent and Fireball. Assigned to fly “The Hump” (the eastern end of the Himalayan Mountains), the last leg of a ten-thousand mile run. Promoted to Major and then Lt. Colonel. Fourth child, Peggy Jr. is born.

1945 Musters out of the U.S. Army Air Corps.

1946 Assigned by Arizona Governor Sydney Osborn as Captain of the Arizona National Guard. Advocates integration of the Arizona Guard, which was among the first to open its ranks to African-Americans.

1946 Campaigns for Arizona to become a “Right to Work” state in response to major strikes nationally. Appointed by Governor Sydney Osborn to the Arizona Colorado River Commission later renamed the Interstate Stream Commission. One of his photographs is selected for the cover of the first all color issue of Arizona Highways.

1947 Joins the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce Thunderbirds. Promotes legislation for the Right to Work initiative. Phoenix Mayor Ray Busey appoints Barry Goldwater and 39 other leading citizens to a committee to study city government and suggest charter revisions and reforms. They become known as the Phoenix Forty.

1948 The Phoenix Charter Revision Committee announces its finding and recommends the appointment of a professional city manager who would be immune from political pressure. Asked by supporters to run for City Council.

1949 The Phoenix Charter Revision Committee reorganizes to become the Charter Government Committee which provides a platform for reform-minded candidates who sweep the election. At age 40, wins a seat on the Phoenix City Council.

1950 Becomes Howard Pyle’s campaign manager for Governor of Arizona.
1951  Re-elected to Phoenix City Council.

1952  Opens his campaign for U.S. Senate. Becomes Chief of Staff for the Arizona Air National Guard. Unseats Democrat incumbent Ernest McFarland by 6,500 votes.

1953  Gives first major speech in Senate and appeals for an end to federal price controls. In another debate, he criticizes France for its failure to move Indo-China towards independence.

1954  The Senator’s first bill is signed by President Eisenhower. The bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land to the City of Tucson, Arizona and to accept certain other lands in exchange.

1955  Asked to serve as Chair of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee. This launches his GOP leadership role as a national fundraiser and spokesman for emerging conservative beliefs.

1956  Collaborates with Stephen Shadegg on the script for the documentary “For Freedom’s Sake” describing the dangers of communism. Campaigns to re-elect President Eisenhower to a second term.

1958  Wins a second term to the U.S. Senate over Arizona Governor Ernest McFarland by a 56% majority.

1959  Promoted to Brigadier General of the U.S. Air Force Reserves. Meets with Clarence Manion and a small group of conservatives in Chicago to discuss a national campaign to mobilize sentiment and delegate votes for the GOP presidential nomination. Establishes the Arizona Historical Foundation.


1961  President Kennedy asks Goldwater’s advice during the Bay of Pigs invasion. He responds by advising him to order an air strike immediately or the mission would fail. Receives an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Arizona State University.

1962  The Bay of Pigs debacle precipitates the Cuban Missile Crisis. This prompts Goldwater to write Why Not Victory which quickly becomes a bestseller and offers a foreign policy based on military strength. Promoted to Major General of the U.S. Air Force Reserves.
1963  Objects to the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights bill as an assault on property and state’s rights. Already considering a run for the presidency, discusses a plan with John F. Kennedy to travel the country and campaign together. J.F.K is assassinated. Vice-President Lyndon Baines Johnson becomes the 36th President of the United States. Obtains HAM radio license for station K7UGA which is based out of his home.

1964  Publishes two books, *Where I Stand* and *The Face of Arizona*. Wins the Republican nomination for President. One much quoted line in his acceptance speech, written by Harry Jaffa, “I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice and let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue” has its origins in a speech by Cicero. Meets with President Johnson. Both agree to remain mute on the Civil Rights issue and maintain a united front against communism. Defeated by Lyndon Baines Johnson in a landslide.


1965  Settles back to his home Be-Nun-I-Kin in Phoenix, Arizona. He and his former presidential campaign manager, Denison Kitchel, create the Free Society Association. Becomes active in local issues such as the preservation of Camelback Mountain. Continues to make numerous public appearances and receives thousands of letters from supporters and fans. Makes plans to run for the U.S. Senate.

1967  K7UGA approved to operate as part of the Military Affiliate Radio System (MARS) which is staffed by volunteers 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. By 1983 when the station closed, over 200,000 phone calls were patched from troops in Southeast Asia to family members in the U.S. Makes first visit to Taiwan.


1970  Publishes *Conscience of a Majority* and a book highlighting his river trip in 1940, *Delightful Journey, Down the Green and Colorado Rivers*. Authors the Overseas and Absentee Voting Rights Amendment and the National Air and Space Museum bills. Secures voting rights for all citizens age eighteen and older.

1971  Growing anti-ERA sentiments in Arizona and nationally persuade him to reject the amendment. Leads the effort to repeal the draft and establish an all volunteer military force.

1972  Watergate begins and is initially minimized by Goldwater. At age 65, thinks about retiring. President Nixon is re-elected.

1973  Receives the Wright Brothers Award for service in aviation.

1974  Watergate evidence mounts. He, Hugh Scott and John Rhodes meet with President Nixon who resigns from office two days later. Vice-President Gerald Ford becomes the 38th President of the U.S. Goldwater runs for another term in the U.S. Senate and defeats Jonathan Marshall 320,306 to 229,523 votes. Authors the Grand Canyon Park Enlargement bill. Presented with the Aviation Space Writers Distinguished Service Award. Wins the Lee Badge as a sail plane pilot.

1975  Receives an Honorary Doctor of Aeronautical Science degree from Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University and an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Butler University. Receives the Congressional Award for Outstanding Service for Veterans of Foreign Wars.


1977  Authors the Women Pilots Veterans’ Benefits bill conferring veterans’ status on Women Air Force Service Pilots. Appointed to Smithsonian Institution Board of Regents.


1979  Publishes his personal and political memoirs, *With No Apologies*.

1980  Decides to run a final time for the Senate and narrowly defeats Democrat William Schulz 432,371 to 422,972 votes.
1981 Supports the nomination of Sandra Day O’Connor as the first woman to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

1982 Joins liberals in attacking the “New Right’s” efforts to legislate limits on the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Inducted into the National Aviation Hall of Fame.

1984 Authors the Cable Deregulation Act.

1985 Peggy Goldwater dies after a long struggle with lung and heart failure.

1986 Co-authors Goldwater–Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act, which creates a strong Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, making the holder of the post the principal military adviser to the President. Awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation’s highest civilian honor. Retires from the U.S. Senate. U.S. Representative John McCain wins the vacated seat.

1988 Remains active in local and national politics. Continues to be in high demand as a speaker. Receives thousands of letters from friends, fans, and supporters. Becomes the Honorary Chair of the campaign to recall Governor Evan Mecham. Endorses George H.W. Bush over Robert Dole. Makes public service announcements to preserve ancient Native American sites from plunder. A total of 196 Goldwater photographs have now appeared in Arizona Highways.

1991 Inducted into the Arizona Aviation Hall of Fame

1992 Marries Susan Shaffer Wechsler, a registered nurse and branch manager of a home health care agency. Endorses Democrat Karan English for the U.S. House of Representatives over Republican Douglas Wead. Speaks out against mixing religion and politics and for separation of church and state.

1993 Endorses a referendum making the birthday of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. a state holiday in contrast to his previous positions rejecting an MLK national holiday. Urges the Phoenix City Council to adopt a civil rights ordinance that would protect homosexuals from discrimination. States his position that gays be allowed to serve in the military.

1994 Honored by Planned Parenthood for his commitment to privacy and a woman’s right to choose. Receives the Civil Libertarian of the Year Award from the Arizona Civil Liberties Union.

1996 Describes himself and Bob Dole as the “new liberals of the Republican Party.” Suffers his first stroke. Dole loses the presidential primary to Steve Forbes.

1998 May 29, Barry M. Goldwater dies at home due to complications of a stroke. He is later cremated. Both Barry and his wife Peggy’s ashes are scattered along the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon.
SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE:

Background
This collection remained largely unprocessed through the years. Serial deposits varying in volume and format from 1959-1998 were made from Goldwater’s Washington office, Phoenix office and home. The collection also had been moved several times and the boxes re-numbered. There had been numerous attempts to organize and re-folder the materials resulting in various arrangement schemes. Although inventory sheets were created, locating specific correspondence, photographs and legislative documents was reportedly difficult. Public access varied widely. Additional findings as follows:

- There were no catalog records of this collection.
- Less than 10% of all the material was found in original folders. It was assumed that labels on “new” folders reflected the originals.
- There were several runs of correspondence within each congressional session labeled as “miscellaneous.” These were found to contain significant personal correspondence, colleague correspondence, Alpha files, legislative documents and issue mail. See Series I. Personal for details.
- Folders identified as the 91st Congress through the 99th Congress were largely found to have the incorrect ranges.
- There was no consistency within the “miscellaneous” designations. Documents were filed intermittently by sender, by organization, by city and town, or by all of these regardless of origination or topic. See Series III. Constituent Service for details.
- There were many orphan documents separated from legislative material. See Series III. Legislative for details.
- There were significant gaps in the 1964 Presidential Campaign Series. See Series II. 1964 Presidential Campaign for details.
- Very little print material remained from the 83rd-89th Congress due to the micro-filming practices of the time. Microfilm (1952-1983) ranged from poor to good condition. Earlier reels were deteriorating. See Series VI. Media-Microfilm for details.
- Most of the loose newspaper clippings had deteriorated significantly and had outlived their usability. Albums of newspaper clippings and original cartoon art were also at risk. See Series VI. Media-Albums for details.
- Photographs were found to be an inter-mix of three distinct collections: copies of fine art images taken by Barry Goldwater and copyrighted by the Goldwater family; Goldwater’s personal collection of historic photographs of the Old West; and photographs
Family history material included over 40 linear feet of personal papers from Barry’s uncle, Morris Goldwater.

Nearly 50 unprocessed “collections” of related Goldwater material from other donors were discovered. Most of these included personal correspondence with Goldwater or 1964 campaign memorabilia.

A number of artifacts, artwork, oversized memorabilia were found in poor condition. See Series VII for appraisal, restoration, and de-accession details.

Archival Interventions
Based on these findings, the need for transparency, and feedback from researchers, the following actions were taken:

- Developed a cataloging plan with ASU Hayden Library Technical Services that started with a preliminary catalog record with the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) and progressed to cataloging by series as each was completed to insure global access.

- Created a Goldwater web page. Posted progress notes and preliminary drafts of the finding aid online as well as links to various resources.

- Submitted the rationale and language for a special allocation from the Arizona State Legislature for long term preservation and access to the Goldwater papers.

- Based on the various deeds of gift, declared the entire collection open to researchers regardless of its processed state.

- Moved processing to the reading room to facilitate reference, data entry, and teaching.

- Adopted the national best practices standards for arrangement and description in Managing Congressional Collections published by the Society of American Archivists. All the materials in this collection fit neatly within the recommended series. See outline below.

- Created a new Constituent Service sub-series of Projects and Programs where non-legislative gray literature such as constituent generated grant proposals, local reports, state declarations and formal requests, white papers, local-regional initiatives, and technical brochures would fit.

- Built on previous attempts at sorting Issue Mail by topic which significantly decreased the “miscellaneous” designation found throughout the collection. These issues reflect national and local interests.
• Decided on a “one size fits” all for general Constituent Correspondence - arranged alphabetically by sender and chronologically within.


• Integrated Goldwater correspondence, memorabilia and media from multiple donors into the appropriate series and sub-series.


• Developed container lists with visual clues (sub-series in bold) to guide the researcher through various parts of the collection.

• Digitized all microfilm, selected speeches from audio cassettes, and selected film reels to CD or DVD formats.


This collection was traditionally processed: duplicates weeded, large metal clips removed, binders removed, acid-free folders used, and news clippings inter-leaved. Documents are arranged chronologically within folders. Those with no dates appear at the end. See Scope and Content Notes within each series for additional information.

ARRANGEMENT: Arranged in seven series. Series I: Personal; Series II: 1964 Presidential Campaign; Series III: Legislative; Series IV: Constituent Service; Series V: Administrative; Series VI: Media; Series VII: Artifacts, Memorabilia and Oversized Material. See the outline below.

SERIES I: PERSONAL

Biographical Files
Alpha Files
Art
Aviation
Awards and Certificates
Boards and Memberships
Correspondence (by sender or topic)
General Correspondence (A-Z by sender)
Family Correspondence
Family History
Military
Oral Histories
Photography
Politics
Radio
Senate Campaigns
Writings

SERIES II: 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
Committee Prints
General
Goldwater for President Committee
Literature
Magazines
News Clippings
Peggy Goldwater Correspondence
Photo Albums
Republican National Committee
Speeches
States

SERIES III: LEGISLATIVE
Bills Sponsored and Co-Sponsored
Congressional Record Excerpts
Voting Record
Record Vote Analysis
Legislative Fragments  (83rd-89th Congress)
Legislative Activities
Colleague Correspondence and Committees

SERIES IV: CONSTITUENT SERVICE
Projects and Programs
Issue Mail
General Correspondence (A-Z by sender)

SERIES V: ADMINISTRATIVE
Appointment Books
Correspondence
Invitations Accepted
Manuals /Office Policies
Memos
Nominations and Recommendations
Schedules
Travel
SERIES VI: MEDIA
Speeches, Statements, and Remarks
News Clippings (loose)
Publications
Scrapbooks (with CDs)
Photographs
  Prints
  Slides
  Negatives
  Contact Sheets
  Albums
  Oversized
Film (with DVDs)
Video
Audio (with CDs)
Microfilm (with CDs)

SERIES VII: ARTIFACTS, MEMORABILIA, OVER-SIZED MATERIAL
Awards and Certificates
Plaques
Small Awards, Medals and Medallions
Campaign Memorabilia
General
Artwork