

# UNIVERSITY PRESS OF **KANSAS**



New Books for Spring & Summer 2023

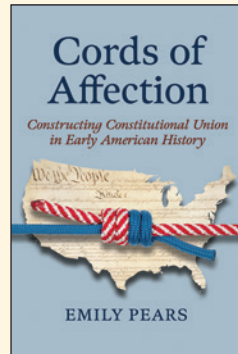
# Recent Awards

## Cords of Affection

Constructing Constitutional Union in Early American History

Emily Pears

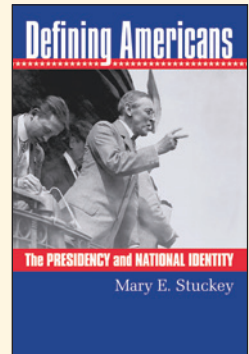
**Best Book in American Political Thought, American Political Thought section of the American Political Science Association**



## POLICING SEX IN THE SUNFLOWER STATE



NICOLE PERRY



## Policing Sex in the Sunflower State

The Story of the Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women

Nicole Perry

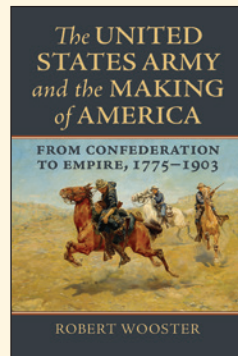
**Armitage-Jameson Prize, given by the Coalition for Western Women's History**

## Defining Americans

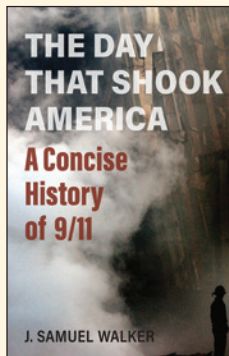
The Presidency and National Identity

Mary E. Stuckey

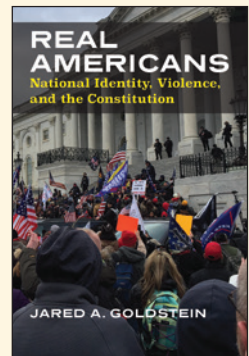
**American Political Science Association Presidents and Executive Politics Legacy Award**



ROBERT WOOSTER



J. SAMUEL WALKER



JARED A. GOLDSTEIN

## The United States Army and the Making of America

From Confederation to Empire, 1775-1903

Robert Wooster

**Army Historical Foundation Distinguished Writing Award**

## The Day That Shook America

A Concise History of 9/11

J. Samuel Walker

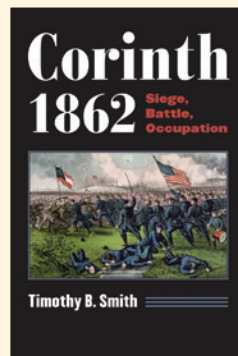
**Choice Outstanding Academic Title**

## Real Americans

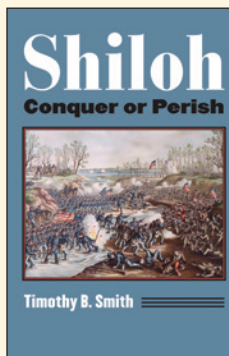
National Identity, Violence, and the Constitution

Jared A. Goldstein

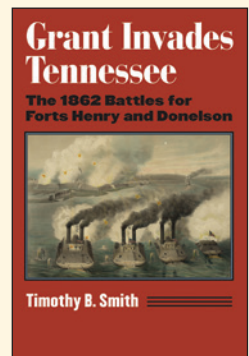
**Choice Outstanding Academic Title**



Timothy B. Smith



Timothy B. Smith



Timothy B. Smith

## Timothy B. Smith

Author of six University Press of Kansas books:

**Corinth 1862: Siege, Battle, Occupation**

**Shiloh: Conquer or Perish**

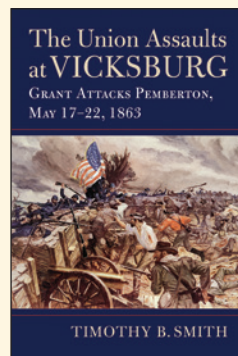
**Grant Invades Tennessee: The 1862 Battles for Forts Henry and Donelson**

**The Union Assaults at Vicksburg: Grant Attacks Pemberton, May 17-22, 1863**

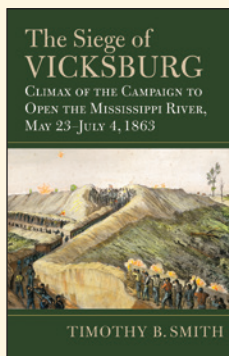
**The Siege of Vicksburg: Climax of the Campaign to Open the Mississippi River, May 23-July 4, 1863**

**Early Struggles for Vicksburg: The Mississippi Central Campaign and Chickasaw Bayou, October 25-December 31, 1862**

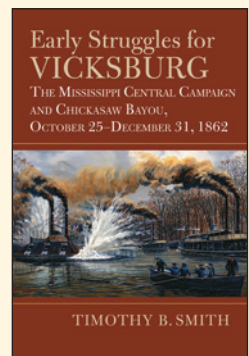
**Recipient of the Frank E. Vandiver Award of Merit from the Houston Civil War Round Table for outstanding contributions to Civil War scholarship or preservation efforts**



TIMOTHY B. SMITH



TIMOTHY B. SMITH



TIMOTHY B. SMITH

Front cover: *The Utah Light Artillery*, a National Guard Heritage Painting by Keith Rocco. See *The Mormon Military Experience*, p. 6.



# Gathering Strays

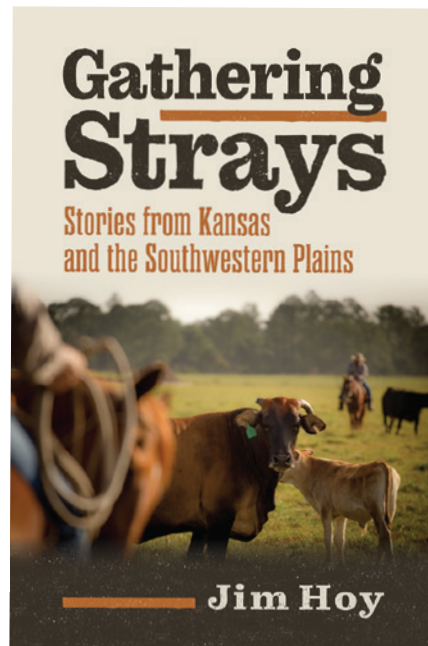
## Stories from Kansas and the Southwestern Plains

Jim Hoy

**C**elebrated folklorist and author Jim Hoy has spent most of his life living in the heart of the famed Flint Hills of Kansas and documenting and celebrating his fellow Kansans and plains folk. Like rounding up stray cattle in a rolling pasture, Hoy has gathered over a hundred stray stories, tales without a single theme or unified narrative, and corraled them up here for the very first time. Branding these stories in sections like Cattle Towns, Outlaws, and Cowboy Music, Hoy's vignettes teach, excite, charm, and instill a deep pride in anyone fortunate enough to have lived on the Great Plains.

In *Gathering Strays*, Hoy gives us a collection of stories about Kansas, the Great Plains, and Western life that reflect his life-long love of the land, experience, and history of the region. Hoy introduces us to folks like Elmer McCurdy, a failed train robber whose arsenic-embalmed body went on tour and made money for the undertaker, and Ame Cole, who scolded Russian Grand Duke Alexis on his table manners. Writing as an easy-going storyteller, Hoy covers familiar areas like rodeos and cattle drives, takes us from Dodge City to Beer City and everywhere in between, explains why Kansas has the best state song in the nation, and expands our picture of cowboys with stories of Australian drovers, Black cowboys, and Mexican vaqueros.

Throughout, his easy-to-read yet authoritative style describes the people, places, and events that make the region so distinctive and celebrated. *Gathering Strays* will be hailed by anyone interested in the heroes and villains, towns and ranges, and myths and legends of the West.



Jim Hoy is professor emeritus of English, Emporia State University, and director emeritus of the Center for Great Plains Studies. Among his many books are *My Flint Hills: Observations and Reminiscences from America's Last Tallgrass Prairie*, *Flint Hills Cowboys: Tales from the Tallgrass Prairie*, both from Kansas, and, with Tom Isern, *Plains Folk: A Commonplace of the Great Plains*.

"Growing up on ranches in the Flint Hills of Kansas, Jim Hoy has spent his life riding and writing. He leads us on a fun, information-rich tour of the people, places, and events of the Old West. We meet memorable cowboys, outlaws, and other frontier folk and explore cow towns, ranches, rodeos, and more. Saddle up and enjoy the ride!"

**RICHARD W. SLATTA** IS PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF HISTORY AT NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AND AUTHOR OF *THE COWBOY ENCYCLOPEDIA*, *COWBOYS OF THE AMERICAS*

"Jim Hoy is a fine storyteller with deep roots in the Flint Hills of Kansas and the Great Plains. This connection with the old days and old ways of the West gives him a perspective to interpret the history of the Great Plains. Anything he's written is well worth reading, including this fine book."

**JIM GARRY** IS A STORYTELLER AND THE AUTHOR OF *THIS OL' DROUGHT AIN'T BROKE US YET* AND *THE FIRST LIAR NEVER HAS A CHANCE*

APRIL

402 pages, 6 x 9

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3410-1, \$34.95(t)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3411-8, \$34.95

# The Life and Legacy of Elizabeth Miller Watkins

## A Pioneering Philanthropist

Mary Dresser Burchill and Norma Decker Hoagland

*"The Life and Legacy of Elizabeth Miller Watkins portrays a successful woman entrepreneur and the obstacles she faced at a time when few women were ever given a chance to develop a career in business. . . . It is a well-documented and well-written page-turner that explores human foibles with stories of intrigue as Elizabeth tries to carry the Watkins mission of philanthropy."*

**RAQUEL RAMSEY**, AUTHOR OF *TAKING FLIGHT: THE NADINE RAMSEY STORY*

*"This book offers important insights into Watkins's life as a modern woman living in Kansas at the turn of the twentieth century who married late and was greatly responsible for earning the money that made her wealthy. . . . This is part of Kansas history that has not been told."*

**ROMALYN TILGHMAN**, AUTHOR OF *TO THE STARS THROUGH DIFFICULTIES*

MAY

240 pages, 70 photographs, 6 x 9  
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3423-1, \$24.95(t)  
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3424-8, \$24.95

Few women have had a more significant impact on the development and growth of Lawrence, Kansas, and the University of Kansas than Elizabeth Miller Watkins.

Elizabeth Josephine Miller was born in Ohio in 1861 and moved with her family to Lawrence when she was a child. She attended the University of Kansas's preparatory school in the 1870s but could not complete her education when a family financial crisis forced her to seek employment. She started working at the J. B. Watkins Land and Mortgage Company in 1887 as a secretary and in 1909 she married the company's founder and owner, Jabez Watkins. Together the Watkinses dedicated themselves to philanthropy and were committed to giving all their wealth, as Elizabeth said, "for the good of humanity, chiefly here in Lawrence." Jabez died in 1921, leaving Elizabeth to manage the family fortune alone.

Elizabeth wished to give women the opportunity for higher education that she herself had never received. In 1925, the Kansas Board of Regents approved her request to have a women's scholarship hall built at KU. Watkins Hall, named in memory of her late husband, was constructed close to Elizabeth's home—now the chancellor's residence—and was followed a decade later by the construction of Miller Hall in 1936. As two of the twelve scholarship halls at the University of Kansas today, Watkins and Miller Halls are home to a vibrant cohort of young female scholars and an active alumnae

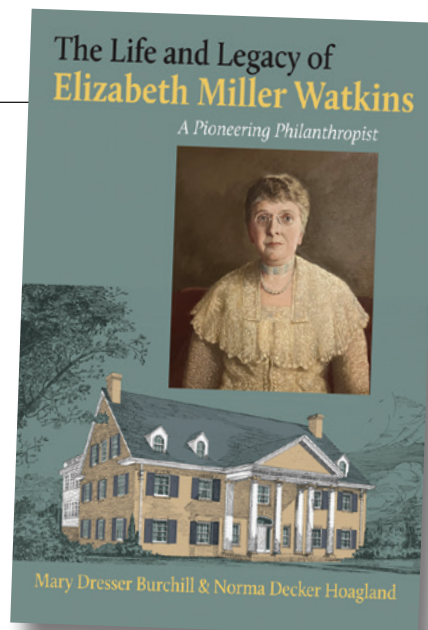
community who continue the philanthropic vision of Elizabeth Miller Watkins.

In 1929, Elizabeth donated \$200,000 for the new Lawrence Memorial Hospital to be built at 3rd and Maine, where it remains today. She also established the first on-campus healthcare provider, Watkins Memorial Hospital, at the University of Kansas (now Twente Hall) in 1931.

In this engaging biography, Mary Dresser Burchill and Norma Decker Hoagland's extensive research successfully paints a portrait of a remarkable woman whose generosity endures at KU and in Lawrence and brings to light the astonishing legacy of one of the city's leading philanthropists.

**Mary Dresser Burchill** was associate director of the Law Library at KU from 1979 until her retirement in 1995.

**Norma Decker Hoagland** is working partner and co-owner of J&N Ranch, Leavenworth, Kansas.



# Kansas City's Montgall Avenue

## Black Leaders and the Street They Called Home

Margie Carr

A few blocks southeast of the famed intersection of 18th and Vine in Kansas City, Missouri, just a stone's throw from Charlie Parker's old stomping grounds and the current home of the vaulted American Jazz Museum and Negro Leagues Baseball Museum, sits Montgall Avenue. This single block was home to some of the most important and influential leaders the city has ever known.

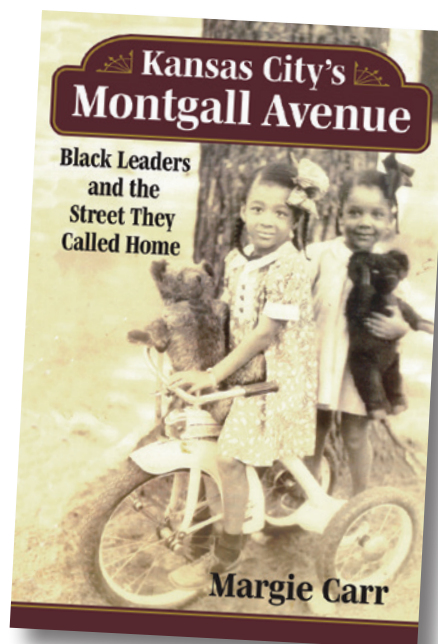
Margie Carr's *Kansas City's Montgall Avenue: Black Leaders and the Street They Called Home* is the extraordinary, century-old history of one city block whose residents shaped the changing status of Black people in Kansas City and built the social and economic institutions that supported the city's Black community during the first half of the twentieth century. The community included, among others, Chester Franklin, founder of the city's Black newspaper, *The Call*; Lucile Bluford, a University of Kansas alumna who worked at *The Call* for sixty-nine years; and Dr. John Edward Perry, founder of Wheatley-Provident Hospital, Kansas City's first hospital for Black people. The principal and four teachers from Lincoln High School, Kansas City's only high school for African American students, also lived on the block.

While introducing the reader to the remarkable individuals who lived on Montgall Avenue, Carr also uses this neighborhood as a microcosm of the changing nature of discrimination in twentieth-century America. The city's white leadership had little interest in supporting the Black community and

instead used its resources to separate and isolate them. The state of Missouri enforced segregation statutes until the 1960s and the federal government created housing policies that erased any assets Black homeowners accumulated, robbing them of their ability to transfer that wealth to the next generation.

Today, the 2400 block of Montgall Avenue is situated in one of the poorest neighborhoods in Kansas City. The attitudes and policies that contributed to the neighborhood's changing environment paint a more complete—and disturbing—picture of the role that race continues to play in America's story.

Margie Carr is a volunteer child advocate coordinator and freelance writer from Lawrence, Kansas.



"Margie Carr's work is an outstanding addition to the history of Black Kansas City and Kansas City as a whole. By examining the lives of the residents of this one block, Carr teases out important individuals and events that shaped Black Kansas City."

**CHARLES E. COULTER**, AUTHOR OF *TAKE UP THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN: KANSAS CITY'S AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES, 1865–1939*

"Intelligently conceived, meticulously researched, and beautifully written, Carr's book is invaluable not only for those interested in the history of African Americans in Kansas City but also for those concerned about America's future."

**WILLIAM M. TUTTLE, JR.**, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF AMERICAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, AND AUTHOR OF *RACE RIOT: CHICAGO IN THE RED SUMMER OF 1919* AND *"DADDY'S GONE TO WAR": THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN THE LIVES OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN*

JUNE

248 pages, 37 photographs, 6 x 9  
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3467-5, \$26.95(t)  
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3468-2, \$26.95



# Wars Civil and Great

## The American Experience in the Civil War and World War I

Edited by David J. Silbey and Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

"Finally! We needed a book just like this, and now we have it. The fascinating essays in this collection make a compelling case for some striking similarities between the American Civil War and the Great War. No matter your historical interests, you will learn something new from the juxtapositions made in this unique book."

**LORIE FOOTE**, PATRICIA AND BOOKMAN PETERS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF *UTES OF RETALIATION: CIVILIZATION, SOLDIERS, AND CAMPAIGNS IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR*

"Besides their own splendid reflections, the editors also gathered a cadre of scholars who draw fascinating parallels between the two wars, anchored by Steven Trout's thoughtful afterword."

**EDWARD A. GUTIÉRREZ**, DIRECTOR OF CENTER FOR MILITARY HISTORY AND GRAND STRATEGY, HILLSDALE COLLEGE, AND AUTHOR OF *DOUGHBOYS ON THE GREAT WAR: HOW AMERICAN SOLDIERS VIEWED THEIR MILITARY EXPERIENCE*

AUGUST

304 pages, 6 x 9

*Modern War Studies*

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3537-5, \$44.95(s)

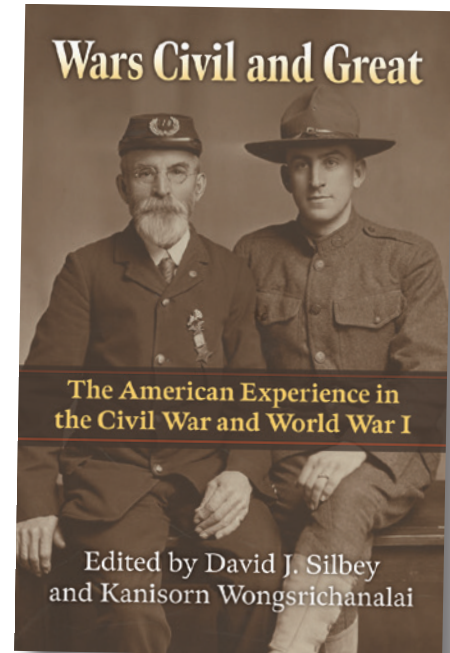
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3473-6, \$24.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3474-3, \$24.95

Although the Civil War and the Great War were fought only fifty years apart, the perceived time between these two cataclysmic events seems far longer in popular American memory: the Civil War was the centerpiece of the nineteenth century and lies deep in America's past whereas World War I was a modern prelude to World War II, a conflict still in living memory. *Wars Civil and Great* breaks down these barriers of time and memory and shows how close and how similar these two conflicts really were in the American experience. Setting both wars in the long nineteenth century, the authors of this volume reveal how the Civil War cast its long shadow over the events of World War I. President Wilson looked to Lincoln during the Great War for guidance on national leadership at wartime; General John J. Pershing remembered the Civil War of his childhood and sought to learn lessons from Grant and McClellan; and the doughboys on European battlefields held firm to the culture of honor and duty that had inspired their forefathers to take up arms.

In this volume, every author as an expert in their own field addresses four overarching questions: What legacy did the Civil War leave? Did the World War I generation interpret the lessons of the Civil War, and if so, how? How did the Great War change the lessons from the Civil War era? And finally, how did both wars contribute to the modernization of the United States?

*Wars Civil and Great* highlights the striking similarities between the two wars by analyzing how the Civil War affected the American reaction to and experience in



the Great War while attending to enlisted men, military officers, and political leaders. Other chapters address the environmental effects of both wars, the wars' impacts on medicine and mental trauma, and the experiences of Black American soldiers in both wars as they fought for a country that treated them so terribly.

This volume, while at first appearing as a disparate pairing of conflicts, deftly opens a new window into the past and establishes an illuminating paradigm in the two wars of the long nineteenth century.

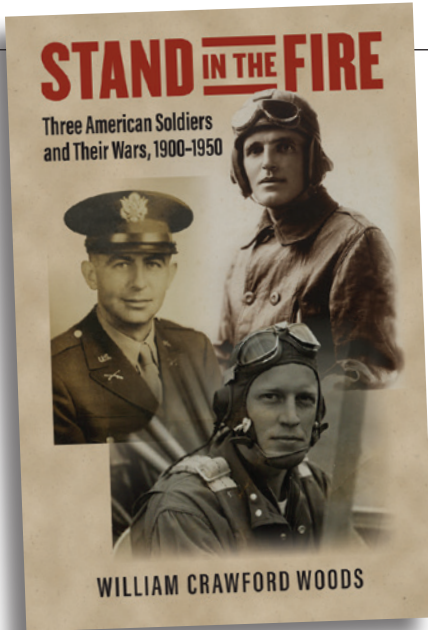
**David J. Silbey** is associate director of Cornell University in Washington and adjunct associate professor of history.

**Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai** is director of research, Massachusetts Historical Society.

# Stand in the Fire

## Three American Soldiers and Their Wars, 1900–1950

William Crawford Woods



From the first shot fired by his grandfather on a jungle trail in 1903 to the day his father captured plans for the Chinese invasion of South Korea, William Crawford Woods's family has fought in nearly every American war of the twentieth century. Drawing on his family's letters, journals, official records, and other artifacts found in his grandmother's attic, Woods has revived their stories—accounts of his grandfather, who served in the Philippine War and World War I; of his uncle, who rose from a West Point cadet to staff command in the 11th Airborne and died in action in the Battle of Manila in World War II; and of his own father, who transformed himself from a sedentary lawyer into a soldier and a spy. To lighten the dramatic and emotional load of his family's service, Woods occasionally calls on memories of his own time in the army, which he calls "brief, bloodless, and largely comic."

Woods fortifies this work of nonfiction with his skills as a novelist, crafting dramatic scenes and engaging dialog, offering far more than operational battlefield stories. He explores the wider impact of war, as we learn of his grandfather's struggles with his wife's patrician parents; his uncle's involvement with Cy Caldwell, a superstar aviator of the 1930s; and his father's swift ascent from civilian to counterspy.

*Stand in the Fire* is both an engrossing chronicle of a family who served in every American conflict from the Philippine War to the Cold War and a profoundly personal window into a family's patriotic inheritance. This intimately documented history vividly conveys successive generations' personal calls to serve, tells the stories of their paths to selfhood through military experience, and reflects on how they found fulfillment and adventure in their service, as well as evasion of the domestic scene.

Woods has skillfully created a memoir about the construction of memory forged in military service and American masculinity. *Stand in the Fire* is a powerful exploration of the love between fathers and sons and an attempt to honor family valor.

"I became aware of a debt to my ancestors I felt I could discharge by writing this book," Woods writes. "It was a way of keeping faith with those ancestors."

William Crawford Woods, author of *The Killing Zone: A Novel*, was a staff writer for the *Washington Post* and a founder of the John Dos Passos Prize for Literature.

"William Woods's *Stand in the Fire* serves best as a magnificently written time capsule of a different America. In this historically based work of creative nonfiction, Woods tells the stories of his forefathers: men who served in times of war, their transformation in donning the uniform, and their incomplete return to civility—if they were fortunate enough to return at all. The reader will rightly marvel at this family's experiences. Ultimately, Woods subtly demands the reader consider whether the society that created millions of such families, and such men, still exists; or if it should at all."

**PAUL DARLING**, AUTHOR OF *TALIBAN SAFARI: ONE DAY IN THE SURKHAGAN VALLEY*

"*Stand in the Fire* is masterfully written, gripping from beginning to end, and deeply moving."

**STEVEN TROUT**, AUTHOR OF *THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL AT ANGEL FIRE: WAR, REMEMBRANCE, AND AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY*

JUNE  
336 pages, 32 photographs, 6 x 9  
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3463-7, \$32.95(t)  
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3464-4, \$32.95

# The Mormon Military Experience

1838 to the Cold War

Sherman L. Fleek and Robert C. Freeman

"We overuse the terms *unique* and *overdue*, but this study of the Mormon military experience is truly both. Fleek and Freeman bring to the fore a fascinating and intricate history of the often-troubling and always-complicated involvement of Mormonism with the force of arms, from the LDS Church literally operating its own army for many decades in the nineteenth century to becoming an ardent advocate and supporter of the armed forces of the United States in the twentieth. Their work ranges effectively from the stories of individual Mormons in uniform to analyses of the institution's interface with military affairs, events, and issues."

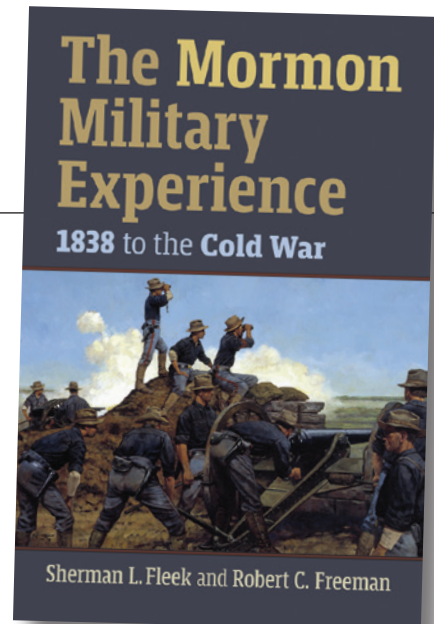
**GENE A. SESSIONS**, COAUTHOR OF *CAMP FLOYD AND THE MORMONS: THE UTAH WAR*

JUNE

368 pages, 13 photographs, 3 maps, 3 figures, 1 table, 6 x 9  
*Studies in Civil-Military Relations*  
 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3432-3, \$44.95(s)  
 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3433-0, \$44.95

**T**he Mormon military experience is unique in American history. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) is the only denomination to field military units for its own support and purpose rather than national interests, an effort which began in Missouri in 1838 and lasted through the Spanish American War of 1898. From World War I onward, however, the military exceptionalism of the LDS Church faded and Mormon soldiers came to serve national interests as loyal citizens alongside their fellow Americans. *The Mormon Military Experience: 1838 to the Cold War* is the first book to present a historical overview of the Mormon military experience. Sherman Fleek and Robert Freeman tell this unique story of how the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has experienced war and military service and of their teachings concerning participation in armed conflict.

The LDS Church's distinct relationship between religious life and military service is rooted in its adherence to the Book of Mormon and its unique doctrine based in ancient and then-modern revelations from church leaders. Religious and military exceptionalism went hand in hand during the nineteenth century, when LDS Church leaders dictated when and how members would serve in armed conflict. Mormon militiamen were often more loyal to church interests and the guidance of LDS leaders than they were to government policy, from the mustering of the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War to orchestrating the armed effort



during the Utah War of 1857–1858 to serving as Civil War volunteers in the West. Similarly, they followed Church leaders' teachings not to serve in the Civil War's bloody campaigns in the East.

While LDS leaders adapted church practices and policies to support national objectives at times, there were also occasions when Mormon militia units defied state and federal military forces, sometimes to the point of open combat. No other American denomination has done this. This is a story about changing loyalties: as the LDS Church transformed from a personalist religious movement on the edge of society to a mainstay of American religious and political life, Mormons have moved from battling the US military to serving with distinction within it.

**Lt. Col. Sherman L. Fleek**, US Army (ret.) is the command historian at the US Military Academy at West Point.

**Robert C. Freeman** is professor of Church History and Doctrine at BYU.



# The All-Volunteer Force

## Fifty Years of Service

Edited by William A. Taylor

Foreword by David M. Kennedy

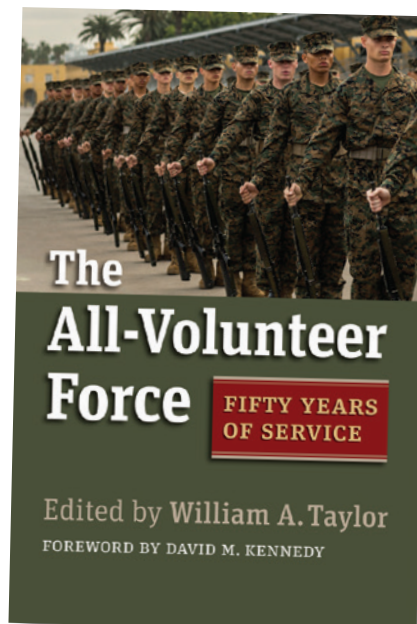
The all-volunteer force (AVF), created in conjunction with the end of the draft in 1973, has been the most significant development in modern American military history. Since its inception, the influence of the AVF has reached far beyond the US armed forces, affecting the very character of American civil-military relations. While its successes and challenges continue to be widely discussed and fervently debated, one thing is certain: the AVF is critical to both US national security and the fabric of American society. The insightful, cogent, and provocative essays contained in this timely volume represent a crucial first step in assessing the AVF after fifty years of service. Here, fifteen renowned authors speak to vital issues that remain relevant today and will endure well into the future.

The AVF has garnered both triumphs and shortcomings but continues to be an essential institution. Engaged dialogue about the AVF is crucial to ensure that it remains ready to meet and overcome potential threats and that policymakers address the central obstacles it faces today.

*The All-Volunteer Force* is the most comprehensive assessment of the force since its advent and reveals the momentous sway the AVF has had on the military, government, and society in the United States. In crafting this far-reaching collection of essays, William A. Taylor examines the AVF in four distinct parts, analyzing its history, results, challenges, and implications. In doing so, this compelling book explores all the major facets of the AVF—past, present, and future.

This dynamic volume brings together a multidisciplinary group of distinguished authors who each bring to bear important perspectives on specific aspects of the AVF. These contributors include leading scholars, general officers, civilian policymakers, and personnel experts who collectively provide a holistic assessment of the accomplishments and shortcomings of the AVF during its fifty years of service.

William A. Taylor is the Lee Drain Endowed University Professor of Global Security Studies at Angelo State University and editor of the *Studies in Civil-Military Relations* series.



"In one lively volume, a balanced and comprehensive assessment of the all-volunteer force. Historical chapters recount how the AVF got started and how it evolved. Leading scholars offer praise and skepticism in their assessments of the AVF today and its future challenges. The wide-ranging chapters offer keen insights into the consequences for US civil-military relations of relying on volunteers."

**CHARLES A. STEVENSON**, LECTURER, JOHNS HOPKINS SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL SERVICE, AND AUTHOR OF *WARRIORS AND POLITICIANS: US CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS UNDER STRESS*

"These essays by distinguished scholars are insightful and informative and make a significant contribution to the existing historical literature."

**KYLE LONGLEY**, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR, DIPLOMACY, AND SOCIETY PROGRAM AT CHAPMAN UNIVERSITY AND AUTHOR OF *THE MORENCI MARINES: A TALE OF SMALL TOWN AMERICA AND THE VIETNAM WAR*

AUGUST

344 pages, 6 photographs, 12 figures, 1 table, 6 x 9

*Studies in Civil-Military Relations*

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3538-2, \$49.95(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3481-1, \$32.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3482-8, \$32.95

# The Racial Integration of the American Armed Forces

## Cold War Necessity, Presidential Leadership, and Southern Resistance

Geoffrey W. Jensen

"Geoffrey Jensen makes a strong case for re-examining the integration of the US military through the lens of the Cold War, an important perspective that is generally absent from the scholarship on the topic. Jensen argues military integration was born out of the necessity of war—the Cold War—and contends the process of military reform waxed and waned according to the threats communist forces posed to US interests. His emphasis on the international concerns of presidential administrations corrects a tendency of scholars of military integration to limit their analysis to domestic concerns and the politics of civil rights."

**DOUGLAS WALTER BRISTOL, JR.,**  
COEDITOR, *INTEGRATING THE US  
MILITARY: RACE, GENDER, AND SEXUAL  
ORIENTATION SINCE WORLD WAR II*

APRIL

*Modern War Studies*

432 pages, 12 photographs, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3531-3, \$44.95(s)

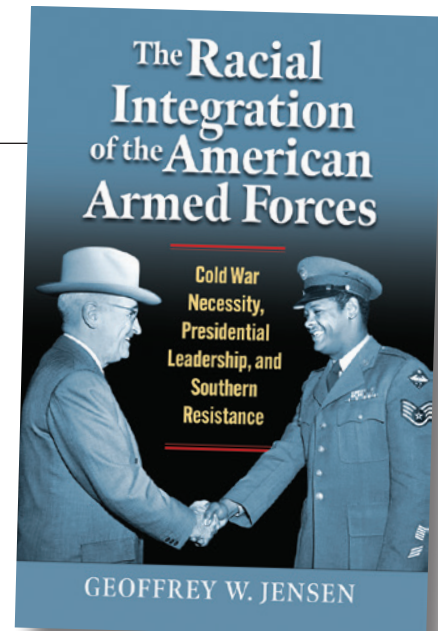
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3529-0, \$29.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3530-6, \$29.95

In order to win the Cold War, American presidents embraced the mantra of equality of opportunity to justify racial reform efforts within the US military. The problem was that equality of opportunity never guaranteed acceptance—nor was it designed to. In *The Racial Integration of the American Armed Forces*, Geoffrey W. Jensen clarifies our understanding of the political processes that fundamentally altered the racial composition of the US military.

Jensen examines nearly thirty years of military integration that unfolded during the Cold War. America's racial woes were grist for the propaganda mills in Moscow and their integration effort was intended to curb this assault and protect the nation's image during this largely ideological struggle. But integration of the armed forces needed more than just Cold War justification. It also required the willingness of the president to lead.

Military integration occurred as the result of the longstanding tradition of Congress to allow the executive branch to control the staffing and composition of the military. While past accounts of the integration of the armed forces have focused on the critical roles played by the burgeoning leadership of the civil rights movement and the Black population, Jensen is the first to emphasize the importance of presidential leadership and their staffs. Jensen contends that understanding the action—and inaction—of Cold War presidents and their administrations matters just as much as understanding the efforts of those outside of Washington



and the West Wing, as it was the presidents who were the ones dictating the pace at which reform was carried out.

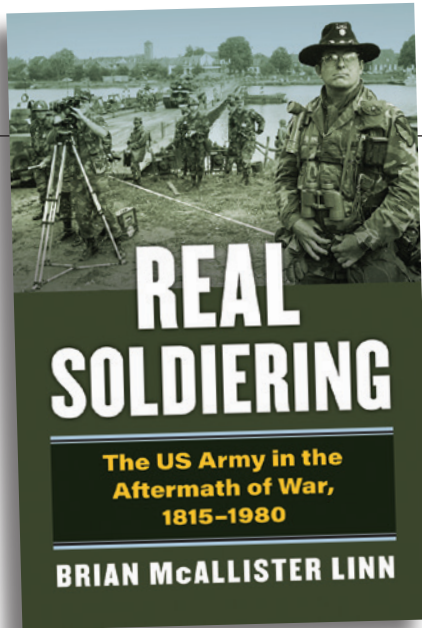
Jensen has carefully situated this story within the milieu of the Cold War, the civil rights movement, and, looming over it all, the emergence of Southern resistance to desegregation in the United States. Desperately committed to upholding and expanding their vision of white supremacy, the South recoiled in horror at the prospect of racially integrating the armed forces. From this vantage point, Jensen shows how the use of Black military personnel during the Cold War, and throughout all American history, was not born solely out of humanistic beliefs or desires to improve the social status of the Black community, but out of the strategic necessity of winning the war at hand.

Geoffrey W. Jensen is associate professor of history at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University.

# Real Soldiering

## The US Army in the Aftermath of War, 1815–1980

Brian McAllister Linn



**W**hat happens to the US Army after the battles are over, the citizen soldiers depart, and all that remains is the Regular Army? In this pathbreaking work, Brian Linn argues that in each decade following every major conflict since the War of 1812 the postwar army has undergone a long, painful, and remarkably consistent recovery process as it struggled to build a new model force to replace the “Old Army” that entered the conflict. Departing from the Washington-centric institutional histories of the past, Linn sets his focus on soldiering in the field, distilling the lived experiences of officers and troopers who were responsible for cleaning up the messes left in the wake of war.

*Real Soldiering* provides the first comprehensive study of the US Army’s transition from war to peace. It is both a wide-ranging history of the army’s postwar experience and a work detailing the commonalities of American soldiering over almost two centuries. Linn challenges three common historical interpretations:

confusing Washington policy with implementation in the field; conflating postwar armies with prewar armies; and describing certain postwar eras as distinct and transformational. Rather, Linn examines the postwar force as a distinct entity worthy of study as a unique and important part of US Army history. He identifies the common dilemmas faced by the service in the aftermath of every war. These problems included such military priorities as defense legislation, preparing for the next war, and adapting to new missions. But they also incorporated often overlooked—but for those who lived through them more important—consistencies such as officer acquisition and career management, personnel turbulence, insufficient personnel and equipment, and many others.

*Real Soldiering* represents over four decades of research into the US Army and is deeply informed by Linn’s experiences teaching and working with soldiers. It breaks new ground in lifting out the similarities of each postwar army while still appreciating their individual complexities. It identifies the leaders and the methods the service employed to escape the inevitable postwar drawdowns. Insightful and entertaining, provocative and empathetic, and a work of history with immediate relevance, *Real Soldiering* will resonate with military historians, defense analysts, and those who have proudly worn the US Army uniform.

**Brian McAllister Linn** is professor of history at Texas A&M and the author of *The Philippine War, 1899–1902*, *The Echo of Battle: The Army’s Way of War*, and three other books.

“Brian Linn is one of the most significant scholars of US military history writing today—distinguished not only by his innovative analysis but also by his thorough and nuanced understanding of how the US Army functions. He’s given us another ambitious and original work, an unromanticized account of war’s aftermath that will prove essential reading for both junior officers and senior leaders, as well as for anyone interested in military history.”

**BETH BAILEY**, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR MILITARY, WAR, AND SOCIETY STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, AND AUTHOR OF *AN ARMY AFIRE: HOW THE US ARMY CONFRONTED ITS RACIAL CRISIS IN THE VIETNAM ERA*

“Brian Linn’s work is critically important for both historians and senior leaders of our US Armed Forces today. Leaders in and out of uniform: read this book now!”

**GEN. (RET.) CHARLES H. JACOBY, JR.**, US ARMY

JULY  
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# The Constitution's Penman

## Gouverneur Morris and the Creation of America's Basic Charter

Dennis C. Rasmussen

"The first book-length venture on the subject, *The Constitution's Penman* deftly demonstrates the constitutional vision of Gouverneur Morris, one of the half-dozen dominant delegates in the Constitutional Convention. Examining Morris's arrangement of the final version of the Constitution and his authorship of the preamble, the book goes a long way in describing the Founders' motivation in drafting a new constitution for their struggling nation."

**JOHN P. KAMINSKI**, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

"[This] book belongs to that genre of historical writing on the 'forgotten founders,' and its introduction is a lament that so consequential a figure as Morris has fallen into obscurity. Rasmussen means to right that wrong."

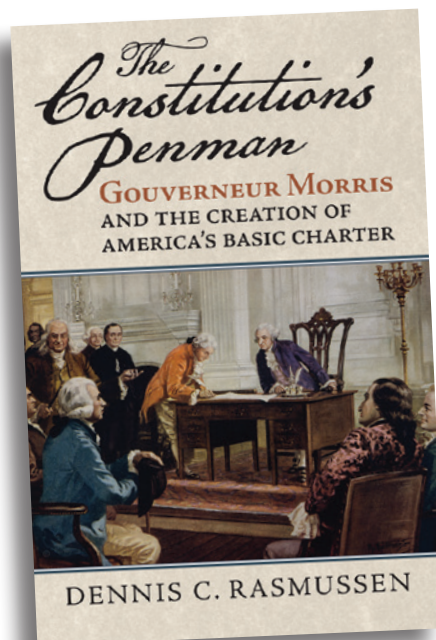
**PATRICK COBY**, ESTHER BOOTH WILEY 1934 PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF GOVERNMENT AT SMITH COLLEGE

Strikingly few Americans know who wrote the Constitution. Even fewer know that he was a peg-legged ladies' man with a wicked sense of humor, a staunch opponent of slavery, and an unabashed elitist. Gouverneur Morris, who has been described as "the most colorful man in North America" at the time of the founding, was a dominant figure at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. In fact, he spoke more often, proposed more motions, and had more motions adopted than any other delegate. He also put the Constitution into its final form, choosing the arrangement and much of the wording of its provisions, not to mention composing the famous preamble ("We the people of the United States . . .") nearly from scratch. *The Constitution's Penman* is the first book to

explore the constitutional vision of this fascinating, neglected, and influential American.

As Dennis Rasmussen deftly shows, some aspects of Morris's political thought were intriguingly idiosyncratic, such as his argument that the Senate should be an aristocratic body whose members would serve life terms without pay. Other aspects of his vision for America's constitutional order, however, were astoundingly prescient. Morris saw as clearly as any of the framers the need for a powerful executive with a popular mandate, the central role that parties would play in American politics, and the unfathomable evils that slavery would visit on American life. Rasmussen demonstrates that it is impossible to fully understand the Constitution without appreciating the central role that Morris played in shaping it.

Dennis C. Rasmussen is professor of political science, Syracuse University, and the author of *Fears of a Setting Sun: The Disillusionment of America's Founders* and *The Infidel and the Professor: David Hume, Adam Smith, and the Friendship That Shaped Modern Thought*.



APRIL

272 pages, 6 x 9

*American Political Thought*

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# July 22

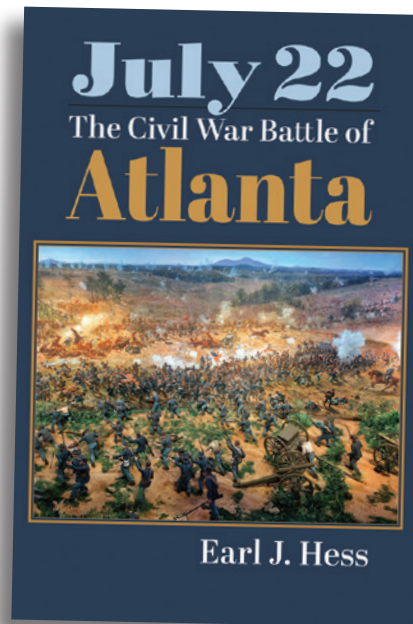
## The Civil War Battle of Atlanta

Earl J. Hess

So remarkable was the fighting to the east of Atlanta on July 22, 1864, that it earned its place as the only engagement of the Civil War to be widely referred to by the date of its occurrence. Also known as the Battle of Atlanta, this was the largest engagement of the four-month-long Atlanta Campaign for control of the city and the region. Although Confederate commander John Bell Hood's forces flanked William T. Sherman's line and were able to crush the end of it, they could go no further. On July 22, 1864, the Confederates came closer to achieving a major tactical victory than on any other day of the Atlanta Campaign.

Prolific Civil War historian Earl Hess's *July 22* is a thorough study of all aspects of the most prominent battle of the Civil War's Atlanta Campaign. Based on exhaustive research in primary sources, Hess has crafted a unique and compelling study of not only the tactics and strategy associated with the engagement but also of the personal experiences of Union and Confederate soldiers and the effects the battle had on them. This book offers fresh insights to the significance that the Battle of July 22 held for the larger Atlanta campaign and the entire Union war effort. Hess also provides a thorough discussion of the death of Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson, the most prominent casualty of the battle, and the effect this loss had on Union soldiers and civilians alike. He concludes with an assessment of the battle's legacy in American history and culture.

Detailing one of the larger and more vigorously fought battles of the Civil War, Hess's treatment of the Battle of Atlanta stands out as a strong example of Civil



War operational history. The combination of maneuver, unit handling, stout combat by the individual soldier, and combative spirit on both sides make July 22 one of the most fascinating and remarkable battles in American history. There is much for the student of military history to learn on many levels of tactics, the experience of combat, and battlefield leadership.

Earl J. Hess is emeritus professor, Lincoln Memorial University, and author of *The Rifle Musket in Civil War Combat: Reality and Myth* and *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat*, both from Kansas.

"Earl J. Hess makes yet another valuable contribution to scholarship on the struggle for Atlanta, the commanders who shaped its course, and Civil War military history in general. In addition to providing plenty to satisfy enthusiasts of traditional 'drums and trumpets' military history, Hess also offers intriguing discussions of such topics as battlefield commemoration and how both sides dealt with the wounded. Highly recommended."

**ETHAN S. RAFUSE**, EDITOR OF *CORPS COMMANDERS IN BLUE: UNION MAJOR GENERALS IN THE CIVIL WAR* AND *GUIDE TO THE RICHMOND-PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN*

"A tour de force of research and analysis, Hess's work represents a massive step forward in our knowledge of this long neglected but vital episode of the war."

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# Vaulting Ambition

## FDR's Campaign to Pack the Supreme Court

Michael Nelson

"Franklin D. Roosevelt was justifiably frustrated by Supreme Court decisions that struck down New Deal programs, but his attempt to pack the court with sympathetic Justices caused an uproar that seriously damaged his relations with Congress. Michael Nelson meticulously reconstructs Roosevelt's fateful decision-making and the alternatives he rejected. The issue remains as timely as today's headlines."

**DONALD A. RITCHIE**, AUTHOR OF  
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"Nelson offers a fresh look behind the scenes at FDR's plans and how they impacted institutions such as the executive branch, Congress, and the Democratic Party. Highly recommended for anyone interested in this formative era of US politics and its legacy."

**JEFFREY CROUCH**, COAUTHOR OF  
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Nothing embodied Franklin D. Roosevelt's campaign to lastingly embed the New Deal in the major institutions of American government more than his effort to pack the Supreme Court. *Vaulting Ambition*, the inaugural volume in the Landmark Presidential Decisions series, presents a balanced assessment of FDR's 1937 effort to fundamentally change the highest court in the land.

Unlike most work on the subject, Michael Nelson centers his study on the president's series of decisions to reform the Court, rather than on the Court's responses. At the heart of the book is an analytical narrative of FDR's crusade to expand the Court and pack it with those sympathetic to his cause. While keeping this story front and center, *Vaulting Ambition* also presents the Court-packing effort as part of FDR's larger campaign to shape the executive branch bureaucracy,

Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Democratic Party all in service to enduringly entrench the New Deal into US government and politics.

Although FDR never achieved the mastery over the entire federal government that he sought, his efforts to expand and transform the three branches of government and the Democratic Party were of great consequence and endured long beyond his tenure. Nelson offers a clear understanding of how FDR's campaign sheds essential light on today's raging controversy over changing the Supreme Court.

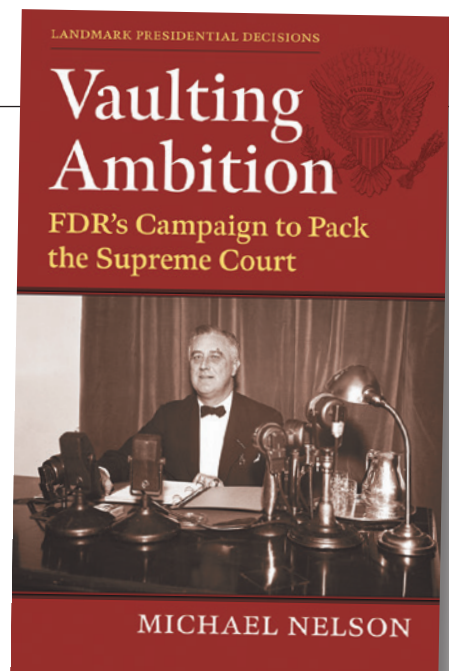
**Michael Nelson** is Fulmer Professor of Political Science at Rhodes College and a senior fellow at the University of Virginia's Miller Center.

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# Tom Foley

## The Man in the Middle

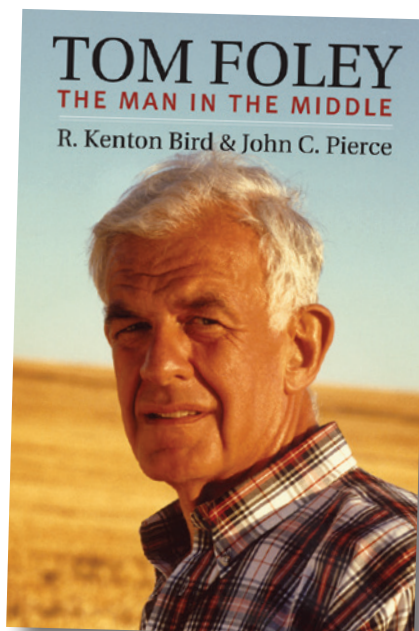
R. Kenton Bird and John C. Pierce

**T**homas S. Foley, a Democratic representative from the traditionally Republican region of eastern Washington, served in Congress from 1964 to 1994. In 1989 he became the first Speaker of the US House of Representatives from a district west of Texas. His thirty years of experience as a Democrat representing a Republican-leaning district contributed to his strong commitment to bipartisanship and institution building. His speakership came to an end when the Newt Gingrich–led “Republican Revolution” ushered in an era of ideological polarization and fierce partisanship.

*Tom Foley: The Man in the Middle* is a political biography of this important but often overlooked figure in modern congressional history. While examining the story of Foley’s service as Speaker of the House, R. Kenton Bird and John C. Pierce place his career in the context of both his own life story and congressional politics in the late twentieth century.

What emerges is the story of a leader whose strongly held political values motivated him to sustain a vibrant and responsive House of Representatives as an institution, with a stance that proved incompatible with the polarized and strident political environment that emerged in the early 1990s.

Bird and Pierce offer the first major study of Tom Foley’s political career in this penetrating look at a unique and transformative congressional leader who focused on making Congress work by bringing politicians from both sides of the aisle together. Foley’s tenure spanned the crucial years of transition between this bipartisan ideology of governance and the



politics of the twenty-first century, between the leadership styles of Democrats Jim Wright and Tip O’Neil and that of Republican Gingrich. Foley’s defeat in 1994 ended this remarkable career of leading from the middle and marked a seismic transition in the landscape of American politics.

**R. Kenton Bird** is professor of journalism and mass media at the University of Idaho.

**John C. Pierce** is affiliate professor at the University of Kansas, former dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Washington State University, and former executive director of the Oregon Historical Society.

“In Bird and Pierce’s book on Tom Foley, they combine their perspectives as a journalist and a political scientist in their analysis of a complex, and often underappreciated, bipartisan leader in the transition of the House over his three decades of service. Their analysis of Foley’s ability to balance the demands of his more conservative constituency with his more liberal policy inclinations provides a testament to Foley’s skill as both a representative and a legislator. It is an excellent addition to the UPK series on congressional leaders.”

**BRUCE I. OPPENHEIMER**, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

“Bird and Pierce ably describe how this ‘Man in the Middle’ nevertheless fell prey to the hyperpartisanship that has overwhelmed American politics.”

**JOHN LAWRENCE**, AUTHOR OF *ARC OF POWER: INSIDE NANCY PELOSI’S SPEAKERSHIP, 2005–2010*

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William C. Harris

"With his vast understanding of Lincoln and his remarkable insight, Harris provides fresh material on Lincoln's leadership and the unprecedented challenges that he and his contemporaries faced in preserving the Union."

**STEPHEN D. ENGLE**, AUTHOR OF  
*GATHERING TO SAVE A NATION:  
LINCOLN AND THE UNION'S WAR  
GOVERNORS*

"*Lincoln Illuminated and Remembered* indeed illuminates the lesser-known facets of Lincoln's career, including his persistent efforts to persuade border states to abolish slavery on their own, the long shadow of his opposition to the Mexican War, and his response to Confederate raiders operating from Canada. William C. Harris demonstrates that no matter how much we think we know about Lincoln, there is always more to learn."

**JAMES H. READ**, AUTHOR OF  
*SOVEREIGN OF A FREE PEOPLE:  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, MAJORITY RULE,  
AND SLAVERY*

MAY

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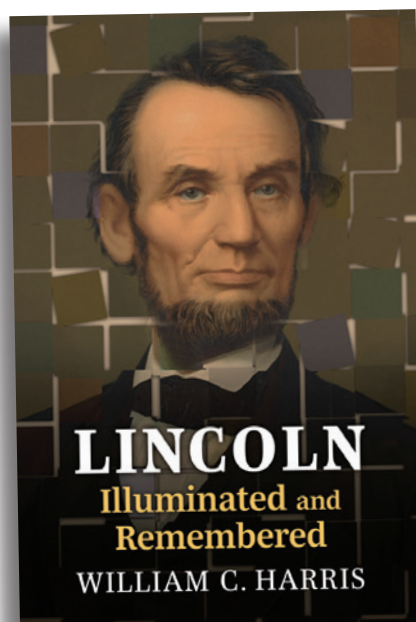
In *Lincoln Illuminated and Remembered*, venerated Lincoln scholar William C. Harris revisits neglected features of the life and presidency of Abraham Lincoln that deserve further attention. In this collection of essays written with his characteristically inviting prose, Harris draws on decades of scholarship on America's most highly regarded president to provide a fresh and fuller treatment of aspects of Lincoln's political career and legacy that have not been adequately analyzed by historians or biographers.

*Lincoln Illuminated and Remembered* offers new perspectives on Lincoln's leadership, with particular concern for the origins and development of Lincoln's qualities as a leader. Harris offers up the events of the Mexican-American War, an early and often neglected feature of Lincoln's political career, as a crucible for

his political identity and vision. Another essay provides a detailed account of Lincoln's support for compensated emancipation, highlighted by his plan to end the Civil War and slavery. Lincoln's military leadership is also described and analyzed, along with his relationship with George B. McClellan, Ulysses S. Grant, and other Civil War commanders. Harris deftly describes Lincoln's respect for the law and the Constitution and its effects on his policies regarding southern secession, political opposition in the North, and guerrilla warfare in the West and along the Canadian border. Finally, a biographical account of James Rood Doolittle, Lincoln's leading supporter in the Senate, is offered within the context of President Lincoln's relationship with Congress, the rise of the Republican Party, and the turbulent events of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

As Harris argues throughout these essays, Lincoln's development as commander in chief of the armies and his skills in dealing with Congress proved essential in winning the war, ending slavery, and elevating Lincoln to the rank of America's greatest president—an honor that was unthinkable at his first inauguration.

William C. Harris is professor emeritus of history, North Carolina State University, and author of *Two against Lincoln: Reverdy Johnson and Horatio Seymour, Champions of the Loyal Opposition*; *Lincoln and the Border States: Preserving the Union*; and *Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency*, all from Kansas.

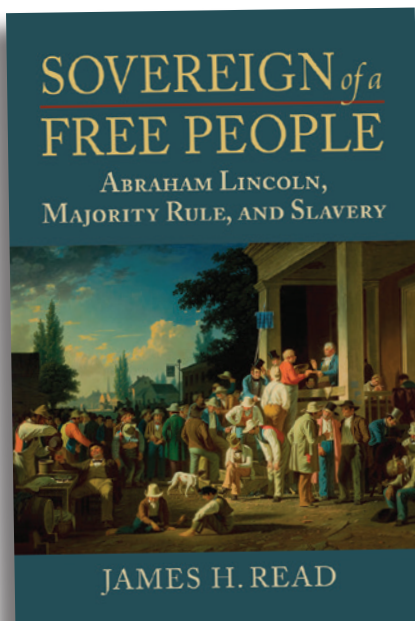


# Sovereign of a Free People

## Abraham Lincoln, Majority Rule, and Slavery

James H. Read

When Abraham Lincoln was sworn into office, seven slave states had preemptively seceded rather than recognize the legitimacy of his election. In his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861, Lincoln replied to the secessionists and set forth a principled defense of majority rule as “the only true sovereign of a free people.” His immediate purpose was to argue against the legitimacy of a powerful minority forcibly partitioning the United States because it was dissatisfied with the results of a free, constitutionally conducted election. His wider purpose was to make the case that a deliberate, constitutionally checked majority, though by no means infallible, was the appropriate ultimate authority not only on routine political questions but even on the kind of difficult, deeply divisive questions—like the future of slavery—that could otherwise trigger violent contests.



*Sovereign of a Free People* examines Lincoln’s defense of majority rule, his understanding of its capabilities and limitations, and his hope that slavery could be peacefully and gradually extinguished through the action of a committed national majority. James Read argues that Lincoln offered an innovative account of the interplay between majorities and minorities in the context of crosscutting issues and shifting public opinion. This story is particularly timely today as a new minority of dissatisfied voters has threatened and enacted violence in response to a valid election.

Read offers the first book focused on Lincoln’s understanding of majority rule. He also highlights the similarities and differences between the threats to American democracy in Lincoln’s time and in our own. *Sovereign of a Free People* challenges common assumptions about what caused the Civil War, takes seriously the alternative path of a peaceful, democratic abolition of slavery in the United States, and offers a fresh treatment of Lincoln and race.

James H. Read is professor of political science at the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John’s University of Minnesota. His previous books include *Majority Rule versus Consensus: The Political Thought of John C. Calhoun*, also from Kansas.

“James Read brings to bear his deep knowledge of majority rule and political power on America’s most-studied political figure. *Sovereign of a Free People* explores Lincoln’s belief in majority rule—and how the institution of slavery challenged his faith in the ability of the people to govern. Read’s thorough research and clear analysis show Lincoln wrestling with the strengths and challenges of majority rule and his belief that it should have led to a peaceful resolution of the slavery question. A thoughtful book on the vulnerabilities of democracy then and now.”

**CHRISTOPHER CHILDERS**, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND CHAIR OF THE SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, PITTSBURGH STATE UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF *THE FAILURE OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY: SLAVERY, MANIFEST DESTINY, AND THE RADICALIZATION OF SOUTHERN POLITICS*

JULY

432 pages, 2 maps, 3 tables, 6 x 9

*American Political Thought*

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Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3478-1, \$39.95



# Beyond the Ivory Tower

## The Case for Civically Engaged Political Scientists

Richard Davis

"Richard Davis makes the compelling case that political scientists will be better scientists and better teachers if they are also civically engaged. By providing examples of how political scientists have successfully straddled the worlds of academe and practical politics, Davis offers a path forward for those who are ready to embrace the civic mission of higher education: educating citizens for democracy."

**ELIZABETH A. BENNION,**  
CHANCELLOR'S PROFESSOR OF  
POLITICAL SCIENCE, INDIANA  
UNIVERSITY SOUTH BEND

"*Beyond the Ivory Tower* will be informative and inspirational for a substantial community of political scientists who want to be politically engaged."

**PETER LEVINE,** LINCOLN FILENE  
PROFESSOR OF CITIZENSHIP & PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS, TUFTS UNIVERSITY

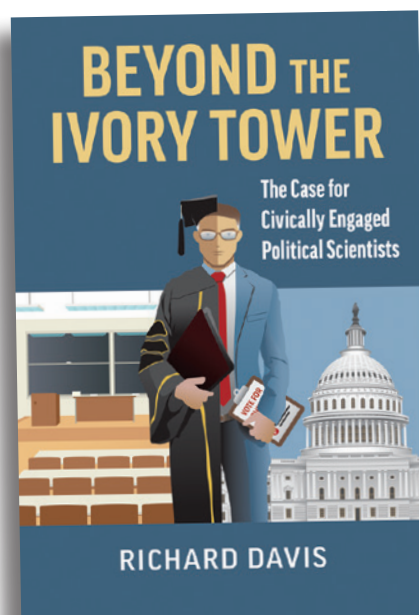
While academics often treat their subject matter with a posture of detached objectivity, some have moved beyond the ivory tower of academia toward a more personal and active engagement with their area of research. The field of political science lends itself particularly well to this kind of activity given the relevance, impact, and importance of civic engagement and the political landscape of our daily lives. Early in the discipline, Woodrow Wilson, Charles Merriam, and other leaders of the American Political Science Association were civically engaged citizens as well as active scholars and teachers. However, discipline and institutional barriers have discouraged contemporary engagement.

In *Beyond the Ivory Tower: The Case for Civically Engaged Political Scientists*, Richard Davis tells the stories of past and

present academics who have ventured beyond the academy. He frames his own story of political activism in Utah within the context of the need for political scientists to step away from the cloistered affairs of academia toward more public and political engagement. Davis discusses different ways to remain active in academic life while also becoming more publicly engaged in one's community and state. This book shows how political scientists may find alternative ways to explore their passion for politics and not only advocate civic engagement but also become actively engaged citizens themselves.

*Beyond the Ivory Tower* skillfully discusses the institutional and cultural barriers to academic civic engagement and proposes solutions to overcome them while offering examples of political scientists who have been active citizens in a variety of forums, including running for office, serving in government, and founding and leading nonprofit organizations.

Richard Davis is professor emeritus of political science and former director of the Office of Civic Engagement Leadership at Brigham Young University. He is also cofounder of the United Utah Party and the Utah Debate Commission.



AUGUST

184 pages, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3534-4, \$44.95(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3483-5, \$24.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3499-6, \$24.95

# Fundraiser in Chief

## Presidents and the Politics of Campaign Cash

Brendan J. Doherty

Recent presidents have responded to the evolving rules of the campaign finance system and the competitive electoral landscape by devoting substantial amounts of their most valuable resource—their time—to fundraising. In the follow-up to his 2012 book, *The Rise of the President's Permanent Campaign*, Brendan Doherty argues that presidential fundraising is an underexamined tool of modern presidential leadership and should be viewed as an instrument of presidential power akin to signing statements, executive orders, public speeches, and veto threats. Presidents raise campaign cash for themselves and for their fellow party members in the hope of electoral gains that will reshuffle the governing deck in their favor, but acting as fundraiser in chief sparks a host of controversies.

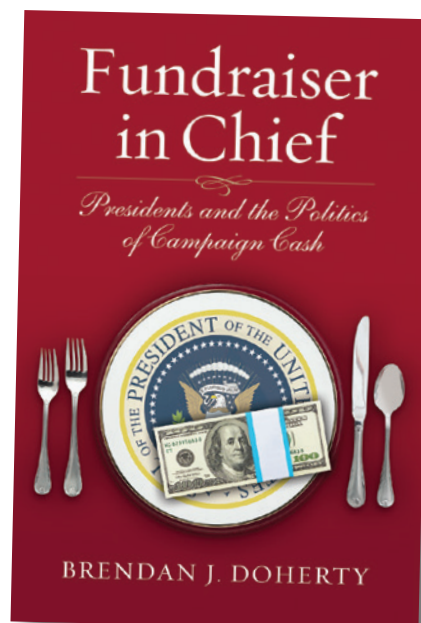
Based on an original dataset of 2,190 presidential fundraisers spanning more than four decades of presidents from Carter to Trump, *Fundraiser in Chief* is the first book-length work to analyze presidential fundraising in a systematic and comprehensive manner. Doherty draws on an unprecedented amount of empirical evidence to shed light on modern presidents' fundraising priorities and strategies as they seek to move the country closer to their vision of a more perfect union.

*Fundraiser in Chief* is a study of presidential resource allocation strategy: how much of their scarce time presidents devote to fundraising, for whom they do it, what priorities are illuminated by their efforts, how their fundraising strategies relate to the evolving campaign finance landscape, under what circumstances they fundraise behind closed doors, and the

resulting controversies and implications for presidential leadership and the American political system.

Doherty offers an argument about the incentives that drive presidents to fundraise so frequently while examining the controversial implications of their extensive efforts to raise campaign cash. He contends that rising campaign costs, limits on contributions to candidates and political parties, the inadequacy of the resources provided by the presidential public funding system, the specter of Super PACs raising funds in unlimited amounts, and fiercely competitive contests to control the White House, Congress, and governors' offices across the country have all incentivized presidents to embrace their role as fundraiser in chief.

Brendan J. Doherty is professor of political science at the United States Naval Academy.



"Drawing upon a painstakingly collected data set of presidential fundraisers spanning nearly a half century, Brendan Doherty provides a comprehensive portrait of presidential fundraising in the modern era. This lucidly written and cogently argued book is the definitive scholarly account of the 'fundraiser in chief.' An invaluable resource for researchers, teachers, and journalists, it is also a must-read for all Americans concerned with the role of money in contemporary US politics."

**RICHARD J. ELLIS**, AUTHOR OF *PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL: THE JOURNEY FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEORGE W. BUSH*

"This book provides by far the most comprehensive evaluation of the rise of presidents' drive for donor dollars and whether the role of fundraiser-in-chief is not only time-consuming but potentially corrupting."

**ANDREW RUDALEVIGE**, THOMAS BRACKETT REED PROFESSOR AND CHAIR OF GOVERNMENT, BOWDOIN COLLEGE

APRIL

216 pages, 2 maps, 17 figures,  
8 tables, 6 x 9

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# Octopus's Garden

## How Railroads and Citrus Transformed Southern California

Benjamin T. Jenkins

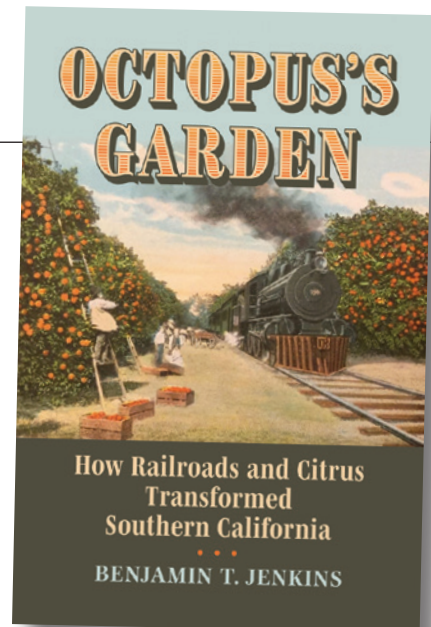
"In *Octopus's Garden*, Jenkins has fashioned a worthy contribution to the history of both railroads and agriculture. Many beautiful illustrations complement Jenkins's thoroughly researched and well-written text, which details how railroads and citrus culture together contributed to the social and economic transformation of Southern California."

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As Southern California recovered from the collapse of the cattle industry in the 1860s, the arrival of railroads—attacked by newspapers as the greedy "octopus"—and the expansion of citrus agriculture transformed the struggling region into a vast, idealized, and prosperous garden. New groves of the latest citrus varieties and new towns like Riverside quickly grew directly along the tracks of transcontinental railroads. The influx of capital, industrial technology, and workers, especially people of color, energized Southern California and tied it more closely to the economy and culture of the United States than ever before.

Benjamin Jenkins's *Octopus's Garden* argues that citrus agriculture and railroads together shaped the economy, landscape, labor systems, and popular image of Southern California. Orange and lemon growing boomed in the 1870s and 1880s while railroads linked the region to markets across North America and ended centuries of geographic isolation for the West Coast. Railroads competed over the shipment of citrus fruits from multiple counties engulfed by the orange empire, resulting in an extensive rail network that generated lucrative returns for grove owners and railroad businessmen in Southern California from the 1890s to the 1950s.

While investment from white Americans, particularly wealthy New Englanders, formed the financial backbone of the Octopus's Garden, citrus and railroads would not have thrived in Southern California without the labor of people of color. Many workers of color took advantage of the commercial develop-



ments offered by railroads and citrus to economically advance their families and communities; however, these people also suffered greatly under the constant realities of bodily harm, low wages, and political and social exclusion. Promoters of the railroads and citrus cooperatives touted California as paradise for white Americans and minimized the roles of non-white laborers by stereotyping them in advertisements and publications. These practices fostered conceptions of California's racial hierarchy by praising privileged whites and maligning the workers who made them prosper.

The Octopus's Garden continues to shape Southern Californians' understanding of their past. In bringing together multiple storylines, Jenkins provides a complex and fresh perspective on the impact of citrus agriculturalists and railroad companies in Southern Californian history.

**Benjamin T. Jenkins** is associate professor of history and archivist at the University of La Verne.

JULY

384 pages, 19 photographs,  
1 map, 6 x 9

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Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3472-9, \$47.95



# For the Enjoyment of the People

## The Creation of National Identity in American Public Lands

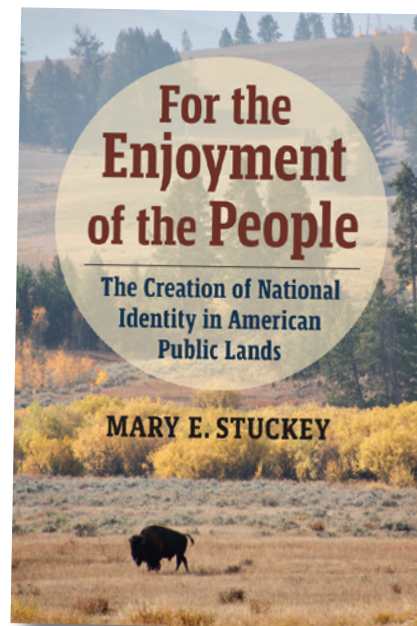
Mary E. Stuckey

National parks are widely revered as “America’s best idea”—they are abundantly popular and remarkably noncontroversial in the United States. American presidents use these parks to stake their claims to environmentalism, assert a singular national history, and define a unified national identity, often doing so inside the parks themselves. However, the establishment and history of almost every national park has been riddled with conflict over competing claims to land, knowledge, and economic interests. Like any major area of public policy, the fissures present in debates over the national parks also represent important fracture lines in the public understanding of the meaning of America and of individual claims to citizenship. The park system, in other words, does a lot of political work for both presidents and the mass public, even though much of that work goes largely unnoticed. This book explores that political work by addressing themes of national origins and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples; monuments to the national past, heritage, and the assertion of a national narrative; environmentalism and natural resources; and exploitation of the national landscape for economic gain.

In *For the Enjoyment of the People*, Mary Stuckey looks at the politics of the parks as well as what the parks can teach us about citizenship and what it means to be American. Stuckey asserts that through the national parks we can hope to explain

the past, clarify the present, and project the future. Combining interdisciplinary conversations about tourism, public memory, national history, park history, the presidency, and national identity, Stuckey contributes insightful ideas to the conversation on the history of national parks while examining the natural, military, and patriotic nature of America’s best idea.

Mary E. Stuckey is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Communication Arts and Sciences at Pennsylvania State University.



“In *For the Enjoyment of the People*, Stuckey expertly explores the presidential politics and rhetoric engaged around the creation and extension of the national park system, while simultaneously unpacking what she terms the ‘political work’ exercised by the parks themselves. Stuckey artfully delineates how the two historical paths merge and clash around multiple layers of identity and value for a host of actors. The tension between extraction, conservation, spirituality, and delineating identity is revealed through fascinating case studies of many of the United States’ most beautiful, visited, and fought over public areas.”

DIANE J. HEITH, AUTHOR OF *THE END OF THE RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY?: PUBLIC LEADERSHIP IN THE TRUMP ERA*

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# Not White Enough

## The Long, Shameful Road to Japanese American Internment

Lawrence Goldstone

“Written with flair and a sense of drama, *Not White Enough* is a very good, attention-grabbing read. Goldstone locates anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century within the broader context of Asian exclusion and weaves a cautionary tale using recent events as reminders that issues of racial animus in immigration are not simply relics of the past.”

**CAROL NACKENOFF** IS THE RICHTER PROFESSOR EMERITA OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT SWARTHMORE COLLEGE AND COAUTHOR OF *AMERICAN BY BIRTH: WONG KIM ARK AND THE BATTLE FOR CITIZENSHIP*

“This book tells the story of how the anti-Japanese animus that produced internment during World War II developed from nearly a century of anti-Asian mobilization. A timely and critical historical contribution!”

**JULIE NOVKOV**, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND WOMEN’S, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY STUDIES, UNIVERSITY AT ALBANY, SUNY

MAY

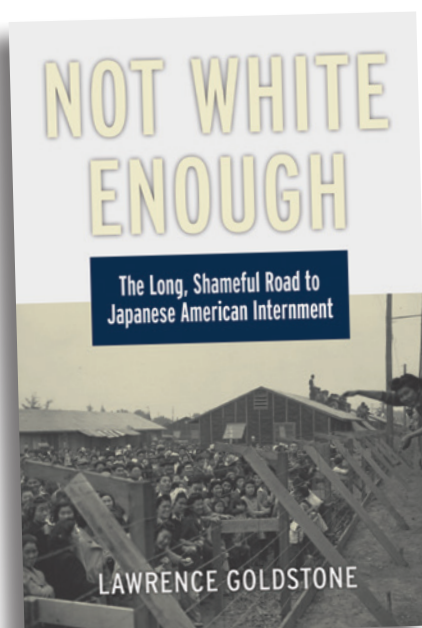
280 pages, 25 photographs, 6 x 9  
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3425-5, \$39.95(s)  
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Lawrence Goldstone’s *Not White Enough* is a comprehensive examination of a century of bigotry against Chinese and Japanese Americans that culminated in the infamous Supreme Court decision *Korematsu v. United States*: the landmark ruling that upheld the illegal imprisonment of more than 100,000 innocent men, women, and children who were falsely accused of endangering national security during World War II. This book is the first to trace the full arc of prejudice against Asian Americans that made internment inevitable and serves as a legal and political history of anti-Asian racism, beginning with the California gold rush and ending with *Korematsu*.

*Not White Enough* demonstrates how the lines between law and politics blurred for decades to enable a two-tiered system

of justice where constitutional guarantees of equality under law were not upheld for all people. Goldstone examines each of the key Supreme Court decisions—including *Wong Kim Ark*, *Ozawa*, and *Thind*—as not simply jurisprudence but as expressions of political will. He chronicles the political history of racism that made Japanese internment almost inevitable, highlighting the key roles San Francisco mayors James D. Phelan and Eugene Schmitz, political boss Abe Ruef, California attorney general Ulysses Webb, and future Chief Justice Earl Warren played in instigating some of the most egregious anti-Asian legislation, all for political convenience and gain. Goldstone also illustrates Chinese and Japanese immigrants’ courage and determination to carve out a place for themselves in a country that did everything it could to reject them.

Lawrence Goldstone is the author of *Dark Bargain: Slavery, Profits, and the Struggle for the Constitution*; *The Activist: John Marshall, Marbury v. Madison, and the Myth of Judicial Review*; *Inherently Unequal: The Betrayal of Equal Rights by the Supreme Court, 1865–1903*; and *On Account of Race: The Supreme Court, White Supremacy, and the Ravaging of African American Voting Rights*.



# Persuading the Public

## The Evolution of Popular Presidential Communication from Washington to Trump

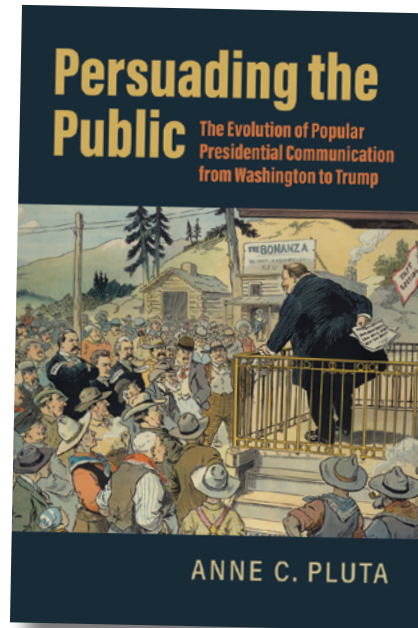
Anne C. Pluta

In *Persuading the Public*, Anne Pluta rethinks the established narrative of presidential communication and offers a bold new way of thinking about how presidents have reached the American public.

Most presidential scholars claim that the “rhetorical presidency,” in which presidents seek to engage directly with the public and appeal to the nation as the basis for governance, emerged at the turn of the twentieth century, shifting away from the constitutional norms of the nineteenth century when presidential communication was purely ceremonial and exceedingly rare. Pluta challenges this head-on by arguing that even the earliest presidents understood their unique relationship with the public and sought to leverage this connection through popular communication.

Pluta offers up her alternative theory of opportunistic communication in this comprehensive assessment of the popular communication practices of American presidents from 1789 to 2021. Her new argument of opportunistic communication explains the relationship between the president and the people in terms of a framework of opportunities structured by technology, the media environment, enfranchisement, and party politics—not constitutional norms.

This fresh reassessment is based on Pluta’s unique dataset of thousands of presidential public speeches, including more than 3,000 instances of pre-1929 presidential rhetoric. While the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have often been overlooked by political scientists,



Pluta argues that it is an essential period to understanding presidential communication. Using a massive original dataset with a multimethod analysis, she offers a new theoretical approach to understanding how and why presidential communication has evolved.

Anne C. Pluta is associate professor of political science at Rowan University.

“This book is a major scholarly achievement, combining a new and impressively comprehensive database with an innovative theoretical framework. It significantly advances knowledge and understanding of the presidential practice of ‘going public,’ and is now an essential resource in the field.”

**MEL LARACEY**, PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT SAN ANTONIO, AUTHOR OF *PRESIDENTS AND THE PEOPLE: THE PARTISAN STORY OF GOING PUBLIC AND INFORMING A NATION: THE NEWSPAPER PRESIDENCY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON*

“With *Persuading the Public*, Anne Pluta has produced an impressive piece of scholarship. This book will find a home in classrooms and on the research shelves of scholars of American politics, the presidency, American political development, and political communication.”

**DANIEL E. PONDER, L. E. MEADOR** PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, DRURY UNIVERSITY

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# Graduate Students at Work

## Exploited Scholars of Neoliberal Higher Ed

Edited by Tessa Brown

"Brown's collection captures the long road of labor exploitation that got us here as well as the unique challenges and opportunities graduate students face in the present moment. The authors explore the emotional, material, and intellectual consequences of capitalism in higher education, creating a vital resource for current and potential graduate students, for the labor organizers who support them, and for the teachers and administrators ready to be allies. This is both a scholarly and a narrative text, accessible and thought-provoking."

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"The primary research covers a huge range of territory where the all-too-often demands for 'data' stall advocacy efforts. I am profoundly grateful that this book exists."

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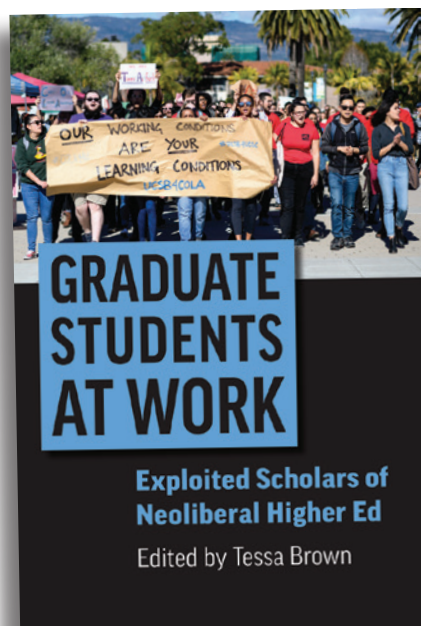
**G**raduate Students at Work highlights the expertise and experiences of graduate students to demonstrate what graduate study entails, what it makes possible, and what it constrains in the context of corporatizing higher education. This collection of full-length research articles and short personal essays illustrates graduate students' experiences, organizing tactics, and strategies for staying in or moving out of the academy.

Speaking from personal experience as well as reporting research findings, the contributors of *Graduate Students at Work* illustrate the significant expertise that graduate students are asked to enact in their time-intensive jobs as teachers, researchers, and administrators, even as they are kept in poverty wages for the decade or so it takes to move through a master's and doctoral program into the promised land of a tenure-track job.

While these students are the leaders of the academic labor movement, they have yet to receive as much attention as adjunct instructors and other laborers in the university system. Though they experience harassment, discrimination, and exploitation, graduate students rarely have access to labor protections because they are often misclassified as students, not employees—a key rhetorical strategy universities use to fight graduate student organizing.

These essays and articles also draw insightful connections between the labor conditions of graduate student workers and other workers navigating poverty wages, labor migration, limited benefits, and harassment and discrimination around lines of race, gender, ability, and citizenship—the most important connection perhaps being the possibility for organization and unionization to fight for better working conditions for all.

**Tessa Brown** is an entrepreneur and was previously a lecturer in the Program on Writing and Rhetoric at Stanford University.



# Right-Wing Critics of American Conservatism

George Hawley

With a new preface by the author

“A timely exploration of the past and present of American conservatism, mapping various schools of thought within the American rights.”—*Political Science Quarterly*

“The best guide to the bizarre reality of the 2016 GOP.”—*Reason Magazine*

“The book’s tone is exquisitely non-judgmental, but it is clear that Hawley’s interest is not just academic. . . . In chapters on localists, libertarians, paleoconservatives, and white nationalists, he provides thorough summaries of major figures and arguments.”—*The American Conservative*

“[Hawley] tells an important story about how the conservative movement has been shaped over its history.”—*Choice*

“In this highly readable and well-researched study, George Hawley persuasively shows that the various disaffected right-wing movements in America, which have often been unfairly

banished to the political margins by the mainstream conservative movement, deserve far more serious attention than they have received to date.”—Grant N. Havers, author of *Leo Strauss and Anglo-American Democracy: A Conservative Critique*

“For anyone trying to understand how modern conservatives have worked to create an intellectually legitimate, politically successful movement, this book is essential reading.”—David Farber, author of *The Rise and Fall of Modern American Conservatism: A Short History*

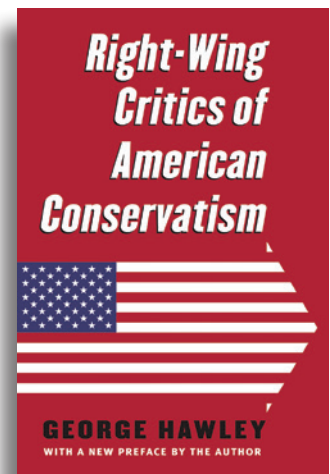
George Hawley is associate professor of political science at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa. He is the author of *White Voters in 21st Century America* and *Voting and Migration Patterns in the U.S.*

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“Béland, Rocco, and Waddan contribute significantly to our understanding of implementation in federal systems by demonstrating convincingly that the politics and strategies of implementing this single piece of health care reform legislation in the American states were myriad and a function not only of partisan polarization but also of the diverse policy issues embedded within the law.”—*Journal of Politics*

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

Philip Rocco is associate professor of political science at Marquette University.

Alex Waddan is associate professor in politics at the University of Leicester.

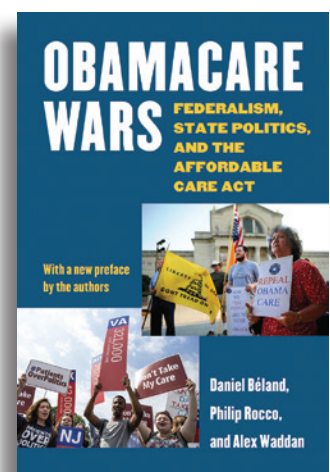
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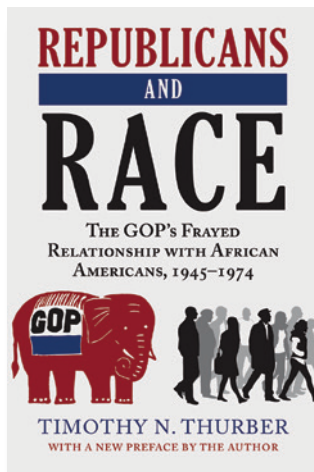
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## Republicans and Race

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With a new preface by the author

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“For a sweeping survey of how Republicans have addressed race since 1945, there are few works that rival Thurber's in terms of detailed, yet sweeping, political history. That the work is extremely well written, and a genuinely engaging read, is only an additional incentive to read what is already an invaluable contribution reshaping our understanding of post–World War II politics.”—*Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*

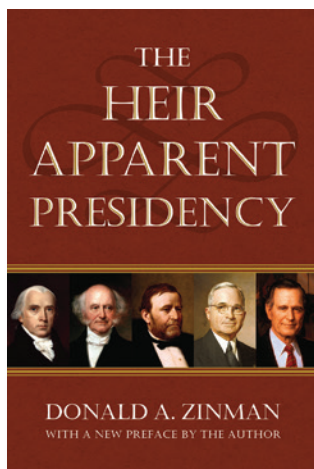
“In an important book on a tricky subject, Thurber charts the Republican racial odyssey from the Truman to Nixon years, and the transformation of the Republican party itself.

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Timothy N. Thurber is professor of history at Virginia Commonwealth University, and author of *The Politics of Equality: Hubert H. Humphrey and the African American Freedom Struggle, 1945–1978*.

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by Donald A. Zinman

With a new preface by the author

“With an engaging style, Zinman uses well-known episodes in each presidency to arrive at commonalities that he argues sets heirs apart from other regime-maintaining presidents who are less immediate to the regime's establishment. The case studies are concise yet rich in narrative.”—*Political Science Quarterly*

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“Zinman provides an in-depth account of the presidents who follow transformational presidencies. *The Heir Apparent Presidency* is a well-researched work providing readers with a nuanced description of these individuals and how they struggled to continue the momentum of their predecessors while seeking their own paths. Highly recommended.”—*Choice*

“Don Zinman has written an excellent book examining the leadership dilemmas faced by presidents who succeed the great regime builders in American politics. It can't be easy being the president who follows Thomas Jefferson, Franklin Roosevelt, or Ronald Reagan, and Zinman's analysis explains why. Working comfortably in the political time paradigm established by Stephen Skowronek over two decades ago, Zinman's work represents a genuine contribution to our understanding of the place of 'heir apparent presidents' in American history.”—David A. Crockett, author of *Running against the Grain: How Opposition Presidents Win the White House*

Donald A. Zinman is professor of political science at Grand Valley State University.

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# Defining Americans

## The Presidency and National Identity

Mary E. Stuckey

**Winner of the Bruce E. Gronbeck Political Communication Award**

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"This book is an ambitious work of broad scope, dealing with some of the most important questions ever processed through the American political system."—*American Historical Review*

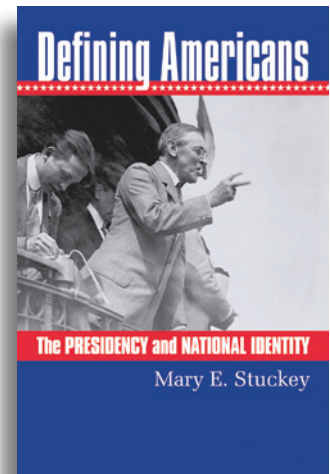
"A powerful, ambitious book on the connection between American presidents and American identity. . . . In all, this is a very good cultural history of the American presidency as it is presented in key moments in time. Stuckey is to be commended for her intriguing analysis, her provocative commentary, and thoughtful insights into the presidential office and the nation's identity."—*Perspectives on Politics*

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"Students of history, politics, and rhetoric will profit from this insightful study of the nexus between language and culture."—David Zarefsky, author of *Lincoln, Douglas, and Slavery: In the Crucible of Public Debate*

Mary E. Stuckey is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Communication Arts and Sciences at Pennsylvania State University.

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# A Generation at War

## The Civil War Era in a Northern Community

Nicole Etcheson

**Winner of the Avery O. Craven Award from the Organization of American Historians**

**Winner of the Indiana Center for the Book Award**

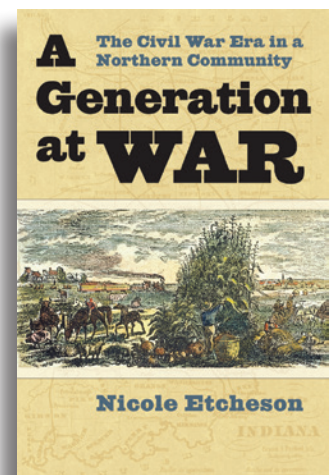
"In this fine micro-history of Putnam County, Indiana, Etcheson traces the impact of the Civil War on the community, focusing in particular on local politics and attitudes about race and gender roles. . . . To see this book as merely an answer to the question of how the Civil War changed the North is to miss the breadth of this micro-history. Etcheson does an admirable job of detailing how events in the broader politics of the nation intertwined with the lives of Putnam residents, and she makes clear, in nuanced readings of their letters, that the beliefs of those residents were broadly shared with others in the North. . . . Even within the structure defined by her broad themes, Etcheson provides a comprehensive exploration of a number of secondary themes, some only lightly connected to those broader themes, that in the end come together

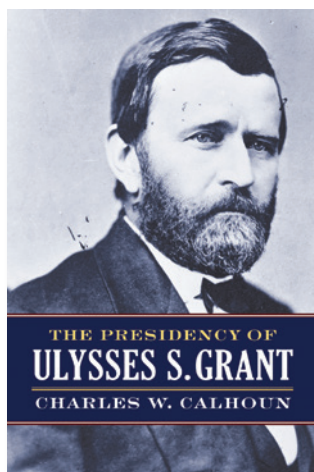
to live up to the title's promise of capturing most of the rhythms of life in a rural county in the Civil War era, irrespective of whether they were affected by the Civil War itself."—*American Historical Review*

"A riveting, rewarding, and meticulously researched study of one county over the course of the three decades between the 1850s and 1870s. . . . The result is, by any standard, a triumph. [This book] is an example of historical research at its finest."—*Journal of American History*

Nicole Etcheson is Alexander M. Bracken Professor of American History at Ball State University and author of *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era*.

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## The Presidency of Ulysses S. Grant

Charles W. Calhoun

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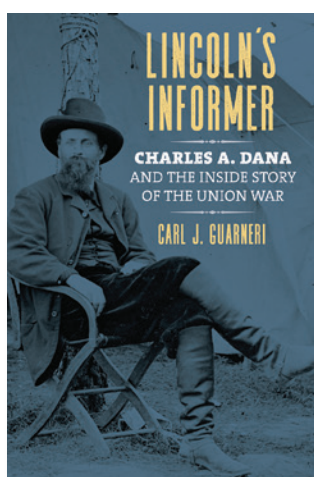
"Calhoun, one of the most gifted historians of the Gilded Age, turns his attention to the Grant administration with a meticulously researched, shrewdly argued, and elegantly written contribution."—*Journal of Southern History*

"Calhoun breaks the mold of works that have explored Grant's presidency. He has produced a meticulously researched biography, rich in detail and endnotes, which does the Grant administration ample justice."—*Reviews in History*

"Calhoun's massive study of Grant's presidency is a masterpiece of historical investigation and writing. Essential."—*Choice*

**Charles W. Calhoun**, Thomas Harriot College Distinguished Professor of History emeritus at East Carolina University, is the author of many books, including *Conceiving a New Republic: The Republican Party and the Southern Question, 1869–1900* and *Minority Victory: Gilded Age Politics and the Front Porch Campaign of 1888*, both from the University Press of Kansas.

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—*Civil War Books and Authors*

**Carl J. Guarneri** is the Brother James Ash Professor of American History at Saint Mary's College of California. He is the author of many books, including *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* and *America in the World: United States History in Global Context*.

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Steven E. Woodworth is professor of history at Texas Christian University. His many books include *Jefferson Davis and His Generals* and *Davis and Lee at War*, both winners of the Fletcher Pratt Award.

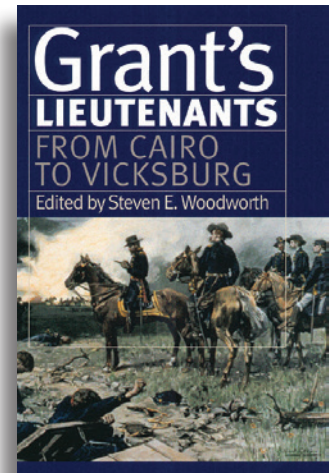
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# Grant's Lieutenants

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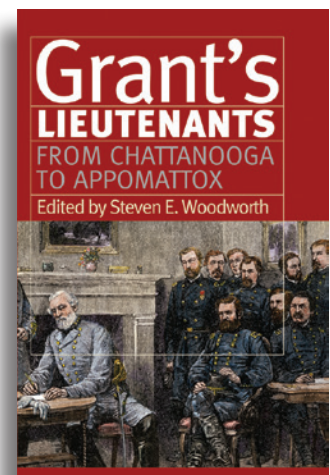
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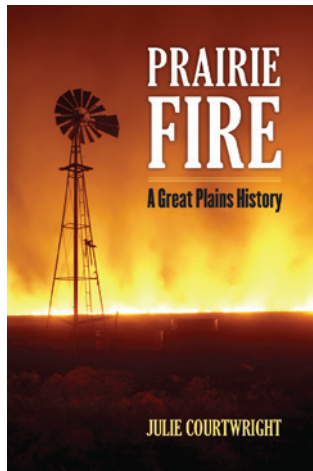
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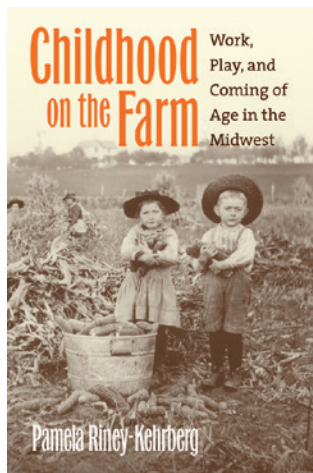
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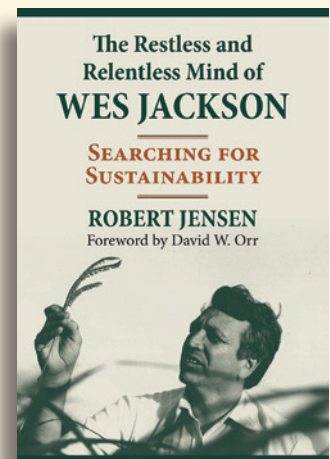
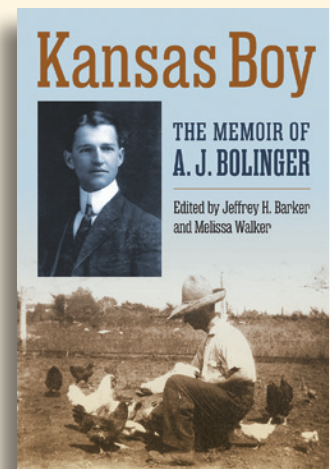
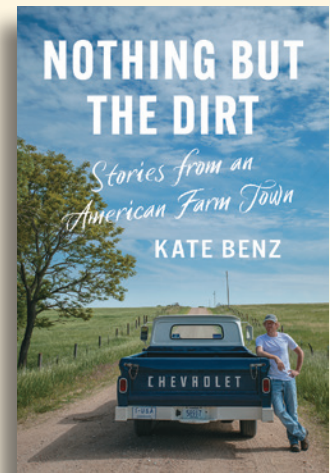
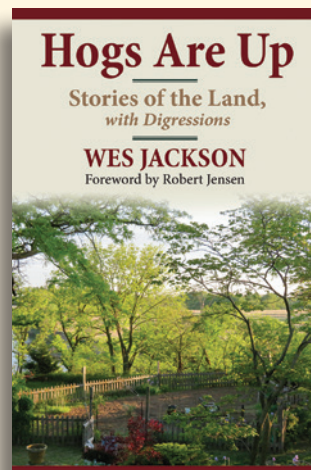
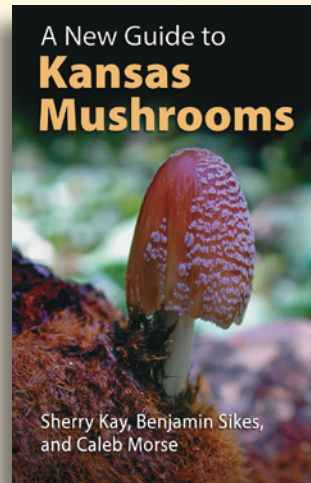
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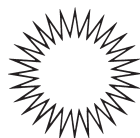
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