From the Director

I am delighted to be able to introduce the Spring 2022 catalog for the University Press of Kansas as the new director of the Press. I took on this role in January, in addition to my position as Dean of Libraries at the University of Kansas, because I knew how important it is for UPK to continue its seventy-five-year tradition of publishing top-notch scholarly books and books about Kansas. Since then, I have been privileged to work with the engaged and dedicated staff that make that mission a daily reality. It has been a steep learning curve for me, and we still have some challenges at the Press, but I am convinced that UPK's future is bright.

One particularly exciting project that the Press is currently pursuing is the Kansas Open Books initiative, a project funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation that will make sixty-nine titles from UPK's backlist in American history and political thought openly available at no cost through multiple websites. Many of these titles have new forewords intended to bring them up-to-date and facilitate their use by teachers and students. These titles can be found in this catalog, alongside more traditional offerings.

Finally, I want to thank the many people who expressed passionate support for the Press during its recent review. Your comments about the important place that UPK occupies in the scholarly publishing ecosphere were important and influential with our Board of Trustees. If you would like to continue supporting the work of the University Press of Kansas, please consider joining the Friends of UPK; you can find information about joining further on in this catalog.

Kevin L. Smith
Dean of Libraries, University of Kansas, and Director, University Press of Kansas
Service above Self
Women Veterans in American Politics
Erika Cornelius Smith

The 2018 midterm elections were both record-breaking and pathbreaking. Americans elected four women to the Senate along with twenty-four women to the House. At the same time, nearly two hundred veterans were on ballots across the country, including a dozen women with military service experience, three of whom won their races. Two years later, female veterans campaigned for office at every level—including a run for presidential nominee of a major party. Service above Self: Women Veterans in American Politics explores this burgeoning area of interest by looking closely at the careers of former servicewomen in US politics.

Despite the growing presence of women candidates with military service or intelligence backgrounds in elected office throughout the United States, this is the first book to examine the motivation, messaging, and connections between military and public service for female veterans. Erika Cornelius Smith unravels the stories of the many trailblazing women—including Elaine Luria, Chrissy Houlahan, Elissa Slotkin, Tammy Duckworth, Joni Ernst, Martha McSally, and Tulsi Gabbard—and points the way for future studies.

Inspired by their diverse paths to politics, the unique ways in which they communicate their experience, as well as their policy positions, this work explores several important questions: What motivates servicewomen to run for office? When do their backgrounds in military service align with their mission for public service? How does experience as a servicemember affect their ability to navigate gendered stereotypes about female candidates and foreign policy? The answers revealed in their personal and professional narratives shed light on this historically significant cohort of political leaders.

The first scholarly synthesis of women with military, quasimilitary, or intelligence backgrounds competing in political campaigns, Service above Self examines a long history of US women who served in or adjacent to the US military and translated those experiences into elected office. It is the first analysis of how they transitioned from national defense to public service—and what they did when they got to Washington, DC.

Erika Cornelius Smith is director of alumni relations and engagement at Marietta College in Marietta, Ohio.

“In Service above Self: Women Veterans in American Politics, Erika Cornelius Smith offers an engaging and timely look at how military service shapes political ambition and personal narratives for women running for and serving in Congress. This well-researched book adds to the growing literature on the role of gender in public service in both elected and appointed positions as well as public policymaking. As more women run for and win political office, prior military service is a relevant aspect of political leadership. It will inevitably become more important as the potential for electing women at all levels of government continues to expand.”

Lori Cox Han, professor of political science, Chapman University, and author of Advising Nixon: The White House Memos of Patrick J. Buchanan
Newt Gingrich
The Rise and Fall of a Party Entrepreneur
Matthew N. Green and Jeffrey Crouch

“Green and Crouch use the analytical tools of political science to understand one of the most controversial—and increasingly representative—party entrepreneurs of modern times, Newt Gingrich. A thoughtful account of the former Speaker of the House.”

Julian E. Zelizer, professor of political history, Princeton University, and author of Burning Down the House: Newt Gingrich, the Fall of a Speaker, and the Rise of the New Republican Party

“Green and Crouch have produced a superb account of Newt Gingrich’s political career. With deep research, crisp writing, and fair-minded analysis, this book is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand American political parties and congressional leadership.”


Newt Gingrich is one of the most polarizing and consequential figures in US politics. First elected to the House of Representatives in 1978, he rose from a minority party backbencher to become the first Republican Speaker of the House in forty years. Though much has been written about Gingrich, accounts of his time in Congress are incomplete and often skewed.

In their book Newt Gingrich: The Rise and Fall of a Party Entrepreneur, political scientists Matthew N. Green and Jeffrey Crouch draw from newly uncovered archival material, original interviews, and other data to provide a fresh and insightful look at Gingrich's entire congressional career. Green and Crouch argue that Gingrich is best understood as a “party entrepreneur,” someone who works primarily to achieve their congressional party’s collective goals. From the moment he entered Congress, Gingrich was laser-focused on achieving two party-related objectives—a Republican majority in the House and a more conservative society—as well as greater influence for himself.

Using a conceptual framework taken from theories of military strategy, the authors explain how Gingrich initially struggled because of a mismatch between his lofty goals and the resources available to him. After years of patiently cultivating allies, tempering his immediate objectives, and waiting for favorable circumstances to emerge, Gingrich finally claimed victory in 1994, with Republicans winning control of the House and electing Gingrich as Speaker. Yet while Gingrich had been creative, patient, and ultimately successful at gaining power for himself and his party, he proved ineffective at balancing his goals with the demands of the Speakership, and he resigned from Congress just four years later.

Newt Gingrich: The Rise and Fall of a Party Entrepreneur, the latest contribution to the Congressional Leaders series, sheds new light on a historically important congressional leader whose complicated legacy is still debated today by scholars, journalists, and politicians.

Matthew N. Green is professor of politics at The Catholic University of America and author of numerous books, including The Speaker of the House: A Study of Leadership and Underdog Politics: The Minority Party in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Jeffrey Crouch is assistant professor of American politics at American University and author of The Presidential Pardon Power and coauthor of The Unitary Executive Theory: A Danger to Constitutional Government, both from Kansas.
As Texas always been one of the United States’ most conservative states? The answer might surprise you. *Bootstrap Liberalism* offers a glimpse into the world of Depression-era Texas politics, revealing a partisan culture that was often far more ideologically nuanced and complex than meets the eye.

The Lone Star State is often viewed as a bastion of conservative politics and rugged “bootstrap” individualism, but that narrative overlooks the fact that FDR’s New Deal was quite popular in Texas, much more so than previous histories of the era have suggested.

While it is true that many Texas Democrats remained staunchly conservative during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s presidency, and it is also true that many of these conservatives formed the basis of an established majority that would grow stronger in the decades that followed, it is simultaneously true that ordinary voters—and a good many politicians—embraced New Deal policies, federal experimentation, and direct economic aid, and often did so enthusiastically as liberal Texas Democrats rode FDR’s coattails to electoral success.

Texas political leaders recognized the popularity of the New Deal and identified themselves with FDR for their own political advantage. Using original resources mined from six research archives, *Bootstrap Liberalism* explores campaign strategies and policy debates as they unfolded at the local, state, and national levels throughout the Great Depression and World War II eras, revealing a consistent brand of pro–New Deal messaging that won favor with voters across the state. Most Texas Democrats did not apologize for supporting FDR. Rather, they celebrated him and often marketed themselves as New Deal Democrats. Voters endorsed that strategy by electing liberals throughout the 1930s and early 1940s.

Sean P. Cunningham is associate professor and chair of history at Texas Tech University and author of *Cowboy Conservatism: Texas and the Rise of the Modern Right* and *American Politics in the Postwar Sunbelt: Conservative Growth in a Battleground Region.*
Defining a “statesman” as “a successful politician who is dead,” Thomas Brackett Reed gave himself some latitude in pursuing his goals as a congressional leader. His leadership style is encapsulated in the Reed Rules, which serve as the institutional foundation of the modern House of Representatives and as a metaphor for the practice of power politics for partisan ends.

Thomas Brackett Reed tells the story of a roller-coaster career in the Gilded Age. Speaker Reed reached a pinnacle when Republicans enacted landmark legislation in the aftermath of a transformation of parliamentary procedure spearheaded by his dramatic refusal to recognize delaying tactics permitted under the rules in 1890. Months later, Reed led Republicans to a disastrous off-year election, which cost his party unified governmental control and left it with only 26 percent of House seats. He returned as Speaker of the House in the late 1890s, when he became alienated from other Republicans over the issue of American expansionism.

Combining extensive archival research with political science findings, Robert Klotz offers a balanced portrayal of Reed’s leadership in Congress. While empowering the House majority party to govern, the Reed Rules can also elevate partisan discord by allowing majorities to craft bill-specific special rules and to neglect opposing viewpoints. Ultimately, the biography illuminates the transcendent challenge of finding compromise in polarized politics.

Robert J. Klotz is associate professor of political science at the University of Southern Maine.
American Political Parties
Why They Formed, How They Function, and Where They’re Headed
John Kenneth White and Matthew R. Kerbel

American Political Parties is a core textbook on political parties in the United States that places the US party system into a framework designed around the disagreements between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. White and Kerbel argue that the two-party system in the United States began with a common agreement on the key values of freedom, individual rights, and equality of opportunity but that Hamilton and Jefferson disagreed—often vehemently—over how to translate these ideals into an acceptable form of governance. This text develops a unique historical perspective of US party development using the disagreements between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson as a framework for analysis.

While Hamilton wanted to marry freedom to a strong federal government with a president who would act on behalf of all citizens, Jefferson believed that freedom should be allied to local civic virtue, with governmental responsibilities placed primarily at the local level. Today, Hamiltonian nationalism finds its home in the Democratic Party, while Republicans have espoused Jeffersonian localism. Using this framework, American Political Parties examines topics including marketing and social media, campaign finance, reforms in the presidential nominating process, political demography, and third parties. In this new edition (previously published as Party On!), the authors describe four possible futures in the wake of the 2020 election and why Americans believed it was “the most important” election in their lifetimes.

The history of US political parties as set forth by the disagreements between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson is at a juncture. Republicans have become an insurgent party fully under the control of Donald Trump while Democrats have an opportunity to create a new majority coalition. This juncture poses unique challenges to our democracy and constitutional framework, and the book postulates where American political parties are headed in this decade.


Matthew R. Kerbel is professor of political science at Villanova University in Villanova, Pennsylvania. He is the author of nine books, including Netroots and Next Generation Netroots, both about the emergence of internet politics and political engagement.

“By attending closely to the historical variety of party formations in American politics, White and Kerbel incisively answer the three crucial questions laid out in their book’s subtitle. They root their analysis of parties’ functions and behavior in the messy contingencies of actual political history, connecting parties’ early republican origins to contemporary hyper-polarization in novel and effective ways.”

Sam Rosenfeld, author of The Polarizers: Postwar Architects of Our Partisan Era

Spring & Summer 2022
In Early Struggles for Vicksburg, Tim Smith covers the first phase of the Vicksburg campaign (October 1862–July 1863), involving perhaps the most wide-ranging and complex series of efforts seen in the entire campaign. The operations that took place from late October to the end of December 1862 covered six states, consisted of four intertwined minicampaigns, and saw the involvement of everything from cavalry raids to naval operations in addition to pitched land battles in Ulysses S. Grant's first attempts to reach Vicksburg.

This fall–winter campaign that marked the first of the major efforts to reach Vicksburg was the epitome of the by-the-book concepts of military theory of the day. But the first major Union attempts to capture Vicksburg late in 1862 were also disjointed, unorganized, and spread out across a wide spectrum. The Confederates were thus able to parry each threat, although Grant, in his newly assumed position as commander of the Department of the Tennessee, learned from his mistakes and revised his methods in later operations, leading eventually to the fall of Vicksburg. It was war done the way academics would want it done, but Grant figured out quickly that the books did not always have the answers, and he adapted his approach thereafter.

Smith comprehensively weaves the Mississippi Central, Chickasaw Bayou, Van Dorn Raid, and Forrest Raid operations into a chronological narrative while illustrating the combination of various branches and services such as army movements, naval operations, and cavalry raids. Early Struggles for Vicksburg is accordingly the first comprehensive academic book ever to examine the Mississippi Central/Chickasaw Bayou campaign and is built upon hundreds of soldier-level sources. Massive in research and scope, this book covers everything from the top politicians and generals down to the individual soldiers, as well as civilians and slaves making their way to freedom, while providing analysis of contemporary military theory to explain why the operations took the form they did.

This is volume 1 in Smith's planned five-volume study of the Vicksburg Campaign.

Timothy B. Smith teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin. His many books include Grant Invades Tennessee: The 1862 Battles for Forts Henry and Donelson; Corinth 1862: Siege, Battle, Occupation; and Shiloh: Conquer or Perish.
Creating the Modern Army
Citizen-Soldiers and the American Way of War, 1919–1939
William J. Woolley

The modern US Army as we know it was largely created in the years between the two world wars. Prior to World War I, officers in leadership positions were increasingly convinced that building a new army could not take place as a series of random developments but was an enterprise that had to be guided by a distinct military policy that enjoyed the support of the nation. In 1920, Congress accepted that idea and embodied it in the National Defense Act. In doing so it also accepted army leadership’s idea of entrusting America’s security to a unique force, the Citizen Army, and tasked the nation’s Regular Army with developing and training that force. Creating the Modern Army details the efforts of the Regular Army to do so in the face of austerity budgets and public apathy while simultaneously responding to the challenges posed by the new and revolutionary mechanization of warfare.

In this book Woolley focuses on the development of what he sees as the four major features of the modernized army that emerged due to these efforts. These included the creation of the civilian components of the new army: the Citizen’s Military Training Camps, the Officer Reserve Corps, the National Guard, and the Reserve Officer Training Corps; the development of the four major combat branches as the structural basis for organizing the army as well as creating the means to educate new officers and soldiers about their craft and to socialize them into an army culture; the creation of a rationalized and progressive system of professional military education; and the initial mechanization of the combat branches. Woolley also points out how the development of the army in this period was heavily influenced by policies and actions of the president and Congress.

The US Army that fought World War II was clearly a citizen army whose leadership was largely trained within the framework of the institutions of the army created by the National Defense Act. The way that army fought the war may have been less decisive and more costly in terms of lives and money than it should have been. But that army won the war and therefore validated the citizen army as the US way of war.

William J. Woolley is professor of history emeritus, Ripon College.
“This significant contribution to the literature on Anglo-American relations convincingly demonstrates the centrality of personal relationships, rather than formal structures, to effective transatlantic army relationships in the era of the world wars. Bamford’s thorough research also illustrates the critical role that memories of World War I played in shaping army-to-army relations in World War II, further highlighting the links between these two conflicts.”

Corbin Williamson, author of The U.S. Navy and Its Cold War Alliances, 1945–1953

The joint British and US campaigns in the European theater of operations during World War II rank among the most impressive examples of coalition warfare in history. In just eighteen months, the US and British armies integrated their planning, intelligence, and command structures more thoroughly than any previous alliance. Millions of British and American soldiers fighting alongside one another liberated North Africa, France, Italy, and western Germany.

How did these two armies come together so quickly? How did they combine their forces to a degree never before seen among the services of sovereign nations? And how did they sustain their alliance in the face of severe disagreements and battlefield setbacks?

In Forging the Anglo-American Alliance, Tyler Bamford answers these questions by presenting the first history of the two armies’ relations from 1917 to 1941.

Great Britain and the United States emerged from World War I as the strongest military powers in the world. Forging the Anglo-American Alliance examines why the armies of these two nations chose to view each other as their closest strategic partner instead of their greatest potential threat and illustrates the legacy that World War I had on the attitudes of the US and British armies toward one another and alliance warfare.

Through personal interactions and military education in the years leading up to World War II, army officers shared large amounts of military intelligence and formed positive opinions of one another.

As the threat of Germany and Japan grew, army officers were the first to anticipate the need for an alliance between their nations and to begin thinking about ways to structure their combined forces. Using untapped archival sources, official reports, and officers’ personal papers, Bamford presents an important and engaging new analysis of how this partnership grew out of the experiences and initiative of British and US Army officers and attachés during World War I and the two decades that followed.

Tyler R. Bamford is a historian at the Naval History and Heritage Command.
During the Cold War the British government oversaw the transition to independence of dozens of colonies. Often the most challenging aspect of this transition was the creation of a national army from colonial forces. In *Built on the Ruins of Empire*, Blake Whitaker examines this process in Kenya and Zambia and how it set the course for the creation of the army in Zimbabwe. He also looks at three themes as they intersect in African military history: British decolonization, race relations, and the Cold War.

While the transition to independence was a difficult process in places such as Ghana and Nigeria, it was compounded by the racial tensions in Kenya, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. All three were settler colonies home to a sizable community of white Europeans who controlled the levers of power and economic prosperity. *Built on the Ruins of Empire* focuses on the difficulties that arose in creating a cohesive and apolitical military force in these racially charged Cold War environments and demonstrates that the challenges faced by the British training missions in Kenya and Zambia taught London important lessons about the emerging postcolonial world.

Whitaker uniquely analyzes the successes and failures of the British military assistance programs and their quest to solidify British influence while examining how Britain’s position and influence in the wider world was fading just as Zimbabwe was achieving independence.

**Blake Whitaker** is a historian of the British Empire and a Psychological Operations (PSYOP) officer in the US Army Reserve. He holds a Ph.D in history from Texas A&M University.

“Blake Whitaker throws fresh light on British policy in postcolonial Africa by focusing on military assistance programs. These programs involved the inculcation of doctrine and training as much as arms transfers; they built on the residual influence and prestige of British traditions and procedures; and they reflected the persistence of imperial interests and global outlook in Whitehall into the late twentieth century. Considering recent events in Afghanistan, his book is as timely as it is original. *Built on the Ruins of Empire* will reward readers concerned with issues of security and state-building in the developing world as well as those interested in the history of British imperialism, decolonization in Africa, and the global Cold War.”

**Peter John Brobst, Associate Professor of History, Ohio University**

**MAY**

288 pages, 3 maps, 6 x 9
Modern War Studies
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3312-8, $39.95(s)
The Media Offensive
How the Press and Public Opinion Shaped Allied Strategy during World War II
Alexander G. Lovelace

World War II was a media war. President Franklin D. Roosevelt used the press to a great extent, of course, but as the war progressed, the media also came to influence commanders’ decisions on the battlefield. Rescuing General Douglas MacArthur from the Philippines in deference to public opinion forced the Allies to divide the Pacific War between two competing theaters. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Omar Bradley’s concern over US public opinion convinced President Dwight D. Eisenhower to include Americans in the final assault against Axis forces in Tunisia. General George S. Patton Jr. raced across Sicily to gain media attention and British respect. General Mark Clark’s hunger for publicity and the glory of capturing Rome allowed an entire German army to escape destruction. Negative media pressure and the fear of V-1 bombs damaging British morale provided the impetus for the breakout of Normandy and the unsuccessful attempt to liberate the Netherlands in the fall of 1944. British general Bernard Montgomery’s remarks to the press during the Battle of the Bulge almost caused him to lose his command and created tremendous ill feelings among the Allies. Soon afterward, Eisenhower was forced to hold the dangerously exposed city of Strasbourg because of French public opinion. By V-E Day, even Eisenhower was attempting to get more publicity for American, as opposed to Allied, units.

The Media Offensive offers a new way to understand military-media relations during World War II. The press and public opinion shaped not only how the conflict was seen but also how it was fought. Alexander Lovelace demonstrates that the US military repeatedly discovered that the best effects resulted from accurate news stories. Truthful news reporting—defined as news reporting that accurately depicts the events it describes—could not be created by the military or even the media but could only emerge through a free press searching for it.

Lovelace recasts World War II in a new and unique fashion by placing media and public opinion at the center of battlefield decision-making. Unlike past scholarship on the media during World War II that focused on censorship, propaganda, or the adventure stories of war correspondents, The Media Offensive takes the historiography of war reporting in a new direction. In what could be called “the new history of war reporting,” the focus is switched from how the military controlled reporters to how military decisions were shaped by the press.

Alexander G. Lovelace received a PhD from Ohio University.
On June 15, 2020, the Supreme Court ruled in Bostock v. Clayton County, in a 6-to-3 decision with a majority opinion authored by conservative Justice Neil Gorsuch, that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of gender identity and sexual orientation. Jason Pierceson explores how this ruling was not completely unanticipated. The decision was grounded in a recent but well-developed shift in federal jurisprudence on the question of LGBTQ rights that occurred around 2000, with gender identity claims faring better in federal court after decades of skepticism. The most important precedent for these cases was a 1989 Supreme Court case that did not deal directly with LGBTQ rights: Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins.

The court ruled in Price Waterhouse that “sex stereotyping” is a form of discrimination under Title VII, a provision that prohibits discrimination in employment based upon sex. Ann Hopkins was a cisgender heterosexual woman who was denied a promotion at her accounting firm for being too “masculine.” At the time of the decision, and in the wake of the devastating decision for the LGBTQ movement in Bowers v. Hardwick (1986), the case was not viewed as creating a strong precedential foundation for LGBTQ rights claims, especially claims based upon sexual orientation. Even in the context of gender identity, the connection was not made to the emerging movement for transgender rights until a decade later. In the 2000s, however, federal courts were applying the case to protect transgender individuals.

While not initially connected to the LGBTQ rights movement, Price Waterhouse has been one of the most powerful precedents in recent years outside of the marriage equality cases. Before Bostock tells the story of how this “accidental” precedent evolved into such a crucial case for contemporary LGBTQ rights. Pierceson examines the groundbreaking Supreme Court decision of Bostock v. Clayton County through the legal path created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the interpretation of the word “sex” over time. Focusing on history, LGBTQ plaintiffs, and the work of legal activists, Before Bostock illustrates how the courts can expand LGBTQ rights when legislators are more resistant, and it adds to our understanding about contemporary judicial policymaking in the context of statutory interpretation.

Jason Pierceson is professor of political science at the University of Illinois Springfield.

“With meticulous detail, Jason Pierceson shows how Price Waterhouse set the stage for the next several decades of litigation over employment discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation, culminating in the eventual victory in Bostock.”

Susan Gluck Mezey, professor emerita, Department of Political Science, Loyola University Chicago

“History comes alive in this story of the legal roots of protections from workplace discrimination against LGBTQ people. This is no dry academic text, it is story-telling: a fascinating journey with fresh insights and new details that will delight everyone from those new to the case to those more familiar with the Bostock decision and its legal precedents.”

Melissa R. Michelson, coauthor of Transforming Prejudice: Identity, Fear, and Transgender Rights and LGBTQ Life in America: Examining the Facts

Before Bostock
The Accidental LGBTQ Precedent of Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins

Jason Pierceson

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June
216 pages, 6 x 9
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The landmark Brown v. Board of Education case was the start of a long period of desegregation, but Brown did not give a roadmap for how to achieve this lofty goal—it only provided the destination. In the years that followed, the path toward the fulfillment of this vision for school integration was worked out in the courts through the efforts of the NAACP Legal Defense organization and the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice. One of the major cases on this path was Lee v. Macon County Board of Education (1967).

Revolution by Law traces the growth of Lee v. Macon County from a case to desegregate a single school district in rural Alabama to a decision that paved the way for ending state-imposed racial segregation of the schools in the Deep South. Author Brian Landsberg began his career as a young attorney working for the Civil Rights Division of the DOJ in 1964, the year after the lawsuit that would lead to the Lee decision was filed.

As someone personally involved in the legal struggle for civil rights, Landsberg writes with first-hand knowledge of the case. His carefully researched study of this important case argues that private plaintiffs, the executive branch, the federal courts, and eventually Congress each played important roles in transforming the South from the most segregated to the least segregated region of the United States. The Lee case played a central role in dismantling Alabama’s official racial caste system, and the decision became the model both for other statewide school desegregation cases and for cases challenging conditions in prisons and institutions for mentally ill people. Revolution by Law gives readers a deep understanding of the methods used by the federal government to desegregate the schools of the Deep South.

Brian K. Landsberg is professor of law emeritus at the University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law.
The Unusual Story of the Pocket Veto Case, 1926–1929

Jonathan Lurie

According to the US Constitution, if a bill is not returned to Congress by the president within ten days of receiving it and Congress has adjourned, the bill is effectively vetoed. The so-called pocket veto dates at least as far back as the presidency of James Madison (1808–1816), but the constitutionality of its use had not been considered by the Supreme Court until Okanogan et al. v. United States was decided in 1929, during the last year of Chief Justice Taft's tenure. Despite responding to a situation in American Indian law, the Pocket Veto Case is notable for the fact that its final decision had nothing whatsoever to do with Indian law. The Okanogan Tribe is barely mentioned at all in the Court's unanimous opinion, delivered by Justice Edward Sanford, which ultimately concluded that the pocket veto is a constitutional exercise of presidential authority.

The Unusual Story of the Pocket Veto Case explores the underlying tension between congressional authority and the executive prerogative. Especially today, with such tension very much in evidence, it becomes all the more important to understand how and why the Constitution actually appears to encourage it. Studying Okanogan et al. v. United States and use of the pocket veto provides an excellent example of the tension between Congress and the president.

“Lurie compellingly demonstrates the complexities of our constitutional procedures. His analysis pieces together how all three branches of government responded to the Indian tribes’ claims, smoothly transitioning between congressional debates, the Coolidge administration’s defense of the pocket veto, and the ultimate Supreme Court decision. In this fine study, Lurie has managed to make even the ostensibly dry and technical elements of his history—for instance, the creation and development of the US Court of Claims—both lucid and interesting. Lurie tells a good tale.”

—Kevin J. Burns, author of William Howard Taft’s Constitutional Progressivism

Jonathan Lurie is professor of history emeritus, Rutgers University–Newark Campus, and author of numerous books, including The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment and Military Justice in America, both from Kansas.

“A clear and well-written study of an underappreciated case. The only complete work on the history of the pocket veto and the cases that examined it, Lurie’s book is a valuable work, and legal scholars will appreciate a study that considers this rarely examined but important topic.”

Tim Alan Garrison, author of The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations

“This is an extremely interesting book explaining how problematic/controversial the history of the pocket veto has been.”

Ralph A. Rossum, author of The Supreme Court and Tribal Gaming: California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
“Through painstaking analysis of three influential Supreme Court justices’ opinions, *Limits of Constraint* succeeds in bringing Hugo Black’s jurisprudence into contemporary debates about originalism and also highlighting and analyzing a wide range of cases where Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas reached different conclusions.”

*John Dinan, author of Keeping the People’s Liberties: Legislators, Citizens, and Judges as Guardians of Rights*

Adherents of originalism often present it as a theory that constrains legal decision-making in a clear and objective manner that is based on the text and original meaning of the Constitution, in contrast to the supposedly subjective and “activist” jurisprudence of those who promote a living Constitution. But originalists have not had the same views on constitutional issues, calling into question the theory of originalism. *Limits of Constraint* examines the originalist jurisprudence of Hugo Black, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas, showing that three of the Court’s originalists have arrived at different conclusions in many constitutional areas. While the starkest contrast is between Justice Black and Justices Scalia and Thomas, even the latter two justices have disagreed on several key issues, including executive power and the administrative state. James Staab shows that originalism in actual practice does not deliver on its promise of an objective jurisprudence free of personal philosophy and discretion. Rather than rehash theoretical debates about the merits of originalism, *Limits of Constraint* examines originalism in operation by focusing on the judicial opinions of three prominent Supreme Court originalists: Hugo Black, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas. If the analysis of this book is correct—that is, the results reached by Justices Black, Scalia, and Thomas are divergent across a wide array of constitutional areas—then originalism promises more than it can deliver. One of the fundamental claims made by originalists is that their theory of constitutional interpretation limits judicial discretion, but originalism does not constrain judicial behavior as much as its defenders claim.

*James B. Staab* is professor of political science at the University of Central Missouri.

NEW BOOKS
LEGAL STUDIES | POLITICAL SCIENCE | US HISTORY

**Limits of Constraint**
The Originalist Jurisprudence of Hugo Black, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas

James B. Staab

Adherents of originalism often present it as a theory that constrains legal decision-making in a clear and objective manner that is based on the text and original meaning of the Constitution, in contrast to the supposedly subjective and “activist” jurisprudence of those who promote a living Constitution. But originalists have not had the same views on constitutional issues, calling into question the theory of originalism. *Limits of Constraint* examines the originalist jurisprudence of Hugo Black, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas, showing that three of the Court’s originalists have arrived at different conclusions in many constitutional areas. While the starkest contrast is between Justice Black and Justices Scalia and Thomas, even the latter two justices have disagreed on several key issues, including executive power and the administrative state. James Staab shows that originalism in actual practice does not deliver on its promise of an objective jurisprudence free of personal philosophy and discretion. Rather than rehash theoretical debates about the merits of originalism, *Limits of Constraint* examines originalism in operation by focusing on the judicial opinions of three prominent Supreme Court originalists: Hugo Black, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas. If the analysis of this book is correct—that is, the results reached by Justices Black, Scalia, and Thomas are divergent across a wide array of constitutional areas—then originalism promises more than it can deliver. One of the fundamental claims made by originalists is that their theory of constitutional interpretation limits judicial discretion, but originalism does not constrain judicial behavior as much as its defenders claim.

*James B. Staab* is professor of political science at the University of Central Missouri.
“Schools for Statesmen constitutes the most comprehensive analysis ever published of the education of the Framers of the US Constitution. Its detailed account of the Framers’ tutors, grammar schools, colleges, and legal training is unparalleled.”

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“This exceedingly well-researched book digs deeply into primary and secondary sources to illuminate the varied educational experiences of the Framers. The result is a remarkably helpful study of those men and a book full of insights concerning the varied intellectual currents of the eighteenth century, the work of the Constitutional Convention itself, and the nature of the document it produced.”

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Schools for Statesmen
The Divergent Educations of the Constitution’s Framers
Andrew H. Browning

Whatever Principles are imbibed at College will run thro’ a Man’s whole future Conduct.” —William Livingston, signer of the Constitution

Schools for Statesmen explores the fifty-five individual Framers of the Constitution in close detail and argues that their different educations help explain their divergent positions at the 1787 Constitutional Convention. Those educations ranged from outlawed Irish “hedge schools” to England’s venerable Inns of Court, from the grammar schools of New England to ambitious new academies springing up on the Carolina frontier. The more traditional schools that focused on Greek and Latin classics (Oxford, Harvard, Yale, William and Mary) were deeply conservative institutions resistant to change. But the Scottish colleges and the newer American schools (Princeton, Philadelphia, King’s College) introduced students to a Scottish Enlightenment curriculum that fostered more radical, forward-thinking leaders. Half of the Framers had no college education and were often self-taught or had private tutors; most were quiet at the convention, although a few stubbornly opposed the new ideas they were hearing. Nearly all the delegates who took the lead at the convention had been educated at the newer, innovative colleges, but of the seven who rejected the new Constitution, three had gone to the older traditional schools, while three others had not gone to college at all.

Schools for Statesmen is an unprecedented analysis of the sharply divergent educations of the Framers of the Constitution. It reveals the ways in which the Constitutional Convention, rather than being a counter-revolution by conservative elites, was dominated by forward-thinking innovators who had benefited from the educational revolution beginning in the mid-eighteenth century.

Andrew Browning offers a new and persuasive explanation of key disagreements among the Framers and the process by which they were able to break through the impasse that threatened the convention; he provides a fresh understanding of the importance of education in what has been called the “Critical Period” of US history.

Schools for Statesmen takes a deep dive into the diverse educational world of the eighteenth century and sheds new light on the origins of the US Constitution.

Andrew H. Browning is the author of The Panic of 1819: The First Great Depression. He was educated at Princeton and the University of Virginia and has taught history in Washington, DC; Portland, Oregon; and Honolulu, Hawaii.
Socialist Mayors in the United States

Governing in an Era of Municipal Reform, 1900–1920

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“A much-needed study of US democratic Socialism at the grassroots level that clearly demonstrates that Socialism was not a foreign import but a truly American political movement.”

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Jeffrey Johnson, author of “They Are All Red Out Here”: Socialist Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1895–1925

The United States is known as a country that has been highly antagonistic to Socialism of any form. Socialists in the United States have tended to be political outsiders, mounting criticisms of the government without serving in elected office themselves. However, from around 1900 to 1920, Socialist politicians in the United States were prominent and active at the municipal level, holding office as government insiders. Socialist mayors in over two hundred small cities across the United States brought meaningful improvements in the quality of life for people in their communities, playing an important role in this period’s municipal reform movement. Despite the limitations of being associated with a minority party—particularly a party that divided over whether to pursue elected office in the United States—these mayors pushed for reforms, challenged the status quo, and held their own in demonstrating the ability to govern.

Socialist Mayors in the United States is the first comprehensive study of nationwide Socialist activity at the municipal level during the Progressive Era. It is a unique study of the Socialist mayors in this period: their election, how they approached their job, and what they accomplished. Berman offers a fresh look at the nature of the Socialist Party by focusing on its municipal program, interaction with non-Socialist municipal reformers, local political operations, and the tensions within the party as it delved into political action on this level. Socialist Mayors in the United States is an illumination of seldom-explored political and governmental characteristics of medium and small towns, often very small towns, where Socialists enjoyed most of their successes.

David R. Berman is professor emeritus of political science at Arizona State University and author of numerous books, including Local Government and the States: Autonomy, Politics, and Policy; Governors and the Progressive Movement; and Radicalism in the Mountain West, 1890–1920: Socialists, Populists, Miners, and Wobblies.
Stabilizing Fragile States
Why It Matters and What to Do about It

Rufus C. Phillips III

which did not put US boots on the ground, to massive interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, which did. The lack of success in Afghanistan and Iraq has tended to dominate the national conversation about dealing with fragile states. Stabilizing Fragile States provides a thorough analysis of what has gone wrong and what has gone right in US involvement.

- Stabilizing fragile states is more of an unconventional political and psychological endeavor requiring an operational mindset rather than conventional war or normal diplomacy.
- Defines the focus of counterinsurgency not as killing insurgents but as a positive effort to win local people’s support by involving them in their own self-defense and political, social, and economic development.
- Americans must understand the religious, historical, political, and social context of the host country and be consistent, patient, and persistent in what they do.
- Security-force training in host countries must include respect for civilians and the definition by their leadership of a national cause that the trainees believe is worth risking their lives to defend.
- Recommends creating a dedicated cadre of expeditionary diplomacy and development professionals in Department of State/USAID and a special training school as an addition to the Global Fragility Act.

The late Rufus C. Phillips III was a political action and counterinsurgency expert with significant foreign experience. His previous work includes Why Vietnam Matters: An Eyewitness Account of Lessons Not Learned.

“This is a work of pressing importance, particularly in a political context that seeks security by turning inward. As the world and its problems aren’t going anywhere, viable approaches are of pressing concern. Rufus Phillips provides them: practical policy and implementation, with an expansive view of individual and institutional preparation and enhancement. What comes across constantly is a sense of possibilities latent in our system. The emphasis is on what is possible, not dwelling on mistakes of the past, building upon them to offer a way forward. This is uplifting.”

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This book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy series.
Presidential Control over Administration

A New Historical Analysis of Public Finance Policymaking, 1929–2018

Patrick R. O’Brien

The US Constitution recognizes the president as the sole legal head of the executive branch. Despite this constitutional authority, the president’s actual control over administration varies significantly in practice from one president to the next. Presidential Control over Administration provides a new approach for studying the presidency and policymaking that centers on this critical and often overlooked historical variable.

To explain the different configurations of presidential control over administration that recur throughout history—collapse, innovation, stabilization, and constraint—O’Brien develops a new theory that incorporates historical variation in a combination of key restrictions such as time, knowledge, and the structure of government as well as key incentives such as providing acceptable performance and implementing preferred policies. O’Brien then tests the argument by tracing the policymaking process in the domain of public finance across nearly a century of history, beginning with President Herbert Hoover during the Great Depression and ending with the first two years of the Trump presidency. Although the book focuses on historical variation in presidential control, especially during the New Deal era and the Reagan era, the theory and empirical analysis are highly relevant for recent incumbents. In particular, O’Brien shows that during the Great Recession and beyond the initial efforts of Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump to change the established course during a period of unified party control of the government were largely undercut by each president’s limited control over administration.

Presidential Control over Administration is a groundbreaking contribution to our understanding of the presidency and policymaking.

Patrick R. O’Brien is research and policy fellow at Connecticut Voices for Children, a public policy think tank in New Haven. He is also a visiting assistant professor of public policy at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.
Empire of Direct Mail
How Conservative Marketing Persuaded Voters and Transformed the Grassroots
Takahito Moriyama

The rapid growth of the conservative movement has long fascinated historians, many of whom have focused on the grassroots efforts in the Sunbelt. Empire of Direct Mail examines how conservative operatives got their message out to their supporters through computerized direct mail, a significant but understudied communications technology.

The story centers on Richard Viguerie, a pioneer of political direct mail who was known as the “Funding Father” of the conservative movement. His consulting firm established a database of conservative prospects and mailed millions of unsolicited letters. By the 1970s, Viguerie emerged as the central fundraiser in conservative politics, financing right-wing organizations and politicians such as George Wallace, Jesse Helms, and Ronald Reagan.

Moriyama shows that the rise of right-wing direct mail communication in the postwar years coincided with a new strategy: the use of this new technology to stoke negative emotions, such as fury and fear, among the letter recipients. In the period of broadcasting, conservative fundraisers established the new approach of targeting individual voters and promoting negative emotions to win elections.

Before Rush Limbaugh’s talk show, Fox News, Twitter, and Cambridge Analytica, conservatives used direct mail to spread messages of anxiety and anger to raise funds and mobilize the grassroots. Through extensive archival research of fundraising activities in the conservative movement and key elections from 1950 to 1980, Empire of Direct Mail offers a political history of the role played by communications technology in the development of modern US conservatism.

Empire of Direct Mail is the first book that systematically examines the political role of direct mail and revises a widely accepted wisdom that the conservative movement emanated from grassroots politics in Sunbelt suburbs, tracing how media activists in New York City and Washington, DC, built the new “grassroots” movement.

Takahito Moriyama is associate professor in the Department of British and American Studies at Nanzan University.
“For those of us who have been working in alternative-academic spaces for decades and for those new to such roles this book is a powerful tool and a blaring wake-up call from higher education’s ‘fourth estate’ to faculty members and administrators everywhere. Beyond defining the liminal and interstitial emotional work expected of academic staff members, the volume authors provide practical, authentic ways to name, frame, legitimate, and advocate for the expertise and experience of those of us who wish to reclaim alt-ac spaces and roles as ‘ultimately valuable and deserving to be valued.’ Read this book and learn how to cast off the ‘pink collar’ of gendered, racialized, classist, and ableist assumptions about whose work and ideas are privileged in the academy.”


In her groundbreaking work The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling (1983), sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild described “emotional labor management” as follows: “to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others.” Think of a retail worker in customer relations who must keep calm and be pleasant even when dealing with someone who is irate. While scholars have explored the affective realm when it comes to teaching and being a professor, there is less written about the experience of those working in nonteaching areas of academia—“alt-ac.”

Affective Labor and Alt-Ac Careers critically examines aspects of affective and emotional labor involved in alt-ac careers in higher education. This is the first and only book of its kind that focuses on affective labor and alt-ac/staff careers in higher education. Cross-profession and cross-disciplinary, the book takes seriously the invisible labor performed at our institutions by academic staff, work that is essential for the success of our students.

Research in this volume allows an opportunity for those in alt-ac careers to examine and share their affective experiences in their roles in technology, administration, research, and academic support services and as librarians, academic advisors, and writing center instructors—among others.

Affective Labor and Alt-Ac Careers is the third book in Kansas’s Rethinking Careers, Rethinking Academia series, which seeks projects that lead to meaningful professional development and create lasting value for graduate students, recent and experienced PhDs, university faculty and administrators, and the growing alt-ac and post-ac community.

Lee Skallerup Bessette is assistant director for digital learning at the Center for New Designs in Learning and Scholarship at Georgetown University.
“Rachel Neff’s story of the best-laid plans of doctoral students reminds us all that life offers many paths to success. Her resilience teaches valuable lessons as she struggles with horrendous interviews, dauntingly intense academic documents, and an employer’s seemingly random expectation that she chase literal chickens on New Year’s Eve. Neff’s experience is atypical only in its specific details; many science trainees face obstacles, and Chasing Chickens provides an important reassurance that—though they may feel otherwise on a daily basis—they are competent, they are deserving, and they are not alone.” —Adam Ruben, Science careers columnist and author of Surviving Your Stupid, Stupid Decision to Go to Grad School

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Christine Caccipuoti and Elizabeth Keohane-Burbridge produce the popular history podcast Footnoting History. In addition, Keohane-Burbridge is a history teacher at Woodward Academy in Georgia and Caccipuoti is a freelance writer and performer.

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David R. Stone is Pickett Professor of Military History at Kansas State University. He is the author of *A Military History of Russia: From Ivan the Terrible to the War in Chechnya* and *Hammer and Rifle: The Militarization of the Soviet Union, 1926–1933* and editor of *The Soviet Union at War, 1941–1945.*

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Allan R. Millett is Ambrose Professor of History and director of the Eisenhower Center for American Studies at the University of New Orleans and is the recipient of the Pritzker Military Library Literature Award for Lifetime Achievement in Military Writing. His previous books include *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps*, *A War To Be Won: Fighting the Second World War*, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States from 1607 to 2012*, *Their War for Korea: American, Asian, and European Combatants and Civilians, 1945–1953*, and *The War for Korea, 1945–1950: A House Burning.*

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Timothy B. Smith teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin. He is the author of many books, including Shiloh: Conquer or Perish and Corinth 1862: Siege, Battle, Occupation, also from Kansas.

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Matthew R. Costello is senior historian at the White House Historical Association and was a project contributor for the George Washington Bibliography Project, George Washington Papers. His work has appeared in such publications as White House History, Journal of History and Cultures, and Essays in History.
Sam Nunn
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