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David M. Glantz, author of 17 books published by the University Press of Kansas, is the winner of the Pritzker Military Museum & Library Literature Award for Lifetime Achievement in Military Writing.

Click here to see all the books by David M. Glantz at the University Press of Kansas website.

The Property of the Nation: George Washington’s Tomb, Mount Vernon, and the Memory of the First President by Matthew R. Costello is a finalist for the George Washington Prize.

352 pages
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2827-8, $45.00
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Lincoln’s Informer: Charles A. Dana and the Inside Story of the Union War by Carl J. Guarneri is the winner of the Kalamazoo Civil War Round Table’s Albert Castel Book Award.

528 pages
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2846-9, $39.95

The Fight for the Old North State: The Civil War in North Carolina, January–May 1864 by Hampton Newsome is the winner of the Atlanta Civil War Round Table’s Richard Barksdale Harwell Award and the Emerging Civil War Best Book Award.

480 pages
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3037-0, $28.95

Cover art: Portraits of Douglas County Jail inmates by Kerry Niemann. See Words Is a Powerful Thing, page 35.
The Battle for Peace
The Long Road to Ending a War with the World’s Oldest Guerrilla Army

Juan Manuel Santos
Translated by Joe Broderick
Foreword by John Kerry

This is the comprehensive account of the long and difficult road traveled to end the fifty-year armed conflict with the FARC, the oldest guerrilla army in the world; a long war that left more than eight million victims. The obstacles to peace were both large and dangerous. All previous attempts to negotiate with the FARC had failed, creating an environment where differences were irreconcilable and political will was scarce. The Battle for Peace is the story not only of the six years of negotiation and the peace process that transformed a country, its secret contacts, its international implications, and difficulties and achievements but also of the two previous decades in which Colombia oscillated between warlike confrontation and negotiated solution.

In The Battle for Peace Juan Manuel Santos shares the lessons he learned about war and peace and how to build a successful negotiation process in the context of a nation that had all but resigned itself to war and the complexities of twenty-first-century international law and diplomacy. While Santos is clear that there is no handbook for making peace, he offers conflict-tested guidance on the critical parameters, conditions, and principles as well as rich detail on the innovations that made it possible for his nation to find common ground and a just solution.

Juan Manuel Santos was president of Colombia from 2010 to 2018 and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2016. Prior to becoming president, Santos had a long career of public service in Colombia, including as minister of foreign trade, minister of finance and public credit, and minister of national defense. Santos prepared for these roles by attending the University of Kansas, through postgraduate studies at the London School of Economics and Harvard University, as a Fulbright Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and in the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University. While out of government he was a journalist as deputy editor at the newspaper El Tiempo. He currently is founder and chairman of the board, Compaz Center of Resources for Peace, which works for the empowerment of victims, the consolidation of peace, the reduction of poverty and inequality, and the defense of the environment in Colombia and the planet.

“I especially want to commend President Juan Manuel Santos for his courageous leadership during four years of difficult negotiations. I think this is an achievement of historic proportions. It ultimately will be good for the region, as well as the people of Colombia. It took a lot of courage and a lot of hard work by a lot of people. And we are very proud to have played a modest part in helping the dialogue go forward.”

Barack Obama

“President Santos’s account of the negotiations—frank, detailed, and generous to those who assisted inside and outside Colombia—has important lessons for peacemakers everywhere.”

Malcolm Deas, St. Anthony’s College, University of Oxford
Across Cultures and Empires
An Immigrant’s Odyssey from the Soviet Army to the US War in Iraq and American Citizenship
Mahir Ibrahimov

“In Ibrahimov has seen and done enough for five lifetimes. Anyone who picks up Across Cultures and Empires will be hooked.”

MICHAEL RUBIN, resident scholar, American Enterprise Institute, and author of Seven Pillars: What Really Causes Instability in the Middle East?

“The story of Dr. Mahir Ibrahimov is both a historic and fascinating tale and very much worth reading. It offers a unique perspective on the times and how, first the Cold War, then the post–Cold War period, and then the War on Terror shaped the culture, knowledge, and aspirations of one man who desired to serve and improve the circumstances around him.”

RODERICK M. COX, colonel, US Army (Ret.), president and chief executive officer, Command and General Staff College Foundation, Inc.

“In Across Cultures and Empires author Mahir Ibrahimov invites the reader to share his incredible journey through the world-shaking geopolitical transformations of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This is a fast-paced narrative based upon the author’s experience serving in the Soviet army as an Azeri minority; working for the Soviet Communist Party and experiencing disillusionment with Communism; watching the fall of the Soviet Union; living through the abortive coup against Gorbachev; working in the newly independent Azeri government during its unfolding conflict with Armenia in Nagorno-Karabakh, a conflict Moscow purposely exacerbated as it sought to regain a measure of control over its former republics; immigrating to the United States in search of freedom; working with the US Army in Iraq as an interpreter; and becoming a citizen of the United States and continuing his work for the US Army as a language and culture expert.

Across Cultures and Empires is above all an immigrant’s story. Mahir Ibrahimov’s fluency in multiple languages offers the perspective of someone who found a way to successfully cross boundaries amid the fall of empire and the resulting cascade of conflicts, even as he provides the reader with insight into an era where mass migration has become a defining dynamic. In the course of telling his personal story and reflecting upon his experiences, Ibrahimov offers clear observations on the deep connections he has made about freedom and America’s role in the world, the different cultures he experienced, war, peace, the fight against terrorism, and the role of religion. Ibrahimov’s background in both the Soviet and US militaries allows him to expertly contrast the Soviet and American experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition, he offers provocative thoughts on the future course of terrorism and America’s wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. Across Cultures and Empires, told from the perspective of a Soviet minority, fills important gaps in our knowledge of the post-Soviet reality.

Mahir Ibrahimov is director of the Cultural and Area Studies Office, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.
Laughing at Myself
My Education in Congress, on the Farm, and at the Movies
Dan Glickman

Where else but in America could a Jewish kid from Kansas, son of self-made, entrepreneurial parents and a grandson of Russian and Eastern European immigrants, end up as a congressman, secretary of agriculture, and chief lobbyist for Hollywood?

In Laughing at Myself: My Education in Congress, on the Farm, and at the Movies Dan Glickman tells his story of a classical family background, religious heritage, and “Midwestern-nice” roots, and how it led to a long and successful career in public service. Dan combines a steady sense of humor with serious reflection on his rise from the middle of nowhere to becoming a successful US politician and the first Jewish secretary of agriculture since Joseph served pharaoh in biblical times. Dan defines success as a willingness to listen, an ability to communicate ideas, and a yen for compromise. Dan has successfully navigated the worlds of congressional politics, cabinet-level administration, and the entertainment industry and offers readers the many tricks of the trade he has learned over the years, which will inform the understanding of citizens and help aspiring politicians seeking alternatives to the current crisis of partisanship.

Dan is convinced that the toxicity seen in our current political culture and public discourse can be mitigated by the principles that have guided his life—a strong sense of humor (specifically an ability to laugh at himself), respect and civility for those who have different points of view, a belief system founded on values based on the Golden Rule, and a steadfast commitment to solve problems rather than create irreconcilable conflicts. While these values form the backbone of Dan Glickman’s personal life and professional career, the real key to his success has been resiliency—learning from adversity and creating opportunities where none may have originated. Even though you never know what’s around the corner, in Laughing at Myself Dan offers a bold affirmation that America is still a nation built on opportunity and optimism. Laughing at Myself affirms readers in their desire to move beyond just surviving to living life with purpose, passion, and optimism.

Dan Glickman is vice president of the Aspen Institute, a senior fellow at the Bipartisan Policy Center, and a board member of the World Food Program USA. He served for eighteen years in the US House of Representatives representing the 4th Congressional District of Kansas, as the US Secretary of Agriculture from (1995–2001), and as chairman of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (2004–2010).

“Our nation these days desperately needs more leaders like Dan Glickman: people whose values are deeply rooted and have a sense of humor about themselves. This book explores the secrets to his success and should serve as an inspiration to those who want to be as respected and beloved as he has been.”

WALTER S. ISAACSON, AUTHOR OF STEVE JOBS AND LEONARDO DA VINCI

“It’s been Dan’s wit and wisdom that has taken him from Wichita to Washington. But it’s also been his decency, his ability to work across political spectrums, and his awareness and ability to understand the power of humor to often diffuse, distract, and always delight that has truly defined his success.”

JAMES CARVILLE, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL STRATEGIST
In more than four decades as president of The Land Institute, Wes Jackson became widely known as one of the founders of the sustainable agriculture movement for his work on perennial grains and Natural Systems Agriculture. But Jackson's contribution to contemporary intellectual and political life goes well beyond plant breeding. Ever since he created one of the first university environmental studies programs in the early 1970s, Jackson has been exploring the human predicaments around sustainability and justice, asking questions that pull not only on agriculture and ecology but also on politics, economics, and culture. That work has appeared in four sole-authored books by Jackson, but nowhere is there an accessible summary of his key ideas.

Robert Jensen provides a short, elegant introduction to Jackson's ideas on ways to provide humanity with a truly sustainable foundation in grain agriculture, presented in a way that connects to the growing concern about climate change and other ecological crises. Jackson's strength has been in generating new ideas and pushing the envelope not only on sustainable agriculture but also on the other dramatic changes necessary if we are to create a sustainable and just society. This volume helps the reader to organize those exciting ideas in a way that can expand the horizons of students and lay readers as well as challenge specialists in these fields.

In a time when critical thinking and clear understanding are desperately needed if we are to face the multiple, cascading ecological and social crises, The Restless and Relentless Mind of Wes Jackson presents Jackson's crucial insights about the natural world and human societies that can help provide a framework for understanding the tough decisions we will have to make. But just as important is the book's glimpse into the curiosity that drives Jackson and the creativity that distinguishes his intellectual and activist work.

Robert Jensen is professor emeritus in the School of Journalism at the University of Texas at Austin, and author of Plain Radical: Living, Loving, and Learning to Leave the Planet Gracefully, among many books.
Hogs Are Up: Stories of the Land, with Digressions reveals what makes Wes Jackson tick. What kind of lessons does he draw from his unique life experiences, and how do they shape his profoundly revolutionary worldview? Sometimes funny, sometimes wistful, always insightful, this volume demonstrates that when telling a good story, digressions can be the main point. Born during the Great Depression, Jackson tells stories of his youth on a diversified farm in the Kansas River Valley near Topeka, Kansas, culminating in more than forty years of leadership to radically transform agriculture, literally at its very roots. Wes Jackson draws deeply from the lessons learned from his experience dating from World War II to his work at The Land Institute to establish a new Natural Systems Agriculture. But this book is more than that. It includes an eclectic mix of thinkers and doers he’s met along the way.

Wes Jackson is heavily influenced by the cultural legacy of grandparents, all four of whom were born before the Civil War began, and from his parents, who were born before 1900. He was born into a culture of crop diversity where animals and people were out in the fields and around. He saw the tractor arrive and the horses leave. After you read Hogs Are Up: Stories of the Land, with Digressions you may share his misgivings about what conventional thinkers see as “progress.”

Jackson is constantly exploring the world around him and will engage anyone who can help him think about a discovery, an experiment, or recent insight. Jackson believes that our insights must go beyond the latest scholarly study and government report if we are to get the necessary interest for people to change. The stories and digressions he shares in Hogs Are Up are the fruit of a longtime effort to lay the agricultural and cultural foundation for a new worldview grounded in nature’s principles and located in rural communities able to survive through a new relationship of humanity to the ecosphere.

Wes Jackson is cofounder and president emeritus of The Land Institute in Salina, Kansas, and the author of numerous articles and books, including most recently Nature as Measure: The Selected Essays of Wes Jackson and Consulting the Genius of the Place: An Ecological Approach to a New Agriculture.

“Hogs Are Up offers life stories from a rare sort of intellectual in our urbanized, specialized, class-tiered society—one who puts his hands to earth and hammer, considers poetry and science in the same thought, and conducts his work from the homeland he refuses to abandon. Wes Jackson’s wisdom will make you think, and his voice will make you smile.”

Sarah Smarsh, author of Heartland: A Memoir of Working Hard and Being Broke in the Richest Country on Earth and She Came By It Natural: Dolly Parton and the Women Who Lived Her Songs

“Wes Jackson’s Hogs Are Up is a rich delight, abounding with stories that made me laugh, sigh, and share with the person sitting next to me.”

Kristin Ohlson, author of The Soil Will Save Us: How Scientists, Farmers, and Foodies Are Healing the Soil to Save the Planet
History Shock
When History Collides with Foreign Relations

John Dickson

For over twenty-five years John Dickson served the United States as a Foreign Service officer in North America, South America, the Caribbean, and Africa. In History Shock: When History Collides with Foreign Relations Dickson offers valuable insights into the daily life of a Foreign Service officer and the work of representing the United States. Dickson organizes History Shock around a country-by-country series of lively personal experience vignettes followed by compelling historical analyses of the ways in which his inadequate understanding of the host country’s history, particularly its prior history with the United States, combined with his lack of knowledge of his own nation’s history lead to history shock: where dramatically different interpretations of history blocked diplomatic understanding and cooperation.

John Dickson offers these “stories with a history” to highlight the interaction between history and foreign relations and to underscore the costs of not knowing the history of our partners and adversaries, much less our own. In both Mexico and Canada in particular our lack of knowledge and understanding of how our long history of military interventions continues to complicate our efforts at developing mutually beneficial relationships with our two closest neighbors. In Nigeria and South Africa, Dickson experienced firsthand how the history of racism in the United States plays out on a world stage and clouds our ability to effectively work with key African nations. Perhaps the starkest example of history shock, of two nations with deeply conflicted views of their own histories and their shared history, is another country near at hand, Cuba. Not all of the gaps are too wide for bridge building; in Peru, Dickson provides an example of how history can be deployed to mutual advantage.

The Foreign Service has long sought to improve its training, to provide some form of “playbook” or “operating manual” with systematic case studies for its officers. In History Shock Dickson provides not only a model for such case studies but also a unique contribution of an interpretive framework for how to remedy this deficit, including recommendations for strengthening historical literacy in the Foreign Service.

John Dickson is a retired Foreign Service officer with the US Information Agency from 1984–1999 and with the US State Department from 1999–2010. He lives in Pittsfield, Massachusetts.
Rural Rebellion
How Nebraska Became a Republican Stronghold
Ross Benes

After Ross Benes left Nebraska for New York, he witnessed his polite home state become synonymous with “Trump country.” Long dismissed as “flyover” land, the area where he was born and raised suddenly became the subject of TV features and frequent opinion columns. With the rural-urban divide overtaking the national conversation, Benes knew what he had to do: go home.

In Rural Rebellion, Benes explores Nebraska’s shifting political landscape to better understand what’s plaguing America. He clarifies how Nebraska defies red-state stereotypes while offering readers insights into how a frontier state with a tradition of nonpartisanship succumbed to the hardened right. Extensive interviews with US senators, representatives, governors, state lawmakers, and other power brokers illustrate how local disputes over healthcare coverage and education funding became microcosms for our current national crisis.

Rural Rebellion is also the story of one man coming to terms with both his past and present. Benes writes about the dissonance of moving from the most rural and conservative region of the country to its most liberal and urban centers as they grow further apart at a critical moment in history. He seeks to bridge America’s current political divides by contrasting the conservative values he learned growing up in a town of three hundred with those of his liberal acquaintances in New York City, where he now lives.

At a time when social and political differences are too often portrayed in stark binary terms, and people in the Trump-supporting heartland are depicted in reductive, one-dimensional ways, Benes tells real-life stories to add depth and nuance to our understanding of rural Americans’ attitudes about abortion, immigration, big government, and other contentious issues. His argument and conclusion are simple but powerful: that Americans in disparate places would be less hostile to one another if they just knew each other a little better. Part memoir, journalism, and social science, Rural Rebellion is a book for our times.

Ross Benes is the award-winning author of three books. He has written for Entertainment Weekly, Esquire, Lincoln Journal Star, Nation, Omaha World-Herald, Rolling Stone, Wall Street Journal, and more.

A native of Brainard, Nebraska, he now cheers on the Huskers from New York.

“Benes knows this Nebraska because he’s lived it and processed it, as a kid, a wannabe rock star, a college student, a football fan, a social scientist, and more. Now, he translates it. And he does it all with an intellect that forces us to rethink our suppositions about each other. A great read no matter where you are on the rural-urban or red-blue divides.”

Scott Winter, Associate Professor of Journalism, Bethel University, and Author of Nebraska Basketball: Coach Tim Miles and a Big Ten Team on the Rise

“Raised as I was in Kansas, I’ve entertained theories of how my neighboring state became such a bastion of Trump support. This engaging book by a writer who knows Nebraska firsthand explains why, and in so doing enriches our understanding of rural America.”

Robert Wuthnow, Gerhard R. Andlinger ’52 Professor of Sociology, Princeton University

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NEW BOOKS


Edited by Bill Kauffman
Foreword by Albert R. Hunt

Barber B. Conable, Jr.—perhaps the most respected member of Congress of his era—kept a frank, insightful, revealing journal available now for the first time thanks to the efforts of editor Bill Kauffman in The Congressional Journal of Barber B. Conable, Jr., 1968–1984.

The journal is an honest, searching, sometimes humorous, occasionally cutting, and always fascinating look inside Congress. Conable, a Republican member of the House from upstate New York, wrote perceptively about Presidents Nixon, Ford, H. W. Bush, and the leading congressional figures of the day. For seventeen years he wrote about the big events as well as daily political life in an era that included Vietnam, Watergate, political realignment, and major changes in entitlements and taxes, where he played a key role.

Displaying his gift for clear expression and astute insight, Conable narrates the machinations of major tax measures, trade bills, and such special interests of his as public financing of congressional campaigns. While he is never shy about expressing personal judgments, he revels in the give and take of legislative politics. Conable had an acute sense of the human dynamics of legislating: In addition to the tax bills he shaped and struggled with as the leading Republican on the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, his work with the 1982–1983 Social Security Commission, led by Alan Greenspan, is a classic exercise. Conable thought a deal was critical for the solvency of the Social Security Trust Fund but politically almost impossible given the differing priorities of the chief protagonists, President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O’Neill. In the journal Conable pronounces the effort doomed on January 13, 1983. Two days later he marvels at the political and personal dexterity and skill that ended up producing a deal.

The journal illuminates Conable’s intellect, his commitment to his constituents, and his appreciation of principled pragmatism; his writings are in real time, not rendered retrospectively to make himself look better, a rarity among political legacies.

Bill Kaufman is the author of eleven books, among them Dispatches from the Muckdog Gazette and Look Homeward, America. He also wrote the screenplay for the feature film Copperhead. Bill lives in his native Genesee County, New York, several miles up Route 98 from the old Conable home.
The Uses and Misuses of Politics
Karl Rove and the Bush Presidency
William G. Mayer

The Uses and Misuses of Politics is a detailed examination of the politics of George W. Bush's presidency, focusing on the work—and the mistakes—of presidential political advisor Karl Rove. In his role as political advisor Karl Rove stands apart from his numerous counterparts in modern American politics in three major ways. The first measure of Rove’s distinctiveness is the totality of his direction over Bush’s political career. Simply put, George W. Bush never won an election, of any kind, in which Rove was not the dominant, even sole, campaign strategist.

A second important difference between Karl Rove and other major presidential campaign strategists was the role that Rove played in helping formulate policy after Bush became president. In fact, Rove became the first presidential aide to both provide political advice to a sitting president while at the same time controlling the policy levers inside the White House, especially as an advocate for his own agenda in the areas of domestic policy. Finally, Karl Rove is noteworthy for the scope of his ambitions: his goal for the Bush presidency was to create a durable Republican majority that would dominate American politics for the next several decades.

Even though theories of party systems and realignments have received serious challenges, Karl Rove was a believer, which provides a key insight into how he approached his work with the Bush presidency. Where previous realignments were the result of historical accidents and recognized only after the fact, Karl Rove believed he could engineer the next one.

In The Uses and Misuses of Politics William G. Mayer analyzes Karl Rove’s performance as presidential advisor: the roles he played, the advice he gave, and how the Republican Party fared with Rove as its principal strategist. By offering the reader a comprehensive assessment, Mayer provides valuable insight into the larger, enduring, and critical questions: What is the proper role of politics in the contemporary presidency? When does politics enhance a nation’s long-term welfare, and what does it detract from it? And what positive contributions can political advisors make to a modern-day president?

William G. Mayer is professor of political science at Northeastern University, and the author of numerous articles and books, including The Changing American Mind.

"An insightful examination of the mastermind behind George W. Bush’s presidency. William G. Mayer’s grasp of Karl Rove’s strategic vision, however flawed, is second to none. Mayer’s interpretation is likely to remain the authoritative account of the architect of a ‘durable’ Republican realignment that vanished before George W. Bush even left the White House.”

Stephen F. Knott, author of The Lost Soul of the American Presidency: The Decline into Demagoguery and the Prospects for Renewal

“This book demonstrates the critical importance of executive leadership in White House decision-making to ensure clearly defined responsibilities for political strategists and policy makers.”

Meena Bose, Peter S. Kalikow Chair in Presidential Studies and professor of political science, Hofstra University
Highway Robbery
The Two-Decade Battle to Reform America’s Automobile Insurance System

Peter Kinzler

“In Highway Robbery Peter Kinzler delivers a fast-paced behind-the-scenes account of two federal legislative efforts twenty years apart—one from the political left and one from the right—to reform America’s auto insurance system to make it fairer and more affordable. He explains how the legislation was designed to achieve those objectives and describes the political challenge of trying to overcome the entrenched special interest opposition of those who stood to lose billions—trial lawyers and insurers—if the new no-fault system were adopted.

Highway Robbery provides readers with both a primer on how fault and liability auto insurance, no-fault, and no-fault choice insurance policies work and who benefits most from which system. Peter Kinzler, with years of experience as a congressional staffer and in the private sector, is the perfect guide through these important policy and political fights, enlivened with revealing firsthand sketches of the legislators, staffers, academics, and lobbyists who played major roles in these attempts as well as their interplay with each other. Drawing upon his decades of engagement with the issues, Kinzler shows how thoughtful and skilled members of Congress, good staff, and thorough academic research can lay the groundwork for important reform legislation; in doing so he provides a model for restoring Congress’s effectiveness, whenever it chooses to resume exercising its constitutional authority as the legislative branch of government.

Highway Robbery details how the trial bar used the levers of political power first to undermine state no-fault laws and then to use the weaknesses they had implemented in the laws to undermine passage of federal legislation. It also describes the surprising alliance in opposition between the trial bar and famed consumer advocate Ralph Nader. No-fault continues to hold the promise of better compensation and dramatic premium reductions, with the largest savings available to those who need them most—low- and moderate-income drivers. The most likely scenario for further federal consideration of auto insurance reform would be in the context of congressional action on universal health insurance. Peter Kinzler served for twenty-five years as a staffer in the US House of Representatives and the US Senate, most as a subcommittee counsel, and for ten years in the private sector as president of the Coalition for Auto-Insurance Reform. He is the retired president of Kinzler Consulting and lives in Alexandria, Virginia.
The Last Liberal Republican
An Insider’s Perspective on Nixon’s Surprising Social Policy
John Roy Price

The Last Liberal Republican is a memoir from one of Nixon’s senior domestic policy advisors. John Roy Price—a member of the moderate wing of the Republican Party, a cofounder of the Ripon Society, and an employee on Nelson Rockefeller’s campaigns—joined Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and later John D. Ehrlichman, in the Nixon White House to develop domestic policies, especially on welfare, hunger, and health. Based on those policies, and the internal White House struggles around them, Price places Nixon firmly in the liberal Republican tradition of President Theodore Roosevelt, New York governor Thomas E. Dewey, and President Eisenhower.

Price makes a valuable contribution to our evolving scholarship and understanding of the Nixon presidency. Nixon himself lamented that he would be remembered only for Watergate and China. The Last Liberal Republican provides firsthand insight into key moments regarding Nixon’s political and policy challenges in the domestic social policy arena. Price offers rich detail on the extent to which Nixon and his staff straddled a precarious balance between a Democratic-controlled Congress and an increasingly powerful conservative tide in Republican politics.

The Last Liberal Republican provides a blow-by-blow inside view of how Nixon surprised the Democrats and shocked conservatives with his ambitious proposal for a guaranteed family income. Beyond Nixon’s surprising embrace of what we today call universal basic income, the thirty-seventh president reordered and vastly expanded the patchy food stamp program he inherited and built nutrition education and children’s food services into schools. Richard Nixon even almost achieved a national health insurance program: fifty years ago, with a private sector framework as part of his generous benefits insurance coverage for all, Nixon included coverage of preexisting conditions, prescription drug coverage for all, and federal subsidies for those who could not afford the premiums.

The Last Liberal Republican will be a valuable resource for presidency scholars who are studying Nixon, his policies, the state of the Republican Party, and how the Nixon years relate to the rise of the modern conservative movement.

John Roy Price is the retired president and CEO of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Pittsburgh. During the first Nixon administration he was special assistant to the president of the United States and executive secretary of the Council for Urban Affairs and of the Council for Rural Affairs.

“John Roy Price’s The Last Liberal Republican is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the Nixon presidency as well as the presidential/congressional relationship as it relates to domestic policymaking. Price’s memoir not only explains the domestic policy agenda during a seminal point in American history but also shows how a Republican president worked with a Democratic Congress to revise and expand parts of the New Deal and Great Society agendas. Price’s ability to illustrate the policy battles as they played out on the political front-lines makes this book essential reading.”

Lori Cox Han, author of Advising Nixon: The White House Memos of Patrick J. Buchanan

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INTRODUCING A NEW SERIES

Studies in US Religion, Politics, and Law

Leslie C. Griffin, Laura R. Olson, and Tisa Wenger, series editors

Religion, politics, and law are as tightly and dynamically entwined as ever in contemporary American life. Instead of fading away in the postindustrial world as many suspected, religion continues to exert a powerful sociocultural influence that closely intersects with and is co-constituted by politics and law. These trends create exciting new opportunities for cross-disciplinary conversation and collaboration. Building on the existing strengths at the University Press of Kansas, Studies in US Religion, Politics, and Law is a new book series that advances a profoundly and intentionally interdisciplinary dialogue about the historical and contemporary relationships among religion, law, and politics in the United States.

The editors are looking for innovative and accessibly written books that advance constructive and critical conversations in the fields of religious studies, political science, and legal scholarship. The editors seek books that will break out of the academic silos that prevent scholars from speaking across disciplinary lines. While not every volume will address all three areas, volumes in this series should show attention to the way religion, politics, and law are co-constituted in US cultural institutions and practices.

SERIES EDITORS

Prospective authors should send proposals to the series editors and/or to David Congdon, acquisitions editor at the University Press of Kansas: dcongdon@ku.edu

Leslie C. Griffin is the William S. Boyd Professor of Law at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Laura R. Olson is the J. Strom Thurmond Professor of Political Science and director of the PhD program in Policy Studies at Clemson University.

Tisa Wenger is associate professor of American religious history at Yale Divinity School, with courtesy appointments in American studies and religious studies at Yale University.
In John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Faith, Patrick Lacroix explores the intersection of religion and politics in the era of Kennedy's presidency. In doing so, Lacroix challenges the established view that the postwar religious revival disappeared when President Eisenhower left office and that the contentious election of 1960, which carried John F. Kennedy to the White House, struck a definitive blow to anti-Catholic prejudice. Where most studies on the origins of the Christian right trace their emergence to the first battles of the culture wars of the late 1960s and early 1970s, echoing the Christian right's own assertion that the "secular sixties" was a decade of waning religiosity in which faith-based groups largely eschewed political engagement, Lacroix persuasively argues for the Kennedy years as an important moment in the arc of American religious history. Lacroix analyzes the numerous ways in which faith-based engagement with politics and politicians’ efforts to mobilize denominational groups did not evaporate in the early 1960s. Rather, the civil rights movement, major Supreme Court rulings, events in Rome, and Kennedy's own approach to recurrent religious controversy reshaped the landscape of faith and politics in the period.

Kennedy lived up to the pledge he made to the country in Houston in 1960 with a genuine commitment to the separation of church and state with his stance on aid to education, his willingness to reverse course with the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development, and his outreach to Protestant and Jewish clergy. The remarks he offered at the National Prayer Breakfast and in countless other settings had the cumulative effect of diminishing long-standing anxieties about Catholic power. In his own way, Kennedy demanded of Protestants that they live up to their own much-vaunted commitment to church-state separation. This principle could not mean one thing for Catholics and something entirely different for other people of faith. American Protestants could not consistently oppose public funding for religious schools—because those schools were overwhelmingly Catholic—while defending religious exercises in public schools.

Lacroix reveals how close the country came, during the Kennedy administration, to a satisfactory solution to the fundamental religious challenge of the postwar years—the public accommodation of pluralism—as Kennedy came to embrace a nascent "religious left" that supported his civil rights bill and the nuclear test ban treaty.

Patrick Lacroix lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.

“John F. Kennedy's Catholicism has often been seen as merely a surmountable barrier to election. In fact, as Patrick Lacroix capably demonstrates, Kennedy’s religious engagement supplies a missing piece to histories of American Catholicism and to dominant narratives about the decline of the religious left and rise of the religious right. Lacroix reveals Kennedy as a catalyst for midcentury religious realignment and a figure who demands reconsideration.”

Elesha Coffman, author of The Christian Century and the Rise of the Protestant Mainline

“Lacroix has made an important contribution to our understanding of the Kennedy legacy and of the 1960s.”

Jason K. Duncan, author of John F. Kennedy: The Spirit of Cold War Liberalism
The Making of Reverse Discrimination

How *DeFunis* and *Bakke* Bleached Racism from Equal Protection

Ellen Messer-Davidow

“We can only hope that Ellen Messer-Davidow’s brilliant exposé will contribute to reinstituting the betrayed imperative of dismantling ongoing white supremacy and one day achieving a racially egalitarian society.”

**Charles W. Mills**, Distinguished Professor of Philosophy at the Graduate Center, City University of New York

“The history of affirmative action efforts to redress racial imbalances in college admissions has been chronicled before, but never with the massive detail and theoretical sophistication Ellen Messer-Davidow deploys in this important new book.”

**Stanley Fish**, Floersheimer Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University

In *The Making of Reverse Discrimination* Ellen Messer-Davidow offers a fresh and incisive analysis of the legal-judicial discourse of *DeFunis v. Odegaard* (1974) and *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), the first two cases challenging race-conscious admissions to professional schools to reach the US Supreme Court. While the voluminous literature on *DeFunis* and *Bakke* has focused on the Supreme Court’s far from definitive answers to important constitutional questions, Messer-Davidow closely examines each case from beginning to end. She investigates the social surrounds where the cases incubated, their tours through the courts, and their aftereffects. Her analysis shows how lawyers and judges used the mechanisms of language and law to narrow the conflict to a single white male applicant and a single white-dominated university program to dismiss the historical, sociological, statistical, and experiential facts of “systemic racism” and thereby to assemble “reverse discrimination” as a new object of legal analysis.

In exposing the discursive mechanisms that marginalized the interests of applicants and communities of color, Messer-Davidow demonstrates that the construction of facts, the reasoning by precedent, and the invocation of constitutional principles deserve more scrutiny than they have received in the scholarly literature. Although facts, precedents, and principles are said to bring stability and equity to the law, Messer-Davidow argues that the white-centered narratives of *DeFunis* and *Bakke* not only bleached the color from equal protection but also served as the template for the dozens of anti-affirmative action projects—lawsuits, voter referenda, executive orders—that conservative movement organizations mounted in the following years.

Ellen Messer-Davidow is professor of English, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, and an affiliate faculty member in the Departments of Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies; Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature; and American Studies. She is the author of *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse* and coeditor of *Knowledges: Historical and Critical Studies in Disciplinarity.*
The Journey to Separate but Equal
Madame Decuir’s Quest for Racial Justice in the Reconstruction Era

Jack M. Beermann

In The Journey to Separate but Equal: Madame Decuir’s Quest for Racial Justice in the Reconstruction Era, Jack Beermann tells the story of how, in Hall v. Decuir, the post–Civil War US Supreme Court took its first step toward perpetuating the subjugation of the non-White population of the United States by actively preventing a Southern state from prohibiting segregation on a riverboat in the coasting trade on the Mississippi River. The Journey to Separate but Equal offers the first complete exploration of Hall v. Decuir, with an in-depth look at the case’s record; the lives of the parties, lawyers, and judges; and the case’s social context in 1870s Louisiana. The book centers around the remarkable story of Madame Josephine Decuir and the lawsuit she pursued because she had been illegally barred from the cabin reserved for White women on the Governor Allen riverboat.

The drama of Madame Decuir’s fight against segregation’s denial of her dignity as a human and particularly as a woman enriches our understanding of the Reconstruction era, especially in Louisiana, including political and legal changes that occurred during that time and the plight of people of color who were freed from slavery but denied their dignity and rights as American citizens. Hall v. Decuir spanned the pivotal period of 1872–1878, during which White segregationist Democrats “redeemed” the South from Republican control. The Supreme Court’s ruling in Hall overturned the application of an 1869 Louisiana statute prohibiting racial segregation in Madame Decuir’s case because of the status of the Mississippi River as a mode of interstate commerce. The decision represents a crucial precedent that established the legal groundwork for the entrenchment of Jim Crow in the law of the United States, leading directly to the Court’s adoption of “separate but equal” in Plessy v. Ferguson.

Jack M. Beermann is professor of law and Harry Elwood Warren Scholar, Boston University School of Law, and the author of numerous articles on the legal history of the civil rights era.

“Thanks to this book, the little-remembered Supreme Court rejection of state antidiscrimination laws and the valiant but unsuccessful efforts of Josephine Decuir and her lawyers take their rightful place in the crucial reckoning with vigorous federal destruction of equal treatment in the United States. Read this book to understand how ‘technicalities’ of inheritance law practice, the ‘dormant Commerce Clause,’ and Southern transportation policies mixed with White status desires to block equal treatment laws and to create the ‘separate but equal’ regime.”

Martha Minow, 300th Anniversary University Professor and former dean of Harvard Law School, and author of In Brown’s Wake: Legacies of America’s Educational Landmark
Roe v. Wade
The Abortion Rights Controversy in American History
Third Updated Edition

N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer

Few Supreme Court decisions have stirred up as much controversy, vitriolic debate, and even violence as Roe v. Wade in 1973. Four decades later, it remains a touchstone for the culture wars in the United States and a pivot upon which much of our politics turns. With that in mind, N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer have taken stock of the abortion debates, controversies, and cases that have emerged during the past decade in order to update their best-selling book on this landmark case.

As with the first two editions, this book details the case’s historical background; highlights Roe v. Wade’s core issues, essential personalities, and key precedents; tracks the case’s path through the courts; clarifies the jurisprudence behind the Court’s ruling in Roe; assesses the impact of the presidential elections of George W. Bush and Barack Obama along with the confirmations of Chief Justice John Roberts, Justice Samuel Alito, and Justice Sonia Sotomayor; and gauges the case’s impact on American society and subsequent challenges to it in Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989), Planned Parenthood v. Casey (1992), and Gonzales v. Carhart (2007). This third updated edition also adds two completely new chapters covering abortion politics and legal battles in Obama’s second term and Donald J. Trump’s first term.

The new material covers two important cases in detail: Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt (2016) and June Medical Services, LLC v. Russo (2020). The cases dealt with state laws—Texas and Louisiana, respectively—designed to limit access to abortion by requiring doctors performing abortions to have admission privileges at a state-authorized hospital within thirty miles of the abortion clinic. In both cases the Court ruled the laws unconstitutional, thus handing abortion rights’ activists key victories in the face of an increasingly conservative Court. The new chapters also cover the confirmations of Justices Elena Kagan, Neil Gorsuch, and Brett Kavanaugh as well as the heated political environment surrounding the Court in the age of Trump.

N. E. H. Hull is distinguished professor emerita of law at Rutgers Law School.

Peter Charles Hoffer is distinguished research professor of history at the University of Georgia.
American by Birth
Wong Kim Ark and the Battle for Citizenship
Carol Nackenoff and Julie Novkov

American by Birth explores the history and legacy of Wong Kim Ark and the 1898 Supreme Court case that bears his name, which established the automatic citizenship of individuals born within the geographic boundaries of the United States. In the late nineteenth century, much like the present, the United States was a difficult, and at times threatening, environment for people of color. Chinese immigrants, invited into the United States in the 1850s and 1860s as laborers and merchants, faced a wave of hostility that played out in organized private violence, discriminatory state laws, and increasing congressional efforts to throttle immigration and remove many long-term residents. The federal courts, backed by the Supreme Court, supervised the development of an increasingly restrictive and exclusionary immigration regime that targeted Chinese people. This was the situation faced by Wong Kim Ark, who had been born in San Francisco in the 1870s and who earned his living as a cook. Like many members of the Chinese community in the American West he maintained ties to China. He traveled there more than once, carrying required re-entry documents, but when he attempted to return to the United States after a journey from 1894 to 1895, he was refused entry and detained. Protesting that he was a citizen and therefore entitled to come home, he challenged the administrative decision in court. Remarkably, the Supreme Court granted him victory.

This victory was important for Wong Kim Ark, for the ethnic Chinese community in the United States, and for all immigrant communities then and to this day. Though the principle had links to seventeenth-century English common law and in the United States back to well before the American Civil War, the Supreme Court’s ruling was significant because it both inscribed the principle in constitutional terms and clarified that it extended even to the children of immigrants who were legally barred from becoming citizens. American by Birth is a richly detailed account of the case and its implications in the ongoing conflicts over race and immigration in US history; it also includes a discussion of current controversies over limiting the scope of birthright citizenship.

Carol Nackenoff is the Richter Professor of Political Science at Swarthmore College.

Julie Novkov is professor of political science and women’s, gender, and sexuality studies at the University at Albany, State University of New York.

“We have long needed a biography of Wong Kim Ark, and American by Birth delivers. It’s the history of American citizenship, the tireless efforts of one man and his lawyers to challenge cruel and racist policies, and Wong Kim Ark’s continuing legacy today. Nackenoff and Novkov’s timely book is a must-read!”

Erika Lee, author of America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States and director of the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota.

“Carol Nackenoff and Julie Novkov deftly trace the multiple origins of birthright citizenship and its sprawling consequences for American society.”


NEW BOOKS
“An important contribution to the literature on military detention in the post-9/11 era. Professor Burnep persuasively describes the impact of litigation and courts on the United States’ confinement and treatment of alleged enemy combatants.”

JONATHAN HAFETZ, PROFESSOR OF LAW, SETON HALL LAW SCHOOL

“This is an exceptionally well-written book that will be a valuable source for scholars, students, and, indeed, anyone interested in these issues.”

CHRIS EDELSON, AUTHOR OF POWER WITHOUT CONSTRAINT: THE POST-9/11 PRESIDENCY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

On June 28, 2004, the US Supreme Court broke with a long-standing tradition of deference to the executive in wartime national security cases and became an important actor in an armed conflict. By declining to rubber-stamp the executive branch’s actions, the judiciary would henceforth play a major role in shaping national security policies in the war on terror. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, lawyers, lawsuits, and court decisions have repeatedly altered the landscape in the policy areas of detention and military commissions. In Courts at War Gregory Burnep explores how, after 9/11, lawyers and judges became deeply involved in an armed conflict, with important consequences for presidential authority, the separation of powers, and the treatment of individuals suspected of posing a threat to the United States.

Courts at War goes beyond the post-9/11 armed conflict. It analyzes the changes in the position of courts vis-à-vis the other branches of government (courts in conflict with the executive, the legislature, or both)—even courts in conflict with other courts. The consequences included increased checks on presidential authority and greater levels of due process for suspected belligerents held in US custody. But Burnep also shows that there are unintended consequences that accompany these developments.

Burnep innovatively applies an interbranch perspective to persuasively argue that litigation and judicial involvement have important implications for changing patterns of policy development in a wide range of national security policy areas, including surveillance, interrogation, targeted killings, and President Trump’s travel ban.

Gregory Burnep is assistant professor of political science, College of the Holy Cross.
The Fourth Branch
Reconstructing the Administrative State for the Commercial Republic
Brian J. Cook

In The Fourth Branch: Reconstructing the Administrative State for the Commercial Republic Brian J. Cook confronts head-on the accumulating derangements in the American constitutional system and how the administrative state has contributed to the problems, how it has been a key force in addressing the troubles, and how it can be reformed to serve the system better. The Fourth Branch is anchored in a powerful theory of regime design that guides a freshly comprehensive account of the historical development of successive political economies and administrative states in the United States and provides the normative grounding for more far-reaching constitutional change. Cook calls for a decisive, pattern-breaking response in the form of a constitutional redesign to accommodate a fourth branch, an administrative branch. The Fourth Branch shows that the creation of a fourth administrative branch is consistent with the history and traditions of American constitutionalism. Far more than that, however, the addition of a fourth branch could enhance American constitutionalism by making the separation of powers work better, increasing the likelihood that deliberative lawmaking will occur, strengthening civic capacity and public engagement in governance, and improving both accountability and coordination in the administrative state.

By stressing that the administrative state in its current form is both biased toward business and seriously undermined by subordination to the three constitutional branches, Cook contends that neither abandoning the administrative state nor more deeply constitutionalizing or democratizing it within the existing constitutional structure is sufficient to fully legitimate and capitalize on administrative power to serve the public interest. Rather, Cook argues that it is imperative to confront the reality that a fundamental reordering of constitutional arrangements is necessary if the American commercial republic is to recover from its growing disorder and progress further toward its aspirations of liberal justice and limited but vigorous self-rule.


“This unflinching call for a formal reordering of constitutional authority seeks to reclaim the value of a commercial republic of an administrative arm with integrity of its own. Acutely attuned to the degraded state in which we find administration today, Cook jolts our faith in the adaptability of the three-branch design of American government and dispels the illusion that we can accommodate administrative authority by simply jerry-rigging the Constitution of the framers.”

Stephen Skowronek, Pelatiah Perit Professor of Political and Social Science, Yale University

“Cook’s project is a must-read for scholars, policy makers, and jurists alike.”

Jon Michaels, professor of law, University of California, Los Angeles, and author of Constitutional Coup: Privatization’s Threat to the American Republic

288 pages, 6 x 9
Studies in Government and Public Policy
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3207-7, $37.50(s)
“With its balanced, evidence-based approach, this book is required reading for anyone seeking a top-notch scholarly analysis of the Trump administration.”

JEFFREY CROUCH, coauthor of The Unitary Executive Theory: A Danger to Constitutional Government

“The Unorthodox Presidency of Donald J. Trump explores the myriad ways in which candidate, and then president, Trump exemplifies a nontraditional version of US politics. As a candidate he eschewed the norms of campaign procedure, and, in the worst cases, human decency, in favor of a rough-and-tumble, take-no-prisoners approach that appealed to those who felt marginalized in a changing society. Though the constitutional design of the presidency has seen political outsiders rise to the office of the presidency before and maintain stability, never before has a candidate so alien to political norms risen to the highest office. The presidency of Donald Trump represents the most significant challenge in the history of the United States to whether the constitutional design and boundaries on the office of the presidency can survive the test of an occupant who is antithetical to everything in its past. The editors and their contributors highlight how Trump’s actions present direct challenges to the US presidency that have fully exposed and exacerbated long-held problems with checks and balances and led to questions regarding the potential for permanent effects of the Trump presidency on the Oval Office.

The Unorthodox Presidency of Donald J. Trump is organized into three sections. The first section analyzes the Trump presidency in the context of US elections, including Trump as a candidate, the 2016 presidential election, the 2018 midterm elections, and the right-wing populism that helped him get elected. The second section focuses on the how the election results and the associated political context have affected President Trump’s opportunity to govern and the effect Trump has had on US political institutions: the legislative branch, the federal courts, the bureaucracy, the media, and organized interest groups. The final section examines Trump and public policy, with a focus on his disruptive version of foreign policy and his use of the domestic budget as a political football, such as the constitutionally questionable sequestration and redirection of budgetary funds provided for defense to the building of the border wall and his penchant for deficit spending, making Trump the greatest deficit spender in the history of the republic.

Paul E. Rutledge is associate professor of political science, University of West Georgia. Chapman Rackaway is professor of political science, University of West Georgia.
The Rhetoric of Donald Trump
Nationalist Populism and American Democracy
Robert C. Rowland

The Rhetoric of Donald Trump identifies and analyzes the nationalist and populist themes that dominate the rhetoric of President Trump and links those themes to a persona that has evolved from celebrity outsider to presidential strongman. In the process Robert C. Rowland explains how the nationalist populism and strongman persona in turn demands a vernacular rhetorical style unlike any previous modern president—a style that makes no attempt to lay out a case, requires constant lies, and breaks every norm for how a presidential candidate or president should talk. In stark contrast, our most effective presidents have used rhetoric to present a positive vision of what the nation could achieve. The three most effective presidential uses of rhetoric in the past century—FDR, Reagan, and Obama—all presented a coherent ideological message that, while focused on problems of the moment, was also rooted in a fundamental optimism. In contrast, Trump's message is fundamentally negative.

The Rhetoric of Donald Trump explores how the nation could so abruptly shift from a president such as Barack Obama, who emphasized the audacity of hope, to one who in his inaugural address spoke about “American carnage.” At its core, Trump's message is well designed to appeal to voters with an authoritarian personality structure, especially in the white working-class, who feel threatened by the pace of societal change, especially demographic change. Rowland's work illustrates how President Trump’s ceremonial speeches violate norms calling for a message of national unity and instead present a divisive message designed to create strongly negative emotions, especially fear and hate. It further reveals how Trump sustains those strong visceral reactions with his use of Twitter to make the rally atmosphere a daily reality for his supporters, a prime example being the Coronavirus Task Force briefings, which he transformed from an exercise in desperately needed public health education into a partisan rally.

The Rhetoric of Donald Trump is essential reading for scholars, students, and the informed citizen to understand how Trump’s rhetoric of nationalist populism with a strongman persona undermines basic principles at the heart of American democracy.

Robert C. Rowland is professor of communication studies, University of Kansas, and coauthor of Reagan at Westminster: Foreshadowing the End of the Cold War.

“The author provides a refreshingly clear-eyed, deeply informed, and rigorously argued examination of the phenomenon that is Donald Trump. Rowland is especially helpful in exploring the relationship between the particulars of Trump’s language practices and their more general implications for populism, democracy, and the American presidency. This is a work of singular achievement.”

Stephen Howard Browne, professor of communication arts and sciences, Pennsylvania State University, and author of The First Inauguration: George Washington and the Invention of the Republic

“Rowland also points to the grave dangers that Trump's rhetoric pose to American democracy.”

Denise M. Bostdorff, author of The Presidency and the Rhetoric of Foreign Crisis and Proclaiming the Truman Doctrine: The Cold War Call to Arms

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
Southern First Ladies
Culture and Place in White House History

Edited by Katherine A. S. Sibley

“This unique study encourages all of us to examine the influence of place in the evolution of the role of first lady. With varying degrees of ‘Southernness,’ the women included in this volume provide wonderful examples of the subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle impact of locality on national institutions.”

Mary C. Brennan, dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Texas State University, and author of Pat Nixon: Embattled First Lady

“The book is well researched, richly detailed, and elegantly written. Southern First Ladies is a welcome addition to the growing scholarship on presidents’ wives.”

Jill Abraham Hummer, author of First Ladies and American Women: In Politics and at Home

Southern First Ladies explores the ways in which geographical and cultural backgrounds molded a group of influential first ladies. The contributors to this volume use the lens of “Southernness” to define and better understand the cultural attributes, characteristics, actions, and activism of seventeen first ladies from Martha Washington to Laura Bush.

The first ladies defined in this volume as Southern were either all born in the South—specifically, the former states of the Confederacy or their slaveholding neighbors like Missouri—or else lived in those states for a significant portion of their adult lives (women like Julia Tyler, Hillary Clinton, and Barbara Bush).

Southern climates indelibly shaped these women and, in turn, a number of enduring White House traditions. Along with the standards of proper behavior and ceremonial customs and hospitality demanded by notions of Southern white womanhood, some of which they successfully resisted or subverted, early first ladies including Martha Washington, Dolley Madison, Julia Tyler, and Sarah Polk were also shaped by racially based societal and cultural constraints typical of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of which have persisted to the present day.

The first nine women in this volume, from Martha Washington to Julia Grant, all enslaved others during their lives, inside or outside the White House. Among the seven first ladies in the book’s last section, Ellen Wilson, for example, was profoundly influenced by the reformist ethos of the Progressive Era and set an example for activism that five of her Southern successors—Lady Bird Johnson, Rosalynn Carter, Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton, and Laura Bush—all emulated. By contrast, Ellen’s immediate successor in the White House, Edith Wilson, enthusiastically celebrated the “Lost Cause.”

Southern First Ladies is the first volume to comprehensively emphasize the significance of Southerness and a Southern background in the history and work of first ladies, and Southerness’ long-standing influence for the development of this position in the White House as well as outside of it.

Katherine A. S. Sibley is professor of history and director of the American studies program at Saint Joseph’s University, and is the author of First Lady Florence Harding: Behind the Tragedy and Controversy.
William Howard Taft’s Constitutional Progressivism

Kevin J. Burns

In William Howard Taft’s Constitutional Progressivism Kevin J. Burns makes a compelling case that Taft’s devotion to the Constitution of 1787 contributed to his progressivism. In contrast to the majority of scholarship, which has viewed Taft as a reactionary conservative because of his constitutionalism, Burns explores the ways Taft’s commitment to both the Constitution and progressivism drove his political career and the decisions he made as president and chief justice. Taft saw the Constitution playing a positive role in American political life, recognizing that it created a national government strong enough to enact broad progressive reforms.

In reevaluating Taft’s career, Burns highlights how Taft rejected the “laisser faire school,” which taught that “the Government ought to do nothing but run a police force.” Recognizing that the massive industrial changes following the Civil War had created a plethora of socioeconomic ills, Taft worked to expand the national government’s initiatives in the fields of trust-busting, land conservation, tariff reform, railroad regulations, and worker safety laws. Burns offers a fuller understanding of Taft and his political project by emphasizing Taft’s belief that the Constitution could play a constructive role in American political life by empowering the government to act and by undergirding and protecting the reform legislation the government implemented. Moreover, Taft recognized that if the Constitution could come to the aid of progressivism, political reform might also redound to the benefit of the Constitution by showing its continued relevance and workability in modern America.

Although Taft’s efforts to promote significant policy-level reforms attest to his progressivism, his major contribution to American political thought is his understanding of the US Constitution as a fundamental law, not a policy-oriented document. In many ways Taft can be thought of as an originalist, yet his originalism was marked by a belief in robust national powers. Taft’s constitutionalism remains relevant because while his principles seem foreign to modern legal discourse, his constitutional vision offers an alternative to contemporary political divisions by combining political progressivism-liberalism with constitutional conservatism.

Kevin J. Burns is an assistant professor of political science and economics, Christendom College, Front Royal, Virginia, and coeditor of Readings in American Government, Tenth Edition.

“A comprehensive and convincing study of Taft’s progressive credentials. Taft as president and as chief justice vindicated the state-building capacity of the federal government to express and institute an articulate national will through a reformed Republican Party.”

EDDON J. EISENACH, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EMERITUS, UNIVERSITY OF TULSA

“This is an important contribution to understanding both Taft and Progressive Era politics.”


William Howard Taft’s Constitutional Progressivism
KEVIN J. BURNS

MAY
248 pages, 6 x 9
American Political Thought
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3211-4, $37.50(s)

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
“Peter Charles Hoffer takes the reader on a fascinating tour of a central figure in early American constitutional development. Daniel Webster and the Unfinished Constitution details the constitutional, political, and historical significance of Webster’s speeches and writings in ways that highlight how the Massachusetts Whig, allied with John Marshall and Joseph Story, helped convert an ambiguous Constitution into the fundamental law of the United States.”

MARK A. GABERS, REGENTS PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, FRANCIS KING CAREY SCHOOL OF LAW

“Hoffer’s new book offers a timely perspective on Webster and his commitment to the rule of law.”

DANIEL WALKER HOWE, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Daniel Webster and the Unfinished Constitution reveals Webster as the foremost constitutional lawyer of his day. Peter Charles Hoffer builds a persuasive case that Webster was more than a skilled practitioner who rose rapidly from his hardscrabble New Hampshire origins. Hoffer thoroughly documents the ways in which Webster was an innovative jurist. While Chief Justice John Marshall gets credit for much of our early constitutional jurisprudence, in fact in a series of key cases Marshall simply borrowed Webster’s oral and written arguments.

For Webster, Marshall, and many lawyers and jurists of their day, professions of adherence to the Constitution were universal. Yet they knew that the Constitution could not be fixed in time; its text needed to be read in light of the rapidly transforming early republic and antebellum eras or it would become irrelevant. As Chief Justice Marshall explained in Bank of the United States v. Deveaux (1809): “A constitution, from its nature, deals in generals, not in detail. Its framers cannot perceive minute distinctions which arise in the progress of the nation, and therefore confine it to the establishment of broad and general principles.” But were these “broad and general principles” themselves fixed? For Webster there were landmarks: the Contract Clause and the Commerce Clause. While others were exploring and surveying the Northwest Territory and the Louisiana Purchase, Webster set out to map the unmarked spaces in the constitutional and legal landscape.

Peter Charles Hoffer provides an insightful and timely study of how Webster’s analysis of three key constitutional issues is relevant to today’s constitutional conflicts: the relationship between law and politics, between public policy and private rights, and between the federal government and the states, all of which remain contentious in our constitutional jurisprudence and crucial to our constitutional order.

In *The American Road* Katherine M. Johnson develops a bold new theory for how the American highway system has taken on such outsized scale and complexity by emphasizing the emergence of a powerful administrative apparatus in the American federal system. Established in 1914 expressly to intervene in the congressional debates of the era, the American highway bureaucracy consisted of forty-eight state highway officials acting in and through their self-organized association, the American Association of State Highway Officials. Johnson’s central argument is that this new institution occupied a similar position relative to the American state as political parties and courts did. The capacity to organize across a complex constitutional order enabled it to control the purpose and allocation of federal highway aid for the better part of the twentieth century. Johnson investigates this new conception of the American highway bureaucracy, showing specifically where and how that extraconstitutional authority emerged, expanded, and manifested itself in the legislative history, physical dimensions, and geographical reach of the emerging highway system.

*The American Road* reveals that all of the major highway legislation approved by Congress from 1916 to 1941 was collectively developed and advanced by state and federal highway bureaucrats drawing on the new authority conferred by the system of federal grants-in-aid, which required state legislatures to provide a state matching grant and local governments to relinquish control over decisions of location and design. The capacity to advance their policy aims as both the advice of experts and the will of the states not only secured the new highway program against renewed opposition in Congress in the 1920s but also won the strong support of the motor vehicle industry and set the stage for even more impressive policy gains of the 1930s when highways became the largest category of federal emergency public works. That collective authority, however, required a high threshold of consensus to secure and maintain, producing not just a narrow one-size-fits-all approach to technical issues but also a striking incapacity to respond to changing conditions. Johnson completes her compelling narrative by identifying the source of the interstate highway plan, first proposed in 1939 and finally funded in 1956, in the internal dynamics of and external threats to that extraconstitutional authority.

**Katherine M. Johnson** is associate professor of geography, University of Northern Colorado.

“This book is a powerful addition towards our understanding of modern American state building during the twentieth century.”

**Kimberley Johnson**, professor of social and cultural analysis, New York University

“*The American Road* offers a powerful new perspective for understanding how the automobile came to define American life. A must-read for transportation scholars and for students of American political development.”

**Margaret Weir**, Wilson professor of political science and international and public affairs, Brown University

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JUNE
232 pages, 4 maps, 6 x 9
Studies in Government and Public Policy
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3241-1, $39.95(s)
In combination with Arjun Subramaniam’s earlier volume on 1947–1971, this book is a much-needed survey of India’s military history since independence. The paucity of available official sources means that the real strength of the work is the interviews and correspondence with senior commanders in all three Indian armed forces. It is a major contribution to the contemporary military history of India.”

Alan Jeffreys, author of Approach to Battle: Training the Indian Army during the Second World War

“Subramaniam brings to the subject not only extensive research but also an insider’s recollections and insights.”

Sir Lawrence Freedman, professor emeritus of war studies, King’s College London, and author of The Future of War: A History

A military history of India since 1972 is a definitive work of military history that gives the Indian military its rightful place as a key contributor to Indian democracy. Arjun Subramaniam offers an engaging narrative that combines superb storytelling with the academic rigor of deep research and analysis. It is a comprehensive account of India’s resolute, responsible, and restrained use of force as an instrument of statecraft and how the military has played an essential role in securing the country’s democratic tradition along with its rise as an economic and demographic power.

This book is also about how the Indian nation-state and its armed forces have coped with the changing contours of modern conflict in the decades since 1972. These include the 2016 “surgical” or cross-border strikes across the Line of Control with Pakistan by the Indian Army’s Special Forces, the face-offs with the Chinese at Doklam in 2017 and in Ladakh in 2020, the preemptive punitive strikes by the Indian Air Force against terrorist camps in Pakistan in 2019, and the large-scale aerial engagement between the Indian Air Force and the Pakistan Air Force the following day. These conflicts also include the long-running insurgencies in the northeast, terrorism and proxy war in Jammu and Kashmir, separatist violence in Punjab, and the Indian Peace Keeping Force’s intervention in Sri Lanka. The author also includes a chapter on the development of India’s nuclear capabilities.

Arjun Subramaniam enlivens the narrative with a practitioner’s insights amplified by interviews and conversations with almost a hundred serving and retired officers, including former chiefs from all three armed forces for an in-depth exploration of land, air, and naval operations. The book offers the only comprehensive examination of war and conflict in contemporary India.

Arjun Subramaniam is a retired air vice marshal from the Indian Air Force. In addition to serving as a mentor and academic advisor at India’s National Defence College, he has been a visiting fellow at the Harvard Asia Center at Oxford University, and at Northeastern University. He has taught at Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and several universities in India. He is the author of India’s Wars: A Military History, 1947–1971.
Useful Captives: The Role of POWs in American Military Conflicts

Edited by Daniel Krebs and Lorien Foote

Useful Captives: The Role of POWs in American Military Conflicts is a wide-ranging investigation of the integral role prisoners of war (POWs) have played in the economic, cultural, political, and military aspects of American warfare. In Useful Captives volume editors Daniel Krebs and Lorien Foote and their contributors explore the wide range of roles that captives play in times of conflict: hostages used to negotiate vital points of contention between combatants, consumers, laborers, propaganda tools, objects of indoctrination, proof of military success, symbols, political instruments, exemplars of manhood ideals, loyal and disloyal soldiers, and agents of change in society.

The book’s eleven chapters cover conflicts involving Americans, ranging from colonial warfare on the Creek-Georgia border in the late eighteenth century, the American Revolution, the Civil War, the Great War, World War II, to twenty-first century US drone warfare. This long historical horizon enables the reader to go beyond the prison camp experience of POWs to better understand the many ways they influence the nature and course of military conflict.

Useful Captives shows the vital role that prisoners of war play in American warfare and reveals the cultural contexts of warfare, the shaping and altering of military policies, the process of state-building, the impacts upon the economy and environment of the conflict zone, their special place in propaganda and political symbolism, and the importance of public history in shaping national memory.

Daniel Krebs is associate professor of history, University of Louisville, and, during the 2020–2021 academic year, Harold Keith Johnson Chair in Military History, US Army War College. He is the author of A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution.

Lorien Foote is the Patricia and Bookman Peters Professor of History at Texas A&M University, and is the author of The Yankee Plague: Escaped Union Prisoners and the Collapse of the Confederacy.

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William A. Taylor is associate professor of security studies at Angelo State University. A graduate of the US Naval Academy, he holds an MA in history from the University of Maryland, an MA in national security studies from Georgetown University, and a PhD in history from George Washington University. He is the author of *Military Service and American Democracy: From World War II to the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (University Press of Kansas) and *Every Citizen a Soldier: The Campaign for Universal Military Training after World War II* (Texas A&M University Press).

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The United States Army and the Making of America
From Confederation to Empire, 1775–1903
Robert Wooster

The United States Army and the Making of America: From Confederation to Empire, 1775–1903 is the story of how the American military—and more particularly the regular army—has played a vital role in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century United States that extended beyond the battlefield. Repeatedly, Americans used the army not only to secure their expanding empire and fight their enemies, but to shape their nation and their vision of who they were, often in ways not directly associated with shooting wars or combat. That the regular army served as nation builders is ironic, given the officer corps’ obsession with a warrior ethic and the deep-seated disdain for a standing army that includes Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence, the writings of Henry David Thoreau, and debates regarding congressional appropriations. Whether the issue concerned Indian policy, the appropriate division of power between state and federal authorities, technology, transportation, communications, or business innovations, the public demanded that the military remain small even as it expected those forces to promote civilian development.

Robert Wooster’s exhaustive research in manuscript collections, government documents, and newspapers builds upon previous scholarship to provide a coherent and comprehensive history of the US Army from its inception during the American Revolution to the Philippine-American War. Wooster integrates its institutional history with larger trends in American history during that period, with a special focus on state-building and civil-military relations.

The United States Army and the Making of America will be the definitive book on the army’s relationship with the nation from its founding to the dawn of the twentieth century and will be a valuable resource for a generation of undergraduates, graduate students, and virtually any scholar with an interest in the US Army, American frontiers and borderlands, the American West, or eighteenth- and nineteenth-century nation-building.

Robert Wooster is Regents Professor of History, Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi, and author of numerous books, most notably The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865–1903.

“Robert Wooster has gone beyond his remarkable The American Military Frontiers to write the definitive book on the army’s relationship with the nation during the nineteenth century. This is the best exploration we are likely to see of national civil-military relations and the debates over the balance between regulars, volunteers, and militia in nineteenth-century America.”

Samuel J. Watson, professor of history, United States Military Academy, and author of Peacekeepers and Conquerors: The Army Officer Corps on the American Frontier, 1821–1846

“This extensively researched work is an important contribution to the study of the US Army in its first 125 years of existence.”

Richard S. Faulkner, author of Pershing’s Crusaders: The American Soldier in World War I

New Books

March
488 pages, 50 photographs, 6 1/4 x 9 1/4
Studies in Civil-Military Relations
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3064-6, $39.95(t)
Southern Strategies
Why the Confederacy Failed
Edited by Christian B. Keller

Southern Strategies is the first-ever analysis of Confederate defeat using the lenses of classical strategic and leadership theory. The contributors bring over one hundred years of experience in the field at the junior and senior levels of military leadership and over forty years of teaching in professional military education. Well aware that the nature of war is immutable and unchanging, they combine their firsthand experience of this truth with solid scholarship to offer new theoretical and historical perspectives about why the South failed in its bid for independence.

The contributors identify and analyze the mistakes made by the Confederate political and strategic leadership that handicapped the prospects for independence and placed immense pressure on Confederate military commanders to compensate on the battlefield for what should have been achieved by other instruments of national power. These instruments are the diplomatic, informational (including intelligence and public morale), and economic aspects of a nation’s capability to exert its will internationally. When combined with military power, the acronym DIME emerges, a theoretical tool that offers historians and national security professionals alike a useful method to analyze how a state, such as the Union, the Confederacy, or the modern United States, wielded or currently wields its power at the strategic level. Each essay examines how well rebel strategic leaders employed and integrated these instruments, given that the seceded South possessed enough diplomatic, informational, military, and economic power to theoretically win its independence. The essayists also apply the ends-ways-means model of analysis to each topic to offer readers greater insight into the Confederate leadership’s challenges.

Southern Strategies confirms the reality that the outcome of the American Civil War cannot be boiled down to one or two simple reasons. It offers fresh and theoretically novel interpretations at the strategic level that open new doors for future research and will increase public interest in the big questions surrounding Confederate defeat.

The Siege of Vicksburg
Climax of the Campaign to Open the Mississippi River, May 23–July 4, 1863
Timothy B. Smith

In The Siege of Vicksburg: Climax of the Campaign to Open the Mississippi River, May 23–July 4, 1863, noted Civil War scholar Timothy B. Smith offers the first comprehensive account of the siege that split the Confederacy in two. While the siege is often given a chapter or two in larger campaign studies and portrayed as a foregone conclusion, The Siege of Vicksburg offers a new perspective and thus a fuller understanding of the larger Vicksburg Campaign. Smith takes full advantage of all the resources, both Union and Confederate—from official reports to soldiers’ diaries and letters to newspaper accounts—to offer in vivid detail a compelling narrative of the operations. The siege was unlike anything Grant’s Army of the Tennessee had attempted to this point and Smith helps the reader understand the complexity of the strategy and tactics, the brilliance of the engineers’ work, the grueling nature of the day-by-day participation, and the effect on all involved, from townspeople to the soldiers manning the fortifications.

The Siege of Vicksburg portrays a high-stakes moment in the course of the Civil War because both sides understood what was at stake: the fate of the Mississippi River, the trans-Mississippi region, and perhaps the Confederacy itself. Smith’s detailed command-level analysis extends from army to corps, brigades, and regiments and offers fresh insights on where each side held an advantage. One key advantage was that the Federals had vast confidence in their commander while the Confederates showed no such assurance, whether it was Pemberton inside Vicksburg or Johnston outside. Smith offers an equally appealing and richly drawn look at the combat experiences of the soldiers in the trenches. He also tackles the many controversies surrounding the siege, including detailed accounts and analyses of Johnston’s efforts to lift the siege, and answers the questions of why Vicksburg fell and what were the ultimate consequences of Grant’s victory.

Timothy B. Smith teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin. His many books include, most recently, The Union Assaults at Vicksburg: Grant Attacks Pemberton, May 17–22, 1863; Grant Invades Tennessee: The 1862 Battles for Forts Henry and Donelson; Corinth 1862: Siege, Battle, Occupation; and Shiloh: Conquer or Perish, all published by Kansas.

Praise for Timothy B. Smith's initial volume on the Vicksburg campaign, The Union Assaults on Vicksburg: Grant Attacks Pemberton, May 17–22, 1863

“This important work is expertly researched, illuminating, thought provoking, detailed, engaging, and a real page-turner. Enthusiasts will not go wrong by purchasing this work.”

New York Military Affairs Symposium Review

“In providing definitive-level coverage of yet another important western theater event, The Union Assaults on Vicksburg only further cements Timothy Smith’s status as an indispensable force in the field of Civil War military history.”

Civil War Books and Authors
The Coalition Crumbles, Napoleon Returns
The 1799 Campaign in Italy and Switzerland, Volume 2
Carl von Clausewitz
Translated and Edited by Nicholas Murray and Christopher Pringle

“Murray and Pringle’s translation is exceptional; it remains faithful to the original while offering its readers elegant and accessible prose.”
Vanya Efimova Bellinger, author of Marie von Clausewitz: The Woman Behind the Making of On War

“This book should be on the bookshelf of anyone with an interest in the French Revolutionary Wars or who wants to understand how history, strategy, and politics interact under wartime conditions. Highly recommended!”
Alexander Mikaberidze, author of The Napoleonic Wars: A Global History

Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) is best known for his masterpiece of military theory On War, yet that work formed only the first three of his ten-volume published writings. The others, historical analyses of the wars that roiled Europe from 1789 through 1815, informed and shaped Clausewitz’s military thought, so they offer invaluable insight into his dialectical, often difficult, theoretical masterwork.

Among these historical works, one of the most important is Der Feldzug von 1799 in Italien und der Schweiz, which covers an important phase of the French Revolutionary Wars. The Coalition Crumbles, Napoleon Returns focuses mainly on the campaigns in Switzerland, where the cracks that finally fractured the alliance between Russia and Austria and led to the defeat of the Second Coalition first opened.

Moving from strategy to battle scene to analysis, this first English translation of volume 6 of Clausewitz’s collected works nimbly conveys the character of Clausewitz’s writing in all its registers: the brisk, often powerful description of events as they unfolded and the critical reflections on strategic theory and its implications.

The Coalition Crumbles, Napoleon Returns features Suvorov’s astonishing march through the St. Gotthard Pass and major actions such as the Second Battle of Zurich and the Battle of Mannheim. The nature of the campaign highlighted the contrast between the opposing armies’ different strengths and weaknesses and the problems of fighting as part of a coalition. This book will expand readers’ experience and understanding of not only this critical moment in European history but also the thought and writings of the modern master of military philosophy.

Nicholas Murray teaches strategy and policy at the US Naval War College.

Christopher Pringle is an academic publisher and a former officer in the British Territorial Army.

Murray and Pringle are the cotranslators and coeditors of Clausewitz’s Napoleon’s 1796 Italian Campaign, also from Kansas.
In 1945, the Indian British XIV Army inflicted on the Imperial Japanese Army in Burma the worst defeat in its history. That campaign, the most brilliant and original operational maneuver conducted by any British general in the twentieth century, largely forgotten until now, is a full and fresh account utilizing a full range of materials, from personal accounts to archival holdings—including the bits the official historians left out, such as the attempt by a jealous British Guards officer to have Slim sacked at the conclusion of the campaign.

After the retreat from Burma in 1942, Lieutenant General Sir William Slim, commander of the British XIV Army, played a crucial role in the remarkable military renaissance that transformed the Indian Army and then, with that reborn army, won two defensive battles in 1944, and in the 1945 campaign shredded his Japanese opponents. Behind this dramatic story was another: the war marked the effective end of the Raj. This great transformation was, of course, brought about by many factors but not the least of them was the “Indianization” of the Indian Army’s officer corps under the pressure of war. As Slim’s great victory signposted the change from the army Kipling knew to a modern army with a growing number of Indian officers, the praetorian guard of the Raj evaporated. “Every Indian officer worth his salt is a nationalist,” the Indian Army’s commander-in-chief, Claude Auchinleck, said as the XIV Army took Rangoon.

The Burma campaign may not have contributed in a major fashion to the final defeat of Japan, but it was of first-rate importance in the transformation of South Asia, as well as underlining the continuing importance of inspired leadership in complex human endeavors.

Raymond A. Callahan is professor emeritus of history, University of Delaware and author of Triumph at Imphal-Kohima: How the Indian Army Finally Stopped the Japanese Juggernaut (Kansas).

Daniel Marston is senior research professor and the director of the Secretary of Defense Strategic Thinkers Program, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and author of The Indian Army and the End of the Raj.

“The book is extremely engaging and eloquent: an essential text for anyone studying the campaign. Its accessible prose makes it such a pleasure to read—it therefore deserves a much wider readership than just historians.”

Alan Jeffreys, author of Approach to Battle: Training the Indian Army during the Second World War

“Callahan and Marston explain how and why the liberation of Burma in 1945 was the peak of military excellence for Allied combined-arms campaigns during the Second World War.”

Brian P. Farrell, professor of history, National University of Singapore, and author of The Defence and Fall of Singapore
Postwar Journeys
American and Vietnamese Transnational Peace Efforts since 1975
Hang Thi Thu Le-Tormala

“Postwar Journeys: American and Vietnamese Transnational Peace Efforts since 1975 tells the story of the dynamic roles played by ordinary American and Vietnamese citizens in their postwar quest for peace—an effort to transform their lives and their societies. Hang Thi Thu Le-Tormala deepens our understanding of the Vietnam War and its aftermath by taking a closer look at postwar Vietnam and offering a fresh analysis of the effects of the war and what postwar reconstruction meant for ordinary citizens. This thoughtful exploration of US-Vietnam postwar relations through the work of US and Vietnamese civilians expands diplomatic history beyond its rigid conventional emphasis on national interests and political calculations as well as highlights the possibilities of transforming traumatic experiences or hostile attitudes into positive social change. Le-Tormala’s research reveals a wealth of boundary-crossing interactions between US and Vietnamese citizens, even during the times of extremely restricted diplomatic relations between the two nation-states. She brings to center stage citizens’ efforts to solve postwar individual and social problems and bridges a gap in the scholarship on US-Vietnam relations. Peace efforts are defined in their broadest sense, ranging from searching for missing family members or friends, helping people overcome the ordeals resulting from the war, and meeting or working with former opponents for the betterment of their societies.

Le-Tormala’s research reveals how ordinary US and Vietnamese citizens were active historical actors who vigorously developed cultural ties and promoted mutual understanding in imaginative ways, even and especially during periods of governmental hostility. Through nonprofit organizations as well as cultural and academic exchange programs, trailblazers from diverse backgrounds promoted mutual understanding and acted as catalytic forces between the two governments. Postwar Journeys presents the powerful stories of love and compassion among former adversaries; their shared experiences of a brutal war and desire for peace connected strangers, even opponents, of two different worlds, laying the groundwork for US-Vietnam diplomatic normalization.

Hang Thi Thu Le-Tormala is adjunct instructor, Indigenous and American Indian Studies Department, Haskell Indian Nations University.
Words Is a Powerful Thing
Twenty Years of Teaching Creative Writing at Douglas County Jail

Brian Daldorph

B rian Daldorph first entered the Douglas County Jail classroom in Lawrence, Kansas, to teach a writing class on Christmas Eve 2001. His last class at the jail for the foreseeable future was mid-March 2020, right before the COVID-19 lockdown; the virus is taking a heavy toll in confined communities like nursing homes and prisons. Words Is a Powerful Thing is Daldorph’s record of teaching at the jail for the two decades between 2001 and 2020, showing how the lives of everyone involved in the class—but especially the inmates who came to class week after week—benefited from what happened every Thursday afternoon in that jail classroom, where for two hours inmates and instructor became a circle of ink and blood, writing together, reciting their poems, telling stories, and having a few good laughs.

Words Is a Powerful Thing brings into the light the works of fifty talented inmate writers whose work deserves attention. Their poetry speaks of “what really matters” to all of us and gives the reader sustained insight into the role that creativity plays in aiding survival and bringing positive change for inmates, and, in turn, for all of us. Daldorph’s account of his teaching experience not only takes the reader inside the daily life at a county jail but also sets the work done in the writing class within the larger context of inmate education is the US corrections system, where education is often one of the few lifelines available to inmates. Words Is a Powerful Thing provides a teaching guide for instructors working with incarcerated writers, offering an extensive examination of both the challenges and benefits.

When Brian Daldorph decided the story of his classroom experiences and the great writing produced by the inmates deserved to be told to wider audiences, he struggled with how to bring it all together. Not long after, an inmate wrote a poem titled “Words Is a Powerful Thing,” offering Daldorph a title, concept, and purpose: to show that the poetry of inmates speaks not just to other inmates but to all of us.

Brian Daldorph is a creative writing instructor, Douglas County Jail, Lawrence, Kansas, and a senior lecturer, English Department, University of Kansas. He is the author of six books of poetry including Kansas Poems and Blue Notes, and the editor of the literary journal Coal City Review.

“I get a lot of prisoner anthologies from all over the world and at times they seem to blend in together—some are okay, others worthy of serious reflection, a few reach higher to demand reading and studious thoughtfulness. And then there are those few warrior-spirit poets and fiction writers that cancel my boredom and fatigue and awaken my senses to a higher attention as the pages seem to leap up and grasp me by my shirt collar. . . . This is one of those anthologies.”

JIMMY SANTIAGO BACA, AUTHOR OF A PLACE TO STAND AND LAUGHING IN THE LIGHT

“I get a lot of prisoner anthologies from all over the world and at times they seem to blend in together—some are okay, others worthy of serious reflection, a few reach higher to demand reading and studious thoughtfulness. And then there are those few warrior-spirit poets and fiction writers that cancel my boredom and fatigue and awaken my senses to a higher attention as the pages seem to leap up and grasp me by my shirt collar. . . . This is one of those anthologies.”

JIMMY SANTIAGO BACA, AUTHOR OF A PLACE TO STAND AND LAUGHING IN THE LIGHT

“Brian Daldorph and his fellow writers have given us a gift.”

CHRISTOPHER P. DUM, COFOUNDER OF THE ID-13 PRISON LITERACY PROJECT AND AUTHOR OF EXILED IN AMERICA: LIFE ON THE MARGINS IN A RESIDENTIAL MOTEL

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Policing Sex in the Sunflower State
The Story of the Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women

Nicole Perry

“Perry explores the mixed legacy of Progressive Era women’s activism and the complicated role of women professionals. Chilling stories of women who traded freedom for medical treatment and reminders of how disease amplifies all kinds of social inequalities make this an important book for today’s world.”

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“Nicole Perry provides a detailed, meticulously researched and well-argued assessment of the creation of the Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women.”

MICHAEL REMBIS, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR DISABILITY STUDIES, UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO (SUNY), AND AUTHOR OF DEFENDING DEVIANCE: SEX, SCIENCE, AND DELINQUENT GIRLS, 1890–1960 AND AN EDITOR OF THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF DISABILITY HISTORY

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Kansas Boy
The Memoir of A. J. Bolinger

A. J. Bolinger
Edited by Jeffrey H. Barker and Melissa Walker

“A. J. Bolinger transports us back to the American Midwest when the nineteenth century was drawing to a close and possibilities seemed endless for those seeking a better tomorrow. Editors Jeffrey H. Barker and Melissa Walker skillfully set the stage for Bolinger’s captivating memoir, adding valuable historical context to the narrative.”

Lana Wirt Myers, editor of The Diaries of Reuben Smith, Kansas Settler and Civil War Soldier and author of Prairie Rhythms: The Life and Poetry of May Williams Ward

“Arthur Joel Bolinger’s story of his Kansas boyhood is not your typical grandfather’s (or great-grandfather’s) frontier memoir.”

Virgil W. Dean, editor of John Brown to Bob Dole: Movers and Shakers in Kansas History

K
ansas Boy: The Memoir of A. J. Bolinger offers the twenty-first-century reader delightful and revealing insights on life during an era of dramatic change in American history. Bolinger describes those years as “bursting with energy, wild with ambition.” The Kansas of his childhood and young adulthood was a place where life was lived at a rapid pace: investors pursued fortunes as town developers, settlers sought to establish prosperous farms and ranches, and reformers tried to create an ideal society. A. J. opens his account with a vividly detailed description of the prairie itself, including how the frontier settlements of Kansas were in the process of becoming established communities. Born and raised in Elk County, Kansas, he tells stories of ranching and cattle drives. Retelling some of the legends of early Kansas, he debunks more than a few frontier myths. As he moves toward adulthood his accounts of farming and small-town life grow increasingly aware of the agricultural crisis of the 1880s and 1890s faced by farmers and small-town businesses as they struggled with the growing power of corporations, in particular the railroads. In doing so he offers ground-level insights into the appeal of the Populist movement and the rise of the People’s Party. The challenges result in the Bolinger family’s move to the city of Topeka where A. J. attends Washburn College. As a college student he helps temperance activist Carry Nation wage her antisyllow campaign and he goes to Washburn’s new law school. His first step in pursuing what would be a lifelong career in the law is to replicate his family’s and his era’s pattern of moving to where new opportunities lay: the Oklahoma territory.

A. J. Bolinger (1881–1977) offers today’s reader a deeply felt memoir with keen insights and thoughtful commentary that is by turns startlingly progressive and deeply conservative. He offers us a richer understanding of life on the prairies and plains of the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

Jeffrey H. Barker is provost and professor of philosophy, Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Melissa Walker is George Dean Johnson, Jr. professor of history emerita, Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, and author of Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History.

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Winner of the U.S. Military History Group Colonel Richard W. Ulbrich Memorial Award

“Steplyk's] work stands apart because it focuses exclusively on what soldiers in blue and gray thought about taking human life and what performing the most traumatizing military duty did to them.”— *Journal of American History*

“Steplek's study brilliantly blends military history and social history, pioneering an interpretation of how Civil War soldiers understood fighting and killing, war's most important, inescapable element.”— *Journal of Southern History*

“Through a judicious use of primary and secondary sources, Steplek contributes to the discussion of the motivations and recollections of the Civil War soldiers and provides an in-depth examination of the attitudes toward killing in combat.”— *H-Net Reviews*

“Stepleyk has employed extensive research in primary sources to offer insights into how citizen soldiers reacted and adapted to the reality of deadly combat in all of its Civil War forms. this is simply a brilliant book.”— *Civil War Monitor*

“Americans of the nineteenth century were all too aware of death, even violent death at the hands of each other. But nothing prepared the nation for the scale of military killing generated by the Civil War. Nor will we, who have learned to sentimentalize that conflict so much, be prepared for the profile of slaughter laid out so skillfully by Jonathan Steplyk. This book presents the horrific edge of killing in the most sobering detail, from Elmer Ellsworth to Ft. Pillow. It is a story of good deaths and bad, of blind bloodlust and instinctive repugnance, of bayonets and musket stocks, of closed eyes and open wounds—which is to say, an all-too-human story. I have never seen the Civil War's 'face of battle' appear in uglier or clearer form.”— Allen C. Guelzo, Henry R. Luce III Professor of the Civil War Era and director of the Civil War Era Studies Program, Gettysburg College

Jonathan M. Steplyk is adjunct instructor at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, and adjunct lecturer at the University of Texas at Arlington.
The One-Party Presidential Contest
Adams, Jackson, and 1824’s Five-Horse Race
Donald Ratcliffe

“A truly splendid accomplishment. Drawing on a prodigious amount of primary-source research, it effectively corrects many misconceptions sewn into both popular understandings of the election and the regrettably meager body of professional literature on the subject.”—Journal of the Early Republic

“This fine book provides a detailed overview of the election of 1824, when the reigning Democratic-Republican coalition collapsed into a complex race for the presidency. His analysis should force historians to rethink long-held assumptions about the rise of American democracy.”—Register of the Kentucky Historical Society

“Ratcliffe explains the election of 1824 within the context of the politics of the early 1820s, a period often overlooked by historians, when the country was dealing with the aftermath of the Missouri Compromise and recovering from economic crisis.”—Journal of Southern History

“Everyone knows the story of the 1824 election and its climax in the “corrupt bargain” that stole the presidency from Andrew Jackson—and what everyone knows is wrong. In this book Donald Ratcliffe, our greatest living expert on the politics of the 1820s, explains why this election was not only one of the most fateful in American history, but perhaps also the most misunderstood.”—Daniel Feller, editor of The Papers of Andrew Jackson

With remarkable dispassion and careful attention to detail that neglects no state or candidate, Ratcliffe manages to make 1824 intelligible without resorting to the partisan legend of a “corrupt bargain.” He recaptures the fact that John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and their more constructive philosophy of government actually enjoyed broad national support in the days before Andrew Jackson started slaying monsters in the public imagination.”—Jeffrey L. Pasley, author of The First Presidential Contest: 1796 and the Founding of American Democracy

Donald Ratcliffe is Emeritus Reader in History at the University of Durham and Supernumerary Research and Teaching Fellow at the Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford.
NEW IN PAPERBACK

The 1929 Sino-Soviet War
The War Nobody Knew
Michael M. Walker

Riveting. Walker marshals a wide array of first-hand sources to demonstrate the military significance of the war. He takes us deep into the diplomatic wrangling surrounding the war, from Mukden’s raid on the Russian consulate to Stalin’s opting to continue the war instead of accepting conditional Chinese subservience.”—H-Net Reviews

“Walker’s book is essential reading. He gives this important subject the necessary attention it deserves.”—Journal of Military History

“Walker has presented a professional and competent work on the volatile and fascinating history of northeast Asia.”—Army History

“Walker provides an insightful analysis of a widely overlooked international conflict. His book transcends the limits of political or military history, elegantly uniting the two in one concisely written manuscript.”—War in History

“The 1929 Sino-Soviet war over control of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria is perhaps the least studied twentieth century conflict even while being one of the most important. As detailed by Michael Walker in his ground-breaking monograph, one immediate result of China’s defeat was Japan’s 1931 invasion of Manchuria, and its creation the next year of the Manchukuo puppet state, widely seen as the opening salvo in the Pacific War.”—Bruce Elleman, William V. Pratt Professor of International History, US Naval War College

Michael M. Walker is special projects docent at the state-sponsored Idaho Military History Museum in Boise.
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