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Cover photograph: Bettmann/Getty Images. See I Like Ike, page 5.
Pershing’s Crusaders
The American Soldier in World War I
Richard S. Faulkner

The Great War caught a generation of American soldiers at a turning point in the nation’s history. At the moment of the Republic’s emergence as a key player on the world stage, these were the first Americans to endure mass machine warfare, and the first to come into close contact with foreign peoples and cultures in large numbers. What was it like, Richard S. Faulkner asks, to be one of these foot soldiers at the dawn of the American century? How did the doughboy experience the rigors of training and military life, interact with different cultures, and endure the shock and chaos of combat? The answer can be found in Pershing’s Crusaders, the most comprehensive, and intimate, account ever given of the day-to-day lives and attitudes of the nearly 4.2 million American soldiers mobilized for service in World War I.

Pershing’s Crusaders offers a clear, close-up picture of the doughboys in all of their vibrant diversity, shared purpose, and unmistakably American character. It encompasses an array of subjects from the food they ate, the clothes they wore, their view of the Allied and German soldiers and civilians they encountered, their sexual and spiritual lives, their reasons for serving, and how they lived and fought, to what they thought about their service along every step of the way. Faulkner’s vast and finely detailed portrait draws upon a wealth of sources—thousands of soldiers’ letters and diaries, surveys and memoirs, and a host of period documents and reports generated by various staff agencies of the American Expeditionary Forces. Animated by the voices of soldiers and civilians in the midst of unprecedented events, these primary sources afford an immediacy rarely found in historical records. Pershing’s Crusaders, finally, a work that uniquely and vividly captures the reality of the American soldier in World War I for all time.

Richard S. Faulkner is a supervisory professor of Military History at the US Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth. He is the author of The School of Hard Knocks: Combat Leadership in the American Expeditionary Forces, which received the 2013 Distinguished Book Award sponsored by the Society for Military History.

“This superb book, an instant classic on par with Bell Irvin Wiley’s The Life of Johnny Reb and The Life of Billy Yank, is the closest thing to being there.”
STEVEN TROUT, EDITOR OF SCARLET FIELDS: THE COMBAT MEMOIR OF A WORLD WAR I MEDAL OF HONOR HERO

“We’ve been waiting for nearly a century for a thorough, deeply researched, authoritative social history of that massive, path-breaking army. Richard S. Faulkner has finally provided it. This superb study is absolutely essential reading for anyone interested in America’s first great expeditionary army.”
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STEVEN G. FRITZ, author of Ostkrieg: Hitler's War of Extermination in the East

Stalingrad

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"Glantz and House have produced seminal studies of major events on the Eastern Front. In terms of research, insight, and revision, this is their best yet [reflecting] an unrivalled access to and mastery of written and human Russian sources on the Great Patriotic War."—Slavic Review

"No literature review of the Nazi-Soviet war could be complete without the outstanding work done by David Glantz and Jonathan House. What they have done is illustrate how much more there is to the Battle of Stalingrad and why their more comprehensive account changes our understanding of the campaign. The late John Erickson wrote that the research of Glantz and House reflected an 'encyclopedic knowledge' of the Nazi-Soviet war and constituted a benchmark for excellence in the field."—War in History

"Glantz and House [have written] the definitive history of the Stalingrad campaign. Their trilogy, backed by meticulous scholarship and refreshingly fair-minded, significantly alters long-accepted views of several important aspects of the campaign. . . . A monumental work that is unlikely to be surpassed as an account of the most important single campaign of the Second World War."—Evan Mawdsley, author of Thunder in the East: The Nazi-Soviet War, 1941–1945

he history of Afghanistan is largely military history. From the Persians and Greeks of antiquity to the British, Soviet, and American powers in modern times, outsiders have led military conquests into the mountains and plains of Afghanistan, leaving their indelible marks on this ancient land at the juncture of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. In this book Ali Ahmad Jalali, a former interior minister of Afghanistan, taps a deep understanding of his country’s distant and recent past to explore Afghanistan’s military history during the last two hundred years.

With an introductory chapter highlighting the major military developments from early times to the foundation of the modern Afghan state, Jalali’s account focuses primarily on the era of British conquest and Anglo-Afghan wars, the Soviet invasion, the civil war and the rise of the Taliban, and the subsequent US invasion. Looking beyond persistent stereotypes and generalizations—e.g., the “graveyard of empires” designation emerging from the Anglo-Afghan wars of the nineteenth century and the Soviet experience of the 1980s—Jalali offers a nuanced and comprehensive portrayal of the way of war pursued by both state and non-state actors in Afghanistan against different domestic and foreign enemies, under changing social, political, and technological conditions. He reveals how the structure of states, tribes, and social communities in Afghanistan, along with the scope of their controlled space, has shaped their modes of fighting throughout history. In particular, his account shows how dynastic wars and foreign conquests differ in principle, strategy, and method from wars initiated by non-state actors including tribal and community militias against foreign invasions or repressive governments.

Written by a professional soldier, politician, and noted scholar with a keen analytical grasp of his country’s military and political history, this magisterial work offers unique insight into the military history of Afghanistan—and thus, into Afghanistan itself.

Ali Ahmad Jalali is a distinguished professor at the National Defense. He is the coauthor of Afghan Guerrilla Warfare: In the Words of the Mujahideen Fighters and The Other Side of the Mountain: Mujahideen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War.

“Professor Jalali’s book will be the authoritative and standard work for scholars, soldiers, statesmen, and citizens alike. Well written, thoroughly researched in multiple relevant languages, and presented as only this highly educated Afghan army colonel, one-time freedom fighter, former Afghan Minister of the Interior, and scholar could do.”

LESTER W. GRAU, AUTHOR OF OPERATION ANACONDA: AMERICA’S FIRST MAJOR BATTLE IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET-AFGHAN WAR: HOW A SUPERPOWER FOUGHT AND LOST

“Jalali’s monumental work provides necessary context and essential new dimensions for understanding Afghanistan at a time when precious few in the West do.”

DAVID M. GLANTZ, AUTHOR OF THE STALINGRAD TRILOGY

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The Big Red One
America’s Legendary 1st Infantry Division
James Scott Wheeler

“An exceptionally fine work of scholarship, written with a storyteller’s verve. The Big Red One is not just a vivid account of the nation’s most venerable division but a compelling yarn for anyone interested in the history of the US Army.”

RICK ATKINSON, author of An Army at Dawn and The Guns at Last Light

“A rousing battle history of the Army’s most renowned major combat unit. Wheeler recounts the Big Red One’s role in defeating America’s enemies from the bloody trenches of World War I to the barren deserts of the Persian Gulf War. . . . The best history to date of any of the Army’s active duty combat divisions.”

MICHAEL D. DOUBLER, author of Closing with the Enemy: How GIs Fought the War in Europe, 1944–1945

“N o mission too difficult, no sacrifice too great—Duty First!” For a century, from the Western Front of World War I to the wars of the twenty-first century, this motto has spurred the soldiers who wear the shoulder patch bearing the Big Red One. In this comprehensive history of America’s 1st Infantry Division, James Scott Wheeler chronicles its major combat engagements and peacetime duties during its legendary service to the nation. The Centennial Edition adds new chapters on peacekeeping missions in the Balkans (1995–2004) and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (2001–2017), along with a new introduction and conclusion.

The oldest continuously serving division in the US Army, the “Fighting First” has consistently played a crucial role in America’s foreign wars. It was the first American division to see combat and achieve victory in World War I. One of the few intact divisions between the wars, it was the first army unit to train for amphibious warfare. During World War II, the First Division spearheaded the invasions of North Africa and Sicily before leading the Normandy invasion at Omaha Beach and fighting on deep into Germany. By war’s end, it had developed successful combined arms and regimental combat teams and made advances in night operations.

Wheeler describes the First Division’s critical role in postwar Germany and as the only combat division in Europe during the early Cold War. The division fought valiantly in Vietnam for five trying years while pioneering “air mobile” operations. It led the liberation of Kuwait in Desert Storm. Along the way, Wheeler illuminates the division’s organizational evolution, its consistently remarkable commanders and leaders, and its equally remarkable soldiers.

Meticulously detailed and engagingly written, The Big Red One nimbly combines historical narrative with astute analysis of the unit’s successes and failures, so that its story reflects the larger chronicle of America’s military experience over the past century.

James Scott Wheeler is a combat veteran and former commander of the 4th Battalion, 67th Armor.

Published in collaboration with the Cantigny First Division Foundation and the Cantigny Military History Series, edited by Paul H. Herbert.
When the 1952 presidential election campaign began, many assumed it would be a race between Harry Truman, seeking his second full term, and Robert A. Taft, son of a former president and, to many of his fellow partisans, “Mr. Republican.” No one imagined the party standard bearers would be Illinois governor Adlai E. Stevenson II and Supreme Allied Commander in World War II Dwight D. Eisenhower. *I Like Ike* tells the story of a critical election fought between two avowedly reluctant warriors—including Truman’s efforts to recruit Eisenhower as the candidate of the Democratic Party—to a finish that, for all the partisan wrangling, had more to do with the extraordinary popularity of the former general, who, along with Stevenson, was seen to be somehow above politics.

In the first book to analyze the 1952 election in its entirety, political historian John Robert Greene looks in detail at how Stevenson and Eisenhower faced demands that they run for an office neither originally wanted. He examines the campaigns of their opponents—Harry Truman and Robert Taft, but also Estes Kefauver, Richard B. Russell, Averell Harriman, and Earl Warren. Richard Nixon’s famous “Checkers Speech,” Joseph McCarthy’s anti-Communist campaign, and television as a new medium for news and political commercials—each figured in the election in its own way; and, drawing in depth on the Eisenhower, Stevenson, Taft, and Nixon papers, Greene traces how.

*I Like Ike* is a compelling account of how an America fearful of a Communist threat elected a war hero and brought an end to twenty years of Democratic control of the White House. In an era of political ferment, it also makes a timely and persuasive case for the importance of the election of 1952 not only to the Eisenhower administration but also to the development of presidential politics well into the future.


“Greene explains how Ike’s popularity translated into a landslide victory at a time when millions of voters were tired of ‘the mess in Washington’. *I Like Ike* is a book that anybody interested in politics—in the 1950s or today—can read with enormous benefit.”

*Chester Pach,* associate professor of history, Ohio University

“In his new and more persuasive account of the election, Greene presents a more complicated view of Eisenhower and Stevenson. And Greene writes with the style of a top-notch investigative reporter.”

*Burton I. Kaufman,* author of *The Post-Presidency from Washington to Clinton*
In 1940, for the first time since America’s founding, a sitting president sought a third term in office. But this was only one remarkable aspect of that year’s election, which was, as John Jeffries makes clear in his new book, one of the most interesting and important elections in American history.

Franklin Roosevelt’s plan to pack the Supreme Court had failed; in the wake of a recent recession, his New Deal had hardened support and opposition among both parties; and the German advance across Europe, along with Japanese aggression in Asia, was stirring fierce debate over America’s role in the world. Adding to the moment of profound uncertainty was FDR’s procrastination over whether to run again. Jeffries explores how these tensions played out and what they meant, not just for the presidential election but also for domestic politics and policy generally, and for state and local contests. In the context of the Roosevelt coalition and the New Deal party system, Jeffries parses the debates and struggles within both the Democratic and Republican parties as Roosevelt deliberated over running and Wendell Willkie, a businessman from Indiana and New York City, got the nod from Republicans over a field that included the rising moderate Thomas E. Dewey, the conservative Michigan senator Arthur Vandenberg, and the isolationist Ohio senator Robert Taft.

A Third Term for FDR reveals how domestic policy more than international events influenced Roosevelt’s decision to run and his victory in November. A detailed analysis of the results offers insights into the impact of the year’s events on voting, and into the election’s long-term implications and ramifications—many of which continue to this day.

John W. Jeffries is dean emeritus of arts, humanities, and social sciences, and professor emeritus of history at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. He is the author of Wartime America: The World War II Home Front.
Two against Lincoln
Reverdy Johnson and Horatio Seymour, Champions of the Loyal Opposition
William C. Harris

Reverdy Johnson (1796–1876), Maryland senator, and Horatio Seymour, Democratic governor of New York, were two influential opponents of Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans during the Civil War. But unlike the Copperheads, they staunchly supported the war to suppress the rebellion. The story of these two figures of the loyal opposition by Lincoln Prize–winning author William C. Harris provides a new way of understanding critical controversies relating to the purpose of the Civil War and its conduct, emancipation, white racial opinion, loyalty, military conscription, and civil liberties.

Johnson, a distinguished lawyer, former Whig, and conservative Unionist, did not believe that the secessionist states had left the Union, an idea with broad implications for postwar reconstruction. Like Seymour, he opposed Republican efforts in Washington to end slavery, assuming such a policy would backfire against the Union. However, Johnson in 1864 spoke in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment to abolish slavery. Before the war, Seymour supported Stephen Douglas's popular sovereignty policies, allowing the territories to decide whether or not to permit slavery, and during the war he opposed any tampering with slavery. Two against Lincoln explores how these two men negotiated issues of emancipation, reconstruction, and reconciliation, all while navigating the roiling currents of partisan politics. The book includes illuminating accounts of the framing of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, the ephemeral National Union (Democratic) Party of 1866, the role of Senator Johnson in the approval of the military reconstruction acts of 1867, the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, and, finally, the presidential election of 1868 in which Seymour as the Democratic candidate did better than expected against war hero U. S. Grant.

Building on the author's award-winning work on Lincoln and the border states, Two against Lincoln illustrates the complexity of political divisions in the Union states as embodied in two powerful, controversial leaders of the time.

William C. Harris is professor emeritus of history, North Carolina State University. He is the author of many books, including Lincoln and the Border States: Preserving the Union, winner of the 2012 Lincoln Prize and the Abraham Lincoln Institute Book Award, and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency, winner of the 2008 Henry Adams Prize, both published by the University Press of Kansas.

“William C. Harris provides a fresh and revealing way to understand the ‘loyal opposition’ that challenged Abraham Lincoln and his Republican Party.”

Daniel E. Sutherland, distinguished professor of history, University of Arkansas

“Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland and Governor Horatio Seymour of New York supported the war for the Union but opposed Republican ‘hard war’ and abolition policies. Their continued resistance to radicalism during Reconstruction put them on the wrong side of the historic achievements of the 1860s. But William C. Harris helps us understand these achievements more clearly in this penetrating study of the path not taken.”

James M. McPherson, author of The War That Forged a Nation: Why the Civil War Still Matters
In March 1964, the Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans (1925–2004) encountered Marguerite Oswald, Lee Harvey Oswald’s mother, at JFK International Airport. In April 1977, he found himself testifying before the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA). In the thirteen years between these two events, Oltmans conducted his own investigation into the assassination of John F. Kennedy—an undertaking that would bring him into contact with a host of individuals with prominent roles in the case, most notably George de Mohrenschildt (1911–1977), whose involvement with Oswald and own untimely death remain mysteries to this day.

Reporting on the Kennedy Assassination is Oltmans’s account of his investigation, published here for the first time in English. Combining personal memoir and factual reporting, the book chronicles the journalist’s interviews with figures such as Jim Garrison and Cyril Wecht, his long and complicated friendship with de Mohrenschildt and his wife, and his own whirlwind experience in the media spotlight. Most saliently, Reporting on the Kennedy Assassination offers an intimate look at Oltmans’s collaboration with de Mohrenschildt on the book that would later become Lee Harvey Oswald as I Knew Him, and at the circumstances surrounding de Mohrenschildt’s death and his possible implication in Oswald’s actions.

Systematically annotated and fact-checked, with an insightful introduction from editor Michael Rinella and a wealth of rare photographs and letters, this book provides a fascinating portrait of one of the twentieth century’s most controversial journalists even as it completes a critical chapter in the investigation of the Kennedy assassination.

Dr. Michael A. Rinella is senior acquisitions editor at the State University of New York Press. He is the editor of George de Mohrenschildt’s Lee Harvey Oswald as I Knew Him, also from Kansas.
Unlected, but expected to act as befits her “office,” the first lady has what Pat Nixon called “the hardest unpaid job in the world.” Michelle Obama championed military families with the program Joining Forces. Four decades earlier Pat Nixon traveled to Africa as the nation’s official representative. And nearly four decades before that, Lou Henry Hoover took to the airwaves to solicit women’s help in unemployment relief. Each first lady has, in her way, been intimately linked with the roles, rights, and responsibilities of American women. Pursuing this connection, First Ladies and American Women reveals how each first lady from Lou Hoover to Michelle Obama has reflected and responded to trends that marked and unified her time.

Jill Abraham Hummer divides her narrative into three distinct epochs. In the first, stretching from Lou Hoover to Jacqueline Kennedy, we see the advent of women’s involvement in politics following women’s suffrage, as well as pressures on family stability during depression, war, and postwar uncertainty. Next comes the second wave of the feminist movement, from Lady Bird Johnson’s tenure through Rosalynn Carter’s, when equality and the politics of personal issues prevailed. And finally we enter the charged political and partisan environment over women’s rights and the politics of motherhood in the wake of the conservative backlash against feminism after 1980, from Nancy Reagan to Michelle Obama.

Throughout, Hummer explores how background, personality, ambitions, and each first lady’s relationship to the president shaped her response to women in society and to the broader political context in which each administration functioned—and how, in turn, these singular responses reflect the changing role of women in American society over nearly a century.

Jill Abraham Hummer is associate professor of political science at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Her work has appeared in the Journal of Political Science Education, White House Studies, Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court, The Hill newspaper, and other publications.

“First Ladies and American Women: In Politics and at Home provides a well-written, thoughtful, and engaging examination of the modern first ladies as political actors in the public and private spheres and reveals the political calculations and personal judgments that have shaped first ladies’ actions.”

MaryAnne Borrelli, author of The Politics of the President’s Wife

“A well-researched and provocative study of the interaction between first ladies and their political cultures from Lou Henry Hoover to Michelle Obama. A must for libraries that want to be current about presidential spouses.”

Lewis L. Gould, author of The First Modern Clash over Federal Power: Wilson versus Hughes in the Presidential Election of 1916

FEBRUARY
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“Mark Eberle’s Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941 is a valuable study of the underappreciated role of baseball as a mirror of social, cultural, and economic influences. A wonderful book to take on a road trip across Kansas to explore its past.”

JOHN DREIFORT, EDITOR OF BASEBALL HISTORY FROM OUTSIDE THE LINES: A READER

“Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941 is a winner. It loads the bases inning after inning, chapter after chapter, with lively player profiles and stories about baseball games, record-setting performances, and town rivalries throughout the state. Taking a full cut and making solid contact time and again, Mark Eberle scores with detailed accounts of women’s play, segregated and integrated teams, Indian baseball, minor league vicissitudes, and surviving ballparks.”

JOSEPH L. PRICE, GENEVIEVE S. CONNICK PROFESSOR OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES AND CODIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR BASEBALL STUDIES, WHITTIER COLLEGE

A s baseball was becoming the national pastime, Kansas was settling into statehood, with hundreds of towns growing up with the game. The early history of baseball in Kansas, chronicled in this book, is the story of those towns and the ballparks they built, of the local fans and teams playing out the drama of the American dream in the heart of the country.

Mark Eberle’s history spans the years between the Civil War–era and the start of World War II, encapsulating a time when baseball was adopted by early settlers, then taken up by soldiers sent west, and finally by teams formed to express the identity of growing towns and the diverse communities of African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic Americans. As elsewhere in the country, these teams represented businesses, churches, schools, military units, and prisons. There were men’s teams and women’s, some segregated by race and others integrated, some for adults and others for youngsters. Among them we find famous barnstormers like the House of David, the soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry who played at Fort Wallace in the 1860s, and Babe Didrikson pitching the first inning of a 1934 game in Hays.

Where some of these games took place, baseball is still played, and Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941 takes us to nine of them, some of the oldest in the country. These ballparks, still used for their original purpose, are living history, and in their stories Eberle captures a vibrant image of the state’s past and a vision of many innings yet to be played—a storied history and promising future that readers will be tempted to visit with this book as an informative and congenial guide.

Mark E. Eberle teaches in the Department of Biological Sciences at Fort Hays State University. He is a coauthor of Kansas Fishes and Fishes of the Central United States, Second Edition, both published by Kansas.
Modernity and the Great Depression
The Transformation of American Society, 1930–1941
Kenneth J. Bindas

Order, planning, and reason—in the depths of the Great Depression, with the nation teetering on the brink of collapse, this was what was needed. And this, Kenneth J. Bindas suggests, was what the ideas and ideals of modernity offered—a way to make sense of the chaos all around. In Modernity and the Great Depression, Bindas offers a new perspective on the provenance and power of modernist thought and practice in early twentieth-century America.

In the midst of a terrible economic, social, and political crisis, modernism provided an alternative to the response of many traditional moralists and religious leaders. Promoting a faith based in reason, organization, and planning, modernists espoused a salvation that was not eternal but rather temporal, tangible, and, for a generation with so little to hold onto, eminently practical—one that found virtue in pleasure and private pursuits. After surveying the contested definitional terrain of “modernism” and “modernity,” Bindas tracks their course and influence through such government programs as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration; in the massive American expositions and world’s fairs that heralded progress and a better future; on the efforts of women interior decorators to update and enhance the comforts of the modern home; and—thanks to the proliferation of electricity and radio—on the popular and high-culture musical recordings and broadcasts that reinforced a shift away from traditional modes of performance and reception.

In the transformation he describes, Bindas also locates the limits of modernism’s influence, as later generations confronted the spiritual shortcomings of its ultra-rationalist and materialist paradigm.

Kenneth J. Bindas is professor of history at Kent State University and author of Remembering the Great Depression in the Rural South; Swing, That Modern Sound; and All of This Music Belongs to the Nation: The WPA’s Federal Music Project and American Society, 1935–1939.

“Kenneth J. Bindas beautifully illustrates how the main tenets of modernity became part of Americans’ everyday lives. While many studies describe the transition in American society from traditional to modern, few describe in detail how that transition took place in the lives of average Americans.”

Charles J. ShinDo, author of 1927 and the Rise of Modern America

“In this vibrant, well-researched, and wide-ranging account of New Deal programs and cultural developments, Bindas illuminates modernity’s role in restoring contemporaries’ faith in tomorrow.”

Sharon Ann Mushcr, author of Democratic Art: The New Deal’s Influence on American Culture

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"Diane Smith’s Yellowstone and the Smithsonian is an excellent analysis of the institutionalization of wildlife protection. It’s an essential and much-needed work of US environmental history. Highly recommended!"

Douglas Brinkley, author of Rightful Heritage: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Land of America

"Students of environmental history as well as general audiences with an interest in Yellowstone National Park or the early history of the Smithsonian will find Smith’s work—which features world’s fair wildlife displays, professional taxidermy, and the US Calvary’s management of Yellowstone—both engaging and accessible."

Kathy S. Mason, author of Natural Museums: U.S. National Parks, 1872–1916

In the winter of 1996–1997, state and federal authorities shot or shipped to slaughter more than 1,100 Yellowstone National Park bison. Since that time, thousands more have been killed or hazed back into the park as wildlife managers struggle to accommodate an animal that does not recognize man-made borders.

Tensions over the hunting and preservation of the bison, an animal sacred to many Native Americans and an icon of the American West, are at least as old as the nation’s first national park. Established in 1872, in part “to protect against the wanton destruction of the fish and game,” Yellowstone has from the first been dedicated to preserving wildlife along with the park’s other natural wonders. The Smithsonian Institution, itself founded in 1848, viewed the park’s resources as critical to its own mission, looking to Yellowstone for specimens to augment its natural history collections and later to stock the National Zoo. How this relationship developed around the conservation and display of American wildlife, with these two distinct organizations coming to mirror one another, is the little-known story Diane Smith tells in Yellowstone and the Smithsonian.

Even before its founding as a national park, and well before the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, the Yellowstone region served as a source of specimens for scientists centered in Washington, DC. Tracing the Yellowstone-Washington reciprocity to the earliest government-sponsored exploration of the region, Smith provides background and context for many of the practices, such as animal transfers and captive breeding, pursued a century later by a new generation of conservation biologists. She shows how Yellowstone, through its relationship with the Smithsonian, the National Museum, and ultimately the National Zoo, helped elevate the iconic nature of representative wildlife of the American West, particularly bison. Her book helps all of us, not least of all historians and biologists, to better understand the wildlife management and conservation policies that followed.

Diane Smith is a research historian with the USDA Forest Service and the author of Pictures from an Expedition and Letters from Yellowstone. She lives in Missoula, Montana.
The US health care system stands out for its strict division of policies dealing with public health and individual medicine. Seeking to explain how this division came to be, what alternative paths might have been taken, and how this shapes the contemporary landscape, Daniel Sledge offers nothing less than a reinterpretation of the making of modern American health policy in *Health Divided*.

Where previous scholars have focused on failed attempts to adopt national health insurance, Sledge demonstrates that the development of health policy cannot be properly understood without considering the connections between public health policy and policies dealing with individual medicine. His work shows how the distinct politics of the formative years of health policy—and the presence of debilitating diseases in the American South—led to outcomes that have fundamentally shaped modern policies and disputes. Until the end of the nineteenth century, health care in the United States was seen as a local issue, with the sole exception being the government’s role in providing care to seamen and immigrants. Then, as *Health Divided* reveals, the health problems that plagued the American South in the early twentieth century, from malaria to hookworm and pellagra, along with the political power of the southern Democrats during the New Deal, fueled the emergence of national intervention in public health work. At the same time, divisions among policymakers, as well as the resistance of the American Medical Association, led to federal inaction in the realm of individual medical services—setting the stage for the growth of employer-sponsored health insurance.

The vision of those who built the institutions that became the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention was, we see here, far more expansive and innovative than has previously been realized—and it came surprisingly close to succeeding. Exploring the history behind its failure, and tracing the inextricable links between public health and national health policy, this book provides a valuable new perspective on the origins of America’s disjointed health care system.

Daniel Sledge is associate professor of political science at the University of Texas, Arlington.

“Thoroughly researched and beautifully written, *Health Divided* is necessary reading for anyone interested in how the United States became a world leader in public health and a laggard in individual health benefits.”

**Jill Quadagno**, author of *One Nation, Uninsured: Why the U.S. Has No National Health Insurance*

“An incredibly important and long-overdue account of the trajectory of modern American health care policy. *Health Divided* is a must-read book for anyone that is interested in American political development, public health, or political history.”

**Megan Ming Francis**, author of *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*
African Americans in White Suburbia
Social Networks and Political Behavior
Ernest McGowen III

Despite decades of progress, African Americans living in largely white affluent suburbs still often find themselves caught between the two worlds of race and class. High economic status has afforded them considerable employment opportunities and political resources—but not necessarily neighbors, coworkers, or local candidates or office holders who share or even understand their concerns. How does such an environment affect the political behavior of African Americans who have strong racial identifications and policy preferences? This is the question Ernest McGowen III asks in African Americans in White Suburbia.

With Philadelphia as his primary case, McGowen uses a combination of surveys to understand the attitudes of affluent suburban African Americans and compare these attitudes to those of their white neighbors and to African Americans in the city and so-called black ring suburbs. This detailed study—which ranges from participation in black churches and other institutions to attitudes toward government and affirmative action—reveals that suburban African Americans feel their minority status acutely. As a result, they tend to seek out more agreeable networks that reinforce their racial identity, such as churches, fraternal organizations, and charities in black neighborhoods they’ve left behind.

Though Philadelphia is McGowen’s focus, broader surveys suggest that his findings reflect a nationwide pattern. Arriving at a moment of great controversy over racial disparities and division, his timely study offers invaluable insight into the complex nexus of race and class in America.

Ernest McGowen III is assistant professor of political science, University of Richmond.
The New Americans?
Immigration, Protest, and the Politics of Latino Identity
Heather Silber Mohamed

In 2006, millions of Latinos mobilized in opposition to H.R. 4437, an immigration proposal pending before the US Congress. In her new book, Heather Silber Mohamed suggests that these unprecedented protests marked a turning point for the Latino population—a point that is even more salient ten years later as the issue of immigration roiled the politics of the 2016 presidential election. In The New Americans? Silber Mohamed explores the complexities of the Latino community, particularly as it is united and divided by the increasingly pressing questions of immigration.

The largest minority group in the United States, Latinos are also one of the most diverse. The New Americans? focuses on the three largest national origin groups—Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans—as well as two rapidly growing subgroups, Salvadorans and Dominicans, charting similarities and differences defined by country of origin, gender, tenure in the country, and language. Taking advantage of a unique natural experiment, Silber Mohamed’s study also shows how the messages advanced during the 2006 protests led group members to raise immigration rights to the level of traditional concerns about economics and education and think differently about what it means to be American—and, furthermore, to think more distinctly of themselves as American.

A concise discussion of major developments in US immigration policy over the last fifty years, The New Americans? explores the varied historical experiences of the different Latino national origin groups. It also traces the evolving role of Latino social movements as a vehicle for political incorporation over the last century. In its in-depth analysis of the diversity of the Latino population, particularly in response to the politics of immigration, the book illuminates questions at the heart of American political culture: specifically, what does it mean to “become” American?

Heather Silber Mohamed is assistant professor of political science at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. Her work has appeared in publications including American Politics Research and Politics, Groups, and Identities.

“The New Americans? offers a persuasive and timely argument that the immigration protests marked a significant change from previous Latino social movements in the way it positioned Latinos as Americans and not as a cluster of distinct subgroups. A timely and thought-provoking contribution.”

Marisa Abramano, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

“Offers an account of how the politics of anti-immigrant backlash is leading America’s largest ethnic group to weave themselves more firmly into the American national fabric. This is a must-read for anyone hoping to understand politics in America today.”

Tomás R. Jiménez, author of Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity

March
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Framing the Farm Bill
Interests, Ideology, and the Agricultural Act of 2014
Christopher Bosso

“In January 2014, for the first time in the history of federal farm legislation going back to the Great Depression, all four members of the US House of Representatives from Kansas voted against the Farm Bill, despite pleas by the state's agricultural leaders to support it. Why? The story of the Agricultural Act of 2014, as it unfolds in *Framing the Farm Bill*, has much to tell us about the complex nature of farm legislation, food policy, and partisan politics in present-day America.

The Farm Bill is essential to the continuation of the many programs that structure agriculture in this country, from farm loans, commodity subsidies, and price supports for farmers to food support for the poor, notably food stamps. It was in the 1970s, with urbanization increasingly undermining political interest in farm programs, that rural legislators added the food stamp program to the Farm Bill to build support among urban and suburban legislators.

Christopher Bosso offers a deft account of how this strategy, which over time led to the food stamp program becoming the largest expenditure in the Farm Bill, ran into the wave of conservative Republicans swept into Congress in 2010. With many of these new members objecting to the very existence of the food stamp program—and in many cases to government's involvement in agriculture, period—and with Democrats vehemently opposing reductions, especially in light of the 2008 recession, the stage was set for a battle involving some of the most crucial issues in American life.

*Framing the Farm Bill* is an enlightening look at federal agricultural policy—its workings, its history, and its present state—as well as the effect federal legislation has on farming practices, the environment, and our diet, in a thoroughly readable primer on the politics of food in America.

Christopher Bosso is professor of public policy and urban affairs at Northeastern University. His books include *Environment, Inc.: From Grassroots to Beltway*, also from Kansas, and *Pesticides and Politics: The Life Cycle of a Public Issue.*
In the United States we elect members of the House of Representatives from single-member districts: the candidate who receives the most votes from each geographically defined district wins a seat in the House. This system—so long in place that it seems perfectly natural—is, however, unusual. Most countries use proportional representation to elect their legislatures. Electing the House is the first book-length study to explore how the United States came to adopt the single-member district system, how it solidified into a seemingly permanent fixture of American government, and whether it performs well by the standards it was intended to achieve.

The US Constitution grants the states the authority to elect representatives in a manner of their own choosing, subject to restrictions that Congress might impose. Electing the House reminds us that in the nation’s early years the states exercised this privilege and elected their representatives using a variety of methods. Dow traces the general adoption of the present system to the Jacksonian era—specifically to the major franchise expansion and voter mobilization of the time. The single-member district plurality-rule system was the Federalists’ solution to tyranny of the majority under the expectation of universal franchise, and the Jacksonian-Whigs era response to the political uncertainty caused by large-scale voter mobilization. The system was solidified concurrently with the enfranchisement of women in the early twentieth century and African Americans in the civil rights era. Dow persuasively argues that the single-member district system became the way that we elect our representatives because it fits especially well within the corpus of political thought that informs our collective understanding of good governance, and it performs well by the standards it was meant to achieve, and these standards are still relevant today.

Locating the development of a single-member district system within the context of American political thought, Dow’s study clarifies the workings and the significance of a critical electoral process in our time. In the process, the book informs and enhances our understanding of the evolution of the American political system.

Jay K. Dow is professor of political science at the University of Missouri, Columbia. His research on electoral politics has appeared in publications including the British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Electoral Studies, Public Choice, and Political Behavior.

“Dow makes a constructive and persuasive case that these single-member districts are vital for the American experiment in republican government.”
DAVID BRIAN ROBERTSON, AUTHOR OF THE ORIGINAL COMPROMISE: WHAT THE CONSTITUTION’S FRAMEERS WERE REALLY THINKING

“This spirited defense of single-member districts (SMDs) in the U.S. House reminds us ‘there is no perfect way of electing a representative assembly.’ Grounded in the central debates of American political development and normative democratic theory, Jay Dow carefully elucidates the tradeoffs across systems while arguing that SMDs provide a uniquely American balance between liberalism and republicanism.”
DAVID CANON, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MADISON

MARCH
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Battle Studies
Charles Jean Jacques Joseph Ardant du Picq
Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by Roger J. Spiller

“A classic of military thought that merits a place alongside the works of Clausewitz and Sun Tzu, Battle Studies was first published in Paris ten years after the death of its author, French army officer Charles Ardant du Picq (1821–1870). Updated to provide a more complete and accurate biographical and historical framework for understanding its meaning and import, this edition—deftly translated, introduced, and annotated by noted military historian Roger Spiller—offers a new generation of readers the benefit of Ardant du Picq’s unique insight into the nature of warfare.

Nothing, Ardant du Picq asserts, can be prescribed wisely in an army “without an exact understanding of its ultimate instrument, man, and his morale at the defining instant of combat.” Accordingly, Battle Studies, the first systematic exploration of human behavior in the extremities of combat, focuses squarely on the tactical realm its author knew so well. Eschewing grand military theories and strategies, Ardant du Picq draws on his real-world experience, especially during the Crimean War and the Siege of Sebastopol where he was captured, to examine what motivates a soldier to fight, what creates cohesion or disorder, what gives a commander tactical control, and what makes reason give way to instinct: in short, “the essence of the science of combat.”

Roger J. Spiller is the George C. Marshall Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Military History and former director of the Combat Studies Institute at the US Army Command and General Staff College. He is the author of An Instinct for War: Scenes from the Battlefields of History. He has also served as an advisor to Ken Burns on documentary television series on World War II and the Vietnam War.
Triumph at Imphal-Kohima
How the Indian Army Finally Stopped the Japanese Juggernaut
Raymond Callahan

In the spring of 1944, on the eastern front of India near the Burmese border, the seemingly unstoppable Imperial Japanese Army suffered the worst defeat in its history at the hands of Lieutenant General William Slim's British XIV Army; most of whose units were drawn from the little-esteemed Indian Army. Triumph at Imphal-Kohima tells the largely unknown story of how an army that Winston Churchill had once dismissed as “a welter of lassitude and inefficiency” came to achieve such an unlikely, unprecedented, and critical victory for the Allied forces in World War II.

Long the British Empire’s strategic reserve, the Indian Army had been comprehensively defeated in Malaya and Burma in 1941–1943. Military historian Raymond Callahan chronicles the remarkable exercise in institutional transformation that remade the British Indian forces to reverse those losses. With the invaluable help of the American DC-3 on the Burma front, Slim overhauled the British XIV Army with the Imperial Japanese Army’s strategic weaknesses in mind; namely, an utter disregard for logistics and an unrelenting addiction to the attack. Callahan shows how, on an enormous battlefield—over five hundred miles from north to south—the XIV Army surmounted the challenges of terrain, disease, wretched communication, and climate to draw the Imperial forces under Lieutenant General Mutaguchi Renya ever deeper into ever stronger British defensive arrays until the Japanese Army’s vaunted offensive aggression finally exhausted itself.

Following this epic battle from build-up to aftermath, this book brings overdue detailed attention to Lieutenant General William Slim’s handling of perhaps the most complex battle any Allied commander fought during World War II—and to the long-belittled British Indian Army that became the magnificent fighting force that triumphed at Imphal-Kohima and went on to reconquer Burma.

Raymond Callahan is professor emeritus at the University of Delaware. His many books include The East India Company and Army Reform, 1783–1798; Burma, 1942–1945; and, also from Kansas, Churchill and His Generals.

“An astonishingly good and much-needed book, written by a master in his field who is also blessed with the rare skill of brevity. The book is lively and beautifully written, and his judgments about the Japanese, British, and American commanders are sound. It is written both for historians and a much wider readership.”

Robert Lyman, author of Slim, Master of War and Japan’s Last Bid for Victory: The Invasion of India, 1944

“This superb account of one of the great battles of World War II by a master of his craft sets new standards for future historians.”

Edward J. Drea, author of Japan’s Imperial Army: Its Rise and Fall, 1853–1945
In the face of the German onslaught in World War II, the Soviets succeeded, as Molotov later recalled, “in relocating to the rear virtually an entire industrial country.” It was, an official declared, “one of the greatest feats of the war.” Focusing on the Kirov region, this book offers a different and considerably more nuanced picture of the evacuations than the typical triumphal narrative found in Soviet history. In its depiction of the complexities of the displacement and relocation of populations, Stalin’s World War II Evacuations also has remarkable relevance in our time of mass migrations of refugees from war-torn nations.

The citizens and government of Kirov, some 500 miles northeast of Moscow, provided food, clothing, and shelter to the people and institutions that descended on the region in numbers far exceeding prewar plans or anyone’s imagination. But as they continued to share their already strained resources—with adult evacuees, Leningrad’s children, wounded and ill soldiers, factories, and commissariats—the people of Kirov became increasingly resentful, especially as it grew clear that the war would be prolonged, and that their guests demanded privileged treatment. Larry E. Holmes reveals how, without directly challenging the Stalinist system, they vigorously advanced their own private and regional interests. He shows that, as Kirov and Moscow pursued their respective agendas, sometimes in concert but increasingly at cross-purposes, they exposed preexisting and highly dysfunctional dimensions of Soviet governance at both the center and the periphery.

The dictatorial center and the periphery literally came face-to-face in the evacuation to Kirov, allowing for a new, informed understanding of the tensions inherent in the Stalinist system, and of the power politics of the wartime Soviet Union.

Larry E. Holmes is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of South Alabama. He is the author of many books, including Grand Theater: Regional Governance in Stalin’s Russia, 1931–1941 and War, Evacuation, and the Exercise of Power: The Center, Periphery, and Kirov’s Pedagogical Institute, 1941–1952.
The 1929 Sino-Soviet War
The War Nobody Knew
Michael M. Walker

For seven weeks in 1929, the Republic of China and the Soviet Union battled in Manchuria over control of the Chinese Eastern Railroad (CER). It was the largest military clash between China and a Western power ever fought on Chinese soil, involving more than a quarter-million combatants. Michael M. Walker’s The 1929 Sino-Soviet War is the first full account of what UPI’s Moscow correspondent called “the war nobody knew”—a “limited modern war” that destabilized the region’s balance of power, altered East Asian history, and sent grim reverberations through a global community giving lip service to demilitarizing in the wake of World War I.

Walker locates the roots of the conflict in miscalculations by Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang about the Soviets’ political and military power—flawed assessments that prompted China’s attempt to reassert full authority over the CER. The Soviets, on the other hand, were dominated by a Stalin eager to flex some military muscle and thoroughly convinced that war would win much more than petty negotiations. This in fact, Walker shows, a watershed moment for Stalin, his regime, and his still young and untested military, disproving the assumption that the Red Army was incapable of fighting a modern war. By contrast, the outcome revealed how unprepared the Chinese military forces were to fight either the Red Army or the Imperial Japanese Army, their other primary regional competitor. And yet, while the Chinese commanders proved weak, Walker sees in the toughness of the overmatched infantry a hint of the rising nationalism that would transform China’s troops from a mercenary army into a formidable professional force, with powerful implications for an overconfident Japanese Imperial Army in 1937.

Using Russian, Chinese, and Japanese sources, as well as declassified US military reports, Walker deftly details the war from its onset through major military operations to its aftermath, giving the first clear and complete account of a little-known but profoundly consequential clash of great powers between the world wars.

Michael M. Walker is Special Projects Docent at the state-sponsored Idaho Military History Museum in Boise. A retired Marine colonel, he commanded the 3rd Civil Affairs Group in Iraq and served in many capacities in the infantry and intelligence, including as an intelligence officer with Marine Forces Pacific G-2, Joint Chiefs of Staff J-2, and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

“This unprecedented, credible, and interesting study of the twentieth century’s most obscure war highlights the complexity inherent in the prolonged struggle for political dominance in northeastern Asia.”

David M. Glantz, author of The Stalingrad Trilogy

“In telling the story of the Sino-Soviet conflict, Walker takes a wide-ranging approach that encompasses international politics of the region among China, Japan, and the USSR while simultaneously providing a wealth of detail on the domestic politics affecting decision-making. The military aspects of the war are equally thoroughly documented from the quality of leadership to the tactics and technology that determined the outcome. This work will be the standard for a long time to come.”

Roger R. Reese, author of Why Stalin’s Soldiers fought: The Red Army’s Military Effectiveness in World War II

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Father of Liberty
Jonathan Mayhew and the Principles of the American Revolution
J. Patrick Mullins

“Seamlessly integrating political, intellectual, and religious history, Mullins’s elegant and illuminating study restores Mayhew to his rightful place in emergence of Revolutionary protest while also conveying the full complexity and originality of Mayhew’s thought.”
ROSEMARIE ZAGARRE, UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

“As imaginatively connects Massachusetts political history with the minister’s radical preaching. Mullins shows how Mayhew, in attempting to recapture an elusive and virtuous past, propelled New Englanders into uncharted political and religious territory.”
CHRISTOPHER BENEKE, AUTHOR OF BEYOND TOLERATION: THE RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF AMERICAN PLURALISM

Dr. Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1766) was, according to John Adams, a “transcendental genius . . . who threw all the weight of his great fame into the scale of the country in 1761, and maintained it there with zeal and ardor till his death.” He was also, J. Patrick Mullins contends, the most politically influential clergyman in eighteenth-century America and the intellectual progenitor of the American Revolution in New England. Father of Liberty is the first book to fully explore Mayhew’s political thought and activism, understood within the context of his personal experiences and intellectual influences, and of the cultural developments and political events of his time. Analyzing and assessing his contributions to eighteenth-century New England political culture, the book demonstrates Mayhew’s critical contribution to the intellectual origins of the American Revolution.

As pastor of the Congregationalist West Church in Boston, Mayhew championed the principles of natural rights, constitutionalism, and resistance to tyranny in press and pulpit from 1750 to 1766. He did more than any other clergyman to prepare New England for disobedience to British authority in the 1760s and should, Mullins argues, be counted alongside such framers and fomenters of revolutionary thought as James Otis, Patrick Henry, and Samuel Adams. Though many commentators from John Adams on down have acknowledged his importance as a popularizer of Whig political principles, Father of Liberty is the first extended, in-depth examination of Mayhew’s political writings, as well as the cultural process by which he engaged with the public and disseminated those principles. As such, even as the book restores a key figure to his place in American intellectual and political history, it illuminates the meaning of the Revolution as a political and constitutional conflict informed by the religious and political ideas of the British Enlightenment.

J. Patrick Mullins is assistant professor of history at Marquette University.

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Revolving Door Lobbying
Public Service, Private Influence, and the Unequal Representation of Interests
Timothy M. LaPira and Herschel F. Thomas

In recent decades Washington has seen an alarming rise in the number of “revolving door lobbyists”—politicians and officials cashing in on their government experience to become influence peddlers on K Street. These lobbyists, popular wisdom suggests, sell access to the highest bidder. Revolving Door Lobbying tells a different, more nuanced story. As an insider interviewed in the book observes, where the general public has the “impression that lobbyists actually get things done, I would say 90 percent of what lobbyists do is prevent harm to their client from the government.”

Drawing on extensive new data on lobbyists’ biographies and interviews with dozens of experts, authors Timothy M. LaPira and Herschel F. Thomas establish the facts of the revolving door phenomenon—facts that suggest that, contrary to widespread assumptions about insider access, special interests hire these lobbyists as political insurance against an increasingly dysfunctional, unpredictable government. With their insider experience, revolving door lobbyists offer insight into the political process, irrespective of their connections to current policymakers. What they provide to their clients is useful and marketable political risk-reduction. Exploring this claim, LaPira and Thomas present a systematic analysis of who revolving door lobbyists are, how they differ from other lobbyists, what interests they represent, and how they seek to influence public policy.

The first book to marshal comprehensive evidence of revolving door lobbying, LaPira and Thomas revise the notion that lobbyists are inherently and institutionally corrupt. Rather, the authors draw a complex and sobering picture of the revolving door as a consequence of the eroding capacity of government to solve the public’s problems.

Timothy M. LaPira is associate professor of political science at James Madison University. Herschel F. Thomas is assistant professor of political science at the University of Texas at Arlington.

“Revolving Door Lobbying is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the real reasons why Washington stopped working and why those with resources to hire the best lobbyists keep winning, even without having to bribe anybody.”

Lee Drutman, author of The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate

“In this, the most comprehensive single assessment of Washington’s ‘revolving door’ system by which underpaid government staffers move to the private sector to influence their former colleagues, Thomas and LaPira debunk a number of myths.

Frank R. Baumgartner, coauthor of Lobbying and Policy Change and codirector of the Policy Agendas Project

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240 pages, 58 figures and tables, 6 x 9
Studies in Government and Public Policy
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2450-8, $39.95(s)
Public accountability is critical to a democracy. But as government becomes ever more complex, with bureaucracy growing ever deeper and wider, how can these multiplying numbers of unelected bureaucrats be held accountable? The answer, more often than not, comes in the form of inspectors general (IGs), monitors largely independent of the management of the agencies to which they are attached. How and whether this system works in America is what Nadia Hilliard investigates in *The Accountability State*. Exploring the significance of our current collective obsession with accountability, her book helpfully shifts the issue from the technical domain of public administration to the context of American political development.

Inspectors general, though longtime fixtures of government and the military, first came into prominence in the United States in the 1970s in the wake of evidence of wrongdoing in the Nixon administration. Their number and importance has only increased in tandem with concerns about abuses of power and simple inefficiency in expanding government agencies. Some of the IGs Hilliard examines serve agencies chiefly vulnerable to fraud and waste, while others, such as national security IGs, monitor the management of potentially rights-threatening activities. By some conventional measures, IGs are largely successful, whether in savings, prosecutions, suspensions, disharmonies, or exposure of legally or ethically questionable activities. However, her work reveals that these measures fail to do justice to the range of effects that IGs can have on American democracy, and offers a new framework with which to evaluate and understand them. Within her larger study, Hilliard looks specifically at inspectors general in the US Departments of Justice, State, and Homeland Security and asks why their effectiveness varies as much as it does, with the IGs at Justice and Homeland Security proving far more successful than the IG at State.

Nadia Hilliard is junior research fellow in politics at Balliol College, University of Oxford and a postdoctoral researcher at City University in London.
What kind of document is the US Constitution, and how does that characterization affect its meaning? Those questions are seemingly foundational for the entire enterprise of constitutional theory, but they are strangely under-examined. Legal scholars Gary Lawson and Guy Seidman propose that the Constitution, for purposes of interpretation, is a kind of fiduciary, or agency, instrument. The founding generation often spoke of the Constitution as a fiduciary document—or as a “great power of attorney,” in the words of founding-era legal giant James Iredell. Viewed against the background of fiduciary legal and political theory, which would have been familiar to the founding generation from both its education and its experience, the Constitution is best read as granting limited powers to the national government, as an agent, to manage some portion of the affairs of “We the People” and its “posterity.” What follows from this particular conception of the Constitution—and is of greater importance—is the question of whether, and how much and in what ways, the discretion of governmental agents in exercising those constitutionally granted powers is also limited by background norms of fiduciary obligation. Those norms, the authors remind us, include duties of loyalty, care, impartiality, and personal exercise. In the context of the Constitution, this has implications for everything from non-delegation to equal protection to so-called substantive due process, as well as for the scope of any implied powers claimed by the national government.

In mapping out what these imperatives might mean—such as limited discretionary power, limited implied powers, a need to engage in fair dealing with all parties, and an obligation to serve at all times the interests of the Constitution’s beneficiaries—Lawson and Seidman offer a clearer picture of the original design for a limited government.

Gary Lawson is Philip S. Beck Professor of Law at Boston University School of Law. He is coauthor with Guy Seidman of The Constitution of Empire: Territorial Expansion and American Legal History. Guy Seidman is a professor at the Radzyner School of Law, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel.

“A Great Power of Attorney” is the best book written about judicial interpretation of the Constitution in my lifetime! It is must reading for anyone interested in American constitutional law or judicial review.”

Steven G. Calabresi, Clayton J. and Henry R. Barber Professor of Law, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law
“Paul Herron has written an important book. In Framing the Solid South, Herron assembles persuasive evidence from the records of state constitutional conventions to show that it was in the many conventions held between 1860 and 1902 that a single collective southern identity was formed. Herron offers both a new history of the South and a new and surprising account of what constitutional conventions can accomplish.”

Amy Bridges, author of Democratic Beginnings: Founding the Western States

“Framing the Solid South makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of southern politics, state constitutions, and American political development.”

John Dinan, author of The American State Constitutional Tradition

The South was not always the South. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, those below the Potomac River, for all their cultural and economic similarities, did not hold a separate political identity. How this changed, and how the South came to be a political entity that coheres to this day, emerges clearly in this book—the first comprehensive account of the civil war era and late nineteenth century state constitutional conventions that forever transformed southern politics.

From 1860 to the turn of the twentieth century, southerners in eleven states gathered forty-four times to revise their constitutions. Framing the Solid South traces the consolidation of the southern states through these conventions in three waves of development: Secession, Reconstruction, and Redemption. Secession conventions, Paul Herron finds, did much more than dissolve the Union; they acted in concert to raise armies, write law, elect delegates to write a Confederate Constitution, ratify that constitution, and rewrite state constitutions. During Reconstruction, the national government forced the southern states to write and rewrite constitutions to permit reentry into the Union—recognizing federal supremacy, granting voting rights to African Americans, enshrining a right to public education, and opening the political system to broader participation. Black southerners were essential participants in democratizing the region and reconsidering the nature of federalism in light of the devastation brought by proponents of states’ rights and sovereignty. Many of the changes by the postwar conventions, Herron shows, were undermined if not outright abolished in the following period, as “Redeemers” enshrined a system of weak states, the rule of a white elite, and the suppression of black rights.

Southern constitution makers in all three waves were connected to each other and to previous conventions unlike any others in American history. These connections affected the content of the fundamental law and political development in the region. Southern politics, to an unusual degree, has been a product of the process Herron traces. What his book tells us about these constitutional conventions and the documents they produced is key to understanding southern history and the South today.

Paul E. Herron is assistant professor of political science at Providence College.
Ambitious Politicians
The Implications of Career Ambition in Representative Democracy
Patrik Öhberg

“Those people who must want to rule people are, ipso facto, those least suited to do it.” This is how writer Douglas Adams neatly expressed the common view of political ambition. And yet, it’s hard to imagine any politician getting far without it. Ambitious Politicians brings a welcome study and insight to this conundrum.

Focusing first on the party-centered politics of European democracies, where career ambitions are necessarily different than those in the United States, Patrik Öhberg looks closely at what motivates those aiming for the highest level of the political hierarchy, how these motivators differ between more and less equalitarian societies, and how such ambitions play out. His book, which draws upon a uniquely extensive survey conducted by the Swedish National Election Study Program, is the first thorough study of elite politicians who aspire to the top echelons of the parliamentary system. Politicians with career ambitions have a distinct idea of representation, Öhberg finds; they display a higher degree of political self-regard and are more responsive to the wishes of the party elite in developing strategies. These findings vary among European democracies, and they differ from the traits and trajectories of political ambition in the United States. By identifying the subtleties and charting the differences, Öhberg offers a valuable lesson on whether and how representative democracies are served by politicians driven by personal ambition, or by those subverting such ambitions to the needs of party or state.

Ambition, this timely book reminds us, has been crucial for political thinkers from Aristotle through the founding fathers to the latest candidates for higher office. Informed by history and social science theory, and grounded in a wealth of data, Ambitious Politicians expands our understanding of the important and changing role of such ambition in collective decision-making in our day.

Patrik Öhberg is associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg.

“Research on how politicians’ career incentives shapes how representative democracy works is a fast-growing field in political science. Öhberg’s book is a major contribution to this exciting new field as it is the first study to combine an in-depth analysis of one country, Sweden, with data from several other comparable democracies.”

Simon Hix, Harold Laski Professor of Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science

“Öhberg’s work is an important step in the effort to devise more general theories about legislative behavior, ones less bound to country-specific systems. It is important reading for scholars of comparative legislative studies.”

Peverill Squire, professor of political science, University of Missouri

AMBITION POLITICIANS
THE IMPLICATIONS OF CAREER AMBITION IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY
PATRIK ÖHBERG

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