Recent Awards

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Iralee Barnard
256 pages, 415 photographs, 57 maps

Category finalist for the Eric Hoffer Book Award

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George deMohrenschildt
Edited and annotated by Michael A. Rinella
408 pages, 21 photographs
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2013-5, $29.95
**Bully Nation**

How the American Establishment Creates a Bullying Society

Charles Derber and Yale R. Magrass

It's not just the bully in the schoolyard that we should be worried about. The one-on-one bullying that dominates the national conversation, this timely book suggests, is actually part of a larger problem—a natural outcome of the bullying nature of our national institutions. And as long as the United States embraces militarism and aggressive capitalism, systemic bullying and all its impacts—at home and abroad—will persist as a major crisis.

Bullying looks very similar on the personal and institutional levels: it involves an imbalance of power and behavior that consistently undermines its victim, securing compliance and submission and reinforcing the bully's sense of superiority and legitimacy. The similarity, this book tells us, is not a coincidence. Authors Charles Derber and Yale Magrass argue that individual bullying is an outgrowth—and a necessary function—of a larger social phenomenon. Bullying is seen here as a structural problem arising from systems organized around steep power hierarchies—from the halls of the Pentagon, Congress, and corporate offices to classrooms and playing fields and the environment. Dominant people and institutions need to create a culture in which violence and aggression are seen as natural and just: one where individuals compete over who will be bully or victim, and each is seen as deserving their fate within this hierarchy. The larger the inequalities of power in society, or among nations, or even across species, the more likely it is that both institutional and personal bullying will become commonplace. The authors see the life-long psychological scars interpersonal bullying can bring, but believe it is almost impossible to reduce such bullying without first challenging the institutions that breed and encourage it.

In the United States a system of intertwined corporations, governments, and military institutions carries out “systemic bullying” to create profits and sustain its own power. While acknowledging the diversity and savagery of many other bully nations, the authors contend that America, as the most powerful nation in the world—and one that aggressively promotes its system as a model—merits special attention. It is only by recognizing the bullying built into this model that we can address the real problem, and in this, *Bully Nation* makes a hopeful beginning.

Charles Derber is professor in the Department of Sociology at Boston College.

Yale R. Magrass is chancellor professor in the Department of Sociology/Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth.

“A canny and sobering look at bullying behavior and how it permeates our nation’s major institutions. When children do it, we abhor it. When our leaders do it, we usually applaud it. The authors remind us.”

Oliver Stone

“This thoughtful study expertly dissect the ‘bullying scourge’ that poisons lives and society, exposing its roots in the institutional structure of a ‘militaristic capitalist culture’ that it reflects and nurtures, while also revealing the encouraging reactions that may offer cures for the malady and the factors that engender it.”

Noam Chomsky
“It’s a tall order to place a recent president in historical perspective, but Patrick Maney succeeds brilliantly in his analysis of Bill Clinton and the ideological, financial, and technological developments that swirled about him and defined his era.”

Donald A. Ritchie, author of *Election FDR: The New Deal of Campaign of 1932*

“Bill Clinton: New Gilded Age President goes beyond personality and politics to examine the critical issues of the day: economic and fiscal policy, business and financial deregulation, healthcare and welfare reform, and foreign affairs in a post–Cold War world. But at its heart is Bill Clinton in all his guises: the first baby boomer to reach the White House; the “natural”—the most gifted politician of his generation, but one with an inexplicably careless and self-destructive streak; the “Comeback Kid,” repeatedly overcoming long odds; the survivor, frequently down but never out; and, with Hillary Rodham Clinton, part of the most controversial First Couple since Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Maney’s book is, in sum, the most succinct and up-to-date study of the Clinton presidency, invaluable not merely for understanding a transformative era in American history, but presidential, national, and global politics today.

Patrick J. Maney is professor of history at Boston College. He is the author of *The Roosevelt Presence: The Life and Legacy of FDR* and *Young Bob: A Biography of Robert M. La Follette, Jr.*
The Rabbi Saved by Hitler’s Soldiers
Rebbe Joseph Isaac Schneersohn and His Astonishing Rescue
Bryan Mark Rigg
Foreword by Michael Berenbaum • Afterword by Paula Hyman

W ere this story a novel, it would have the character of an implausible fable, but as often occurred in the Holocaust, reality exceeds the imagination.”—Michael Berenbaum, from the Foreword

When Hitler invaded Warsaw in the fall of 1939, hundreds of thousands of civilians were trapped in the besieged city. The Rebbe Joseph Schneersohn, the leader of the ultra-orthodox Lubavitcher Jews, was among them. When word of his plight went out, a group of American Jews initiated what would ultimately become one of the strangest—and most miraculous—rescues of World War II. And this is the incredible but true story that Bryan Mark Rigg tells in The Rabbi Saved by Hitler’s Soldiers.

Amid the chaos and hell of the emerging Holocaust, a small group of German soldiers shepherded Rebbe Schneersohn and his Hasidic followers out of Poland. In the course of the daring escape—traveling by train to Berlin, rerouted to Latvia and Sweden, and carried by ship through U-boat-infested waters to America—the Rebbe would learn a shocking truth. The leader of the rescue operation, the decorated Wehrmacht soldier Ernst Bloch, was himself half-Jewish, and a victim of the rising tide of German anti-Semitism. Perhaps even more remarkable were the central roles of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of the Nazi military intelligence service, and of Helmuth Wohlthat, chief administrator of Göring’s Four Year Plan. Pursuing every lead, amassing critical evidence, pulling together all the pieces of what could well be a political thriller, Rigg reconstructs the Rebbe’s improbable escape, and tells a harrowing story about identity and moral responsibility. His book is the definitive account of an extraordinary episode in the history of World War II.

Bryan Mark Rigg is the author of Hitler’s Jewish Soldiers, which won the William E. Colby Award for Military History, was featured on NBC-TV’s Dateline, and has been translated into eleven languages. He is also the author of Lives of Hitler’s Jewish Soldiers: Untold Tales of Men of Jewish Descent Who Fought for the Third Reich.

“Rigg has written another compelling book on the Holocaust. Part action thriller and part indictment, Rigg not only narrates the incredible story of the rescue of the Lubavitcher Rebbe from almost certain death in wartime Poland, he probes the Rebbe’s much more problematic post-rescue role. Certain to generate controversy, his work demands to be read.”

ROBERT M. CITINO, AUTHOR OF THE WEHRMACHT RETREATS: FIGHTING A LOST WAR, 1943

“Rigg’s meticulously researched account of the wartime rescue of a Hasidic rabbi by German officers, working secretly with US intelligence, is a revealing look at the intricacies of diplomatic maneuverings.”

SUE FISHKOFF, AUTHOR OF THE REBBE’S ARMY: INSIDE THE WORLD OF CHABAD-LUBAVITCH
No American state is more antistatist than Alaska. And no state takes in more federal money per capita, which accounts for a full third of Alaska's economy. This seeming paradox underlies the story Stephen Haycox tells in *Battleground Alaska*, a history of the fraught dynamic between development and environmental regulation in a state aptly dubbed “The Last Frontier.” Examining inconvenient truths, the book investigates the genesis and persistence of the oft-heard claim that Congress has trampled Alaska's sovereignty with its management of the state's pristine wilderness. At the same time it debunks the myth of an inviolable Alaska statehood compact at the center of this claim.

Unique, isolated, and remote, Alaska's economy depends as much on absentee corporate exploitation of its natural resources, particularly oil, as it does on federal spending. This dependency forces Alaskans to endorse any economic development in the state, putting them in conflict with restrictive environmental constraint. *Battleground Alaska* reveals how Alaskans' abiding resentment of federal regulation and control has exacerbated the tensions and political sparring between these camps—and how Alaska's leaders have exploited this antistatist sentiment to promote their own agendas, specifically the opening of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling. Haycox builds his history and critique around four now classic environmental battles in modern Alaska: the establishment of the ANWR is the 1950s; the construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline in the 1970s; the passage of the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act in 1980; and the struggle that culminated in the Tongass Timber Reform Act of 1990.

What emerges is a complex tale, with no clear-cut villains and heroes, that explains why Alaskans as a collective almost always opt for development, even as they profess their genuine love for the beauty and bounty of their state's environment. Yet even as it exposes the potential folly of this practice, Haycox's work reminds environmentalists that all wilderness is inhabited, and that human life depends—as it always has—on the exploitation of the earth's resources.

Stephen W. Haycox is Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the University of Alaska Anchorage. He is the author of many works including *Alaska: An American Colony* and *Frigid Embrace: Politics, Economics and Environment in Alaska.*
American Serengeti
The Last Big Animals of the Great Plains
Dan Flores

America’s Great Plains once possessed one of the grandest wildlife spectacles of the world, equaled only by such places as the Serengeti, the Masai Mara, or the veld of South Africa. Pronghorn antelope, gray wolves, bison, coyotes, wild horses, and grizzly bears: less than two hundred years ago these creatures existed in such abundance that John James Audubon was moved to write, “it is impossible to describe or even conceive the vast multitudes of these animals.”

In a work that is at once a lyrical evocation of that lost splendor and a detailed natural history of these charismatic species of the historic Great Plains, veteran naturalist and outdoorsman Dan Flores draws a vivid portrait of each of these animals in their glory—and tells the harrowing story of what happened to them at the hands of market hunters and ranchers and ultimately a federal killing program in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Great Plains with its wildlife intact dazzled Americans and Europeans alike, prompting numerous literary tributes. American Serengeti takes its place alongside these celebratory works, showing us the grazers and predators of the plains against the vast opalescent distances, the blue mountains shimmering on the horizon, the great rippling tracts of yellowed grasslands. Far from the empty “flyover country” of recent times, this landscape is alive with a complex ecology at least 20,000 years old—a continental patrimony whose wonders may not be entirely lost, as recent efforts hold out hope of partial restoration of these historic species.

Written by an author who has done breakthrough work on the histories of several of these animals—including bison, wild horses, and coyotes—American Serengeti is as rigorous in its research as it is intimate in its sense of wonder—the most deeply informed, closely observed view we have of the Great Plains’ wild heritage.

Dan Flores is A. B. Hammond Professor Emeritus at the University of Montana, Missoula. His many books include The Natural West: Environmental History in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains and Horizontal Yellow: Nature and History in the Near Southwest.

“American Serengeti is Dan Flores’s love song to the Great Plains, with each verse a fond embrace of one of its own—grizzlies and bison, pronghorns and coyotes. Beautifully written, it strikes just the right note for those of us drawn to this magnificent part of America. For those yet to know it, this book is a loving invitation to come and see.”

Elliot West, author of The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado

“A big and haunting history stuffed with big animals and big ideas that reveals the fragility and resilience of the Great Plains ecosystem over the past 10,000 years.”


www.kansaspress.ku.edu
The congregants thanked God that they weren’t like all those hopeless people outside the church, bound for hell. So the Westboro Baptist Church’s Sunday service began, and Rebecca Barrett-Fox, a curious observer, wondered why anyone would seek spiritual sustenance through other people’s damnation. It is a question that piques many a witness to Westboro’s more visible activity—the “GOD HATES FAGS” picketing of funerals. In God Hates, sociologist Barrett-Fox takes us behind the scenes of Topeka’s Westboro Baptist Church. The first full ethnography of this infamous presence on America’s Religious Right, her book situates the church’s story in the context of American religious history—and reveals as much about the uneasy state of Christian practice in our day as it does about the workings of the Westboro Church and Fred Phelps, its founder.

God Hates traces WBC’s theological beliefs to a brand of hyper-Calvinist thought reaching back to the Puritans—an extreme Calvinism, emphasizing predestination, that has proven as off-putting as Westboro’s actions, even for other Baptists. And yet, in examining Westboro’s role in conservative politics and its contentious relationship with other fundamentalist activist groups, Barrett-Fox reveals how the church’s message of national doom in fact reflects beliefs at the core of much of the Religious Right’s rhetoric. Westboro’s aggressively offensive public activities actually serve to soften the anti-gay theology of more mainstream conservative religious activism. With an eye to the church’s protest at military funerals, she also considers why the public has responded so differently to these than to Westboro’s anti-LGBT picketing.

With its history of Westboro Baptist Church and its founder, and its profiles of defectors, this book offers a complex, close-up view of a phenomenon on the fringes of American Christianity—and a broader, disturbing view of the mainstream theology it at once masks and reflects.

Rebecca Barrett-Fox is visiting assistant professor of sociology at Arkansas State University, Jonesboro.
Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940–1945
Samuel Hideo Yamashita

The population of wartime Japan (1940–1945) has remained a largely faceless enemy to most Americans thanks to the distortions of US wartime propaganda, popular culture, and news reports. At a time when this country’s wartime experiences are slowly and belatedly coming into focus, this remarkable book by Samuel Yamashita offers an intimate picture of what life was like for ordinary Japanese during the war. Drawing upon diaries and letters written by service- men, kamikaze pilots, evacuated children, and teenagers and adults mobilized for war work in the big cities, provincial towns, and rural communities, Yamashita lets us hear for the first time the rich mix of voices speaking in every register during the course of the war.

Here is the housewife struggling to feed her family while supporting the war effort; the eager conscript from snow country enduring the harshest, most abusive training imaginable in order to learn how to fly; the Tokyo teenagers made to work in wartime factories; the children taken from cities to live in the countryside away from their families and with little food and no privacy; the Kyushu farmers pressured to grow ever more rice and wheat with fewer hands and less fertilizer; and the Kyoto octogenarian driven to thoughts of suicide by his inability to contribute to the war. How these ordinary Japanese coped with wartime hardships and dangers, and how their views changed over time as disillusionment, impatience, and sometimes despair set in, is the story that Yamashita’s book brings to the American reader. A history of life during war, Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940–1945 is also a glimpse of a now-vanished world.

Samuel Hideo Yamashita is Henry E. Sheffield Professor of History at Pomona College and author of Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies: Selections from the Wartime Diaries of Ordinary Japanese.

“This is a very important book, the best study in English of how Japanese people conducted themselves during the war. As a child living in Japan at that time, I experienced much of what Yamashita writes about. His empirical data as well as broad observations are impeccable. The book will make a major contribution not only to the study of the Second World War but also to twentieth-century world history.”

Akira Iriye, author of Pearl Harbor and the Coming of the Pacific War and Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1945

“Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940–1945 should be read by anyone who wishes to reflect on the state of militarized modernity and meanings of total war.”

Lisa Yoneyama, author of Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory

JANUARY
256 pages, 16 photographs, 8 maps, 6 x 9
Modern War Studies
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2190-3, $29.95(t)
Spying through a Glass Darkly
American Espionage against the Soviet Union, 1945–1946
David Alvarez and Eduard Mark

For the period between World War II and the full onset of the Cold War, histories of American intelligence seem to go dark. Yet in those years a little known clandestine organization, the Strategic Services Unit (SSU), emerged from the remnants of wartime American intelligence to lay the groundwork for what would become the CIA and, in ways revealed here for the first time, conduct its own secret war of espionage and political intrigue in postwar Europe. Telling the full story of this early and surprisingly effective espionage arm of the United States, Spying through a Glass Darkly brings a critical chapter in the history of Cold War intelligence out of the shadows.

Constrained by inadequate staff and limited resources, distracted by the conflicting demands of agencies of the US government, and victimized by disinformation and double agents, the Strategic Services Unit struggled to maintain an effective American clandestine capability after the defeat of the Axis Powers. Never viscerally anti-communist, the Strategic Services Unit was slow to recognize the Soviet Union as a potential threat, but gradually it began to mount operations, often in collaboration with the intelligence services of Britain, France, Italy, Denmark, and Sweden, to throw light into the darker corners of the Soviet regime.

Bringing to bear a wealth of archival documents, operational records, interviews, and correspondence, David Alvarez and Eduard Mark chronicle SSU’s successes and failures in procuring intelligence on the capabilities and intentions of the Soviet Union, a chronicle that delves deeply into the details of secret operations against Soviet targets throughout Europe: not only in the backstreets of the divided cities of Berlin and Vienna, but also the cafes, hotels, offices, and salons of such cosmopolitan capitals as Paris, Rome, Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw.

David Alvarez is professor emeritus of politics at Saint Mary’s College of California and a former scholar-in-residence at the National Security Agency. He has published many books, including three with Kansas: Secret Messages: Codebreaking and American Diplomacy, 1930–1945; Spies in the Vatican: Espionage and Intrigue from Napoleon to the Holocaust; and The Pope’s Soldiers: A Military History of the Modern Vatican.

Wedged chronologically between World War II and Vietnam, the Korean War—which began with North Korea’s invasion of South Korea in June of 1950—possessed neither the virtuous triumphalism of the former nor the tragic pathos of the latter. Most Americans supported defending South Korea, but there was considerable controversy during the war as to the best means to do so—and the question was at least as exasperating for American army officers as it was for the general public. A longtime historian of American military leadership in the crucible of war, Stephen R. Taaffe takes a close critical look at how the highest ranking field commanders of the Eighth Army acquitted themselves in the first, decisive year in Korea. Because an army is no better than its leadership, his analysis opens a new perspective on the army’s performance in Korea, and on the conduct of the war itself.

In that first year, the Eighth Army’s leadership ran the gamut from impressive to lackluster—a surprising unevenness since so many of the high-ranking officers had been battle-tested in World War II. Taaffe attributes these leadership difficulties to the army’s woefully unprepared state at the war’s start, army personnel policies, and General Douglas MacArthur’s corrosive habit of manipulating his subordinates and pitting them against each other. He explores the personalities at play, their pre-war experiences, the manner of their selection, their accomplishments and failures, and, of course, their individual relationships with each other and MacArthur. By explaining who these field, corps, and division commanders were, Taaffe exposes the army’s institutional and organizational problems that contributed to its up-and-down fortunes in Korea in 1950–1951. Providing a better understanding of MacArthur’s controversial generalship, Taaffe’s book offers new and invaluable insight into the army’s life-and-death struggle in America’s least understood conflict.

“The gunfight at the O.K. Corral is reenacted repeatedly in modern Tombstone, but many a showdown preceded it in the struggle to find an uneasy balance between historic preservation and the imaginary West of our collective fantasies. McCormack tells this remarkable story with scholarly objectivity, but also with grace, wit, and considerable empathy.”

Paul Andrew Hutton, author of Sunrise in His Pocket: The Life, Legend, and Legacy of Davy Crockett

“A fast-paced, insightful, and compelling account of how iconic events in the western past are remembered purposefully, and powerfully, though not necessarily honestly or accurately.”

David Wrobel, author of Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West

When prospector “Ed” Schieffelin set out from Fort Huachuca in 1877 in search of silver, skeptics told him all he’d find would be his own tombstone. What he did discover, of course, was one of the richest veins of silver in the West—a strike he wryly called Tombstone. Briefly a boomtown, in less than a decade Tombstone was fading into what, for the next half-century, looked more like a ghost town. How is it, Kara McCormack asks, that the resurrection of a few of the town’s long-dead figures, caught forever in a thirty-second shoot-out, revived the moribund Tombstone—and turned it into what the Arizona Office of Tourism today calls “equal parts Deadwood and Disney”?

A meditation on the marketing of “authenticity,” Imagining Tombstone considers this “most authentic western town in America” as the intersection of history and mythmaking, entertainment and education, the wish to preserve, the will to succeed, and the need to survive. McCormack revisits the facts behind the feud that culminated in the Earp brothers’ and Doc Holliday’s long walk to their showdown with the Clantons and McLaurys—a walk reenacted by so many actors that it became a ritual of Hollywood westerns and a staple of present-day Tombstone’s tourist offerings. Taking into account decades of preservation efforts, stories told by Hollywood, performances on the town’s streets, the fervor of Earp historians and western history buffs, and global notions of the West, Imagining Tombstone shows how the town’s tenacity depends on far more than a “usable past.” If Tombstone is “The Town Too Tough to Die,” it is also, as this edifying and entertaining book makes clear, the place where authentic history and its counterpart in popular culture reveal their lasting and lucrative hold on the public imagination.

Kara L. McCormack is a postdoctoral teaching fellow in the Thinking Matters Program at Stanford University.
Someday,” Candelaria Garcia said to the author, “you will get all the stories.” It was a tall order in Magdalena, New Mexico, a once booming frontier town where Navajo, Anglo, and Hispanic people have lived in shifting, sometimes separate, sometimes overlapping worlds for well over a hundred years. But these were the stories, and this was the world, that David Wallace Adams set out to map, in a work that would capture the intimate, complex history of growing up in a Southwest borderland. At the intersection of memory, myth, and history, his book asks what it was like to be a child in a land of ethnic and cultural boundaries. The answer, as close to “all the stories” as one might hope to get, captures the diverse, ever-changing experience of a Southwest community defined by cultural borders—and the nature and role of children in defending and crossing those borders.

In this book, we listen to the voices of elders who knew Magdalena nearly a century ago, and the voices of a younger generation who negotiated the community’s shifting boundaries. Their stories take us to sheep and cattle ranches, Navajo ceremonies, Hispanic fiestas, mining camps, First Communion classes, ranch house dances, Indian boarding school drill fields, high school social activities, and children’s rodeos. Here we learn how class, religion, language, and race influenced the creation of distinct identities and ethnic boundaries, but also provided opportunities for cross-cultural interactions and intimacies. And we see the critical importance of education in both reinforcing differences and opening a shared space for those differences to be experienced and bridged. Adams’s work offers a close-up view of the transformation of one multicultural community, but also of the transformation of childhood itself over the course of the twentieth century.

A unique blend of oral, social, and childhood history, Three Roads to Magdalena is a rare living document of conflict and accommodation across ethnic boundaries in our ever-evolving multicultural society.

David Wallace Adams is professor emeritus at Cleveland State University. He is the author of Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928, also from Kansas.

From hundreds of hours of oral history interviews, David Adams has recreated an intimate child’s-eye view of the rural world of Magdalena, New Mexico, in the mid-twentieth century. This is a great read.”

Margaret D. Jacobs, author of White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Materialism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940

“I can’t remember the last time a history book made me feel as much as Three Roads to Magdalena: it conjures up a starkly different world by using achingly familiar stories of childhood. Follow David Adams to Magdalena. You won’t regret it.”

Brian DeLay, author of War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War

JUNE
448 pages, 25 photographs, 1 map, 6 1/8 x 9 1/4
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2254-2, $34.95(s)

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“Joel K. Goldstein’s The White House Vice Presidency is the best book ever written about that increasingly important office. It is comprehensive, literate, and polished.”

MICHAEL NELSON, author of Resilient America: Electing Nixon in 1968, Channeling Dissent, and Dividing Government

“Goldstein’s study comprehensively traces the development of the vice presidency, charting its evolution into an important office. The White House Vice Presidency will become the go-to study on the office for years to come.”

JEFFREY E. COHEN, author of Presidential Leadership in Public Opinion: Causes and Consequences

“I am nothing, but I may be everything,” John Adams, the first vice president, wrote of his office. And for most of American history, the “nothing” part of Adams’s formulation accurately captured the importance of the vice presidency, at least as long as the president had a heartbeat. But a job that once was “not worth a bucket of warm spit,” according to John Nance Garner, became, in the hands of the most recent vice presidents, critical to the governing of the country on an ongoing basis. It is this dramatic development of the nation’s second office that Joel K. Goldstein traces and explains in The White House Vice Presidency.

The rise of the vice presidency took a sharp upward trajectory with the vice presidency of Walter Mondale. In Goldstein’s work we see how Mondale and Jimmy Carter designed and implemented a new model of the office that allowed the vice president to become a close presidential adviser and representative on missions that mattered. Goldstein takes us through the vice presidents from Mondale to Joe Biden, presenting the arrangements each had with his respective president, showing elements of continuity but also variation in the office, and describing the challenges each faced and the work each did. The book also examines the vice-presidential selection process and campaigns since 1976, and shows how those activities affect and/or are affected by the newly developed White House vice presidency.

The book presents a comprehensive account of the vice presidency as the office has developed from Mondale to Biden. But The White House Vice Presidency is more than that; it also shows how a constitutional office can evolve through the repetition of accumulated precedents and demonstrates the critical role of political leadership in institutional development. In doing so, the book offers lessons that go far beyond the nation’s second office, important as it now has become.

Joel K. Goldstein is the Vincent C. Immel Professor of Law, Saint Louis University School of Law. He is the author of numerous works on the vice presidency, presidential succession, and constitutional law.
NEW BOOKS

Liberty and Union
The Civil War Era and American Constitutionalism
Timothy S. Huebner

“This book is about the relationship between the Civil War generation and the founding generation,” Timothy S. Huebner states at the outset of this ambitious and elegant overview of the Civil War era. The book integrates political, military, and social developments into an epic narrative interwoven with the thread of constitutionalism—to show how all Americans engaged the nation’s heritage of liberty and constitutional government.

Whether political leaders or plain folk, northerners or southerners, Republicans or Democrats, black or white, most free Americans in the mid-nineteenth century believed in the foundational values articulated in the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and the Constitution of 1787—and this belief consistently animated the nation’s political debates. Liberty and Union shows, however, that different interpretations of these founding documents ultimately drove a deep wedge between North and South, leading to the conflict that tested all constitutional faiths. Huebner argues that the resolution of the Civil War was profoundly revolutionary and also inextricably tied to the issues of both slavery and sovereignty, the two great unanswered questions of the Founding era.

Drawing on a vast body of scholarship as well as such sources as congressional statutes, political speeches, military records, state supreme court decisions, the proceedings of black conventions, and contemporary newspapers and pamphlets, Liberty and Union takes the long view of the Civil War era. It merges Civil War history, US constitutional history, and African American history and stretches from the antebellum era through the period of reconstruction, devoting equal attention to the Union and Confederate sides of the conflict. And its in-depth exploration of African American participation in a broader culture of constitutionalism redefines our understanding of black activism in the nineteenth century. Altogether, this is a masterly, far-reaching work that reveals as never before the importance and meaning of the Constitution, and the law, for nineteenth-century Americans.

Timothy S. Huebner is Irma O. Sternberg Professor of History at Rhodes College in Memphis. His books include The Southern Judicial Tradition: State Judges and Sectional Distinctiveness, 1790–1890 and The Taney Court: Justice, Rulings, and Legacy.

“At last, a brilliant, imaginative, and original re-examination which synthesizes the histories of the Civil War, of constitutional and legal development, and of the African American experience. The result is a masterful and beautifully written study that will stand out as a superb contribution.”

Jonathan Lurie, Rutgers University

“What sets this book apart is Huebner’s discussion of constitutional issue and history, in particular, his discussion of the African American tradition and black constitutionalism is superb, from antebellum US through Reconstruction.”

Orville Vernon Burton, author of The Age of Lincoln

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“For anyone trying to understand how modern conservatives have worked to create an intellectually legitimate, politically successful movement, this book is essential reading.”

**David Farber**, author of *The Rise and Fall of Modern American Conservatism: A Short History*

“An intellectual page-turner, a safari through an exotic world of amusing, strange, compelling, and creepy right-wing political thought. Hawley is an outstanding guide: knowledgeable, eloquent, fair, curious, and a great listener.”

**Bryan Caplan**, author of *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies*

The American conservative movement as we know it faces an existential crisis as the nation’s demographics shift away from its core constituents—older white middle-class Christians. It is the American conservatism that we don’t know that concerns George Hawley in this book. During its ascendancy, leaders within the conservative establishment have energetically policed the movement’s boundaries, effectively keeping alternative versions of conservatism out of view. Returning those neglected voices to the story, *Right-Wing Critics of American Conservatism* offers a more complete, complex, and nuanced account of the American right in all its dissonance in history and in our day.

The right-wing intellectual movements considered here differ both from mainstream conservatism and from each other when it comes to fundamental premises, such as the value of equality, the proper role of the state, the importance of free markets, the place of religion in politics, and attitudes toward race. In clear and dispassionate terms, Hawley examines localists who exhibit equal skepticism toward big business and big government, paleoconservatives who look to the distant past for guidance and wish to turn back the clock, radical libertarians who are not content to be junior partners in the conservative movement, and various strains of white supremacy and the radical right in America.

In the Internet age, where access is no longer determined by the select few, the independent right has far greater opportunities to make its many voices heard. This timely work puts those voices into context and historical perspective, clarifying our understanding of the American right—past, present, and future.

**George Hawley** is assistant professor of political science at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa. He is the author of *White Voters in 21st Century America* and *Voting and Migration Patterns in the U.S.*
Obamacare Wars
Federalism, State Politics, and the Affordable Care Act

Daniel Béland, Philip Rocco, and Alex Waddan

Not five minutes after the Affordable Care Act (ACA) was signed into law, in March 2010, Virginia’s attorney general was suing to stop it. And yet, the ACA rolled out, in infamously bumpy fashion, and rolled on, fought and defended at every turn—despite President Obama’s claim, in 2014, that its proponents and opponents could finally “stop fighting old political battles that keep us gridlocked.” But not only would the battles not stop, as Obamacare Wars makes acutely clear, they spread from Washington, DC, to a variety of new arenas. The first thorough account of the implementation of the ACA, this book reveals the fissures the act exposed in the American federal system.

Obamacare Wars shows how the law’s intergovernmental structure, which entails the participation of both the federal government and the states, has deeply shaped the politics of implementation. Focusing on the creation of insurance exchanges, the expansion of Medicaid, and execution of regulatory reforms, Daniel Béland, Philip Rocco, and Alex Waddan examine how opponents of the ACA fought back against its implementation. They also explain why opponents of the law were successful in some efforts and not in others—and not necessarily in a seemingly predictable red vs. blue pattern. Their work identifies the role of policy legacies, institutional fragmentation, and public sentiments in each instance as states grappled with new institutions, as in the case of the exchanges, or existing structures, in Medicaid and regulatory reform.

Looking broadly at national trends and specifically at the experience of individual states, Obamacare Wars brings much-needed clarity to highly controversial but little-understood aspects of the Affordable Care Act’s odyssey, with implications for how we understand the future trajectory of health reform, as well as the multiple forms of federalism in American politics.

Daniel Béland is professor and Canada Research Chair in Public Policy at the Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Saskatchewan.

Philip Rocco is a postdoctoral associate at the Health Policy Institute, University of Pittsburgh Schools of Health Sciences.

Alex Waddan is senior lecturer in American politics at the University of Leicester.

“Timely, thoughtful, and clearly written, Obamacare Wars offers penetrating insights into how policy legacies, institutional fragmentation, and public sentiments shape post-reform politics.”

Eric M. Patashnik, author of Reforms at Risk: What Happens After Major Policy Changes Are Enacted

“Ideal for both graduate and undergraduate courses, as well as law, business, and public health programs, the book should be read by anyone trying to understand the post-enactment struggles that have resulted in millions of Americans obtaining new coverage—and millions more waiting for it as their state leaders resist federal intentions.”

Jacob S. Hacker, author of Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer—and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
When asked which branch of government protects citizens’ rights, we tend to think of the Supreme Court—stepping in to defend gay rights, for example, in the recent same-sex marriage case. But as constitutional scholar Louis Fisher reveals in his new book, this would be a mistake—and not just because a decision like the gay marriage ruling can be decided by the opinion of a single justice. Rather, we tend to judge the executive and judicial branches idealistically, while taking a more realistic view of the legislative, with its necessarily messier and more transparent workings. In Congress, Fisher highlights these biases as he measures the record of the three branches in protecting individual rights—and finds that Congress, far more than the president or the Supreme Court, has defended the rights of blacks, women, children, Native Americans, and religious liberty.

After reviewing the constitutional principles that apply to all three branches of government, Fisher conducts us through a history of struggles over individual rights, showing how the court has frequently failed at many critical junctures where Congress has acted to protect rights. He identifies changes in the balance of power over time—a post–World War II transformation that has undermined the system of checks and balances the Framers designed to protect individuals in their aspiration for self-government. Without a strong, independent Congress, this book reminds us, our system would operate with two elected officers in the executive branch and none in the judiciary, a form of government best described as elitist—and one no one would deem democratic.

In light of the history that unfolds here—and in view of a Congress widely decried as dysfunctional—Fisher proposes reforms that would strengthen not only the legislative branch’s role in protecting individual rights under the Constitution, but also its standing in the democracy it serves.

Louis Fisher is Scholar in Residence at The Constitution Project in Washington, DC. His many books include Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President, Sixth Edition, Revised; Presidential War Power, Third Edition, Revised; and Military Tribunals and Presidential Power, winner of the Richard E. Neustadt Award.
Winning Elections in the 21st Century

Dick Simpson and Betty O’Shaughnessy
Foreword by US Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky

A national cochair of the presidential campaign of Barack Obama when few thought he could ever be elected, Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky is here to tell you: Yes you can! And the book she recommends for candidates, campaign staff, volunteers, and citizens is Winning Elections in the 21st Century, a handbook for anyone who wants to know how campaigns are run and won today.

Written by longtime political veterans, both former elected officials, Winning Elections is steeped in old-fashioned political know-how and savvy about the latest campaign techniques, methods, and strategies using social media, vote analytics, small donor online fundraising, and increasingly sophisticated microtargeting. Using examples from across the United States, the authors discuss the nuts and bolts of state and local races, as well as “best practices” in national elections. A successful campaign, they assert and evidence confirms, merges the new technology with proven techniques from the past, and their book helps candidates, students, and citizens consider all the opportunities and challenges that these tools provide—never losing sight of the critical role that personal contact plays in getting voters to the polls.

At the heart of this book is the conviction that we need to win democracy along with elections. Accordingly Simpson and O’Shaughnessy write primarily about campaigns in which the maximum number of citizens participate, as opposed to those determined by a few wealthy individuals and interest groups. People power can prevail with the right candidates, issues, and support—and Winning Elections in the 21st Century shows how.

Dick Simpson is professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He is the co-editor with Dennis Judd of The City, Revisited: Urban Theory from Chicago, Los Angeles, New York.

Betty O’Shaughnessy is a visiting lecturer in political science, University of Illinois at Chicago and coauthor of The Struggle for Power and Influence in Cities and States.

“Every candidate and campaign staffer should have this book. From building an organization to using the power of the Internet to elect better candidates, Simpson and O’Shaughnessy show us how to do everything to win elections.”

David Orr, Cook County, IL, Clerk

“Winning Elections in the 21st Century uses current research findings and firsthand experiences to explain the most important elements of campaigning, including campaign organization, raising money, mobilizing voters, media relations, and effective use of the Internet and social media. Candidates and students of electoral politics will find insights in this accessible book.”

David B. Magleby, Editor of Financing the 2012 Election

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The Heir Apparent Presidency
Donald A. Zinman

It was during the Depression, with the Republican regime in disarray, that Franklin D. Roosevelt came into office with a mandate to change the role of government. His was one of the presidencies—like Jefferson's, Jackson's, and Lincoln's before his, and Reagan's after—that transformed the political system. But what of the successors of such transformative figures, those members and supporters of the new regime who are expected to carry forward the policies and politics of those they replace? It is these “heir apparent” presidents, impossibly tasked with backward-looking progress, that Donald Zinman considers in this incisive look at the curious trajectories of political power.

An heir apparent president, in Zinman’s analysis, can be successful but will struggle to get credit for his achievements. He must contend with the consequences of his predecessor’s policies while facing a stronger opposition and sitting atop an increasingly weakened and divided party. And he will invariably alternate between three approaches to leadership: continuity, expansion, and correction. Looking in depth at James Madison, Martin Van Buren, Ulysses S. Grant (an heir apparent as the first genuine Republican to succeed Lincoln), Harry S. Truman, and George H. W. Bush, Zinman reveals how these successors of regime-changing presidents at times suffered for diverging from their predecessors’ perceived policies. At times these presidents also suffered from the consequences of the policies themselves or simply from changing political circumstances. What they rarely did, as becomes painfully clear, is succeed at substantially changing the policies and politics that they inherited.

It is a perilous and often thankless business, as The Heir Apparent Presidency makes abundantly clear, to follow and lead at once. Tracing the ways in which heir apparent presidents have met this challenge, this book offers rare and valuable insight into the movement of political time, and the shaping of political order.

Donald A. Zinman is associate professor of political science at Grand Valley State University.
When the Founders penned the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, it was not difficult to identify the “persons, houses, papers, and effects” they meant to protect; nor was it hard to understand what “unreasonable searches and seizures” were. The Fourth Amendment was intended to stop the use of general warrants and writs of assistance and applied primarily to protect the home. Flash forward to a time of digital devices, automobiles, the war on drugs, and a Supreme Court dominated by several decades of the jurisprudence of crime control, and the legal meaning of everything from “effects” to “seizures” has dramatically changed. Michael C. Gizzi and R. Craig Curtis make sense of these changes in *The Fourth Amendment in Flux*. The book traces the development and application of search and seizure law and jurisprudence over time, with particular emphasis on decisions of the Roberts Court.

Cell phones, GPS tracking devices, drones, wiretaps, the Patriot Act, constantly changing technology, and a political culture that emphasizes crime control create new challenges for Fourth Amendment interpretation and jurisprudence. This work exposes the tensions caused by attempts to apply pretechnological legal doctrine to modern problems of digital privacy. In their analysis of the Roberts Court’s relevant decisions, Gizzi and Curtis document the different approaches to the law that have been applied by the justices since the Obama nominees took their seats on the court. Their account, combining law, political science, and history, provides insight into the court’s small group dynamics, and traces changes regarding search and seizure law in the opinions of one of its longest serving members, Justice Antonin Scalia.

At a time when issues of privacy are increasingly complicated by technological advances, this overview and analysis of Fourth Amendment law is especially welcome—an invaluable resource as we address the enduring question of how to balance freedom against security in the context of the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Michael C. Gizzi is associate professor of criminal justice at Illinois State University.

R. Craig Curtis is associate professor of political science at Bradley University.

“A significant contribution to the literature on Fourth Amendment jurisprudence that is written clearly and concisely. It should be read by legal scholars and students, and anyone with an interest in how law enforcement interests collide with the privacy rights of citizens.”

**Craig Hemmens, Chair and Professor, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Washington State University**

“The Fourth Amendment in Flux is an excellent book for political science, prelaw and criminal justice students.”

**Michael Palmiotto, Professor of Criminal Justice, Wichita State University**
“That recusal buffs will want to have Virelli’s meticulously researched new work on their shelves is a given; but the book will also appeal to anyone who is intrigued by the sparks that can fly at the intersection where the institutional interests of two co-equal branches of government collide.”

Richard E. Flamm, author of Judicial Disqualification: Recusal and Disqualification of Judges

“Disqualifying the High Court is a path-breaking book that rewards readers with new and valuable insights and information about the increasingly important, and surprisingly complicated, topic of Supreme Court recusal, as well as about these constitutional principles and the court itself.”

Joel K. Goldstein, author of The White House Vice Presidency: The Path to Significance, Mondale to Biden

Since at least the time of Justinian—under statutes, codes of judicial ethics, and the common law—judges have been expected to recuse themselves from cases in which they might have a stake. The same holds true for the justices of the US Supreme Court. For instance, there were calls for Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Elena Kagan, both of whom had officiated at gay weddings, to recuse themselves from the recent marriage equality case, Obergefell v. Hodges. Even a case like this, where no justice bowed out, reveals what a tricky ethical issue recusal can be. But as Louis J. Virelli demonstrates in this provocative work, recusal at the Supreme Court also presents questions of constitutional power. Disqualifying the High Court shows that our current understanding of how and when justices should recuse themselves is at odds with our constitutional design.

Viewing recusal through a constitutional lens, Virelli reveals new and compelling information about how justices should decide recusal questions and, in turn, how our government should function more broadly. Along the way he traces the roots and development of federal recusal law in America from as early as the Roman Empire up to the present day. The Supreme Court’s unique place at the top of the judicial branch protects the justices from some forms of congressional interference. Virelli argues that constitutional law, in particular the separation of powers, prohibits Congress from regulating the recusal practices of the Supreme Court. Instead those decisions must be left to the justices themselves, grounded in principles of due process—assuring parties fair treatment by the judicial system—and balanced against the justices’ rights to free speech.

Along with the clarity it brings to this highly controversial issue, Virelli’s work also offers insight into constitutional problems presented by separation of powers. It will inform our evolving understanding of theory and practice in the American judicial system.

Louis J. Virelli III is professor of law at Stetson University College of Law.
American Airpower Strategy in World War II
Bombs, Cities, Civilians, and Oil
Conrad C. Crane

Resistance is a product of will times means, Carl von Clausewitz postulated in his treatise *On War*. In his 1993 *Bombs, Cities, and Civilians*, which the *American Historical Review* judged “must reading for anyone interested in the subject of air warfare,” Conrad C. Crane focused on the moral dimension of American air strategy in World War II—specifically, the Allied effort to break the enemy's will through targeting civilians. With decades of research and reflection, and a wealth of new material at his command, Crane returns to the subject of America's WWII airpower strategy to offer an analysis fully engaged with the “means” side of Clausewitz's equation: the design and impact of strategic bombing of the enemy's infrastructure and thus its capacity to fight.

A marked advance in our understanding of the use of airpower in war in general and the Second World War in particular, Crane's work shows how, despite an undeniable lack of concern about civilian casualties in Germany and Japan late in the war, American strategic bombing in WWII consistently focused on destroying the enemy's war-making capacity instead of its collapsing will. Further, Crane persuasively argues that in the limited wars since then, separating such targets has become increasingly more difficult, and all air campaigns against states have subsequently escalated to accept greater risks for civilians. *American Airpower Strategy in World War II* also provides an expanded close look at the use of airpower in the last three months of the strategic air war against Germany, when so many bombing missions relied upon radar aids, as well as the first direct comparison of 8th and 15th Air Force bombing campaigns in Europe.

The result is the most coherent and concise analysis of the application and legacy of Allied strategic airpower in WWII—and a work that will inform all future practical and theoretical consideration of the use, and the role, of airpower in war.


“This is the definitive work on the moral, ethical, and practical considerations surrounding the American heavy-bomber effort during the Second World War.”

**Robert S. Ehlers, Jr.,** author of *The Mediterranean Air War: Airpower and Allied Victory in World War II*

“The book is now, more than ever, one of the essential works on American bombing in the Second World War.”

**Tami Davis Biddle**, author of *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare*

“Crane combines new findings, a complete grasp of the latest scholarship, and an awareness of the difficult choices facing military strategists. This will be one of the most significant air power books of the decade.”

**Richard R. Muller, USAF School of Advanced Air and Space Studies**
Democratic Religion from Locke to Obama
Faith and the Civic Life of Democracy
Giorgi Areshidze

“This is a genuinely important book, both as a brilliant, original, intellectually stimulating, and engaging study of the theme of religion and liberal democracy and as an exemplar of how political science may investigate the issue of religion and politics with balance. On the one hand, it offers analyses of the question of religion and liberalism in such liberal democratic theorists as Locke, the American Founders, Tocqueville, Rawls, and Habermas. On the other hand, this book offers dazzling analyses of the speeches and writings of Barack Obama, Abraham Lincoln, and Martin Luther King, and by demonstrating these political actors to be genuine political thinkers, whose reflections on religion and democracy are rigorous, learned, and incisive.”

PETER J. AHRENSDORF, JAMES SPRUNT PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, DAVIDSON COLLEGE

“Debating or making speeches, American politicians invariably cite tenets of Christian faith—even as they unfailingly defend the liberal principles of tolerance and religious neutrality that underpin a pluralistic democracy. How these seemingly contradictory impulses can coexist—and whether this undermines the religious tradition that makes a liberal democracy possible—are the pressing questions that Giorgi Areshidze grapples with in this exploration of the civic role of religion in American political life.

The early modern Enlightenment political philosophy of John Locke has been deeply influential—if often misunderstood and sometimes contested—in shaping both the theoretical and practical contours of contemporary debates and anxieties about religion in a liberal society. Locke's experiment, as this book shows, has succeeded in important respects, but at a tremendous cost—by demanding a certain theological skepticism about revealed religion that could ultimately undermine the public concern for religious or theological truth altogether.

Democratic Religion from Locke to Obama evaluates these results in light of the role of religion in American political development, particularly as this role has been further defined in the work of political philosopher John Rawls. In the political theologies of Martin Luther King, Jr., Abraham Lincoln, and Barack Obama, Areshidze shows how, while working under Locke's influence, all of these thinkers draw upon religion, including traditional revealed Christian ideas, in their efforts to reshape America's moral consciousness—especially on the question of racial equality—in ways that might have surprised Locke.

Finally, drawing on Alexis de Tocqueville's encounter with the Lockean experiment in America, this book suggests that the dissonance between how tolerant we want religion to be and what we expect it to accomplish in our civic life is a consequence of the liberal transformation of religion. By reminding us of this religious transformation, Tocqueville's “political science” may explain some of the deepest spiritual and civic anxieties that continue to beset American democracy.

Giorgi Areshidze is assistant professor of government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California.
The jury trial is one of the formative elements of American government, vitally important even when Americans were still colonial subjects of Great Britain. When the founding generation enshrined the jury in the Constitution and Bill of Rights, they were not inventing something new, but protecting something old: one of the traditional and essential rights of all free men. Judgment by an “impartial jury” would henceforth put citizen panels at the very heart of the American legal order. And yet at the dawn of the twenty-first century, juries resolve just two percent of the nation’s legal cases and critics warn that the jury is “vanishing” from both the criminal and civil courts. The jury’s critics point to sensational jury trials like those in the O. J. Simpson and Menendez cases, and conclude that the disappearance of the jury is no great loss. The jury’s defenders, from journeyman trial lawyers to members of the Supreme Court, take a different view, warning that the disappearance of the jury trial would be a profound loss.

In The Jury in America, a work that deftly combines legal history, political analysis, and storytelling, Dennis Hale takes us to the very heart of this debate to show us what the American jury system was, what it has become, and what the changes in the jury system tell us about our common political and civic life. Because the jury is so old, continuously present in the life of the American republic, it can act as a mirror, reflecting the changes going on around it. And yet because the jury is embedded in the Constitution, it has held on to its original shape more stubbornly than almost any other element in the American regime. Looking back to juries at the time of America’s founding, and forward to the fraught and diminished juries of our day, Hale traces a transformation in our understanding of ideas about sedition, race relations, negligence, expertise, the responsibilities of citizenship, and what it means to be a citizen who is “good and true” and therefore suited to the difficult tasks of judgment.

Criminal and civil trials and the jury decisions that result from them involve the most fundamental questions of right, and so go to the core of what makes the nation what it is. In this light, in conclusion, Hale considers four controversial modern trials for what they can tell us about what a jury is, and about the fate of republican government in America today.

Dennis Hale is associate professor of political science at Boston College.

“The Jury in America is an indispensable contribution to understanding a vital institution, one that once embodied real responsibilities in the hands of the governed as an antidote to a stifling centralization of democracy.”

Norma Thompson, author of Unreasonable Doubt: Circumstantial Evidence and the Art of Judgment

“Dennis Hale brings the broad vision of a gifted political theorist to assess the significance of the jury in American life, both its past centrality and its more recent marginalization. This important book provides an acute, detailed, and balanced judgment on all the central issues.”

Robert P. Burns, author of A Theory of the Trial and The Death of the American Trial

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NEW BOOKS

Abraham Lincoln and Liberal Democracy
Edited by Nicholas Buccola

“Though Abraham Lincoln was not a political philosopher per se, in word and in deed he did grapple with many of the most pressing and timeless questions in politics. What is the moral basis of popular sovereignty? What are the proper limits on the will of the majority? When and why should we revere the law? What are we to do when the letter of the law is at odds with what we believe justice requires? How is our devotion to a particular nation related to our commitment to universal ideals? What is the best way to protect the right to liberty for all people? The contributors to this volume, a methodologically and ideologically diverse group of scholars, examine Lincoln’s responses to these and other ultimate questions in politics. The result is a fascinating portrait of not only Abraham Lincoln but also the promises and paradoxes of liberal democracy.

The basic liberal democratic idea is that individual liberty is best secured by a democratic political order that treats all citizens as equals before the law and is governed by the law, with its limits on how the state may treat its citizens and on how citizens may treat one another. Though wonderfully coherent in theory, these ideas prove problematic in real-world politics. The authors of this volume approach Lincoln as the embodiment of this paradox—"naturally antislavery" yet unflinchingly committed to defending proslavery laws; defender of the common man but troubled by the excesses of democracy; devoted to the idea of equal natural rights yet unable to imagine a harmonious, interracial democracy. Considering Lincoln as he attempted to work out the meaning and coherence of the liberal democratic project in practice, these authors craft a profile of the 16th president’s political thought from a variety of perspectives and through multiple lenses. Together their essays create the first fully-dimensional portrait of Abraham Lincoln as a political actor, expressing, addressing, and reframing the perennial questions of liberal democracy for his time and our own.

Nicholas Buccola is chair and associate professor of political science at Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. He is the author of The Political Thought of Frederick Douglass.

S. Adam Seagrave, author of Liberty and Equality: The American Conversation:

“This is no ordinary collection of essays. Buccola has provided a volume that exemplifies the hallmark of American political thought in its eclectic and interdisciplinary approach to perennial questions of ultimate significance. The quality of the essays, the eminence of the contributors, and the importance of studying Abraham Lincoln make this a first-rate book.”

Thomas L. Pangle, co-author of The Learning of Liberty: The Educational Ideas of the American Founders:

“An unusually wide range of weighty scholars provide through this volume an unprecedentedly deep and rich interpretative guide to Lincoln as a political thinker. An essential book for all future teaching and scholarship on Lincoln.”
Once the dust of the Revolution settled, the problem of reconciling the erstwhile warring factions arose, and as is often the case in the aftermath of violent revolutions, the matter made its way into the legal arena. *Rutgers v. Waddington* was such a case. Through this little-known but remarkable dispute over back rent for a burned-down brewery, Peter Charles Hoffer recounts a tale of political and constitutional intrigue involving some of the most important actors in America’s transition from a confederation of states under the Articles of Confederation to a national republic under the US Constitution.

At the end of the Revolution, the widow Rutgers and her sons returned to the brewery they’d abandoned when the British had occupied New York. They demanded rent from Waddington, the loyalist who had rented the facility under the British occupation. Under a punitive New York state law, the loyalist Waddington was liable. But the peace treaty’s provisions protecting loyalists’ property rights said otherwise. Appearing for the defendants was war veteran, future Federalist, and first secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton. And, as always, lurking in the background was the estimable Aaron Burr. As Hoffer details Hamilton’s arguments for the supremacy of treaty law over state law, the significance of *Rutgers v. Waddington* in the development of a strong central government emerges clearly—as does the role of the courts in bridging the young nation’s divisions in the Revolution’s wake.

*Rutgers v. Waddington* illustrates a foundational moment in American history. As such, it is an encapsulation of a society riven by war, buffeted by revolutionary change attempting to piece together the true meaning of, in John Adams’s formulation, “rule by law, and not by men.”

Peter Charles Hoffer is Distinguished Research Professor of History at the University of Georgia in Athens. His books include *The Salem Witchcraft Trials: A Legal History*, as well as *The Supreme Court: An Essential History* with WilliamJames Hull Hoffer, and N. E. H. Hull.

“A concise, persuasive, and sophisticated study of *Rutgers v. Waddington* develops how Hamilton’s practice of law sharpened his own understanding of the proper role of law in society and how the Constitution could be helpful in securing it.”

Mark McGarvie, author of *One Nation Under Law: America’s Early National Struggles to Separate Church and State*

“Peter Hoffer illuminates how in the messy aftermath of the American Revolution lawyers, in particular Hamilton, transformed a lawsuit about a burned down brewery into a critical case making persuasive arguments for a stronger central government.”

Discriminating the Red Scare

The Cold War Trials of James Kutcher, “The Legless Veteran”

Robert Justin Goldstein

“Robert Goldstein’s well-researched and lively monograph helps to rescue two of the unsung heroes of this tragic era who stood up against the government witch-hunters: James Kutcher, the legless World War II veteran, and his redoubtable lawyer, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., who made that victory possible.”

Michael E. Parrish, Distinguished Professor of History, Emeritus, University of California, San Diego

“Robert Justin Goldstein skillfully propels a nearly forgotten hero back into historical memory. It is a story that transcends its context and resonates on a higher level as a rebuke to the overlooking of those who fought for the rights we cherish today.”

Alan Wald, author of American Night: The Literary Left in the Era of the Cold War

During the Allies’ invasion of Italy in the thick of World War II, American soldier James Kutcher was hit by a German mortar shell and lost both of his legs. Back home, rehabilitated and given a job at the Veterans’ Administration, he was soon to learn that his battles were far from over. In 1948, in the throes of the post-war Red Scare, the hysteria over perceived Communist threats that marked the Cold War, the government moved to fire Kutcher because of his membership in a small, left-wing group that had once espoused revolutionary sentiments. Kutcher’s eight-year legal odyssey to clear his name and assert his First Amendment rights, described in full for the first time in this book, is at once a cautionary tale in a new period of patriotic one-upmanship, and a story of tenacious patriotism in its own right.

The son of Russian immigrants, James Kutcher came of age during the Great Depression. Robbed of his hope of attending college or finding work of any kind, he joined the Socialist Workers Party, left-wing and strongly anti-Soviet, in his hometown of Newark. When his membership in the SWP came back to haunt him at the height of the Red Scare, Kutcher took up the fight against efforts to punish people for their thoughts, ideas, speech, and associations. As a man who had fought for his country and paid a great price, had never done anything that could be construed as treasonous, held a low-level clerical position utterly unconnected with national security, and was the sole support of his elderly parents; Kutcher cut an especially sympathetic figure in the drama of Cold War witch-hunts. In a series of confrontations, in what were highly publicized as the “case of the legless veteran,” the federal government tried to oust Kutcher from his menial Veterans’ Administration job, take away his World War II disability benefits, and to evict him and his family from their federally subsidized housing. Discriminating the Red Scare tells the story of his long legal struggle in the face of government persecution—that redoubled after every setback until the bitter end.

Robert Justin Goldstein is professor emeritus of political science at Oakland University. His many books include Flag Burning and Free Speech: The Case of Texas v. Johnson and American Blacklist: The Attorney General’s List of Subversive Organizations, both from Kansas.
The Last Wild Places of Kansas
Journeys into Hidden Landscapes
George Frazier

Since the last wild bison found refuge on the back of a nickel, the public image of natural Kansas has progressed from Great American Desert to dust bowl to flyover country that has been landscaped, fenced, and farmed. But look a little harder, George Frazier suggests, and you can find the last places where tenacious stretches of prairie, forest, and wetland cheat death and incubate the DNA of lost, wild America. Documenting three years spent roaming the state in search of these hidden treasures, The Last Wild Places of Kansas is Frazier’s idiosyncratic and eye-opening travelogue of nature’s secret holdouts in the Sunflower State.

These are places where extirpated mammalian species are making comebacks; where flying squirrels leap between centuries-old trees lit by the unearthly green glow of foxfire; where cold springs feed ancient watercress pools; where the ice moon paints the Smoky Hills with memories of the buffalo, wolf, and the lonesome rattle of false indigo; where the blue lid of the sky forms a vacuum seal over treeless pastel hills, orange in winter; where bluestem rises. Some are impossible to find on maps. Most are magnificently bereft of anything beneficial to 99.9 percent of modern America. True wildernesses they may not be, but at the correct angle of light, when the wind blows pollen carrying biological memories of the glaciers, these places are a crack between the worlds, portals to the lost buffalo wilderness.

En route Frazier takes us from the unexpected wilds of the Kansas City suburbs to the Cimarron National Grassland in the far southwestern corner of the state. He visits ancient springs, shares a beer with prairie dog hunters, and fails in his mission to canoe the upper Marais des Cygnes—a trip that requires permission from every landowner on the route. Along the way we encounter a host of curious characters—ranchers, farmers, Native Americans, explorers, wildlife experts, and outdoor enthusiasts—all fellow travelers in a quest to know, preserve, and share the last wild places of Kansas.

George Frazier is a software developer and writer whose work has appeared in such venues as Canoe & Kayak and Wild Earth.

“George Frazier takes you to some little known and under-appreciated natural spots in Kansas. His heartfelt affection and evocative descriptions will make you want to hit the road and experience these places for yourself.”

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