



The Daily Wire went from a fringe, far-right upstart to a breakout media business. How big can this outrage machine get? By Devin Leonard Photographs by Tamara Reynolds

Jeremy Boreing in the Daily Wire's Nashville headquarters, with a collectible Truth Bomb



Most people who saw the ad for Jeremy's Razors-

"The Greatest Commercial Ever," now viewed on YouTube 22 million times-probably thought it was a spoof. After a McLaren 600LT Spider hurtles into a parking spot reserved for "god king," almost running over a middle-aged office worker, a sunglassed man in a \$1,980 Gucci tracksuit jacket who looks like he was manufactured in an LA lab emerges. "Do you remember when there were two genders," he asks, glaring into the camera, "and only one and a half of them had to shave their mustaches?"

So begins a tirade about real masculinity that lasts nearly four slickly produced minutes and features the god king incinerating Gillette and Harry's razors with a flamethrower while flanked by two leggy, cleavage-baring models. At one point, he passes a little girl wearing a dress who's shaving her face. The tone is so smug and the visuals so over-thetop, it's impossible to discern what's parody and what isn't,

including the fact that it shamelessly borrows from the Dollar Shave Club ad that went viral a decade earlier. "If you've had enough of the woke bulls---, and you're tired of paying companies like Harry's and Gillette to hate you," Jeremy, of Jeremy's Razors, snarls, "then buy my new razor instead."

The razor salesman is Jeremy Boreing, co-chief executive officer of the Daily Wire, the right-wing media com-

pany best known for The Ben Shapiro Show podcast. The video, it turns out, is not satire. In March 2021, Daily Wire advertiser Harry's Inc. dropped spots for its razors after receiving a complaint from a Twitter user about comments made by a Daily Wire personality disparaging gender fluidity. Boreing wasn't just fed up with Harry's. He was still seething about a Gillette commercial from 2019 decrying "toxic masculinity."

The Daily Wire already sold merch on its website, including "Leftist Tears" tumblers and "Insert Woke Slogan" ball-

caps. Why not punch back with an actual Owens at the product—a new razor that could compete with those sold by these "woke" companies? So, in March 2022, the video made its debut and customers began preordering a \$59.99 kit complete with a tungsten alloy handle, eight blades, shaving cream and balm in a "durable, socialism-resistant bag." Jeremy's Razors, which the company says has since sold 125,000 blade subscriptions, is now part of the Daily Wire's for-profit model of fighting the culture war.

When the company first surfaced eight years ago, it could have easily been written off as a fringe upstart aspiring to game Facebook with clickbait such as "Hillary Cackles When Asked If She Was Alone Night of Benghazi" and "Fully Insane British Labor Leader

Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Orlando in February 2022



'Not Happy' With Shoot-to-Kill Terrorist Policy... DURING TERRORIST ATTACK." But Boreing, along with co-CEO Caleb Robinson and co-founder Shapiro, has managed to turn itself into a breakout media business. With more than 1 million subscribers and \$200 million in revenue last year, the Daily Wire is unusually successful in podcasting, a medium where the biggest hits typically come from a much larger media company, such as The Daily, from the New York Times, or Spotify's The Joe Rogan Experience, for which the music streaming service paid hundreds of millions of dollars to license exclusively. As of March, the Daily Wire was the sixth-largest podcast publisher in the US, according to Podtrac, with a monthly audience of 9.4 million, almost a million more than the Walt Disney Co., 4 million more than the Fox Audio Network and more than twice as many as

Shapiro recording his show in 2018 in Los Angeles

CNN. Now it's moving aggressively into movies, documentaries and children's TV. "They're a conservative podcasting juggernaut, and they have huge ambitions," says Howard Polskin, founder of TheRighting, a daily newsletter that tracks conservative media.

In its early years, the Daily Wire was almost entirely dependent on Shapiro, the heavy-browed, Trump-skeptical Harvard Law grad behind what was the most listened to right-wing podcast in the fourth quarter of 2022, according to

Edison Research. Shapiro glories in putting an Ivy League gloss on his contentions that same-sex marriage isn't morally equivalent to the traditional kind and that transgenderism is a "mental disorder." "He's the nose cone on that rocket," says Michael Harrison, publisher of Talkers, an industry trade magazine. Over the years, the Daily Wire has built a dream team of commentators-or trolls, depending on your view. In a daily stream of podcasts and videos, the personalities style themselves as defenders of traditional values and sanity while spouting inflammatory rhetoric that rivals and often surpasses the bigotry you may have routinely encountered on Fox News' Tucker Carlson Tonight. That is, before Fox fired Carlson in late April, erasing \$507 million in a day from its stock market value.

> There's Candace Owens, a Black star of the MAGA set who's referred to the Jan. 6 insurrection as "obviously a fed operation" and flirted with antisemitism. Michael Knowles, a cigar-smoking would-be actor, has argued that same-sex adoption is a "terrible idea" and lately achieved dubious fame for saying that "transgenderism must be eradicated from public life entirely." His attacks, however, pale in comparison to those of Matt Walsh, who has called trans people "mutilated, mutant, self-loathing, hollow, twisted shells" and notes in his Twitter bio that he was

named transphobe of the year by the New Republic in 2022.

The Daily Wire is "deliberately steering into the culture war," Boreing told a podcast last year, referring to the crusade for causes from banning abortion to combating "wokeness." The latter term, co-opted by the right, derides progressive obsessions such as corporate diversity policies, fighting climate change and embracing nonbinary pronouns. What unifies the network's personalities is their righteous sense that they're under attack by leftist forces that have captured America's major institutions and are intent on encouraging children to switch genders, allowing criminals to roam free and promoting practices biased against White people.

There is no shortage of politicians or political wannabes trying to turn this narrative into a campaign strategy. (See: Florida's Republican governor, Ron DeSantis, and anti-ESG money manager Vivek Ramaswamy, who's already declared his 2024 presidential bid.) But where they seek public-sector power, Boreing smells business opportunity. "For too long, conservatives have responded to every new assault in the culture war with the same tired nonprofit cycle of lose, complain and beg for donations; lose, complain and beg for donations," Boreing said last year in a company town hall.

Instead, the Daily Wire will acquire a favorable documentary about US Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas that's vanished from Amazon Prime or publish a book by a cop involved in the Breonna Taylor shooting that was dropped by its distributor. Ultimately, Boreing wants the Daily Wire to help build an alternative economy. It's one where conservatives can get their caffeine from Black Rifle Coffee rather than Starbucks, eat Cousin T's pancakes—created by Black conservative comedian Terrence Williams to protest the decision by PepsiCo Inc. to remove the Aunt Jemima logo from its pancake-and-syrup products—and pay for it all with Coign, "America's first credit card for conservatives."

So when Disney became a punching bag yet again after one of the company's executives was caught on camera last year talking about her "not so secret gay agenda," it was the perfect foil for Boreing's next move. "Disney, Disney, Disney-they're the gift that keeps on giving," Boreing told his staff at the town hall. He wants to transform the Daily Wire into a kind of anti-Disney, complete with its own movies and TV shows. Currently in the works: a series based on Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged, another based on an evangelically themed retelling of the King Arthur legend and a commitment to spend \$100 million over three years to develop children's programming that can eventually spawn toys, books and video games. Michael Pachter, a media and tech industry analyst at Wedbush Securities, scoffs at the idea that the Daily Wire will ever be competitive with the likes of Disney or Netflix. "The Daily Wire is so far behind all those guys," he says. "That's like Trump saying Truth Social is going to replace Twitter."

The Daily Wire says its next goal is to reach 10 million subscribers, 10 times more than it has now and still a rounding error for Disney+ and Netflix, which together have nearly

The Daily Wire is "deliberately steering into the culture war"

400 million subscribers. As part of its strategy to get there, the company in June announced it nabbed another big name: Jordan Peterson, the Canadian psychologist turned conservative self-help guru with millions of mostly male online followers, who can drift off into the banal in lectures such as "Carl Jung and *The Lion King*" and rejects the notion that "Western society is pathologically patriarchal." Boreing calls him "the most important public intellectual of our time."

But producing scripted television is infinitely more complex and expensive than sticking someone in front of a microphone. Given the GOP's disappointing results in last year's midterms in the wake of *Roe v. Wade*'s overturning, along with culture warrior DeSantis's dimming popularity, it remains unclear just how large the market for this type of fare actually is. Boreing insists it's half of the American population. "Razors are just the beginning," he told his staff last year. "The hubris of the left has created an infinite sea of opportunity for us to go build new institutions, new corporations, a new way of living where we and our values are once again welcome."

Boreing's original plan was to make it in Hollywood. He

thought he just might soon after he'd moved to Los Angeles in 2000 and auditioned to be an extra in a Revolutionary War movie. Having grown up in a small town in West Texas, he was the only person who volunteered when a call went around for someone who knew how to pray. He landed a small speaking part, but the movie was never made and Boreing ultimately gave up his acting ambitions.

He did, however, find his way to a men's Bible study group attended by actors such as Joel David Moore, known for playing Dr. Norm Spellman in the *Avatar* movies, and Zachary Levi, the onetime star of the NBC series *Chuck*. Boreing became the pastor and leader of the group, which didn't just worship and play Halo together. Boreing, Moore and Levi formed a production company called Coattails Entertainment and in 2007 made a movie called *Spiral* starring Moore as a jazz-obsessed psycho killer and Levi as his best friend. Boreing collaborated on the script and turned out to have a way with investors. "A lot of what he did was get the money together," says Adam Green, who co-directed the film. "It all went smoothly."

Spiral flopped. So did the other movies Boreing was involved in. They tended to be darkly moralistic, like Shadowheart, a Western for which he was an executive producer, about a bounty hunter seeking revenge for the murder of his preacher father. In *The Arroyo*, which he co-wrote and directed, a rifle-toting Arizonan on the southern border stands up to Mexican cartel members using his land. "The Americans are the bad guys in their own movies," a villain says at one point.

■ Boreing had better luck in political circles. A member of his Bible study group introduced him to Friends of Abe, a group of Hollywood conservatives founded by actor Gary Sinise and writer-filmmaker Lionel Chetwynd. They were impressed by Boreing's talents as both a pastor and a producer and asked him to become the organization's executive director. Boreing organized events where Republican luminaries like future President Donald Trump talked to audiences that included Clint Eastwood, Kelsey Grammer and other A-listers. He also consoled newcomers, who were often moved to tears to be among fellow right-wingers in their predominantly liberal industry. "He was a really superb steward," Chetwynd says. "He wrangled a hard herd of people with egos, people easily hurt, people who are kind of paranoid in the workplace."

It was through Friends of Abe that Boreing met Shapiro, in 2010. A right-leaning Orthodox Jew, Shapiro, then 26, was already a budding pundit with his own talk radio show and had authored books such as *Brainwashed: How Universities Indoctrinate America's Youth*. At their first meeting, he and Boreing discussed making movies that reflected their values. "We didn't get down to scripts or anything like that," Shapiro says. "It was more like we knew that conservative entertainment was something we were both interested in."

After Shapiro appeared on *Piers Morgan Live* on CNN in 2013 in a bulky suit and a shirt that looked two sizes too big, Boreing decided to make himself useful to his friend by staging a fashion intervention. "We took a Hollywood stylist to his house and threw away all of his clothes," Boreing says. He eventually provided similar makeovers for the Daily Wire's other personalities, including himself—upgrading from an après grunge Nickelback look to bespoke blazers and Warby Parker-style glasses. (Boreing says he's given a similar upgrade to Senator Ted Cruz, a friend from Texas.)

The same year, Boreing and Shapiro went into business together, persuading far-right author David Horowitz to let them launch TruthRevolt, a conservative website vowing to "unmask leftists in the media," at his nonprofit David Horowitz Freedom Center in Sherman Oaks, California. Horowitz ended up firing Boreing, and Shapiro quit in solidarity. (Horowitz didn't return calls seeking comment.) So Boreing took the same business plan to Caleb Robinson, a fellow Texan who'd been scouting around Hollywood for conservative entertainment projects to underwrite on behalf of fracking billionaire Farris Wilks. In 2015, Wilks agreed to put up \$4.7 million in seed capital to start the Daily Wire, with Robinson as its CEO, Boreing as chief operating officer and Shapiro as editor-in-chief. (Eventually, Boreing was elevated to co-CEO, and Shapiro relinquished his editorial duties to focus on his show.) They began taping The Ben Shapiro Show in Boreing's pool house-turnedmakeshift studio in Sherman Oaks, churning out episodes four days a week.

Almost immediately, the rise of Trump threw the Daily Wire a curveball. Neither Boreing nor Shapiro was a Trump booster. As hardcore conservatives embraced the reality-TV star's presidential candidacy in 2016, Shapiro was attacked online by Trump zealots and White nationalists. Much to his surprise, Boreing found that the Daily Wire was attracting younger right-wingers, many of them in liberal enclaves like New York and Los Angeles and less likely to be party loyalists than their elders. "This makes us distinct from Fox, which has a much older audience," Boreing says. (A Fox spokesperson says Fox News has "the most politically diverse audience in cable news.")

Whereas Fox News Channel's prime-time personalities were slavishly devoted to Trump-giving airtime to proponents of his stolen 2020 election falsehood, which eventually backfired when Fox Corp. agreed to pay \$787 million to settle a defamation lawsuit filed against it by Dominion Voting Systems-the Daily Wire's talking heads were more concerned with the kind of broader issues that fire up the right wing. Tim Miller, a former Republican strategist who writes for the *Bulwark*, an anti-Trump conservative news and opinion site, says the younger media company has benefited from Shapiro's heterodoxy. "They have kind of a straight-shooter brand that they're riding on, the fact that Ben doesn't just totally hew the MAGA dead-ender line the way everybody else does in conservative media," he says. It helped that the Daily Wire also had Trump devotees in its lineup, like Andrew Klavan, an award-winning mystery writer and lighthearted boomer scourge of the left, and the much younger Knowles, whom Boreing originally hired to run the site's social media but who did better at the microphone.

In 2020 the Daily Wire relocated from Los Angeles to Nashville, where the state income taxes were significantly lower. It was around this time that the media company signed Owens. Boreing had been particularly impressed by a Facebook video she posted a month after George Floyd's murder—now viewed 96 million times—in which she said she didn't support him or "the media depiction of him as a martyr for Black America." Boreing says she closed the deal with the Daily Wire while watching the election results that November at the White House with Trump. "She's got it in the classic Hollywood sense," Boreing says. "The camera loves her." Owens's arrival provided the Daily Wire's White male frontline with some much needed racial and gender diversity, even if the company regularly disparages such concerns.

In the fall of 2020, Boreing got a call from Dallas Sonnier,

a Texas producer of low-budget cult films such as *Brawl in Cell Block* 99, in which Vince Vaughn plays a convict who must carry out a jailhouse hit to save his pregnant wife from an evil abortionist. Sonnier, it turned out, had been the subject of media reports that he'd ignored sexual harassment allegations against one of his company's producers. "I'm kind of being blacklisted right now," Boreing recalls Sonnier telling him. "But I have this amazing movie." (Sonnier says

Boreing in the Daily Wire control room in Nashville



the coverage of his company was "totally" unfair; the other producer was charged with sexually assaulting a child and later pleaded no contest to a lesser charge, according to court records.)

The film was called *Run Hide Fight*, and it was about a high school senior struggling to survive a school shooting who eventually takes the law into her own hands. "It's chock-full of our values," Boreing says. "It's good versus evil, it's self-determination, individualism."

The call from Sonnier was well timed. The Daily Wire had seen a dramatic uptick in podcasting advertising and would end 2020 with more than 250,000 paying subscribers who could get its shows ad-free. But the company was still heavily reliant on ads from its website, teeming with clickbaity-headlined stories that were among the most shared on Facebook. As the social network continued changing its algorithm, Boreing became convinced that the Daily Wire needed to dial down its dependence on ads, ramp up subscriptions and create more of a streaming entertainment model like Disney+ and Netflix, whose usership was exploding in the pandemic. It turned out the distribution platform the Daily Wire had built for it podcasts and videos could just as easily accommodate movies. All it needed was the content.

Within 48 hours, Sonnier and Boreing had a deal. Boreing says the Daily Wire's investment in *Run Hide Fight*, which cost just \$1.8 million to make, paid for itself in a week because it drove so many new subscribers to the site when it was released there exclusively in January 2021. Sonnier's outfit, Bonfire Legend, became the Daily Wire's TV and film producer. "I couldn't be happier," Sonnier says.

It was becoming clear that "canceled" entertainment

types like Sonnier could become a talent pipeline for the company, no matter how second-tier they might have been. The following month, Gina Carano, an actor who was formerly a mixed martial-arts fighter, suggested on Instagram that America in the wake of the Jan. 6 riot resembled Nazi Germany. She'd been starring in The Mandalorian, a hit Disney+ show, and Disney's Lucasfilm division decided to cut its ties with her after the post. (Boreing calls the decision "borderline criminal.") The Daily Wire quickly signed Carano to a deal that resulted in

Terror on the Prairie, a Sonnier-produced Western in which she plays a Christian who defends her family against a band of bounty hunters. "Everyone wants to see themselves represented on screen," Sonnier says. "That's what everyone's screaming and shouting about. Well, we're doing our own version: conservative values."

A teaser trailer for the film first appeared on the Daily Wire in February 2022, four months before the launch of DailyWire+, its rebranded streaming service. The company soon bombarded Facebook with ads for newer subscriberonly content like *What Is a Woman?*, a documentary in which Walsh deadpans his way through interviews with trans advocates. The Daily Wire also treated subscribers to *The Greatest Lie Ever Sold*, another docu-style film, in which Owens excoriates Black Lives Matter, later declaring that she "broke" the racial justice organization. (On Twitter, Black Lives Matter cautioned that the "purported documentary" would "attempt to further divide Black people and uplift white supremacy.")

This was clearly the kind of content the Daily Wire's audience thirsted for. In April 2022 the company told *Forbes* that DailyWire+ had almost 600,000 subscribers; by November 1 million. It said it had optioned the streaming rights to *Atlas Shrugged* and the historical fantasy series *Pendragon Cycle*—"an incredible story about the fall of the Roman occupation and the rise of Christianity in the blood-soaked pagan British Isles," describes Boreing. It would make Peterson documentaries and add new titles from conservative educational nonprofit PragerU—Owens's old employer—whose videos include "Celebrities Bail Out Rioters and Looters."

A \$100 million investment in children's programming ▶

The Daily Wire's podcast factory in Nashville

◄ also meant parents would no longer have to worry about their children getting indoctrinated by Disney+, whose entertainment "teaches your daughter that she's a boy," Boreing said at an event last June. The company's children's book, Johnny the Walrus-Walsh's unsubtle anti-trans allegory about a boy who pretends he's a sea animal and whose mom comes under pressure from activists to make it surgically permanent-had already topped the Amazon.com bestseller list in the spring of 2022. "This is causing unimaginable trauma to Amazon's woke employees and I couldn't be happier," Walsh gleefully tweeted at the time. Jason Campbell, a senior researcher at left-leaning media watchdog and frequent Daily Wire critic

Media Matters, says, "When it comes to anti-trans rhetoric and anti-LGBTQ rhetoric in general, it is really hard for me to think of anyone else who is more important in setting that narrative than Matt Walsh."

Walsh's presence might have driven subscriptions, but it undoubtedly complicates the Daily Wire's effort to lure the kind of Hollywood-grade executives needed to move into prestige TV. Outwardly at least, most of them lean left. Undaunted, Boreing speaks as if the company could become a haven for straight White men who've had their Hollywood careers stymied as studios try to become more diverse. "There's a lot of those guys who have put in the work, they've put in the effort, and because they're in a disfavored racial category at this moment, Hollywood just won't work with them," he said last year on an episode of Backstage, a Daily Wire current events show. Not long after, the company announced it had hired Chris Sonnenburg, a former Disney executive who worked on Hercules and *Pocahontas* to be its senior vice president for animation. Sonnenburg says he was excited about making shows that are "not, like, politically charged." His first project: a show about a family of home-schooled chinchillas. The voice of the patriarch will be provided by Rob Schneider, a former Saturday Night Live cast member and celebrity anti-vaxxer.

Right-leaning executives are starting to heed the call, too. The Daily Wire's president of consumer products, Tara Murphy, was a "closet conservative" living in liberal Vermont, running a sustainable food-wrapping company. When Murphy, a 17-year veteran of Procter & Gamble Co. who'd managed



brands such as Cheer and Charmin, heard about Jeremy's Razors, she immediately got in touch. "I was like, 'That's it! That's exactly what's happening," says Murphy, who's now working on a Jeremy's women's razor line. "Like, we've created companies that have become so woke, you really don't want [what they're selling] anymore."

Trying to become a right-

wing Magic Kingdom comes with some constraints. Up until now, the Daily Wire has funded its operations almost entirely with its cash flow. That worked for podcasting, but the economics are different for streaming, where high production values require substantial upfront investments, such as the estimated \$30 million Netflix spent per episode

for Season 4 of *Stranger Things*. Boreing boasts that the Daily Wire, which he says is now worth \$2 billion, was approached last year by six special purpose acquisition companies that wanted to take it public. He and his partners turned them all down, fearing they'd be forced to compromise the company's ideological purity.

They're talking to investors about funding pieces of individual projects instead. But Boreing needs to strike some deals soon. In November he said the company had enough money to develop scripts for *Atlas Shrugged* and *Pendragon*, but he wasn't sure where the funds to actually shoot them would come from. (By April, the Daily Wire said Sonnier's Bonfire Legend was handling the financing for both projects, and it was confident it would have sufficient funds to produce them. It declined to provide further detail.)

It's also not beneath Boreing to treat fundraising like a religious crusade. He hits up viewers who are still watching some of the Daily Wire's shows for free on YouTube to buy its \$14-a-month subscriptions, urging them to help the company reach its 10 million subscribers goal. Still, it's not entirely clear there's an audience big enough to make that happen. The Daily Wire's closest streaming rival, Fox News Channel's Fox Nation, described by the *Times* as a "Netflix for Conservatives," premiered in 2018. It's got a similar playbook: Viewers can enjoy *Roseanne Barr: Cancel This!*, a comedy special featuring the former sitcom star, who lost her ABC show after sending a racist tweet, or *Cops*, which Fox Nation picked up in 2021 after it was terminated by the Paramount Network at the height of the BLM protests.

A Fox Nation subscription costs less than half what DailyWire+ charges, yet even with the country's most popular conservative cable network behind it, media reports have estimated that Fox Nation has signed up only about 1.5 million subscribers, not much more than the Daily Wire. Fox itself has declined to provide a number, which hardly inspires confidence that there's a vast untapped market for such conservative fare. Boreing says, "We don't look at Fox as the model or competitor. We're trying to do something completely different." (The day Fox cut ties with Carlson, Boreing tweeted that the Daily Wire would "break out the big novelty checkbook" for the commentator if he didn't have other plans.)

Meanwhile, the Daily Wire is still slugging it out with Breitbart News, the Blaze and other far-right rivals to retain its core audience, which requires throwing gobs of money at talent. In January details became public of Boreing's failed attempt to sign a four-year deal worth as much as \$50 million with Steven Crowder, a former Blaze contributor whose podcast episodes include "Banned: YouTube Is Hiding the New World Order From You!" and "Did Katie Hobbs REALLY Beat Kari Lake?" Crowder complained online that the deal wasn't generous enough and accused the Daily Wire of trying to play him for a rube. The Daily Wire won't say what it pays its talent, but Crowder's lamentations prompted Mikhaila Peterson, Jordan's daughter, to post her own YouTube video, making it clear her family couldn't be happier with its patriarch's "absurdly good deal." "I'm virtually certain they're not recouping what they're paying Dad to be on their platform and spending on promotion," she said. (Boering says the offer to Crowder was fair.)

Crowder ended up signing a deal with Rumble, the Peter Thiel-backed video platform that advertises itself as "immune to cancel culture" and went public last year in a \$2 billion SPAC deal. Breitbart is also getting into the film business, distributing My Son Hunter, a thriller about you-know-who featuring Carano. "The cost of entry has come down dramatically," says Rick Wilson, co-founder of the anti-Trump Lincoln Project. "There's a lot of money sloshing around for right-wing media efforts."

But in this corner of media, not only do you have to spend a lot, what you get can become radioactive. In October, Owens became the most prominent defender of her friend

Candace Owens "has this massive platform, which shows why they're not cracking down on her, despite her dabbling in antisemitism"

Ye, the rapper formerly known as Kanye West, when he was booted from Twitter for vowing to go "death con 3 On JEWISH PEOPLE." While Shapiro rushed to condemn Ye's antisemitic rant, Owens declared that "this does not represent the beginning of a Holocaust." Boreing says he was personally offended by Owens's behavior and that she'd done damage to both the Daily Wire and her personal brand. Not that he was going to do anything about it. "Had she said the things that Ye has said, that would not be permissible on my platform," he says. "But she hasn't, and she wouldn't." He adds: "Find me the person who can control Candace Owens." The *Bulwark*'s Miller says it's obvious why the Daily Wire treads lightly with one of its biggest names. "We do focus groups at the Bulwark of MAGA voters, and when asked about 2024 candidates, Candace is volunteered more than Ted Cruz," he says. "She has this massive platform, which shows why they're not cracking down on her despite her dabbling in antisemitism."

In April, Walsh became one of the louder voices urging people to boycott Bud Light over its partnership with trans influencer Dylan Mulvaney. Its parent company ended up replacing the marketing executive in charge of the brand, but Walsh didn't get much of a chance to celebrate. On April 19 he said someone hacked his Twitter account, phone and emails. YouTube, a major distribution platform for the Daily Wire where Walsh brings in some \$100,000 a month in advertising dollars for the company, also suspended revenue on his channel, saying he'd repeatedly violated its guidelines. But for Boreing, it was just another chance to portray his company as besieged by the censorious forces of the left. The Daily Wire immediately published a story headlined "Daily Wire Co-CEO Reveals Secret Cancel Blitz," naming his company's personalities including Walsh and laying out a conspiracy involving "the left" and "Big Tech." "We'll leverage our influence to hold YouTube, TikTok and all the rest accountable," he said. "We'll press our claims in court, through government and with the public."

In the meantime, though, he'll do it with chocolate. A few weeks earlier, to celebrate International Women's Day, the Hershey Co. had featured a trans advocate promoting a limited edition "HER for SHE" chocolate bar. Boreing's response? He dusted off his Gucci jacket and shot another video. "International Women's Day is once again upon us, and I love an international woman," Boreing says to the camera. "But our friends at Hershey's? They don't even know what a woman is."

And so Boreing rolled out Jeremy's Chocolate, with SheHer and HeHim flavors. "Only one of them has nuts, and if you need me to tell you which one, keep buying Hershey's," Boreing deadpans. Within a week of the video's March 3 debut, the Daily Wire declared Jeremy's Chocolate had sold 500,000 "anti-woke" candy bars. Hershey, which churns out 24 million chocolate bars a day at its factory in Pennsylvania, says it stands by its campaign. 19

--- With Kevin Simauchi