

ANNUAL REPORT

2025

CLAREMONT INSTITUTE

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I'm pleased to report that, thanks to you, 2025 was a year of momentous achievement and impact for the Claremont Institute.

Under a gracious Providence, Claremont's intellectual leadership and dogged defense of the American way of life helped carry the country through years of grave threats to American liberty. That work positioned the Institute for significant impact in 2025. Before the year even began, Claremont was deeply engaged in assisting the transition of the new Trump administration—assisting with staffing, advising on policy priorities, and working with allies to dismantle the weaponized Administrative State apparatus.

We achieved critical successes on many fronts, from our victories at the Supreme Court to landmark publications and programs across the country. One fact, however, sets the stage for the report that follows: *more than 85 alumni trained through Claremont's educational fellowships now serve in leading positions across the administration*. These are among the most disciplined, capable, and principled men and women in the country, working—often in coordination with our scholars and staff—to advance the cause of constitutional self-government.

In the pages that follow, you will see how Claremont's fellows, scholars, staff, and alumni have contributed to this effort by serving in key positions in Washington and across the nation, producing scholarship and commentary that exposed the ideological capture of American institutions, defending constitutional governance, and convening statesmen, thinkers, and citizens committed to the renewal of the American idea.

We also celebrated important milestones, including the 25th anniversary of the *Claremont Review of Books*, even as we mourned the loss of a dear friend and ally.

As the nation approaches its 250th birthday, the opportunity for restoration—and the promise of a new American Golden Age—are real. Meeting this moment requires seriousness, courage, and clarity about the principles that made America free. With your continued support and friendship, the Claremont Institute meets this challenge with the same purpose and resolve that have guided our work for nearly half a century.

With warm gratitude,



Ryan P. Williams, *President*



Impact



Overview

Throughout 2025, The Claremont Institute ramped up its efforts to steer the national conversation toward a revival of foundational American principles. Our efforts in education, intellectual discourse, and strategic action were targeted to address key battles in policy, culture, and governance—especially in this critical first year of the second Trump administration. Our publications sparked widespread discussions, our centers delivered targeted insights to policymakers, and our fellowships prepared rising leaders to tackle real world issues head-on.

Critics have labeled Claremont the "most dangerous organization" on the right. What they mean is our work threatens prevailing orthodoxies and the administrative state that has grown up beyond meaningful democratic or constitutional control. If restoring constitutional self-government is dangerous, then we accept the title.

We do not shy away from identifying the real solutions to ideological indoctrination in our schools, the degradation of our military, the bias of our judiciary, or any of the crises facing America today. "Claremont" now stands for conservatives who engage in serious scholarship and possess the will to act on it.

Our graduates have fanned out across the political landscape, embedding in influential positions to champion renewal and core principles. It is no exaggeration to say that Claremont has shaped the direction of conservative thought and now plays a significant role in steering public policy. More than 85 alumni stepped into roles in the Trump administration, influencing everything from budget oversight to foreign affairs. Our research influenced moves to uproot DEI in government and private industry. We also worked with local leaders to overhaul education and protect community values. Moving into 2026, we will build on these gains by advancing the restoration of constitutionalism through institutional reform and leadership formation, as we celebrate America's semiquincentennial.

80+

ALUMNI IN THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

10M

SOCIAL MEDIA IMPRESSIONS

247%

INCREASE IN SOCIAL MEDIA FOLLOWING

3M

WEBSITE VISITS

(all Claremont properties)

400+

MEDIA MENTIONS

Fellowship Alumni in the 2025 Trump Administration

Alex Alden	Lincoln '18	Special Government Employee, Dept. of State
Michael Anton	Publius '94	Director of Policy Planning, Dept. of State
James Baehr	Lincoln '12	General Counsel, Dept. of Veteran Affairs
David Baker	Lincoln '18	Dpty. Asst. Secretary of War, NATO & Europe; Dept. of War
Lauren Baldwin	Publius '24	Director of Intergovernmental Affairs and Public Engagement, Office of the United States Trade Representative
Darren Beattie	Publius '08	Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy & Public Affairs, Dept. of State
Jackson Berryman	Speechwriters '22	White House Speechwriter for the President
Murray Bessette	Lincoln '16	Principal Dpty. Asst. Secretary, Dept. of Education
Jacob Bliss	Speechwriters '24	Asst. Press Secretary, Dept. of War
Micah Bock	Speechwriters '24; Lincoln '25	Dpty. Asst. Secretary for Strategic Communications, Dept. of Homeland Security
Lee Bockhorn	Lincoln '00	Chief of Executive Writing and Employee Communications, Federal Bureau of Investigation
James Braid	Lincoln '19	Dpty. Asst. to the President and Director, White House Office of Legislative Affairs
Duncan Braid	Lincoln '24	Senior Director of Congressional Affairs, Office of the United States Trade Representative
Seamus Brennan	Publius '22; Speechwriters '22	Dpty. Director of Writers, White House Office of Presidential Correspondence
Alina Bulazel	Publius '23	Special Asst. to the President and Director of the Office of the Dpty. Chief of Staff for Policy; White House
Corrinne Carlson	Publius '25	Special Asst., Dept. of Education
Zachary Carstens	John Marshall '23	Policy Advisor to Dpty. Chief of Staff for Policy Stephen Miller, White House
Howard Chang	John Marshall '20	Senior Advisor for the Office of Legal Policy; Dept. of Justice; Judicial Nominations Team
Josh Craddock	John Marshall '19	Dpty. Asst. Attorney General in the Office of Legal Counsel, Dept. of Justice
Eli Diamond	Publius '20	Asst. Staff Secretary in the Staff Secretary Office, White House
David Eastman	Lincoln '11	Dept. of Health and Human Services
Michael Ellis	John Marshall '12	Dpty. Director, Central Intelligence Agency
Catherine Eschbach	John Marshall '17	Principal Dpty. General Counsel, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Ugonna Eze	Publius '18	Legal Counsel, White House
Hugh Fike	Lincoln '22	Dpty. Chief of Staff, Office of Management and Budget

Devin Froseth	John Marshall '24	Senior Advisor at the Office of Legal Policy, Dept. of Justice
Pierson Furnish	Publius '24	Speechwriter, Dept. of Justice
T. Elliot Gaiser	John Marshall '16	Asst. Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel, Dept. of Justice
Nicholas Ganjei	Lincoln '19	United States Attorney for the Southern District of Texas, Dept. of Justice
Andrew Garcia	Speechwriters '25	Advisor to the Program Director, Dept. of Homeland Security
Alex Gorman	Publius '24	Staff Asst. to the Director of the Domestic Policy Council, Office of White House Policy
Garrison Grisedale	Speechwriters '20	Policy Advisor, Dept. of Housing and Urban Development
Joe Guy	Publius '22	Dpty. Chief of Staff to the Secretary, Dept. of Homeland Security
John "Troup" Hemenway	Publius '21	Principal Dpty. Chief of Staff, Dept. of Homeland Security
James Hitchcock	Speechwriters '20	Chief Speechwriter, Office of the Vice President
Adam Hoffman	Publius '25	Special Government Employee, Dept. of Homeland Security
Babs Hough	Publius '21	Senior Policy Advisor, Dept. of Agriculture
Paul Ingrassia	Publius '20; JM '22	White House Liaison, Dept. of Homeland Security
Olivia Ingrassia	Publius '21	White House Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget
Katie Johnson	Speechwriters '20	Public Affairs Specialist/Internal Communications Advisor
Zack Jones	Speechwriters '22	Speechwriter for the President, White House Office of Speechwriting
Deion Kathawa	John Marshall '21	Attorney Adviser for Office of General Counsel, Office of Personnel Management
Wells King	Publius '18	Special Asst. to the President, Domestic Policy Council
Daniel Lifton	John Marshall '23	Associate Counsel to the President, White House Counsel's Office
Samuel Lyman	Speechwriters '18	Senior Advisor and Chief Speechwriter, Dept. of the Treasury
Patrick MacDonnell	Speechwriters '21	Speechwriter for the President, White House Office of Speechwriting
May Mailman (nee Davis)	John Marshall '15	Dpty. Asst. to the President and Senior Policy Strategist
Samuel Mangold-Lenett	Publius '22; Speechwriters '24	Speechwriter for the President and Special Asst. to the President
Benjamin May	Lincoln '12	Dpty. General Counsel, Dept. of Education
Brantley Mayers	John Marshall '24	Counsel to the Asst. Attorney General, Civil Division; Dept. of Justice
Alexandra McCandless	Lincoln '25	Dpty. Communications Director, Office of Management and Budget
Micah Meadowcroft	Lincoln '22	Presidential Speechwriter and Policy Advisor, White House Office of Science and Technology
John Meroney	Lincoln '00	Speechwriter for the Secretary, Dept. of War
Arthur Milikh	Lincoln '16	Principal Dpty. Director of the Office of Policy Planning, Dept. of State
Chad Mizelle	John Marshall '17	Chief of Staff, Dept. of Justice
Michael Needham	Lincoln '13	Counselor, Dept. of State

Rosario Palmieri	Lincoln '00	Asst. Secretary, Dept. of Labor
Patricia Patnode	Publius '24	Special Advisor at the Office of Partnerships and Public Engagement, Dept. of Agriculture
Jonathan (JP) Pidluzny	Publius '06	Dpty. Chief of Staff for Strategy and Implementation, Dept. of Education
Grayson Quay	Publius '25; Speechwriters '25	Speechwriter for the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Dept. of Health and Human Services
Thomas Redder	Publius '24	Special Asst. for the Secretary, Dept. of War
Jacob Reses	Publius '16	Chief of Staff, Office of the Vice President
Zachary Rogers	Speechwriters '22	Advisor at Office of Policy Evaluation and Policy Development, Dept. of Education
Nicholas Romero	Publius '10	Dept. of State
Tim Rosenberger	John Marshall '24	Senior Counsel, Dept. of Education
Tom Sarrouf	Publius '23	Speechwriter for the Secretary, Dept. of State
Robby Stefany Saunders	Lincoln '21	Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of the Bureau of Industry and Security, Dept. of Commerce
Harry Scherer	Publius '24	Speechwriter at the Office of the Under Secretary for International Trade, Dept. of Commerce
Jon Schweppe	Lincoln '20	Senior Policy Advisor to the Chair, Federal Trade Commission
Daniel Shapiro	John Marshall '20	Dpty. General Counsel, Office of Management and Budget; Dpty. Chief Legal Officer, Consumer Financial Protection Bureau
Saurabh Sharma	Publius '21	Special Asst. to the President, Office of Presidential Personnel
Claire Standaert	Speechwriters '21	Speechwriter for the President, White House Office of Speechwriting
Alex Titus	Publius '18	Dpty. Chief of Staff, White House Council of Economic Advisers
Armen Tooloee	Publius '22	Press Secretary, Office of Management and Budget
Cherise Trump	Publius '17	Senior Advisor to the Secretary, Dept. of Education
William Turner	John Marshall '20	Senior Attorney
Andrew Veprek	Lincoln '19	Senior Advisor, Dept. of State
Russ Vought	Lincoln '11	Director, Office of Management and Budget
Gavin Wax	Publius '25	Chief of Staff to the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Dept. of State
Noah Weinrich	Lincoln '25	Speechwriter for the Secretary, Dept. of War
John Wilson	Speechwriters '24	Senior Advisor to the Asst. Secretary for Homeland Defense and Hemispheric Affairs, Dept. of War
Rachel Wolff	John Marshall '24	Attorney and Advisor in the Office of the Legal Adviser, Dept. of State
Charles Yockey	Publius '25	Special Asst. in the Office of the Secretary, Dept. of State



Remembering Charlie Kirk

(1993–2025)

Even with all the good that happened this year, 2025 was nevertheless marred by evil and tragedy. When Charlie Kirk was assassinated by a perverse and politically-motivated assassin, millions of Americans realized our nation would never be the same.

Charlie Kirk embodied dedication as a family man, believer, and champion for his country, touching countless lives along the way. Joining the Claremont Institute as a Lincoln Fellow in 2021, he participated in our programs with enthusiasm, sharpening his voice for defending America's roots and carrying those truths to tens of millions of young people.

His shocking murder in September, during an open discussion on restoring national unity, highlighted the danger that lurks when we allow radical leftist indoctrination to sweep the nation and fester in the dark corners of our schools and online spaces.

Charlie's loss hit hard for everyone connected to Claremont and the wider community on the right. He served as Master of Ceremonies at our July 5 dinner honoring Vice President JD Vance full of good cheer and principled zeal. While his critics on the left callously celebrated his death, Charlie will remain forever among the brightest stars in America's firmament.

Now, his spirit calls us to action: we must press on and allow no quarter to those who would drive us to despair and despotism. We can honor Charlie by following him in sober, strategic, and spirited battle on behalf of American greatness and renewal.

Charlie's example showed how committed citizenship, anchored in our nation's unique character, is our greatest weapon. Let it drive our work in this era of transformative change.

Teaching



2025 Publius Fellows



Aldo Buttazoni
Commentator, Writer and Freelance Journalist

Daniel Bring
Managing Editor, *American Affairs*

Tristan Campbell
Actor and Filmmaker

Corrinne Carlson
Development & Government Affairs Fellow, Becket Fund for Religious Liberty

Adam Hoffman
United States Government

Sam Kimzey
Ph.D. Student, Van Andel Graduate School of Statesmanship at Hillsdale College

Jordan Knight
Founder, Migration Watch Australia; Director, The National Conservative Institute of Australia

Brianna Lyman
Elections Correspondent, The Federalist

Luke Posegate
Staff Assistant to the President's Office, The Heritage Foundation

Grayson Quay
Speechwriter for the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Department of Health and Human Services

Robert Schmad
Investigative Reporter, *The Washington Examiner*

Gavin Wax
Chief of Staff to the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Department of State

Cooper Williamson
Assistant Editor, *Frontier Magazine* (Blaze Media)

Charles Yockey
Special Assistant in the Office of the Secretary, Department of State

The Publius Fellowship is a finishing school for aspiring intellectuals and writers committed to recovering America's founding principles amid the tumult of modern politics. Drawing its name from the pseudonym under which Hamilton, Madison, and Jay penned *The Federalist Papers*, the fellowship immerses a select cohort of young scholars in the profound debates that birthed our republic.

This year, fellows grappled with the mechanics of governance in the context of its deeper philosophical foundations: the natural rights articulated in the Declaration of Independence, the separation of powers enshrined in the Constitution, and the Aristotelian notion of statesmanship as the prudent balance of virtue and necessity, echoed in Washington's Farewell Address. The fellowship's impact continues to carry forward from prior years' alumni, who are now publishing in The American Mind, advising administration officials, and becoming young leaders in industry. These exemplary fellows demonstrate the great strength of Publius in cultivating the brightest minds on the Right.

As we observe our nation's semiquincentennial this year, Publius Fellows will continue to debate America's first principles and their application to our current crisis. The Declaration's "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" equip the next generation to revive republican virtue in an age of ideological corruption and political confusion.

2025 Lincoln Fellows



Sandra Asuncion
Director of Government Affairs, American Principles Project

Jasmine Baehr
Breaking News Writer, Fox News Digital

Kyle Brosnan
Vice President of Legal, The Oversight Project

Mark DiPlacido
Policy Advisor, American Compass

Jerome Greener
Executive Vice President, Texas Public Policy Foundation

Jon Hartley
Policy Fellow, Hoover Institution

Samuel Lair
Legislative Director, Idaho Freedom Foundation

Alexandra McCandless
Deputy Communications Director, White House OMB

Robert Ordway
Senior Policy Advisor, Indiana Governor Mike Braun

Tom Sauer
Founder, Miramar Health

Daniel Sprouse
General Omar Bradley Fellow, Department of Defense

Amber Todoroff
Deputy Policy Editor, Open the Books

Emma Waters
Policy Analyst, Tech Policy Center at The Heritage Foundation

Noah Weinrich
Speechwriter, Secretary of War Pete Hegseth

This year's Lincoln Fellowship had the energy of an 18th-century salon. It drew together rising stars from policy, journalism, business, and other spheres for a deep dive into America's governing foundations. The group fostered an especially dynamic atmosphere, as attendees debated the writings of the founders, framers, and presidents whose writings form the American canon.

The answers to many of the biggest questions in modern American civic life—whether on administrative bureaucracy, the correct path forward for the economy, or the defense of our way of life—can be found by interrogating and applying the great principles and and examples of American statesmanship. At times, such examples will challenge even the most patriotic American, but engaging deeply with the thought of the past is the only way to temper the mind for the complexity of the present. As Gouverneur Morris observed: "Those who judge the past must recollect that, when it was the present, the present was future."

The Lincoln Fellowship offered serious engagement with the sources of American republican government for a group who will go on to have an incredible impact on our nation's political culture. Armed with the depth and devotion with which our forefathers set forth the American Idea, our fellows will not let the unique struggles of our present time hold them back as they work to restore constitutional government.

2025 John Marshall Fellows



Kyle Atwood
Law Clerk, Hon. Joseph L. Falvey, U.S. Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims

Michael Bartnick
Law Clerk, Hon. Wendy Berger, U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Florida

Toby Calvert Lee
Law Clerk, Hon. Jay Mitchell, Alabama Supreme Court

Andrew Debter
Litigation and Appellate Attorney, Brown Fox PLLC

Caroline Divver
Law Clerk, Hon. Katherine A. Crytzer, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee

Jack Foley
Law Clerk, Hon. Paul S. Diamond, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Steven Foster
Captain, United States Army J.A.G. Corps

Alexander Hakes
Associate, Sidley Austin LLP

Kenneth Lee
Senior Counsel to Senator Ted Cruz, Senate Judiciary Committee

Christopher Pavlinec
Law Clerk, Hon. Jay Mitchell, Alabama Supreme Court

Caleb Pirc
Deputy Attorney General, Civil Litigation & Constitutional Defense Division of Idaho's Office of the Attorney General

Courtney Rimann
Law Clerk, Hon. Brantley Starr, Northern District of Texas

J.D. Rimann
Law Clerk, Hon. Sean Jordan, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Texas

Austin Severns
Associate, Sidley Austin

The John Marshall Fellowship, the flagship program of our Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence, remains the premier training ground for the next generation of lawyers and clerks committed to restoring the Constitution's original meaning.

In 2025, this intensive seven-day series of seminars brought together exceptional recent law school graduates for rigorous discussions on American political thought, jurisprudence, and the principles of the Founding, led by distinguished faculty including Dr. John Eastman, Ronald J. Pestritto, Vincent Phillip Muñoz, and Matthew Peterson. Fellows discuss foundational topics—natural rights and natural law, originalism versus living constitutionalism, executive prerogative, and the enduring legacy of Chief Justice John Marshall. These sessions equip participants with the intellectual tools to influence the judiciary from within, as many go on to prestigious federal clerkships where they help shape opinions grounded in the Constitution's true meaning. They frequently go on to become America's leading law professors, judges, and political advisors.

As the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence presses forward with landmark Supreme Court litigation on separation of powers, citizenship, and the administrative state, the John Marshall Fellowship ensures that a steady pipeline of principled scholars is ready to carry Claremont's mission into the legal arena for decades to come.

2025 Speechwriters Fellows



Corey Adamyk
Speechwriter, Governor Ron DeSantis (FL)

Joe Amato
Writer and Culture Strategist

Jack Beyer
Writer, Defense Industry

Andrew Brennan
Chief Speechwriter & Communications Advisor, Governor Glenn Youngkin (VA)

Will DiBugno
Policy Advisor, U.S. Senator Jim Banks (IN)

Coburn Dolloff
Executive Writer, Pepperdine University

Jake Gannon
Director of Communications, Claremont Institute

Andrew Garcia
Director of Research, Speechwriting Office at the White House

Michael Lachanski
Doctoral Candidate, Penn Population Studies Center

Roy Mathews
Legislative Correspondent, U.S. Senator Ted Cruz (TX)

John McGehee
Public Information Officer, Louisiana Secretary of State

Grayson Quay
Speechwriter for the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Department of Health and Human Services

Tom Sarrouf
Speechwriter, U.S. Department of State, Office of Policy Planning

Mattheus Wagner
Director of Communications, Trump Media & Technology Group

Noah Weinrich
Speechwriter, Sec. of War Pete Hegseth

The Speechwriters Fellowship equips the voices of America's leaders with the intellectual depth and rhetorical power needed to articulate a principled defense of the American nation. Founded in 2017, this intensive program gathers current and aspiring speechwriters—many already serving in government or influential roles—for a focused study blending the timeless principles of the American Founding with the practical craft of modern political rhetoric.

In 2025, fellows convened in Washington, D.C. to grapple with the enduring themes that define our nation's debates: natural law and natural rights, equality under the Declaration, the perils of globalism and multiculturalism, the threats posed by identity politics and the administrative state, and the core elements of American identity. Led by Claremont scholars alongside veteran presidential speechwriters, the curriculum arms participants to craft speeches that inspire a recovery of the American way of life.

As Claremont alumni increasingly shape policy and public discourse from within the second Trump administration and beyond, the Speechwriters Fellowship ensures that the words spoken by our leaders are grounded in the ideas that made America great. By mastering both principle and persuasion, these fellows help translate Claremont's scholarship into the language that moves a nation.

2025 Sheriffs Fellows



Sheriff Blake Andis
Washington County, VA

Sheriff Thomas Blankenship
Pickens County, SC

Sheriff Thaddeus Cleveland
Terrell County, TX

Sheriff David Clouse
Navajo County, AZ

Sheriff Shannon Dicus
San Bernardino County, CA

Sheriff Kieran Donahue
Canyon County, ID

Sheriff Matthew Hutchinson
Eddy County, NM

Sheriff Frank Levindoski
Tioga County, PA

Sheriff James Ott
Blair County, PA

Sheriff Jeff Richards
Franklin County, KS

Sheriff Summer Scheyer
Skamania County, WA

In 2025, the Sheriffs Fellowship strengthened its position as a key defender of America's legal heritage, arming law officers with tools to protect our ancient liberties in turbulent times. At a November seminar in Orange County, the fellows explored vital topics like border protection and First Amendment rights through hands-on sessions covering primary source readings.

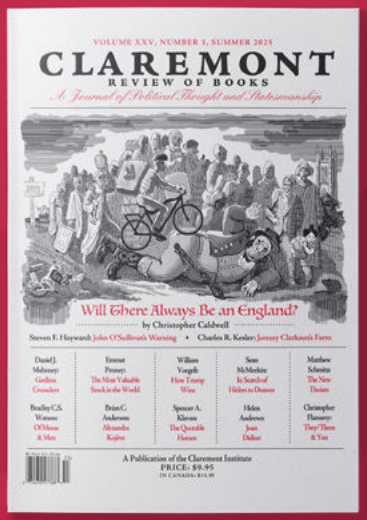
We also celebrated our law enforcement heroes at our annual American Sheriff Dinner in Orange County, California, on November 12. This year's honoree, Sheriff Michael Lewis of Wicomico County, Maryland, received the American Sheriff Award for his courageous leadership in upholding the Constitution, securing his community, and combating threats like illegal immigration and trafficking. Keynote remarks by White House Border Czar Tom Homan underscored the Trump administration's successes to date in national security: achieving the most secure border in our nation's history, ramping up deportations, and dismantling human trafficking networks to protect innocent children. "Since President Trump took office, not a single illegal immigrant has been released into this country," Homan reported.

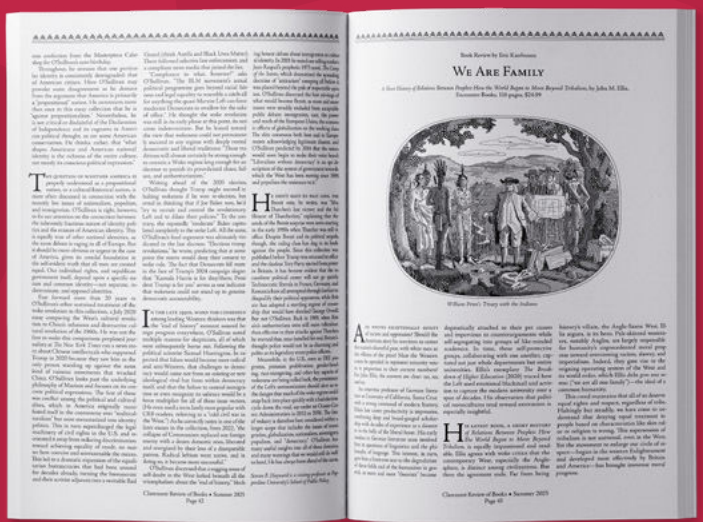
The Sheriffs Fellowship is a resounding statement that the Claremont Institute is constitutional in outlook and federalist in character. America does not live solely by the dictates of Washington, D.C. The most relevant government to most Americans' everyday lives is local, particularly law enforcement.

Writing


CLA
Will There Always Be an England?
by Christopher Caldwell
Steven F. Hayward: John O'Sullivan's Warning
Charles R. Kesler: Jeremy Clarkson's Farm
Daniel J. Mahoney: Godless Crusaders
Bradley C.S. Watson: Of Meese & Men
Emmet Penney: The Most Valuable Stock in the World
William Voegeli: How Trump Won
Sean McMeekin: In Search of Hidden Treasure
Matthew Schmitz: The New Elitism
A Publication of the Claremont Institute

CLAREMONT REVIEW OF BOOKS





25 Years of the *CRB*

This year, the *Claremont Review of Books* marked its 25th anniversary with a landmark year of rigorous, thoughtful analysis. Our contributors, including some of the most distinguished scholars in political theory, American history, and cultural criticism, tackled topics ranging from the evolving challenges of the administrative state to the deeper moral questions underpinning modern society.

Among the highlights of 2025, we released a double-issue anniversary edition and celebrated our quarter-century milestone with a sold-out gala in New York City. We published standout pieces from Christopher Caldwell, Charles Kesler, William Voegeli, and many other authors.

The *Claremont Review of Books* also expanded its digital reach with a fourth podcast episode per issue, audio readings of select articles, weekly cultural recommendations on Substack, and the introduction of digital-only subscriptions. These efforts engaged a broader audience—particularly younger readers and listeners—with ideas essential to fostering civic virtue and thoughtful statesmanship. Digital expansion will remain central to the magazine's mission.

Looking ahead, we remain committed to hosting rigorous scholarship and robust debate as an editorial priority, ensuring the *Claremont Review of Books* continues as a vital forum for those dedicated to preserving the American Founding as we approach the nation's semiquincentennial and beyond.

Support from our readers and benefactors ensures the *Claremont Review of Books* remains the leading forum for serious statesmanship.

16k

PRINT CIRCULATION

100+

ESSAYS & REVIEWS PUBLISHED

TOP 10 ARTICLES

Never Trump After 2024
WILLIAM VOEGELI

Land's End
CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

Buckley at 100
CHARLES KESLER

The Real Watergate Scandal
NATHAN PINKOSKI

The Eruption of Mount Elon
CHARLES KESLER

Stardust
HELEN ANDREWS

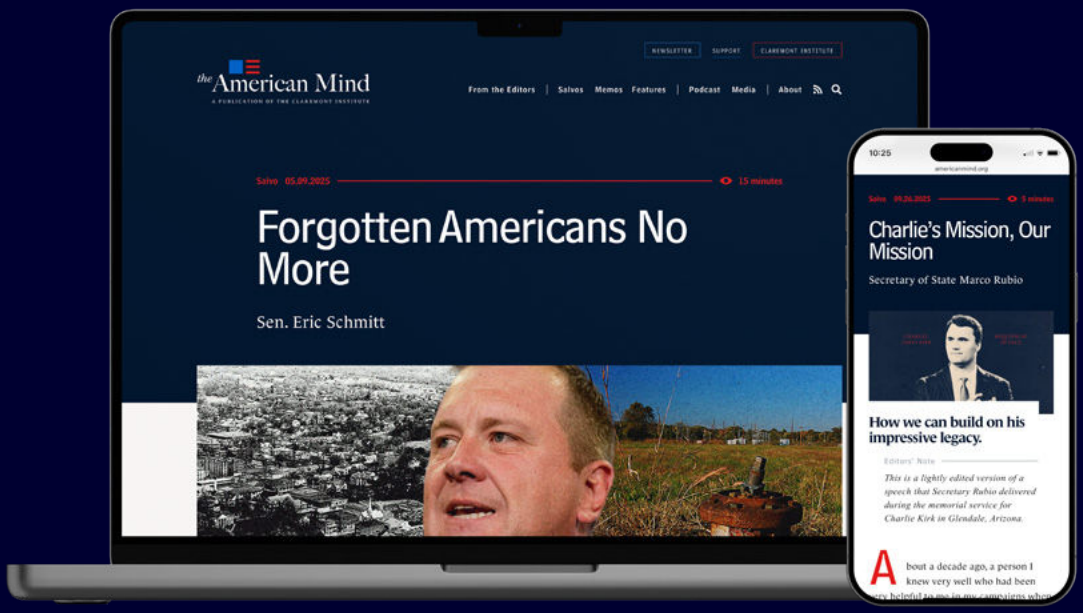
Let's Not Do That Again
CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

Unpardonable
JEFFREY H. ANDERSON

Now What?
WILLIAM VOEGELI

Goodbye to the Good War
SEAN MCMEEKIN

the American Mind



Premier Digital Forum

In 2025, The American Mind solidified its place as the premier digital forum for bold, principled conservative thought, delivering incisive analysis and solutions-oriented commentary that resonated deeply in a pivotal year for the nation. Through online articles, special thematic features, and our flagship podcast, *The Roundtable*, we dissected the prevailing challenges to American self-government and advanced thoughtful proposals rooted in the principles of the Founding—reaching a national audience and influencing Congressmen and those in the highest levels of the second Trump administration, including the President himself.

Our editorial team tackled critical topics with unflinching clarity: the ongoing dismantling of the administrative state, the subversion of institutions by DEI regimes, the restoration of national sovereignty, and the revitalization of civic virtue amid cultural renewal. We featured powerful contributions from leading voices, including Vice President JD Vance on statesmanship for a new era, Secretary Marco Rubio on continuing the mission of Charlie Kirk, Senator Eric Schmitt on reclaiming the heartland for forgotten Americans, Senator Jim Banks on the historic turnaround of our military, and State Department Senior Counselor Mike Needham on forging a new American century. Other prominent authors included Rep. Riley Moore, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, James Hankins, Russ Greene, Nathan Pinkoski, Helen Andrews, Christopher Caldwell, and Kevin Roberts.

Building on this momentum, we look ahead to 2026 with plans to expand our digital presence, deepen our policy influence, and continue publishing the writers crafting the playbook for America's renewal. The American Mind remains committed to arming citizens and leaders with the intellectual tools necessary for constructive debate and patriotism.

1.5M
WEBSITE VISITS

300+
ARTICLES PUBLISHED

TOP 10 ARTICLES

American Statesmanship for the Golden Age
VICE PRESIDENT JD VANCE

Charlie's Mission, Our Mission
SEC. OF STATE MARCO RUBIO

Supreme Confusion
DR. JOHN EASTMAN

Forgotten Americans No More
SENATOR ERIC SCHMITT

What Is Total Boomer Luxury Communism?
RUSS GREENE

America's Military Is Back
SENATOR JIM BANKS

Charlie Kirk, Martyr
JOSHUA TREVIÑO

Toward a National Restoration
DANIEL J. MAHONEY

Why Somaliland Matters
AYAAN HIRSI ALI

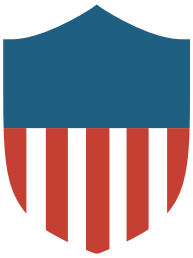
An Immigration Scheme That's Undermining America
SENATOR ERIC SCHMITT

Leading


CLAREMONT
Recovering the

CENTER FOR THE

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE



15k

RESEARCH AND PROVOCATIONS VIEWS

10

EXCLUSIVE NETWORKING EVENTS

38

ARTICLES PUBLISHED BY WASHINGTON FELLOWS

Influence Behind the Scenes

Throughout 2025, Claremont's Center for the American Way of Life (CAWL) accelerated its mission of embedding the principles of the American Founding across every level of government and culture. In the transformative first year of the second Trump administration, CAWL deepened its influence in Washington, D.C., exposed the corrosive effects of ideological indoctrination, and guided the aggressive reforms dismantling woke bureaucracy.

CAWL's American Military Project, led by Director Will Thibeau, produced the landmark report *Identity in the Trenches*, which continues to drive historic change at the Pentagon—now renamed the Department of War under Secretary Pete Hegseth. DEI offices were shuttered, race- and gender-based quotas eliminated, and merit-based standards restored, with sex-neutral physical fitness directives reaffirming the military's core mission of lethality and excellence.

CAWL extended its federal impact into the states, deploying analysis in Texas, North Carolina, Wyoming, Idaho, and Alabama which catalyzed legislation, such as Texas Senate Bill 17 which was signed into law in 2024, curbing Critical Race Theory and DEI mandates at public universities. Our October report, *Not Enough Good Men: Gender Integration and the Collapse of the Virginia Military Institute* by Dr. Scott Yenor, exposed how forced integration hollowed out a storied institution, offering a bold strategy to overturn flawed precedents and revive single-sex education that fosters distinct masculine and feminine excellence.

And as we closed out the year, we released a new Provocation as part of our America 250 series entitled: *Government by the Unelected: How it Happened, and How It Might Be Tamed*, by Claremont Senior Fellow and Hillsdale graduate school dean Dr. Ronald J. Pestritto. The report carefully traces the origin of the bureaucratic leviathan to the Progressive Era's assault on the Founders' vision. It explores how, after Congress gave away many of its powers through the New Deal, federal courts enabled the administrative state's growth across nearly a century, and assesses the current administration's systematic campaign to roll it back.

As we begin 2026 and enter the nation's semiquincentennial, CAWL is poised to intensify its efforts. We seek to codify military reforms in the National Defense Authorization Act, expand state-level victories against ideological capture, advise on America First foreign policy, and reclaim education from progressive overreach. Whether empowering state leaders to reshape curricula or guiding federal officials to dismantle the administrative state, CAWL remains resolute in its commitment to seeing America's founding principles triumph over subversion.

CENTER FOR

Constitutional Jurisprudence



Rolling Back the Rot

Under the steadfast leadership of Founding Director Dr. John Eastman, the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence (CCJ) advanced its pivotal role as the Claremont Institute's court-focused arm, filing strategic amicus briefs in over a dozen Supreme Court cases advancing constitutional restoration.

Particularly, CCJ's seminal briefs supported President Trump's executive order clarifying birthright citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment—long a cornerstone of Claremont scholarship—forcing the Court to confront the issue anew as it granted review in consolidated challenges. Equally vital were multiple briefs defending presidential authority to remove heads of independent agencies and pressing to overturn the New Deal-era *Humphrey's Executor* precedent that empowered the unaccountable deep state.



CCJ's arguments have gained traction among scholars, attorneys general, and justices alike. Justice Samuel Alito has noted he reads our briefs first. And we get involved with roughly 20% of the Court's docket. In practice, this places CCJ at the center of the Supreme Court's constitutional deliberations, influencing not just outcomes, but the very terms on which the Court decides its most consequential cases. As core issues like free speech, citizenship, and limited government rise to greater prominence, CCJ continues its advance toward Claremont's goal of a judiciary that thinks about the Constitution as the founders did.

14

AMICUS BRIEFS FILED

20%

PERCENTAGE OF SUPREME COURT CASES CCJ WAS INVOLVED IN

CONSEQUENTIAL WINS

United States v. Skrmetti

Oklahoma v. United States

Trump v. CASA, Inc. / Trump v. Washington / Trump v. New Jersey

Trump v. Wilcox

Oklahoma Statewide Charter School Board v. Drummond / St. Isidore of Seville Catholic Virtual School v. Drummond

Events



Events & Continuing Education

Claremont's 2025 calendar featured a robust lineup of gatherings designed to cultivate ideas, build coalitions, and celebrate the champions of American constitutionalism. Through these events, we brought together leaders, fellows, policymakers, and citizens committed to defending the American way of life. Their spirited dialogues and policy collaborations provided fresh momentum for our mission as we move forward into 2026.

The Statesmanship Award Dinner

Vice President JD Vance joined Charlie Kirk and hundreds of Claremont friends for an evening that reverberated across the country. The Vice President's speech—an agenda-setting analysis of America's political crossroads—has become the defining conservative address of 2025. In the wake of Charlie Kirk's tragic assassination, we remain profoundly grateful for this unforgettable gathering of two extraordinary patriots.

The State of Our Union

As summer drew to a close, we hosted an intimate gathering with Michael Anton and other Claremont scholars, offering supporters an unflinching assessment of the challenges and opportunities facing the new administration. The discussion set the tone for Claremont's ongoing role in this golden age of political opportunity.

Fighting Enemies Foreign & Domestic: The Legacy of Angelo Codevilla

We marked the publication of this important book—edited by Ryan Williams—with a moving tribute to one of Claremont's greatest scholars. Codevilla's students, colleagues, and admirers, many now serving at high levels in the Trump administration, reflected on his fearless insights into power, strategy, and the American regime.

The Henry Salvatori Prize Dinner

Claremont honored the intellectual contributions and cultural influence of Christopher Caldwell, acclaimed journalist, author, and longtime *Claremont Review of Books* contributor. The evening recognized his groundbreaking work, including *The Age of Entitlement*, which has illuminated the costs of the post-1960s revolution and the stakes in safeguarding the American way of life.

The Claremont Review of Books 25th Anniversary Dinner

In November, Claremont friends and staff gathered with Charles Kesler, Larry Arnn, Ryan Williams, Derick Cooper, and leading conservative minds to toast a quarter-century of the nation's premier journal of politics and statesmanship—the intellectual backbone of the Right.

The American Sheriff Award Dinner

We hosted a dinner concluding our Sheriffs Fellowship, featuring an address by Border Czar Tom Homan. We honored Sheriff Michael Lewis with the American Sheriff Award and celebrated the graduation of our latest class of Sheriff Fellows—equipping constitutional lawmen to stand against federal overreach.

Alumni Retreat

Claremont convened its annual Alumni Retreat in Washington, D.C., bringing together our distinguished fellows for a weekend of serious discussion and fellowship. The retreat opened with a welcome reception and dinner honoring Charlie Kirk, followed by a full day of closed-door alumni panels examining the intellectual and political challenges of the moment. The weekend culminated in the Salvatori Prize Dinner honoring Christopher Caldwell for his contributions to American political thought, and concluded with a Sunday brunch panel reinforcing Claremont's alumni network and its commitment to recovering the American idea.

100+

EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS



Sheriff Michael Lewis delivers remarks after accepting the 2025 American Sheriff Award



Claremont Fellows and Domestic Policy Council Director Vince Haley participate in the White House speechwriters panel during Claremont's Alumni Retreat



Hillsdale College President and Claremont Institute Vice Chairman Larry P. Arnn delivers remarks at the *Claremont Review of Books* 25th Anniversary Dinner in New York City



Senior Fellow Christopher Caldwell during remarks at the Henry Salvatori Prize Dinner in Washington D.C.



Fellows Matthew Peterson, Terry Schilling, Anthony Sabatini, Theo Wold, and Jerome Greener participate in a panel discussion during Claremont's Alumni Retreat

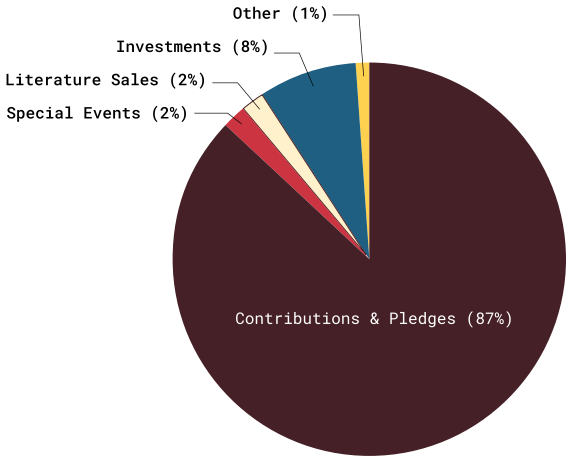
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Claremont
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Financials

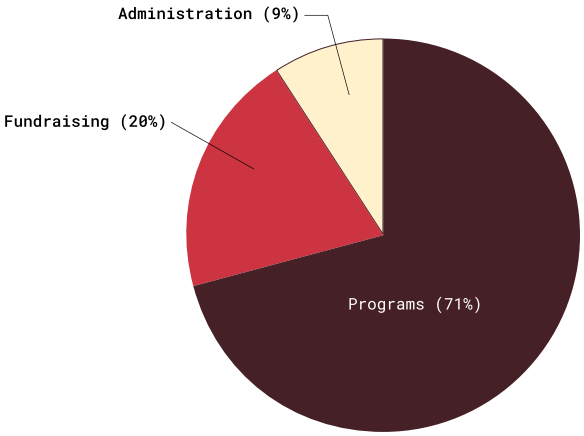
Revenue

	FY 2025
Contributions & Pledges	12,083,866
Special Events	312,563
Literature Sales	228,002
Investments	1,090,488
Other Revenue	202,910
Total	**$13,917,829**



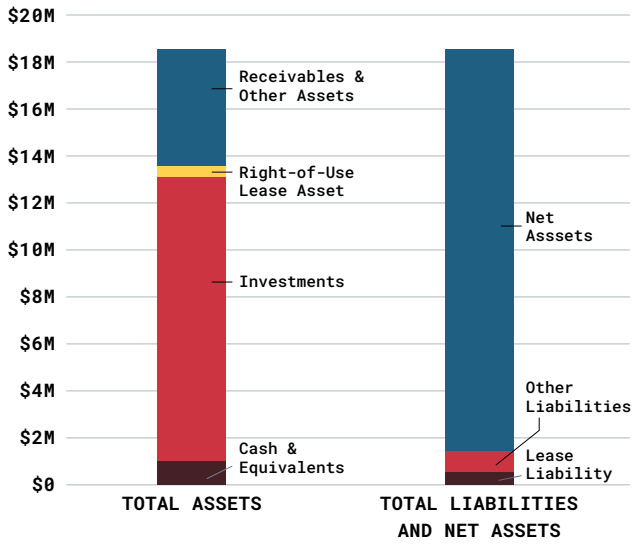
Expenses

	FY 2025
Programs	7,272,102
Fundraising	2,109,585
Administration	911,295
Total	**$10,292,982**



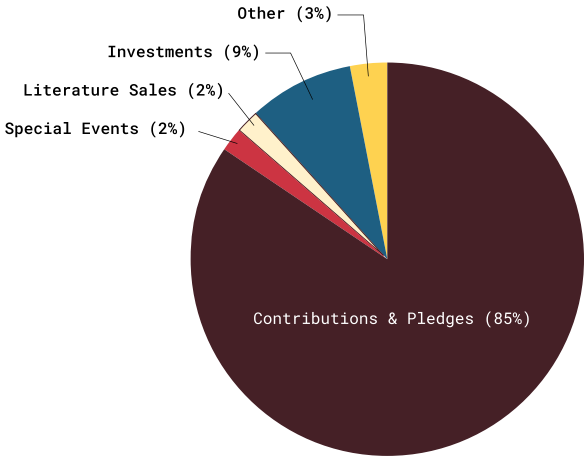
Assets & Liabilities

	FY 2025
Cash and Equivalents	969,087
Investments	11,866,833
Right-of-use Lease Asset	498,930
Receivables and Other Assets	4,890,034
Total	**$18,224,884**
Lease Liability	505,878
Other Liabilities	872,260
Net Assets	16,846,746
Total	**$18,224,884**



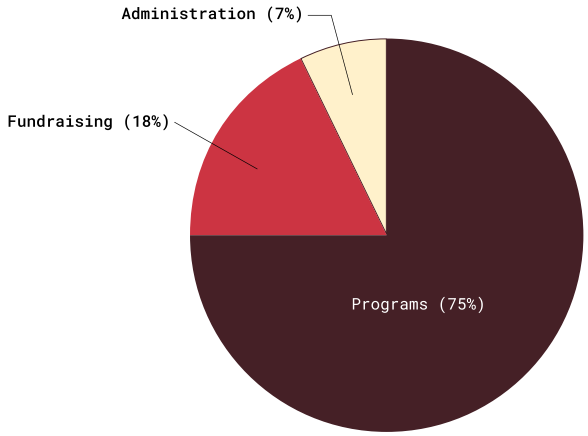
Revenue

	FY 2024
Contributions & Pledges	11,362,230
Special Events	267,600
Literature Sales	244,642
Investments	1,158,171
Other Revenue	408,833
Total	**$13,441,476**



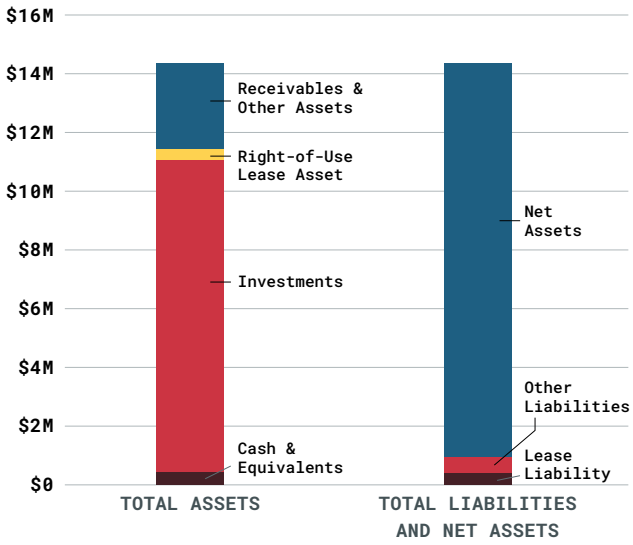
Expenses

	FY 2024
Programs	7,924,994
Fundraising	1,916,582
Administration	715,280
Total	**$10,556,856**



Assets & Liabilities

	FY 2024
Cash and Equivalents	423,517
Investments	10,454,049
Right-of-use Lease Asset	365,545
Receivables and Other Assets	2,876,574
Total	**$14,119,685**
Lease Liability	383,003
Other Liabilities	514,783
Net Assets	13,221,899
Total	**$14,119,685**



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The Claremont Institute is delighted to announce and warmly welcome two distinguished new members to our Board of Directors:



Scott Glabe is a longtime friend of Claremont as both a Lincoln Fellow and John Marshall Fellow. He serves as General Counsel and Corporate Secretary of Trump Media & Technology Group Corp., operator of the Truth Social platform, and as a member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board. His exemplary record of public service includes roles as Acting Under Secretary for Policy at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Associate Counsel and Special Assistant to the President at the White House, senior staff on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence—where he led investigations into the Russia collusion narrative—and deployment as a U.S. Navy Reserve intelligence officer to Afghanistan. A graduate of Yale Law School and Dartmouth College, Scott brings principled leadership and deep expertise to our board.



Robert Kasprzak brings a wealth of experience as an accomplished attorney, entrepreneur, and philanthropist. After a distinguished career spanning nearly 25 years—during which he counseled and co-founded innovative technology companies, including a groundbreaking investment firm and medical engineering company—Robert retired from full-time work in 2022 to focus on philanthropy and investments. Together with his wife, Lindsey, he founded the Apricity Foundation in 2020, supporting organizations aligned with their shared commitment to conservative principles, including the Claremont Institute. An active supporter of national and Texas conservative causes, Robert will be a vital addition to our board in advancing the principles of the American Founding.

We are honored to have Scott and Robert join our Board of Directors as we continue our essential mission to recover the American idea.



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