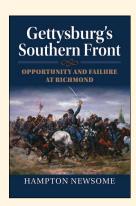
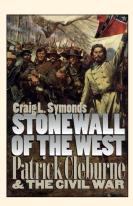
# UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LALLS SALES

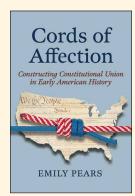
New Books for Fall & Winter 2023

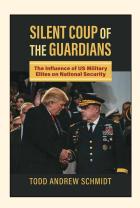


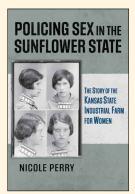
# **Recent Awards**











### Gettysburg's Southern Front Opportunity and Failure at Richmond

Hampton Newsome

### Chicago Civil War Round Table Edwin C. Bearss Book Award for Outstanding Scholarship in Civil War History

424 pages, 14 photographs, 15 maps, 1 figure Modern War Studies Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3347-0, \$36.95 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3348-7, \$36.95

### **Craig Symonds**

# Pritzker Museum and Library Literature Award for Achievement in Military Writing

author of

### Stonewall of the West Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War

352 pages, 20 photographs, 11 maps Modern War Studies Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-0934-5, \$25.00

### 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

328 pages, 7 illustrations American Political Thought Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3278-7, \$39.95 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3279-4, \$39.95

### Silent Coup of the Guardians The Influence of U.S. Military Elites on National Security

**Todd Andrew Schmidt** 

# Command and General Staff College Golden Pen Award

280 pages, 4 figures, 3 tables Studies in Civil-Military Relations Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3398-2, \$59.95 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3399-9, \$59.95

### 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

288 pages, 18 photographs, 3 figures Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3187-2, \$70.00 Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3188-9, \$30.00 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3189-6, \$30.00

# The Day That Shook America A Concise History of 9/11

J. Samuel Walker

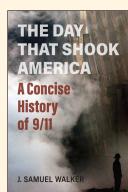
### **Choice Outstanding Academic Title**

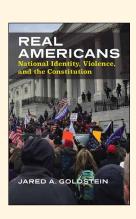
240 pages, 8 photographs Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3261-9, \$32.50 Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3618-1, \$24.95 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3262-6, \$24.95

# Real Americans National Identity, Violence, and the Constitution Jared A. Goldstein

### **Choice Outstanding Academic Title**

376 pages, 5 illustrations Constitutional Thinking Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3283-1, \$80.00 Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3284-8, \$34.95 Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3285-5, \$34.95





# The Jayhawk

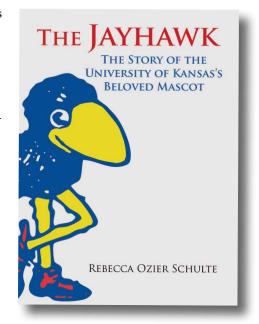
# The Story of the University of Kansas's Beloved Mascot

Rebecca Ozier Schulte

he Jayhawk, the University of Kansas's legendary and unique mascot, has represented the university for more than one hundred years and is recognizable around the world. In *The Jayhawk*, Rebecca Ozier Schulte tells the story of the beloved mythical bird's origins and historical significance, role as mascot, relationship with student life and representation in campus publications, popularity in advertising and as merchandise, and much more.

Multiple students and artists drew the Jayhawk in the twentieth century, including the long-legged Jayhawk drawn by Daniel Henry "Hank" Maloy in 1912 and the militaristic, fighting Jayhawk of 1941 created by Dr. Eugene "Yogi" Williams. Six different Jayhawks from 1912 to 1946 have been identified by the university as the most historically significant, but there are many, many more that have been discovered in hundreds of pieces of ephemera, newspaper accounts, student scrapbooks, and university publications, all housed in the University Archives.

No other source brings the Jayhawk's fascinating history together. This stunning book is highlighted by more than 300 photographs, most of them in color and many of items rarely seen by the public. *The Jayhawk* is sure to delight fans, alumni, and anyone who's ever chanted "Rock Chalk, Jayhawk, KU!"



Rebecca Ozier Schulte (Class of '76) is the former University of Kansas Archivist and a career Jayhawk. She has served in various positions within KU Libraries: from student assistant to curator of the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements to eighteen years as University Archivist.

"The Jayhawk is truly one of the most unique and iconic mascots in the country. The history of its origins and many variations is captured both comprehensively and masterfully by longtime KU archivist Rebecca Schulte. Even the most spirited of KU alums and fans will learn something new about everyone's favorite fictitious bird."

**Brian Hanni**, Journalism '02, is the "Voice of the Jayhawks" and director of broadcasting for the University of Kansas Athletics

"For anyone who has ever wondered about its origins, or who delights at hearing a passerby say 'Rock Chalk' at the sight of one's KU shirt or hat while in a foreign country, or who just has a soft spot in their heart for their old mascot, this is the book for them. Schulte captures not just the history but also the spirit of the beloved mascot. She includes many examples of how the Jayhawk evolved over time to reflect campus and societal changes, resulting in the one we know and love today."

Linda Cook, BS Petroleum Engineering, '8o, is a Senior Advisor for EIG, CEO of Harbour Energy, and former CEO of Shell Gas & Power

OCTOBER

176 pages, 318 photographs, 9 x 12 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3539-9, \$34.95(t)

# Into the Sunset

# **Emmett Dalton and the End of the Dalton Gang**

Ian W. Shaw

"Ian W. Shaw has produced a highpowered narrative biography of the notable westerner Emmett Dalton. The author clearly achieves his admirable goal of a first-rate Wild West story of this lively Old West figure. In all ways an enjoyable read."

Richard W. Etulain, author of Thunder in the West: The Life and Legends of Billy the Kid and The Life and Legends of Calamity Jane

"While many accounts of the Dalton Gang end on the streets of Coffeyville, Ian Shaw goes much further, diving deep into the formative biography and subsequent life of Emmett Dalton, the only outlaw to survive the daring double bank robbery. The author succeeds in providing an impressive level of detail surrounding these iconic events and the people who figured in them. Shaw has written a highly readable narrative that illustrates the complex and sometimes confusing interplay between law and crime, fame and notoriety."

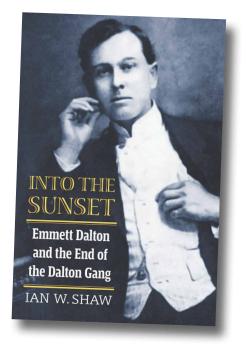
John Kinney, author of Captain Jack and the Dalton Gang: The Life and Times of a Railroad Detective

AUGUST

256 pages, 8 photographs, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3549-8, \$68.95(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3550-4, \$29.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3551-1, \$29.95 n October 5, 1892, the last of the major outlaw gangs of the Old West was destroyed in a gun battle in Coffeyville, a small town in southeastern Kansas. When the smoke cleared, eight men were dead and three others were seriously injured. Four of the dead were members of the notorious Dalton Gang: Dick Broadwell, Bill Powers, and two brothers, Bob and Grat Dalton. A fifth outlaw, twenty-one-year-old Emmett Dalton, was captured alive but with twenty-three bullet and buckshot wounds.

Emmett Dalton not only survived Coffeyville but prospered. After serving a fourteen-year prison term at the Kansas state penitentiary, he moved to Southern California. In a world completely foreign to him, he published two accounts of his and his brothers' exploits (both of which were made into movies) and became a celebrity who worked with the first generation of Hollywood cowboys and one of Los Angeles's most respected property developers.

Ian Shaw's *Into the Sunset* is the remarkable story of Emmett Dalton and how he and his brothers drifted from one side of the law to the other in the frontier lands of the late nineteenth century. It is the story of shoot-'em-ups and train robberies, of the closing frontier, and of what desperate men in desperate times do to survive. Following Dalton to California, Shaw tells the story of how Emmett was able to live a life that would become the stuff of legend and achieve the level of success that was once the object of each member of the Dalton Gang.



Ian W. Shaw has published eight books of Australian and military history, including The Rag Tag Fleet: The Unknown Story of the Australian Men and Boats That Helped Win the War in the Pacific and Operation Babylift: The Incredible Story of the Inspiring Australian Women Who Rescued Hundreds of Orphans at the End of the Vietnam War.

# A New History of Iowa

Jeff Bremer

he state of Iowa is largely unappreciated and often misunderstood. It has a small population and sits in the middle of a huge country. It's thought of as an uninspiring place full of farms and fields of corn. But Iowa represents America as surely as New York and California, and Iowa's history is more dynamic, complicated, and influential than commonly imagined.

Jeff Bremer's A New History of Iowa offers the most comprehensive history of the Hawkeye State ever written, surveying Iowa from the last ice age through the COVID-19 pandemic. It tells a new and vibrant story, examining the state's small-town culture, politics, social and economic development, and its many diverse inhabitants. Bremer features well-known individuals, such as Sauk leader Black Hawk, artist Grant Wood, botanist George Washington Carver, suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt, and President Herbert Hoover. But Bremer broadens the state's story by including new

voices—among them, runaway enslaved men who joined Iowa's 60th Colored Regiment in the Civil War, young female pearl button factory workers, Latino railroad workers who migrated to the state in the early twentieth century, and recent refugees from Southeast Asia and the Balkans.

This new story of Iowa provides a brisk, readable narrative written for a broad audience, from high school and college students to teachers and scholars to general readers. It tells the story of ordinary and extraordinary people of all backgrounds and greatly improves our knowledge of a state whose history has been neglected. A New History of Iowa is for everyone who wants to learn about Iowa's surprising, complex, and remarkable past.

**Jeff Bremer** is associate professor of history, Iowa State University, and author of *A Store Almost in Sight: The Economic Transformation of Missouri from the Louisiana Purchase to the Civil War.* 



"Jeff Bremer's new history of lowa captures the many facets of the state: its diversity, complexity, and changeability. It is the story of both elites and ordinary folks of many backgrounds. It takes a hard look at the myths that both the nation and lowans tell about place. The breadth and scope of this work make it a welcome addition to the growing literature that chronicles the state and the region."

Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, distinguished professor of history, Iowa State University, and author of When a Dream Dies: Agriculture, Iowa, and the Farm Crisis of the 1980s

"For anyone curious about the history of the forgotten center of the nation, this is a must-read."

Jon K. Lauck, founding president of the Midwestern History
Association, editor in chief of the Middle West Review, adjunct professor of political science,
University of South Dakota, coeditor of The Conservative
Heartland: A Political History of the Postwar American Midwest, and author of The Good Country:
A History of the American Midwest, 1800–1900

OCTOBER 480 pages, 23 photographs, 2 maps, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3555-9, \$88.95(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3556-6, \$38.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3557-3, \$38.95

# Thunder from the Prairie

# The Life of Harold E. Hughes

Jerry Harrington

"A comprehensive and overdue look at an American political leader who overcame the traumas of poverty, war, and alcoholism. Iowa governor and senator Harold Hughes led his state government into a modern era and helped lead the nation out of a war in Vietnam. He touched millions with his crusade against drug and alcohol abuse. Thunder from the Prairie is a noteworthy study of lowa and national political history. Hughes's story is also a welcome inspiration told at a time when too many leaders inspire too little."

**David Yepsen,** former *Des Moines Register* political reporter

"Harold Hughes's story is expertly told in these pages by longtime lowan Jerry Harrington, who as a boy heard Hughes's deep baritone on lowa's airwaves. That distant voice inspired Harrington's lifelong commitment to lowa's history and politics, which is now paying rich dividends for anyone interested in the story of lowa and the Midwest more generally."

Jon K. Lauck, coeditor of The Conservative Heartland: A Political History of the Postwar American Midwest

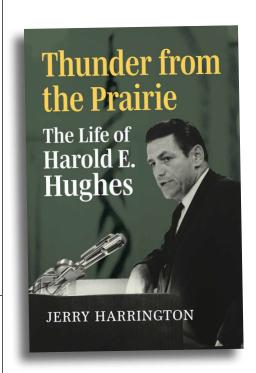
AUGUST 360 pages, 20 photographs, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3469-9, \$44-95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3470-5, \$44.95

n *Thunder from the Prairie*, Jerry Harrington explores the life of Harold E. Hughes: a man of working-class origins who overcame severe alcoholism to become Iowa governor (1963–1969) and US senator (1969–1974).

As a Democratic governor in traditionally Republican Iowa, Hughes, through his charismatic leadership, helped transform Iowa into a competitive two-party state while modernizing state government to make it more responsive to the contemporary needs of its citizens. Hughes was an outspoken leader against the Vietnam War and the American military as senator, and he exposed covert operations such as the illegal bombings of North Vietnam and Cambodia.

Relying upon his experience with alcoholism that nearly cost him his life, Senator Hughes spearheaded the creation



of the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, which was founded on the principle that alcoholism is a disease, not a personal moral failure. Hughes's moral compass was guided by his Christian beliefs, steering him to politics left of center. In this way, Hughes was distinctive among other openly Christian politicians of his day, whose theology manifested in conservative politics.

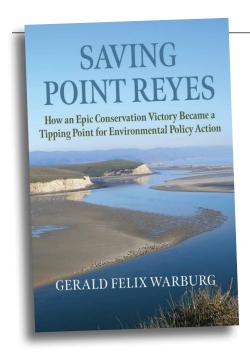
Harrington's detailed *Thunder from the Prairie* is the first book-length treatment of Harold E. Hughes. The work fills major gaps in the history of Iowa and Midwestern political history, as well as the history of the "Long Sixties" (from the late 1950s to the early 1970s). Hughes was an impactful actor within the rise of postwar American liberalism, the conflict over the Vietnam War, and the civil rights movement, and he led the effort to reform the Democratic Party to make it more open to women, minorities, and young people.

**Jerry Harrington** is a freelance writer and retired public relations consultant.

# **Saving Point Reyes**

# How an Epic Conservation Victory Became a Tipping Point for Environmental Policy Action

Gerald Felix Warburg



he Point Reyes National Seashore (PRNS) is not only a stunning piece of land—the first large national park created from all private lands and the first large park adjacent a large metropolitan center—but the fight to save this fragile ecosystem in the 1960s was a key turning point in the environmental movement and helped transform the political landscape of California and the nation.

Saving Point Reyes is an environmental policy history that draws on archival materials, oral histories, and new interviews with veteran federal policymakers to understand how legislative bargaining and grassroots politics succeeded in achieving this victory for environmental protection. Gerald Warburg offers the first political history focused on the battles to preserve the unique series of fragile ecosystems that surround San Francisco and the definitive study of exactly how Point Reyes was saved.

Most accounts of this story only focus on the 1962 bill that created the PRNS on 53,000 acres of private lands just north of San Francisco. But that was just the first act in the saga. The passing of the bill only established the park in theory, and the government only controlled 123 acres at Point Reyes. In the months following the signing ceremony, all three of the House, Senate, and White House champions of the Point Reyes legislation died, leaving the PRNS without the leadership necessary to secure the funding to purchase the rest of the land. What followed was an epic public policy battle to save Point Reyes. Local grassroots lobbying organizations arose to advance the cause of PRNS and other environmental campaigns, and their victory in 1970 laid the foundation for future environmental activism. With this new funding, the PRNS expanded to over 71,000 acres, which then grew to 87,000 acres in 1972 with the creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

The legislative bargaining and grassroots politics in the fight to preserve Point Reyes helped create a tipping point, profoundly altering the national environmental movement. Warburg's deeply researched case study of NGO activism and congressional action is developed through a compelling narrative that offers specific lessons learned and hope for future environmental challenges, from climate policy to public lands preservation.

Gerald Felix Warburg is professor of practice of public policy at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia. "An astonishing environmental history of how California's great national seashore was saved in 1962. The amount of research Warburg undertook is impressive. This is one of the finest books ever written about a treasured national park unit. Highly recommend!"

**Douglas Brinkley**, author of Silent Spring Revolution: John F. Kennedy, Rachel Carson, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and the Great Environmental Awakening

"This well-researched and inspiring study makes a major contribution to the history of both California and national environmental policymaking and offers important insights into how to better protect our natural environment."

David J. Vogel, professor emeritus of political science, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley, and author of California Greenin': How the Golden State Became an Environmental Leader

### **SEPTEMBER**

272 pages, 16 photographs, 5 maps, 6 x 9 Environment and Society Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3543-6, \$68.95(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3544-3, \$34.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3545-0, \$34.95

# **Bayou Battles for Vicksburg**

# The Swamp and River Expeditions, January 1-April 30, 1863

Timothy B. Smith

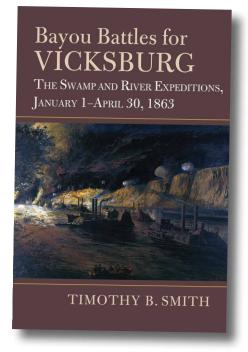
"Bayou Battles for Vicksburg continues the exhaustive research and clear analysis that marks Timothy Smith's impressive catalog. This chronicle of battles against man and nature fittingly takes its place in Smith's masterful multivolume study of the campaign to conquer the Gibraltar of the Mississippi."

Jonathan M. Steplyk, author of Fighting Means Killing: Civil War Soldiers and the Nature of Combat he dawn of 1863 brought a new phase of the Union's Mississippi Valley operations against Vicksburg. For the first four months, Union attempts to reach high and dry ground east of the Mississippi River were be plagued by high water everywhere, and the resulting bayou and river expeditions would test everyone involved, including the defending Confederates.

In *Bayou Battles for Vicksburg*, the latest volume in his five-volume history of the Vicksburg Campaign of the US Civil War, Timothy B. Smith offers the first booklength examination of Ulysses S. Grant's winter waterborne attempts to capture the Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg, Mississippi.

The accepted strategy up to this point in the war was aligned with the principles of the Swiss theorist Antoine-Henri Jomini, whose work was taught at West Point, where commanders on both sides of the conflict had been educated. But Jomini emphasized secure supply lines and a slow, steady, unified approach to a target such as Vicksburg, and never had much to say about creeks, rivers, and bayous in a subtropical swamp environment. Grant threw out conventional wisdom with a bold, and ultimately successful, plan to avoid a direct approach and rather divide his forces to accomplish multiple goals and to confuse the enemy by cutting levies, flooding whole sections of watersheds, and bypassing strongholds by digging canals far around them.

Bayou Battles for Vicksburg details each of the Union attempts to reach high ground east of the Mississippi River and includes



fresh research on the Yazoo Pass and Steele's Bayou expeditions, Grant's canal, and the Lake Providence effort. Smith weaves several simultaneous Union initiatives together into a chronological narrative that provides great detail on the Union's successful final attempt to get to good ground east of the Mississippi.

Timothy B. Smith teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin. His many books include, most recently, Early Struggles for Vicksburg: The Mississippi Central Campaign and Chickasaw Bayou, October 25–December 31, 1862; The Siege of Vicksburg: Climax of the Campaign to Open the Mississippi River, May 23–July 4, 1863; and The Union Assaults at Vicksburg: Grant Attacks Pemberton, May 17–22, 1863, all published by Kansas.

### OCTOBER

552 pages, 23 photographs, 61/8 x 91/4 *Modern War Studies* Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3566-5, \$49.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3567-2, \$49.95

# **Contested Valor**

# African American Marines in the Age of Power, Protest, and Tokenism

Cameron D. McCoy

ontested Valor is a challenging examination of the use and status of black Marines in United States military service during the Cold War era. These pioneering men experienced contested military integration, as well as multiple forms of institutional and social opposition, which called their humanity, manhood, and rights to full citizenship into question. Efforts to undermine their service compromised their right to be counted among the elite and sidelined their story to the fringes of Marine Corps and US history.

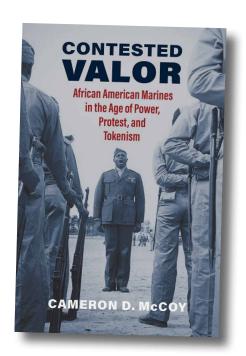
Cameron McCoy describes the factors and pressures leading to the racial turbulence that surfaced in the Marine Corps from the end of World War II through Vietnam, and the measures taken by civilian and Marine officials to maintain and restore organizational integrity based on a foundation of white supremacy. He examines the psychological effects of institutionalized racism on African American Marines during the Vietnam era and the emergence of a new generation of black men unwilling to submit to the traditions of a Jim Crow Marine Corps. By exploring the realities American society constructed about black Marines, this work calls attention to the diverse ways in which these men coped within a strict, prejudiced organization and found greater purpose as US Marines despite an embattled image.

Contested Valor weaves the experiences of black Americans in the armed forces into the larger tapestry of the American racialist past and aptly captures the dilemmas, triumphs, and pitfalls that the first African American Marines encountered during the contentious eras of World War II, Korea,

and Vietnam. McCoy explores the creation of organizational policies designed to minimize their footprint as US Marines until the social experiment of military integration faded and illustrates the discriminatory practices that further delegitimized their wartime reputation.

McCoy demonstrates that black Marines' absence from the historical record has been compounded by the negligence and oversight of past historians as the Marine Corps reckons with its racist past and its first black Marines.

Cameron D. McCoy holds a PhD in US Diplomatic and Military History from the University of Texas at Austin and is a resident senior officer at the US Naval War College.



"This remarkable book, Contested Valor, greatly expands our knowledge of the underappreciated story of the introduction of African Americans into the Marine Corps. Cameron McCoy, through meticulous research and germane argumentation, shows the significance of integration from the first African Americans in the corps in 1942 through the divisive Vietnam War. It is a must-read for all those interested in military and African American history."

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

NOVEMBER 376 pages, 24 photographs, 1 map, 6 x 9 Studies in Civil-Military Relations Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3577-1, \$44.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3579-5, \$44.95

# Like Men of War

# Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862–1865 Second Edition, Revised and Expanded

Noah Andre Trudeau

"Noah Andre Trudeau's *Like Men of War* became an instant classic when it was first published in 1998. No other book offered the scope and depth of the Black military experience during the Civil War era, and even with all the research that we've seen over the past twenty-five years, the book remains essential reading. Historians and general readers will no doubt enjoy and profit from this updated and revised edition."

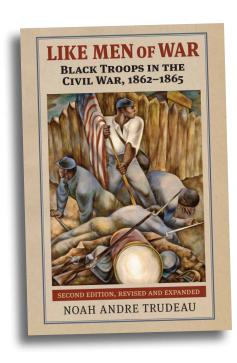
**Kevin M. Levin**, author of Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth

"Like Men of War is important and relevant because it remains the only extant narrative history of Black troops in the Union Army aimed at both general readers and scholars and students. Not a logistical or institutional study, Trudeau's book breathes life into the men and battles of the U.S. Colored Troops."

John David Smith, coauthor of Soldiering for Freedom: How the Union Army Recruited, Trained, and Deployed the U.S. Colored Troops

SEPTEMBER 560 pages, 40 photographs, 60 maps, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3558-0, \$44.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3542-9, \$44.95 riginally published in 1998, *Like*Men of War was a groundbreaking early study of Black troops in the
Civil War that is still considered a major contribution to the literature on the United States Colored Troops (USCT). In this chronological operational history, Trudeau covers every major engagement—and a few minor ones—that the USCT participated in. By quoting generously from primary documents, including Black soldiers' letters, Trudeau tells the combat history of African American troops in the Civil War largely through the voices of the soldiers themselves.

This fresh, expanded second edition adds material on additional engagements and other aspects of Black soldiers' experiences, and features a new selection of photographs. The updated bibliography



is extensive, providing a rich selection of source materials for further study and exploration. *Like Men of War* is essential reading for anyone seeking a thorough understanding of the US Civil War.

"Two distinguishing features of this book make it the most valuable compendium of the important role of Black soldiers in the Civil War. Every combat operation in which these units participated, including major battles as well as minor skirmishes, is described. And much of the evidence consists of enlisted men's letters, diaries, reports, and memoirs. Readers will find here the most complete account of these events."—James M. McPherson, author of Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era

"Like Men of War remains the best traditional military history of the service of African Americans in the Union Army during the Civil War. It is wonderful that Noah Andre Trudeau and the University Press of Kansas are publishing a new edition of this classic work. No doubt the second edition will help acquaint a new generation of readers with the battlefield story of Black Union soldiers."—Donald R. Shaffer, author of After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans

Noah Andre Trudeau is a former executive producer at National Public Radio and the author of Lincoln's Greatest Journey: Sixteen Days That Changed a Presidency, March 24–April 8, 1865; Gettysburg: A Testing of Courage; and Southern Storm: Sherman's March to the Sea, among other books.

# **Serpents of War**

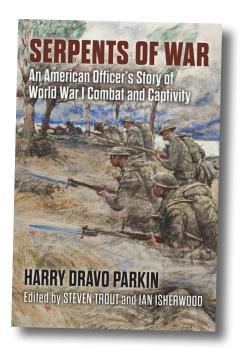
# An American Officer's Story of World War I Combat and Captivity

Harry Dravo Parkin

Edited by Steven Trout and Ian Isherwood

erpents of War, the memoir of Pennsylvanian Major Harry Dravo Parkin, is a rare account of World War I as seen from the perspective of a battalion commander. As a mid-level officer responsible for the lives and welfare of over a thousand men, Parkin conveys the stress of command at a time when one innocent blunder could cost an officer his combat assignment, brings the inferno of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive to life in terrifying, gory detail, and recounts being taken prisoner by the Imperial German Army—a rare experience among American soldiers in 1918. In addition, Parkin provides a detailed account of the 79th Division's attack on Mountfaucon, a military action that remains controversial to this day. This is a book by a brave soldier, a recipient of the Distinguished Service Cross for his heroism on the battlefield, and a gifted writer.

Serpents of War is an abridged edition of a nearly 200,000-word World War I memoir that resides in Gettysburg College's Musselman Library, enhanced by the contributions of two scholars of World War I and memory. Written in an unassuming but eloquent style, Parkin's narrative seldom strains for effect. It possesses a strong sense of setting, a knack for capturing the chaos and strange exhilaration of battle, and a sharp eye for the interpersonal, social dynamics of military life—the personality clashes and simmering feuds, as well as the moments of comradeship and accord. Serpents of War is an absorbing memoir that holds the reader's attention from beginning to end.



Steven Trout is professor of English, University of Alabama, and author of On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919– 1941, and two other books.

**Ian Isherwood** is associate professor of war and memory studies, Gettysburg College, and author of *Remembering the Great War:* Writing and Publishing the Experiences of World War I.

"Serpents of War delivers the fascinating memoir of US combat veteran Harry Dravo Parkin, who observed the final days of Imperial Germany from a POW camp. Trout and Isherwood brilliantly situate the memoir into a context that explains the war's social and cultural meaning to Americans of Parkin's generation. This book speaks to the values of the Victorian Age, the class dimensions of the First World War period, and the growth of American nationalism."

**Michael Neiberg,** chair of War Studies and professor of history, US Army War College

"Detailed and engaging, Serpents of War provides an intriguing, original perspective on an American officer's adventures in a conflict rich in drama and meaning."

Edward G. Lengel, chief historian, National Medal of Honor Museum, and author of *Thunder* and Flames: Americans in the Crucible of Combat, 1917–1918

JULY 408 pages, 26 photographs, 6 x 9 *Modern War Studies* Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3505-4, \$39.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3506-1, \$39.95

# **Part-Time Soldiers**

# **Reserve Readiness Challenges in Modern Military History**

**Andrew Lewis Chadwick** 

"Andrew Chadwick shows that the United States could, in the wake of the wars of the draft era, return to its traditional volunteer system while stressing professionalism and preparedness. Yet that system created a situation wherein reservists have become an integral part of the fighting force despite limited training and incomplete mastery of increasingly complex technology. Chadwick's broader point is that we now have a system in place that has solved the challenges of the nineteenth and early twentieth century but that has not rendered reserves well prepared for what faces them in the twenty-first century. This is a deeply researched book with great insights for military historians and students of the world wars, the Cold War, and the post-Cold War era."

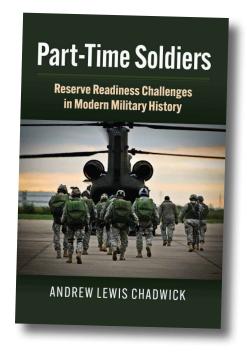
Ingo Trauschweizer, professor of history, Ohio University, and author of Maxwell Taylor's Cold War: From Berlin to Vietnam and The Cold War U.S. Army: Building Deterrence for Limited War

n Part-Time Soldiers, Andrew Lewis Chadwick offers the first in-depth historical study of the development and evolution of modern army reserve forces. In doing so, he explores how a confluence of military, political, and socioeconomic developments since the First World War has forced armies preparing for major war to increase their dependence on reservists (part-time soldiers who reinforce or augment professionals or conscripts in wartime) for critical and routine military tasks. At the same time, he shows how these developments placed tremendous stress on the industrial-era reserve policies and structures that armies continue to use today. For example, reservists training for less than thirty days a year have struggled to keep up with the increasingly highskilled character of modern warfare, as evidenced by the poor performance of reservists in the world wars and, most recently, the ongoing Russia-Ukraine War.

Chadwick primarily examines these developments in the cases of the US Army National Guard and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Army Reserve, given that unique geopolitical conditions have forced the United States and Israel to frequently employ reservists in combat over the past

century. These cases, which Chadwick explores using archival and secondary sources, reveal how armies using two different reserve models—the former built around volunteers and the latter around discharged conscripts—have attempted to mitigate the challenge of maintaining combat-ready reservists in the era of high-tech and high-skilled warfare. By doing so, Chadwick identifies an enduring and often overlooked problem facing contemporary defense policymaking: how does one build and maintain effective army reserve forces at an affordable cost without causing undue stress on reservists' civilian lives?

Andrew Lewis Chadwick is an intelligence analyst with the US Department of Defense.



### **NOVEMBER**

336 pages, 18 tables, 6 x 9 Studies in Civil-Military Relations Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3587-0, \$49.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3588-7, \$49.95

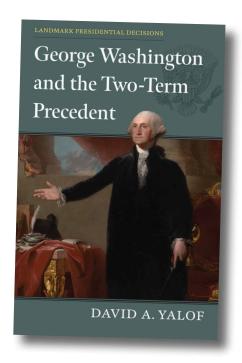
# George Washington and the Two-Term Precedent

David A. Yalof

ne of the earliest and most consequential presidential decisions in American history was George Washington's choice to step down after two terms in office, despite the fact that he would almost certainly have won a third term had he chosen to run. The example he intended to set—and the circumstances he faced at the time—tell a more complicated story of the true motives behind his decision to retire and the impact his decision had on his successors and the nation. In George Washington and the Two-Term Precedent, David Yalof examines how this decision set a pattern that would be followed by presidents for more than a century until FDR began serving a third term in 1941.

While often portrayed simply as a noble decision by Washington to restrain the power of the executive office, Washington's decision was in fact motivated by self-interest and a desire to cement a legacy of honor and integrity. Yalof shows that he was never motivated by the desire to reign in the executive with an unwritten two-term limit. If anything, Washington hoped to strength*en* the executive branch by demonstrating that the institution of the presidency could be trusted with the power and independence that it had so far received. His voluntary relinquishment of the presidency after two terms in office achieved these goals.

Yalof focuses on the two-term precedent and how it came into being not by legal prescription but by the tacit influence of Washington's refusal to run for a third term and what it suggests about American conceptions of executive power. *George Washington and the Two-Term Precedent* 



offers a sober reminder that the country's most famous and original hero chose to walk away from power, and it was that decision that cemented his greatness in American history.

**David A. Yalof** is vice provost for academic affairs, College of William & Mary, and coauthor of *The Enduring Democracy*, among other books.

"Yalof offers for the first time a serious, provocative, and gracefully written account of the two-term presidency. Washington's famous decision to limit his tenure in office, Yalof argues, was more complicated and certainly more interesting than standard mythology suggests. To understand why, you must read this book!"

**Stephen Howard Browne**, author of *The First Inauguration: George Washington and the Invention of the Republic* 

"This most welcome addition to the literature succeeds in dispelling old misconceptions and offering important, new scholarly interpretations about a topic well known to all, yet one that, curiously, has been generally overlooked by researchers."

Robert Watson, Distinguished Professor of American History and Avron Fogelman Research Professor at Lynn University, and author of America's First Crisis, The Nazi Titanic, The Ghost Ship of Brooklyn, George Washington's Final Battle, and Escape!

**AUGUST** 

128 pages, 5½ x 8½

Landmark Presidential Decisions

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3594-8, \$57.95(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3510-8, \$24.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3511-5, \$24.95

# Something to Fear

# FDR and the Foundations of American Insecurity, 1912-1945

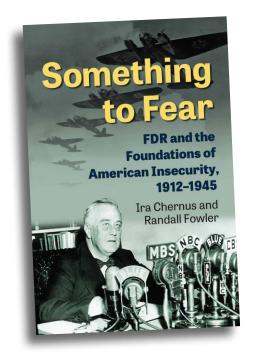
Ira Chernus and Randall Fowler

"This pathbreaking book examines the origins of Franklin D. Roosevelt's worldview and his deft use of 'security-laden' rhetoric to sway the American people. Roosevelt's focus on eliminating 'fear' and 'insecurity' became the cornerstone of American foreign policy, shaping the thinking of his successors for well over eighty years. Ira Chernus and Randall Fowler have written an impressive study of breathtaking scope, challenging much of the conventional wisdom surrounding both FDR and the main tenets of the nation's foreign policy. This is scholarship as it should be-a must-read for all students of presidential rhetoric and of national security policymaking."

Stephen Knott, author of Coming to Terms with John F. Kennedy and The Lost Soul of the American Presidency: The Decline into Demagoguery and the Prospects for Renewal

presidency unlike any other, Franklin D. Roosevelt's legacy in foreign affairs has been contested since the day of his passing. Few presidential statements have echoed through history like FDR's charge to conquer "fear itself." Yet immediately after the end of World War II, the United States was gripped by a pervasive sense of national insecurity.

In Something to Fear, Ira Chernus and Randall Fowler demonstrate that Roosevelt's rhetoric, vision, and policies promoted a broadly defined sense of American security over a period of thirty-three years, ultimately helping elevate security to its primacy in US political discourse by the end of his presidency. In doing so, however, he also heightened the prominence of insecurity in American public life, mediating the United States' transition to super-



power status in a way that also elevated fear in debates over foreign affairs.

FDR's presidency precipitated a complex shift in US foreign policy that defies any straightforward account organized along a linear isolationist-to-interventionist trajectory. Chernus and Fowler investigate the uncertainties and contradictions embedded in FDR's presidential rhetoric, which drew from realist, racial, progressive, nostalgic, apocalyptic, liberal internationalist, and American exceptionalist discourses. In this way, Roosevelt's rhetoric anticipated the ambivalences contained in American adventures abroad ever since.

Something to Fear shows how FDR's response to the Great Depression, the debates over intervention, and World War II left an immense rhetorical legacy that often stressed insecurity. This study of FDR's entire political career also carefully links him to the Progressive Era before his presidency and to the Cold War era after it.

**Ira Chernus** is professor emeritus of religious studies, University of Colorado Boulder, and author of Apocalypse Management: Eisenhower and the Discourse of National Insecurity, Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace, and seven other books.

Randall Fowler is assistant professor of communication, Abilene Christian University, and author of More than a Doctrine: The Eisenhower Era in the Middle East.

**OCTOBER** 344 pages, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3564-1, \$49.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3565-8, \$49.95

# Entangled Encounters at the National Zoo

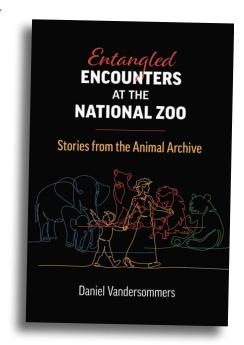
# Stories from the Animal Archive

**Daniel Vandersommers** 

ounded amid the urban commotion of Washington, DC, before the dawn of the twentieth century, the National Zoological Park opened to "preserve, teach, and conduct research about the animal world." Entangled Encounters at the National Zoo is a study of this important cultural landmark from 1887 to 1920. Centered on the animals themselves, each chapter looks from a different angle at the influential science of popular zoology in order to shed new light on the complex, entangled relationships between humans and animals.

Daniel Vandersommers's goal is twofold. First, through narrative, he shows how zoo animals always ran away from the zoo. This is meant literally—animals escaped frequently—but even more so, figuratively. Living, breathing, historical zoo animals ran away from their cultural constructions, and these constructions ran away from the living bodies they were made to represent. The author shows that the resulting gaps produced by runaway animals contain concealed, distorted, and erased histories worthy of uncovering.

Second, Entangled Encounters at the National Zoo demonstrates how the popular zoology fostered by the National Zoo shaped every aspect of American science, culture, and conservation during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Between the 1880s and World War I, as intellectuals debated Darwinism and scientists institutionalized the laboratory, zoological parks suddenly appeared at the heart of nearly every major American city, captivating tens of millions of visitors. Vandersommers follows stories



previously hidden within the National Zoo in order to help us reconsider the place of zoos and their inhabitants in the twenty-first century.

**Daniel Vandersommers** is assistant professor of environmental history, University of Dayton, and coeditor of *Zoo Studies: A New Humanities*.

"Deeply researched, marvelously insightful, and delightfully absorbing, Entangled Encounters at the National Zoo examines the complexities and contradictions inherent in the modern zoo. Vandersommers shows how the Smithsonian Institution's National Zoological Park became a bustling site of wonder, entertainment, education, wildlife conservation, humane discourse, cultural advancement, civic pride, and fostered the production and popularization of scientific and medical knowledge. At the same time, he reveals the darker side of this wildly popular and influential institution, which has embodied racist and nativist thinking, projected nationalism and imperial power, epitomized human dominion over nonhumans, and been marred by the 'violence of captivity' that permeates its very core."

Mark Barrow, professor of history at Virginia Tech and author of Nature's Ghosts: Confronting Extinction from the Age of Jefferson to the Age of Ecology

OCTOBER 360 pages, 28 photographs, 1 figure, 6 x 9 Environment and Society Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3568-9, \$76.95(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3569-6, \$44.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3570-2, \$44.95

# To Trust the People with Arms

# The Supreme Court and the Second Amendment

Robert J. Cottrol and Brannon P. Denning

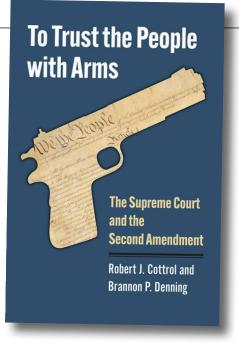
"Two of the leading Second Amendment scholars in the nation, Robert Cottrol and Brannon Denning, bring their deep expertise to this rich, detailed history of the right to bear arms. To Trust the People with Arms shows how gun rights took root and developed—from the Revolutionary era to the Supreme Court's 2008 decision in the Heller case—despite being abused by racists and misunderstood by others."

Adam Winkler, Connell Professor of Law at UCLA and author of We the Corporations: How American Businesses Won Their Civil Rights and Gunfight: The Battle over the Right to Bear Arms in America

n 2007, for the first time in nearly seventy years, the Supreme Court decided to hear a case involving the Second Amendment. The resulting decision in *District of* Columbia v. Heller (2008) was the first time the Court declared a firearms restriction to be unconstitutional on the basis of the Second Amendment. It was followed two years later by a similar decision in McDonald v. City of Chicago, and in 2022, the Court further expanded its support for Second Amendment rights in New York State Rifle and Pistol Association v. Bruen—a decision whose far-reaching implications are still being unraveled.

To Trust the People with Arms explores the remarkable and complex legal history of how the right to bear arms was widely accepted during the nation's founding, was near extinction in the late twentieth century, and is now experiencing a rebirth in the Supreme Court in the twenty-first century.

Robert Cottrol and Brannon Denning link the right to bear arms with other major themes in American history. Prompted by the eighteenth-century belief that arms played a vital role in preserving the liberties of the citizen, the Second Amendment met many challenges in the nation's history. Among the most acute of these were racism, racial violence, and the extension of the right to bear arms to African Americans and other marginalized groups. The development of modern firearms and twentieth-century urbanization also challenged traditional notions concerning the value of an armed population. Cottrol and Denning make a particularly important contribution linking the nation's participation in the wars of the twentieth century and the strengthening of American gun culture. Most of all, they give a nuanced and sophisticated legal history, one that engages legal realism, different



varieties of originalism, and the role of chance and accident in history.

To Trust the People with Arms integrates history, politics, and law in an interdisciplinary way to illustrate the roles that guns and the right to keep and bear arms have played in American history, culture, and law.

Robert J. Cottrol is Harold Paul Green Research Professor of Law and professor of history and sociology at George Washington University. He is the author of *The Long*, Lingering Shadow: Slavery, Race, and Law in the American Hemisphere and the coauthor of Brown v. Board of Education: Caste, Culture, and the Constitution.

Brannon P. Denning is Starnes Professor of Law at Cumberland School of Law at Samford University. He is the author of *The* Glannon Guide to Constitutional Law: Powers and Liberties and the coauthor of American Constitutional Law: Powers and Liberties and Guns and the Law: Cases, Problems, and Explanation.

**OCTOBER** 376 pages, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3571-9, \$49.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3572-6, \$49.95

# The Cost of Voting in the American States

Michael J. Pomante II, Scot Schraufnagel, and Quan Li

n the wake of *Shelby County v. Holder* and the January 6 Capitol insurrection, changes to election laws, policies, and especially access to voting have become a key political battleground. A central point of contention is whether new restrictive voting laws intentionally discriminate against Black and Hispanic subpopulations in the United States. Conversely, do policies that expand voting access favor Democrats and increase the possibility of election fraud?

In The Cost of Voting in the American States, Michael Pomante, Scot Schraufnagel, and Quan Li test these questions. The authors look specifically for systematic outcomes produced by distinctive election policies in the American states. First, they establish a competent measure of voting restrictions to begin this unraveling. The authors create a Cost of Voting Index (COVI) for the fifty states, which uses a statistical procedure to extract an underlying dimension and to determine significance from state laws based on how restrictive the polices are. The authors call the underlying dimension extracted the "cost of voting." With this measure in place, they evaluate which states have a higher cost of voting, how this cost impacts who votes, and whether there is a correlation between the cost of voting and minority populations.

Using Racial Threat Theory arguments, the authors demonstrate that states with larger or growing Black and Hispanic populations have more restricted voting, and that these restrictive voting laws disproportionately demobilize these populations in predictable ways. States with a higher cost of voting also show lower

minority electoral success as well as a larger gap in Black and female representation, and the authors reveal that decreasing the cost of voting does not lead to fraud or favor one party over another. *The Cost of Voting in the American States* makes a case for a new preclearance formula, and the COVI provides a viable approach for future election law.

**Michael J. Pomante II** is a research associate at States United Democracy Center.

**Scot Schraufnagel** is professor of political science at Northern Illinois University.

Quan Li is a data scientist at Catalist.

The Cost of Voting
IN THE
American States

Michael J. Pomante II,
Scot Schraufnagel, and Quan Li

"The Cost of Voting Index (COVI) developed by the authors is a very useful resource that will benefit the field for years. In addition to developing this metric, the authors have convincingly demonstrated that voting restrictions are more likely in diversifying states and that efforts to expand access to the polls do not compromise election integrity. A must-read for students of voting and electoral reform."

Elliott Fullmer, associate professor of political science, Randolph-Macon College, and author of *Tuesday's Gone:*America's Early Voting Revolution

NOVEMBER 264 pages, 34 figures, 37 tables, 6 x 9 Studies in Government and Public Policy Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3591-7, \$68.95(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3592-4, \$44.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3593-1, \$44.95

# Who Is James K. Polk?

# The Presidential Election of 1844

Mark R. Cheathem

"Elections matter. And few have mattered more in US history than the 1844 election, which elevated to the White House a leader whose aggressive policies inadvertently helped set the nation on a path to civil war. In Who is James Polk?, historian Mark Cheathem harnesses his unrivalled command of the politics of the 1830s and 1840s to give us the definitive account of this pivotal, if too often neglected, election. A must-read addition to this justly acclaimed series on America's presidential elections."

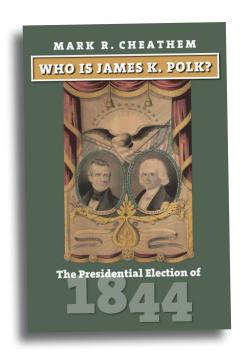
**Richard J. Ellis,** author of *Old Tip vs.* the Sly Fox: The 1840 Election and the Making of a Partisan Nation

"This will be the standard work on the election of 1844. It is also the model for how presidential elections should be studied and discussed. Cheathem gives us a behind-the-scenes look at the inner workings of all the campaigns during the 1844 election. Any reader will feel like a political insider after reading this excellent work."

William K. Bolt, professor of history, Francis Marion University, and former assistant editor on the James K. Polk Project

**OCTOBER** 368 pages, 25 photographs, 9 tables, 6 x 9 American Presidential Elections Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3573-3, \$45.00(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3574-0, \$45.00

he question Americans asked in 1844 was, "Who the hell is James K. Polk?" Polk, of course, was not unknown, but was a highly unlikely presidential candidate given the availability of betterknown options. Among the Democrats, this included Martin Van Buren, John C. Calhoun, and James Buchanan. Among the Whigs, Henry Clay was the clear frontrunner. Complicating the election were three other candidates: President John Tyler, a man without a party; Joseph Smith, the self-described prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the first presidential candidate to be assassinated; and James G. Birney, head of the antislavery Liberty ticket. On top of this remarkable cast of characters, the stakes of the election were high as the United States was undergoing a tumultuous political transition.



James K. Polk's ascension to the White House over more notable politicians was a pivotal moment in propelling the United States towards civil war, and the 1844 election expanded the vigorous campaigning that had been growing since 1824. In Who is James K. Polk?, Mark Cheathem examines the transition from traditional political issues, such as banking and tariffs, to newer ones, like immigration and slavery. The book also captures the Whig and Democratic parties at a mature stage of competition and provides detailed descriptions of campaign tactics used by the candidates, including rallies, music, and political cartoons.

Cheathem has written the definitive account of this important election in this volume for the esteemed American Presidential Elections series.

Mark R. Cheathem is professor of history and project director of the Papers of Martin Van Buren at Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee. He is the author of Andrew Jackson, Southerner and The Coming of Democracy: Presidential Campaigning in the Age of Jackson.

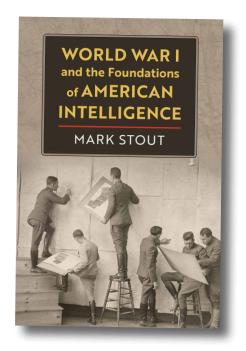
# World War I and the Foundations of American Intelligence

Mark Stout

sk an American intelligence officer to tell you when the country started doing modern intelligence and you will probably hear something about the Office of Strategic Services in World War II or the National Security Act of 1947 and the formation of the Central Intelligence Agency. What you almost certainly will not hear is anything about World War I. In World War I and the Foundations of American Intelligence, Mark Stout establishes that, in fact, World War I led to the realization that intelligence was indispensable in both wartime and peacetime.

After a lengthy gestation that started in the late nineteenth century, modern American intelligence emerged during World War I, laying the foundations for the establishment of a self-conscious profession of intelligence. Virtually everything that followed was maturation, reorganization, reinvigoration, or reinvention. World War I ushered in a period of rapid changes. Never again would the War Department be without an intelligence component. Never again would a senior American commander lead a force to war without intelligence personnel on their staff. Never again would the United States government be without a signals intelligence agency or aerial reconnaissance capability.

Stout examines the breadth of American intelligence in the war, not just in France, not just at home, but around the world and across the army, navy, and State Department, and demonstrates how these far-flung efforts endured after the Armistice in 1918. For the first time, there came to be a group of intelligence practitioners who viewed



themselves as different from other soldiers, sailors, and diplomats. Upon entering World War II, the United States had a solid foundation from which to expand to meet the needs of another global hot war and the Cold War that followed.

Mark Stout is a former senior lecturer and director of the Master of Arts in Global Security Studies program at Johns Hopkins University. He is also the coauthor of *The Terrorist Perspectives Project: Strategic and Operational Views of Al Qaeda and Associated Movements* and coeditor of *Spy Chiefs, Volume 1: Intelligence Leaders in the United States and United Kingdom.* 

"Entire libraries have been written about the Central Intelligence Agency and to a lesser extent the Office of Strategic Services. This has resulted in a lopsided and incomplete picture of the history of American intelligence. Transforming the intellectual landscape, Mark Stout delivers a magnificent historical narrative that charts the birth and development of modern American intelligence from the late nineteenth century through World War I. Stout provides a fascinating story packed not only with colorful characters and exciting escapades, but with careful scholarly assessments of subjects including intelligence collection, intelligence analysis, counterintelligence, and covert action. All future histories of American intelligence will need to reference this pioneering work."

Christopher R. Moran, professor of US national security at the University of Warwick, UK, and coeditor in chief of the *Journal of Intelligence History* 

### NOVEMBER

392 pages, 11 photographs, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3585-6, \$44.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3586-3, \$44.95

# **Southern Enclosure**

# Settler Colonialism and the Postwar **Transformation of Mississippi**

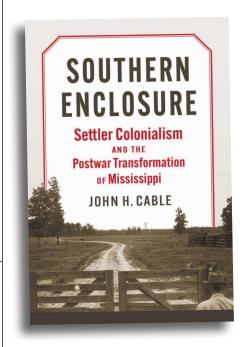
Iohn H. Cable

"John Cable's framework centering the political economy of race as part of a larger movement of global decolonization puts Southern labor history in conversation with the literatures of political struggles for dignity and autonomy across a range of times and places. Challenging the biracial model of Southern history by applying a settler colonial model effectively connects the Southern struggle for civil rights with global decolonization in a new way, and Cable is the first to view this struggle through the lens of settler colonialism."

Katherine Osburn, associate professor emerita of history, Arizona State University, and author of Choctaw Resurgence in Mississippi: Race, Class, and Nation Building in the Jim Crow South, 1830-1977

istorians of the American South have come to consider the mechanization and consolidation of cotton farming—the "Southern enclosure movement"—to be a watershed event in the region's history. In the decades after World War II, this transition pushed innumerable sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and smallholders off the land, redistributing territory and resources upward to a handful of large, mainly white operators. By disproportionately displacing Black farmers, enclosure also slowed the progress of the civil rights movement and limited its impact.

John Cable's Southern Enclosure is among the first studies to explore that process through the interpretive lens of settler colonialism. Focusing on east-central Mississippi, home of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Cable situates enclosure in the long history of disposses-



sion that began with Indian Removal. The book follows elite white landowners and Black and Choctaw farmers from World War II to 1960—the period when the old, labor-intensive farm structure collapsed. By acknowledging that this process occurred on taken land, Cable demonstrates that the records of agricultural agents, segregationist politicians, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) are traces of ongoing colonization.

The settler colonial framework, rarely associated with the postwar South, sheds important light on the shifting categories of race and class. It also prompts comparisons with other settler societies (states in southern and eastern Africa, for instance) whose timelines, racial regimes, and agrarian transitions were similar to those of the South. This postwar history of the South suggests ways in which the BIA's termination policy dovetailed with Southern segregationism and, at the same time, points to some of the shortcomings of the burgeoning field of settler colonial studies.

John H. Cable is assistant professor of history at Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College in Tifton, Georgia.

### **NOVEMBER**

216 pages, 1 map, 3 figures, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3583-2, \$42.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3584-9, \$42.95

# **Creating a More Perfect Slaveholders' Union**

# Slavery, the Constitution, and Secession in Antebellum America

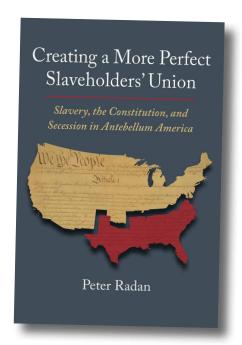
Peter Radan

n Texas v. White (1869), the Supreme Court ruled that the unilateral secession of a state from the Union was unconstitutional because the Constitution created "an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States." The Court ruled "there was no place for reconsideration, or revocation, except through revolution, or through consent of the States." In his iconoclastic work, Peter Radan demonstrates why the Court's ruling was wrong and why, on the basis of American constitutional law in 1860–1861, the unilateral secessions of the Confederate states were lawful on the grounds that the United States was forged as a "slaveholders' Union."

Creating a More Perfect Slaveholders' *Union* addresses two constitutional issues: first, whether the states in 1860 had a right to secede from the Union, and second, what significance slavery had in defining the constitutional Union. These two matters came together when the states seceded on the grounds that the system of government they had agreed to-namely, a system of human enslavement—had been violated by the incoming Republican administration. The legitimacy of this secession was anchored, as Radan demonstrates, in the compact theory of the Constitution, which held that because the Constitution was a compact between the member states of the Union, breaches of its fundamental provisions gave affected states the right to unilaterally secede from the Union. In so doing the Confederate states sought to preserve and protect their peculiar institution by forming a more perfect slaveholders' Union.

Creating a More Perfect Slaveholders' Union stands as the first and only systematic analysis of the legal arguments mounted for and against secession in 1860–1861 and reshapes how we understand the Civil War and, consequently, the history of the United States more generally.

Peter Radan is honorary professor of law at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, and a fellow of the Australian Academy of Law. He is the author of *The Break-up of Yugoslavia and International Law* and coauthor of *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*.



"In this important, pathbreaking book. Peter Radan takes a close look at an idea that has been off-limits for over a hundred years: that the Confederate arguments for secession might have had some merit. With the Civil War fresh in American minds, secessionist arguments had to be branded as heresy, and they were. But now that we have more distance, we can afford to take a new and more objective look. And what we learn about injustices of the past may show the way to a more just future."

Kermit Roosevelt, David Berger Professor for the Administration of Justice at the University of Pennsylvania Carey Law School, and author of *The Nation That* Never Was: Reconstructing America's Story

OCTOBER 448 pages, 6 x 9 *Constitutional Thinking* Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3580-1, \$44.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3582-5, \$44.95

# **Everyone Orthodox to Themselves**

# John Locke and His American Students on **Religion and Liberal Society**

Iohn Colman

"John Colman returns to John Locke and three thinkers he calls Locke's 'American students' to mount a counteroffensive against the recent upsurge of illiberal thinking. Colman's readings of Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson are astute and subtle; his case on behalf of their positions on religious liberty and free inquiry is well-informed and persuasive."

Michael Zuckert, Nancy R. Dreux Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame and author of A Nation So Conceived: Abraham Lincoln and the Paradox of Democratic Sovereignty

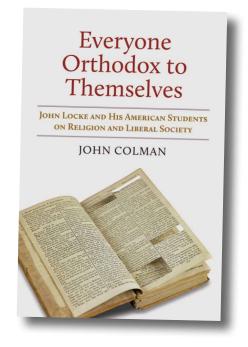
eligious liberty is one of the hallmarks of American democracy, but the principal architects of this liberty believed that it was only compatible with a certain form of Christianity—namely, a liberal, rational Christianity. Conservative and postliberal champions of the freedom of religion often ignore this point, sometimes even arguing that orthodox Christianity was, or should be, at the root of democratic liberty.

Everyone Orthodox to Themselves, John Colman's close study of the religious views and political theologies of John Locke, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson, shows otherwise. Colman demonstrates that Locke and his three American students specifically took aim at the idea of orthodoxy, which they argued continuously tempted its believers to try to impose an artificial uniformity upon the religious diversity that naturally exists in society and thought it necessary to advance a more rational, nondogmatic Christianity given the threat they saw religious orthodoxy posed to a free, liberal society.

While recent arguments have endorsed the idea that there is a crisis of liberalism that can only be met by the revival of more orthodox forms of religious devotion, Colman argues that, according to some of the most prominent American Founders and their philosophic predecessors, such orthodoxy is incompatible with religious freedom and the right to free inquiry. Everyone Orthodox to Themselves demonstrates that only a nondogmatic, rationalist Christianity could be made a friend rather than an adversary to the inalienable right of religious liberty.

Colman's work reveals how the reform of Christianity, and with it the inculcation of a particular theological disposition, is necessary to secure religious liberty and the right of free inquiry. The book also establishes the importance of Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity for his larger argument for toleration.

John Colman is associate professor of politics, Ave Maria University, and author of Lucretius as Theorist of Political Life.



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# Punish Treason, Reward Loyalty

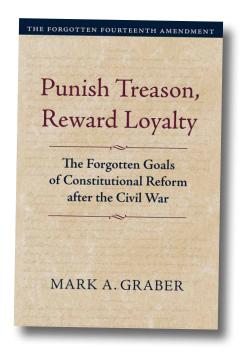
# The Forgotten Goals of Constitutional Reform after the Civil War

Mark A. Graber

n contemporary constitutional politics, Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment—which includes the citizenship, privileges and immunities, due process, and equal protection clauses—is the star of the show. But this was not the focus for the Republican members of the Thirty-Ninth Congress. Their interest was instead in Sections 2, 3, and 4. Today we tend to think the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to protect persons of color. But the Republicans engaged in Reconstruction saw its purpose as preventing "rebel rule" by punishing treason and rewarding loyalty, particularly the loyalty of white men who remained faithful to the Union during the Civil War.

In this first of three planned volumes for the University Press of Kansas's Constitutional Thinking series, Mark A. Graber aims to restore to contemporary memory the Fourteenth Amendment drafted by those Republican and Unionist members of Congress who supported congressional reconstruction.

In Punish Treason, Reward Loyalty,
Graber breaks new ground researching
Reconstruction, the Fourteenth Amendment, and constitutionalism by highlighting the importance of Sections 2, 3, and 4 to the representatives in the Thirty-Ninth Congress and their relative indifference to Section 1. His work underscores the importance and impact that legislative primacy and partisan supremacy had to Republican constitutional thinking about constitutional authority immediately after the Civil War.



Centered on Reconstruction and constitutional reform, Graber shows anew the Republican effort to prevent rebel rule by empowering and protecting loyalty.

Mark A. Graber is Regents Professor at the University of Maryland Carey School of Law and author of A New Introduction to American Constitutionalism, Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil, and Rethinking Abortion, among other books.

"In meticulous detail Mark Graber shows how in the run-up to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment congressional Republicans shaped the provisions eventually written into that provision with an eye to ensuring control of the government by unionists, which is to say Republicans. He reorients our understanding of the Fourteenth Amendment away from the rights it undoubtedly guarantees to the political effects its framers sought to achieve, among which were unionist control of state governments so that rights could be protected. Though today we do not pay much attention to the sections of the Fourteenth Amendment its framers cared most about, Graber's arguments tell us a great deal about how we should understand what constitutions actually do."

Mark Tushnet, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law, emeritus, Harvard Law School, and author of The Constitution of the United States of America: A Contextual Analysis

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# **Reading Law Forward**

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Peter Charles Hoffer

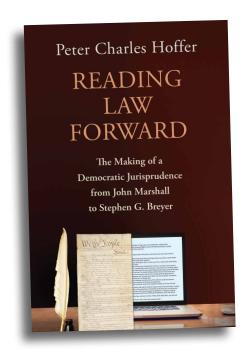
"Examining the work of seven leading figures in the history of US jurisprudence, Hoffer shows through sketches of their lives and detailed analysis of some of their most important opinions how each was committed to interpreting the law so that it would continue to contribute to the improvement of social and economic life. To do so they drew upon no single interpretive theory but rather a wide range of materials: text, original understandings, precedents, policy considerations. This is a bracing corrective to arguments that assert that our tradition is firmly committed to a single interpretive approach that disdains attention to policy and good outcomes."

Mark Tushnet, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law. emeritus, Harvard Law School, and author of Red, White, and Blue: A Critical Analysis of Constitutional Law

n the current legal climate where "everyone is an originalist," conventional wisdom suggests that judges merely find law, rather than make it. Orthodox common-law jurisprudence makes fidelity to the past the central goal and criterion. By contrast, the alternative approach, "reading the law forward"—what some call judicial pragmatism or consequentialism—is viewed as heretical. Rather than mount a theoretical defense of a forward-thinking jurisprudence, legal historian Peter Charles Hoffer offers an empirical study of how this approach to constitutional interpretation actually leads to better law. Reading Law Forward looks at seven judges who exemplify this alternative jurisprudence: John Marshall, Joseph Story, Lemuel Shaw, Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin Cardozo, William O. Douglas, and Stephen G. Breyer.

"In the hands of America's leading judges, a jurisprudence of reading law forward enabled courts to respond to the challenges of changing conditions. It kept law fresh. It promoted and still promotes the growth of a democratic society," Hoffer convincingly argues.

Peter Charles Hoffer is distinguished research professor of history, University of Georgia, and the author of numerous publications, including Daniel Webster and the Unfinished Constitution; Rutgers v. Waddington: Alexander Hamilton, the End of the War for Independence, and the Origins of Judicial Review; The Free Press Crisis of 1800: Thomas Cooper's Trial for Seditious Libel; and, with Williamjames Hull Hoffer and N. E. H. Hull, The Supreme Court: An Essential History, Second Edition, all from Kansas.



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# Goldwater v. Carter

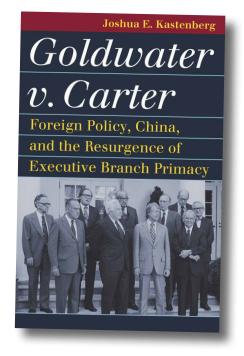
# Foreign Policy, China, and the Resurgence of Executive Branch Primacy

Joshua E. Kastenberg

oldwater v. Carter tells the story of the Supreme Court ruling that upheld President James Earl Carter's unilateral decision to nullify the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China (Taiwan), thereby enabling the United States to establish relations with the People's Republic of China. Senator Barry Goldwater and other members of Congress brought a lawsuit against Carter, arguing that the president needed Senate approval to take this action. President Carter's actions in recognizing the Peoples' Republic of China were both a continuation of a process begun by President Richard Nixon and a milestone in foreign policy that survived legal and political intervention. In their decision, the Supreme Court placed the removal of the United States from treaties squarely in the political, rather than the constitutional, arena.

Goldwater contended that if Carter could withdraw from the treaty with Taiwan, then another president could theoretically withdraw from NATO and thereby endanger the global political order. Ironically, years later President Donald Trump, who stood in the mold of Goldwater's brand of conservatism, posed this very threat.

Joshua Kastenberg places the case of *Goldwater v. Carter* in the larger context of executive power. While presidential power had increased in the wake of FDR's New Deal, Congress curbed this expansion during the Vietnam conflict, placing restrictions on the presidency in areas of foreign policy and national security that had not been seen since the defeat of the League of Nations in the Senate in 1919. The Court's decision in favor of Carter,



however, marked a return to the growth of the "imperial presidency," which has only continued to expand.

Joshua E. Kastenberg is professor of law and the Lee & Leon Karelitz Professor in Evidence and Procedure at the University of New Mexico School of Law. His many books include The Campaign to Impeach Justice William O. Douglas: Nixon, Vietnam, and the Conservative Attack on Judicial Independence; To Raise and Discipline an Army: Major General Enoch Crowder, the Judge Advocate General's Office, and the Realignment of Civil and Military Relations in World War I; and Law in War, War as Law: Brigadier General Joseph Holt and the Judge Advocate General's Department in the Civil War and Early Reconstruction, 1861-1865.

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# Diné dóó Gáamalii

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Farina King

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Tisa Wenger, professor of divinity, American studies, and religious studies, Yale University, and author of We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom

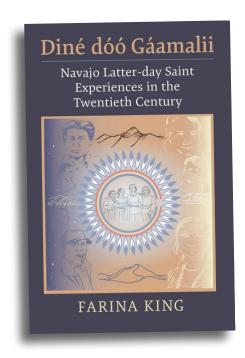
avajo Latter-day Saints are Diné dóó Gáamalii," writes Farina King, in this deeply personal collective biography. "We are Diné who decided to walk a Latter-day Saint pathway, although not always consistently or without reappraising that decision."

Diné dóó Gáamalii is a history of twentieth-century Navajos, including author Farina King and her family, who have converted and joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), becoming Diné dóó Gáamalii—both Diné and LDS. Drawing on Diné stories from the LDS Native American Oral History Project, King illuminates the mutual entanglement of Indigenous identity and religious affiliation, showing how their Diné identity made them outsiders to the LDS Church and, conversely, how belonging to the LDS

community made them outsiders to their Native community. The story that King tells shows the complex ways that Diné people engaged with church institutions in the context of settler colonial power structures. The lived experiences of Diné in church programs sometimes diverged from the intentions and expectations of those who designed them.

In this empathetic and richly researched study, King explores the impacts of Navajo Latter-day Saints who seek to bridge different traditions, peoples, and communities. She sheds light on the challenges and joys they face in following both the Diné teachings of Si'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhó-"live to old age in beauty"—and the teachings of the church.

Farina King is Horizon Chair of Native American Ecology and Culture and associate professor of Native American studies, University of Oklahoma, coauthor of Returning Home: Diné Creative Works of the Intermountain Indian School, and author of The Earth Memory Compass: Diné Landscapes and Education in the Twentieth Century.



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# **Land Is Kin**

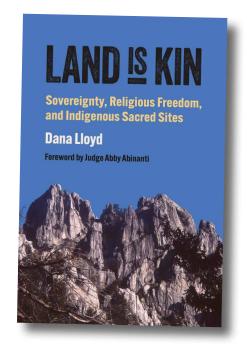
# Sovereignty, Religious Freedom, and Indigenous Sacred Sites

Dana Lloyd

Foreword by Judge Abby Abinanti

esponding to Vine Deloria, Jr.'s call for all people to "become involved" in the struggle to protect Indigenous sacred sites, Dana Lloyd's Land Is Kin proposes a rethinking of sacred sites, and even a rethinking of land itself. Deloria suggested using the principle of religious freedom, but this principle has failed Indigenous peoples for decades. Lloyd argues that religious freedom fails Indigenous claimants because settler law creates a tension between two competing rights—one party's religious freedom and another party's property rights. In this contest, the right of property will always win.

Through an analysis of the 1988 US Supreme Court case Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association, which she interprets as a case about sovereignty and the meaning of land, Lloyd proposes a multilayered understanding of land and the different roles it can simultaneously play. Rejecting the binary logic of sacred religion versus secular property, Lloyd uses the legal dispute over the High Country—an area of the Six Rivers National Forest in Northern California sacred to the Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa Indigenous nations—to show that there are at least five different, but not equally valid, ways to understand land in the *Lyng* case: home, property, sacred site, wilderness, and kin. To protect the High Country, the Yurok filed a religious freedom lawsuit but then proceeded to describe the land as their home in court. They lobbied for protecting the High Country through a wilderness designation even as they continued to argue that they had been managing it for centuries.



They have purchased large parcels of ancestral land and also declare the land their kin, a relationship that ostensibly excludes the possibility of ownership.

Land Is Kin demonstrates the complexity of land in contemporary religious, political, and legal discourse. By drawing on Indigenous perspectives on the land as kin, Lloyd points toward a framework that shifts sovereignty away from binary oppositions—between property and sacred site, between the federal government and Native nations—towards seeing the land itself as sovereign.

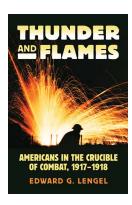
**Dana Lloyd** is assistant professor of Global Interdisciplinary Studies at Villanova University.

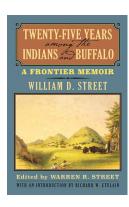
"Until the tired and faulty precedent of Lyng is dethroned, Indigenous sacred sites in the US will continue to suffer the consequences of being treated as mere property. Dana Lloyd challenges this paradigm in Land Is Kin by looking backward and forward, asking how such a problematic framing of sacred land as government property came to be and exploring how this knotty tangle might be undone in a way that foregrounds Indigenous sovereignty, focusing on kinship with the land and the relationship work such intimacy demands. This important book will be compelling to readers across several fields-Native American and Indigenous studies, religious studies, and law-and to communities on the ground seeking fresh insights for gaining protection of their sacred places as relatives."

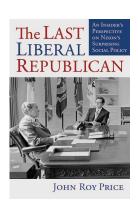
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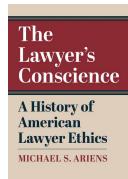
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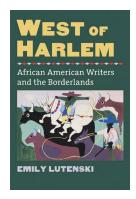
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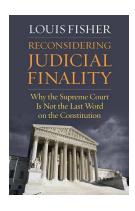
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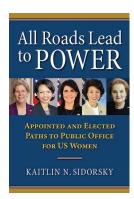
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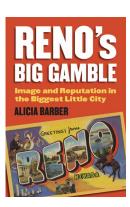
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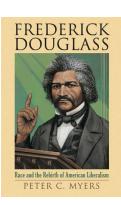
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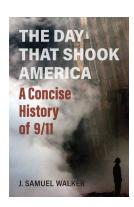
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