



University Press of **KANSAS**

New Books for Spring & Summer 2024

Recent Awards

Before *Bostock*

The Accidental LGBTQ Precedent of *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*

Jason A. Pierceson

Best Book Award, American Political Science Association, Sexuality and Politics Section

Creating the Modern Army

Citizen-Soldiers and the American Way of War, 1919–1939

William J. Woolley

Distinguished Writing Award, Army Historical Foundation

The Diplomatic Presidency

American Foreign Policy from FDR to George H. W. Bush

Tizoc Chavez

Best Book Award, American Political Science Association, Foreign Policy Section

Gettysburg's Southern Front

Opportunity and Failure at Richmond

Hampton Newsome

Emerging Civil War Book Award

Empire of Direct Mail

How Conservative Marketing Persuaded Voters and Transformed the Grassroots

Takahito Moriyama

Shimizu Hiroshi Award, Japanese Association for American Studies

The Prophet of Harvard Law

James Bradley Thayer and His Legal Legacy

Andrew Porwancher, Austin Coffey, Taylor Jipp, and Jake Mazeitis

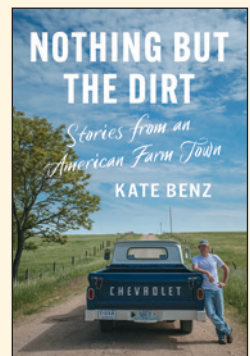
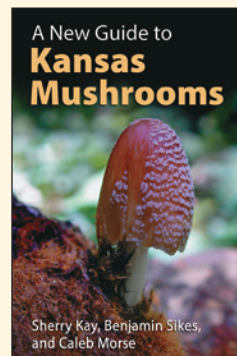
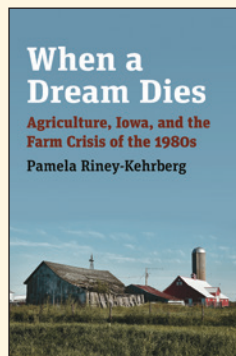
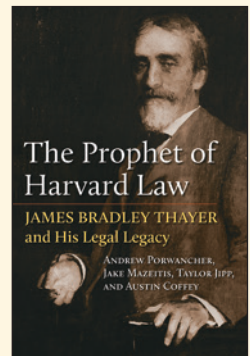
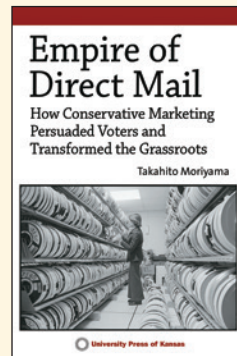
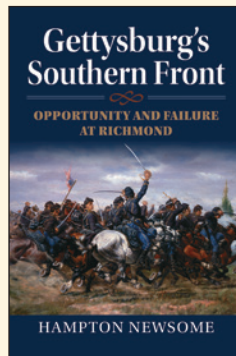
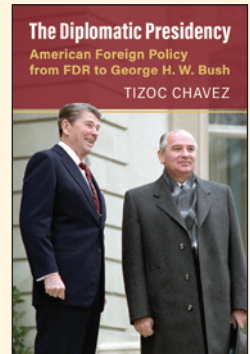
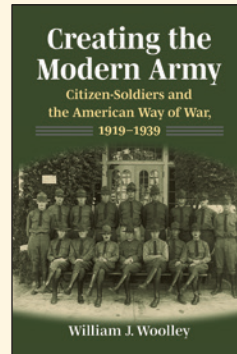
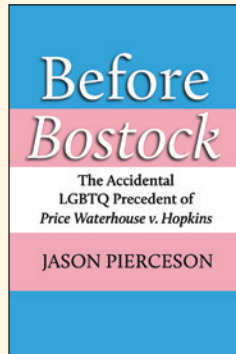
Bronze Medal in Biography, Independent Publisher Book Awards

When a Dream Dies

Agriculture, Iowa, and the Farm Crisis of the 1980s

Pamela Riney-Kehrberg

Benjamin F. Shambaugh Award, State Historical Society of Iowa



A New Guide to Kansas Mushrooms

Sherry Kay, Benjamin Sikes, and Caleb Morse

Named a Kansas Notable Book by the Kansas Center for the Book

Nothing but the Dirt

Stories from an American Farm Town

Kate Benz

Named a Kansas Notable Book by the Kansas Center for the Book

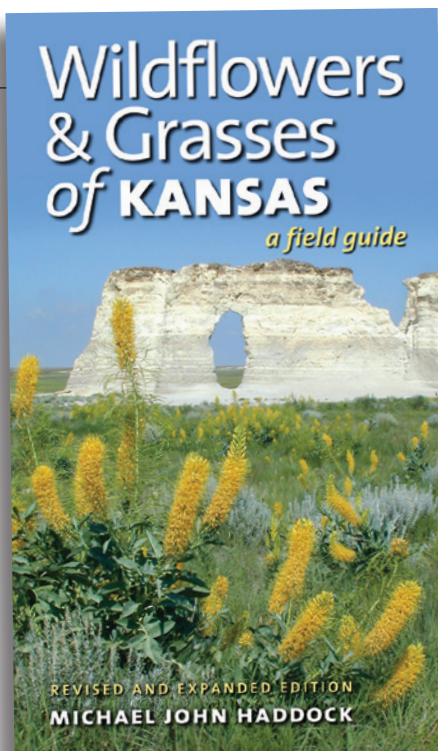
Cover photograph by Scott Bean. See *In the Country of the Kaw*, page 5.

Wildflowers and Grasses of Kansas

A Field Guide

Revised and Expanded Edition

Michael John Haddock



How do you know when you're face to face with a fringe-leaf ruellia? Is that particular flower button gayfeather or dotted gayfeather? And what about the pod clinging to your pants? Could it have come from a bird-foot trefoil?

For anyone venturing out into the wilds of Kansas and the region, identifying plants just got a whole lot easier. Michael Haddock has updated and expanded his guide to more than 400 wildflowers, grasses, sedges, and rushes. This guide documents many of the state's most common and conspicuous species—as well as some seldom encountered or listed in field guides—and includes many that are found throughout the Great Plains. This revised and expanded edition of *Wildflowers and Grasses of Kansas*

supersedes earlier guides not only in the number of species it includes—plus its coverage of grasses—but also in its spectacular, true-to-life color photos.

The first edition of *Wildflowers and Grasses of Kansas: A Field Guide* (2005) quickly became a highly popular resource for people interested in the flora of Kansas. In the nearly twenty years since the original publication, there have been advances in our understanding of the evolutionary relationships of vascular plants. Studies of DNA, macro- and micromorphology, cytology, phenology, ecology, and biogeography have affected the circumscriptions and names of some of the families, genera, and species recognized in the first edition. Consequently, an important component of this revision is the update to nomenclature and the circumscription of taxa along lines that are more consistent with current knowledge.

Perfect for backpack or glove compartment, *Wildflowers and Grasses of Kansas* offers a wealth of quick-access information and finding aids graced with color that leaps off the page, making plant identification a joy rather than a chore. It's a book guaranteed to send even chronic homebodies out into the great outdoors in search of these elusive blooms.

Michael John Haddock is the former associate dean of the Research, Education, and Engagement Division at Kansas State University Libraries and the coauthor of *Trees, Shrubs, and Woody Vines in Kansas* and *Kansas Wildflowers and Weeds*.

“From blue funnel-lilies to Rocky Mountain zinnias, this colorful new edition adds even more species to the best field guide for Kansas wildflowers, providing detailed, exquisite photos to carry with you into the field.”

Kelly Kindscher, author of *Medicinal Wild Plants of the Prairie: An Ethnobotanical Guide* and *Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie: An Ethnobotanical Guide*

“Enlarged to include 99 more species, more stunning photos, and updated names and descriptions, *Wildflowers and Grasses of Kansas: A Field Guide, Revised and Expanded* is a colorful and informative foray into Kansas flora. This beautiful, easy-to-use field guide belongs in every naturalist's backpack or library.”

Craig C. Freeman, coauthor of *Trees, Shrubs, and Woody Vines in Kansas*; *Kansas Wildflowers and Weeds*; and *An Illustrated Guide to Endangered or Threatened Species in Kansas*

MARCH

496 pages, 424 color photographs, 16 figures, 5½ x 9½

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3595-5, \$29.95(t)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3596-2, \$29.95

Hell, No, We Didn't Go!

Firsthand Accounts of Vietnam War Protest and Resistance

Eli Greenbaum

“Eli Greenbaum has written one of the best studies of those who fought, often successfully, their being drafted to fight in Vietnam. Based on long and colorful interviews with many resisters, his volume enriches our understanding of what drove unprecedented numbers of young men to challenge the Selective Service System.”

Melvin Small, author of *At the Water's Edge: American Politics and the Vietnam War*

“The Vietnam War was fought on many fronts, and we often forget that the home front was crucial here—marked by an army of courageous and patriotic men and women who often, at considerable risk to themselves, resisted this terrible war. Eli Greenbaum has brilliantly orchestrated the voices of resistance from that era. This is a major statement and a valuable piece of American history.”

Jay Parini, author of *Borges and Me: An Encounter*

APRIL

272 pages, 33 photographs, 6 x 9
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3629-7, \$105.00(t)
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3630-3, \$34.95(t)
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3631-0 \$34.95

As long as there have been wars, there has been conscription. And conscription has never been popular.

When asked in a Gallup poll taken in August 1965 whether the US decision to send troops to Vietnam was a mistake, 60 percent of Americans polled said no. But as American casualties increased and the war escalated, polls showed fewer Americans supporting US actions in Vietnam. That, however, did not stop the drafting of Americans into military service. Later, when the leaked Pentagon Papers revealed that the United States had misled Congress and the American public about the extent of US involvement in Vietnam through lies and the withholding of information, support was driven further downward. Today, the Vietnam War is regarded as the most unpopular war of the twentieth century.

In *Hell, No, We Didn't Go!*, Eli Greenbaum presents firsthand accounts of men who were driven to resist or dodge the Vietnam draft at all costs. He introduces readers to a cross section of individuals who found ways to defy the draft by leaving the country, going to prison, becoming conscientious objectors, gaming the system, conspiring to fail physicals, and even enlisting—anything to avoid being drafted. These vivid essays and candid oral histories detail events that were often controversial, sometimes volatile, and almost always emotionally charged. Greenbaum brings together a chorus of first-person accounts of draft resistance and protest held together by an overarching personal narrative, while providing context, commentary, and an unusual fifty-year perspective on the men's

decisions to avoid the Vietnam War no matter what.

While some men passively accepted conscription as their fate, others actively resisted it, sometimes going to extremes. Each account reveals individual motivations, fears, and hopes—everything from disagreement with American foreign policy to questions of cowardice and the meaning of patriotism, all underlined by courage and determination.

Eli Greenbaum is an attorney, a former ad agency creative director, and the author of several published short stories and articles.



A Light in the Tower

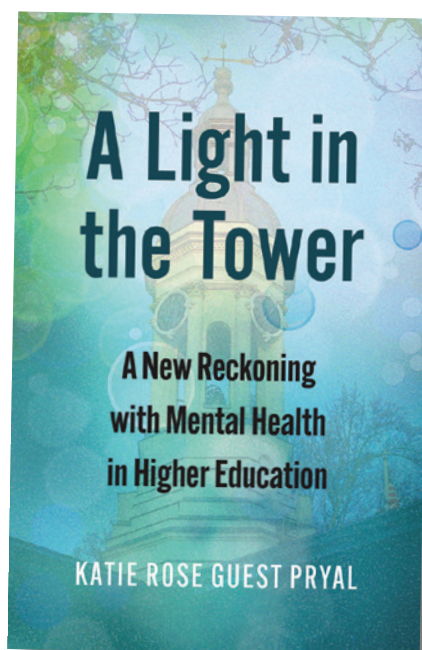
A New Reckoning with Mental Health in Higher Education

Katie Rose Guest Pryal

With evocative storytelling and incisive research, Katie Rose Guest Pryal brings a new eye to the mental health crisis that higher education has faced for decades. Written from the perspective of a bipolar-autistic professor, *A Light in the Tower* is both a bracing account of the mental health crisis in higher education and a passionate and informed proposal for how to teach with mental health in mind.

Pryal contends that higher education's mental health crisis is the result of long-term systemic problems in education that demand nothing short of a revolution. She examines the anxiety that plagues campuses as a result of exploited and overworked contingent faculty and students, the shock events like COVID-19 and campus shootings that traumatize communities, the systemic and institutional burnout that affects higher education at every level, and the market-driven culture of toxic overwork. These are large-scale problems that need large-scale solutions. Addressing the stigma that haunts mental disability on campus, the ableism that hounds our teaching, and the cascade of mental health struggles that far too many faculty and students face, Pryal provides straightforward solutions to these complex challenges.

A Light in the Tower argues that excellent education and radical support for mental health struggles can coexist and provides detailed advice for how to do so. Meanwhile, Pryal debunks claims that supporting student mental health harms educational rigor (coining the term “rigor angst” to discuss the fear that rigor is declining). She outlines actionable steps professors and



administrators can take to address the problem, including abandoning ableist and exclusionary campus culture; replacing “bad-hard” work that creates unnecessary logistical difficulties for students in favor of “good-hard” work that challenges them intellectually, providing an easy path to disability accommodations; and teaching accessibly for neurodivergent students.

Katie Rose Guest Pryal is an author, neurodiversity expert, and adjunct professor of law at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She is the author of *Life of the Mind Interrupted: Essays on Mental Health and Disability in Higher Education* and the award-winning *Even If You're Broken: Bodies, Boundaries, and Mental Health*.

“In *A Light in the Tower*, Pryal’s discussion of the darkness of mental distress is riveting. The recommendations for teaching are very helpful, and I’ll be using them in my courses. Thank you for this honest, practical, and reflective book.”

Teresa Heinz Housel, editor of *Mental Health among Higher Education Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students*

“*A Light in the Tower* brilliantly confronts the stigma against mental disability that haunts academia. With engaging prose, Pryal gives the academic community tools to deal with mental health crises and to build a more inclusive, healthier environment in academia for all people—students and faculty—living with mental disability and experiencing mental distress. An essential, game-changing book.”

Elizabeth Donaldson, editor of *Literatures of Madness: Disability Studies and Mental Health* and series editor of *Literary Disability Studies*

FEBRUARY

240 pages, 6 x 9

Rethinking Careers, Rethinking Academia

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3635-8, \$90.00(t)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3633-4, \$29.95(t)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3634-1, \$29.95

Reform and Reaction

The Arc of Kansas Politics

Edited by Michael A. Smith and H. Edward Flentje

Featuring contributions by H. Edward Flentje, Michael A. Smith, Burdett Loomis, Chapman Rackaway, and Patrick Miller

“Kansas political history has not been tidy. It has been uncertain, tense, confusing, and contradictory. Here is the story of how reforms of the 1960s gave way to the tensions of the twenty-first century. *Reform and Reaction* unpacks the old saying that ‘as goes Kansas, so goes the nation.’ Sometimes, Kansas defined the issues that defined a nation. Sometimes, it was more that Kansas adopted something because the nation had already accepted it. This book drills down beyond broad trends and blanket statements to explore the human and personal interactions that shaped the story of the Sunflower State over the past fifty years and will be an invaluable resource for those who wondered ‘how did we get here?’ . . . or perhaps, more accurately, ‘what on earth happened?’”

Jay M. Price, professor of history and director of the Local and Community History Program at Wichita State University

JUNE

256 pages, 1 photograph, 2 figures,
8 tables, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3661-7, \$90.00(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3662-4, \$29.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3663-1, \$29.95

Originating under the leadership of the late Burdett Loomis, *Reform and Reaction* tells the complex story of recent Kansas politics, beginning in the 1960s and concluding with the reversal of Governor Sam Brownback’s red-state policies in the 2016 and 2018 elections. The Kansas that emerged from the reapportionment decisions and the overhaul of state government in the 1960s and 1970s was one that found itself in a push-and-pull, reform-and-reaction pattern the authors refer to as the arc of Kansas politics.

Reform-minded and policy-oriented politicians who tended toward a moderate, bipartisan approach pushed to modernize the state to better serve the needs of its citizens, following the maxim of Governor

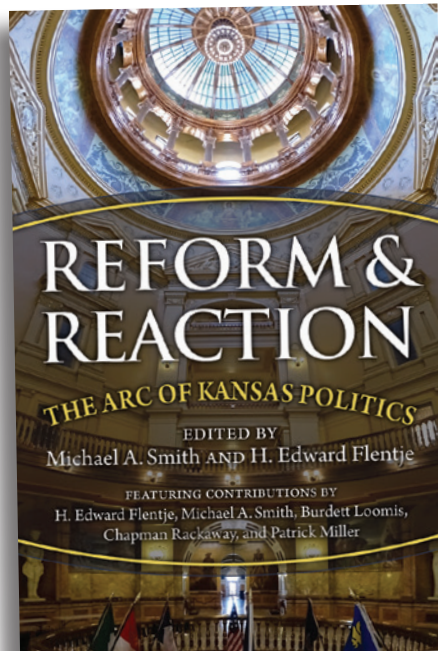
Robert Docking: “austere but adequate.” Because this approach avoided or rejected the narrow conservative interests of culture warriors, reformist administrations were followed by reactionary administrations that advanced a right-wing agenda. Brownback thus brought the era of “austere but adequate” to an abrupt end when he won the governorship in 2010. When voters became tired of this approach, a new set of reform politicians were elected—and so the arc continues.

The only book tracing changes in Kansas government since the 1960s, including the loss of moderates in both parties, the Brownback era, and its aftermath, *Reform and Reaction* is the last book by the celebrated political scientist Burdett Loomis, who conceived the idea for the book and authored one of its chapters before his passing.

Reform and Reaction not only illuminates the political history of Kansas but also sheds light on what may be in store for the future of the Sunflower State.

Michael A. Smith is professor of political science at Emporia State University and coauthor of *Low Taxes and Small Government: Sam Brownback’s Great Experiment in Kansas*.

H. Edward Flentje is professor emeritus at Wichita State University and coauthor of *Kansas Politics and Government: The Clash of Political Cultures*.



In the Country of the Kaw

A Personal Natural History of the American Plains

James H. Locklear

Gathering its waters from the plains of Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska, the Kaw is truly America's prairie river; the only one to arise entirely on the Great Plains and traverse all three major grasslands—shortgrass, mixed-grass, and tallgrass prairies. James Locklear's *In the Country of the Kaw* is a joyous exploration of the realm of the Kaw River, which stretches from the High Plains of Colorado to the Kansas City metropolitan area.

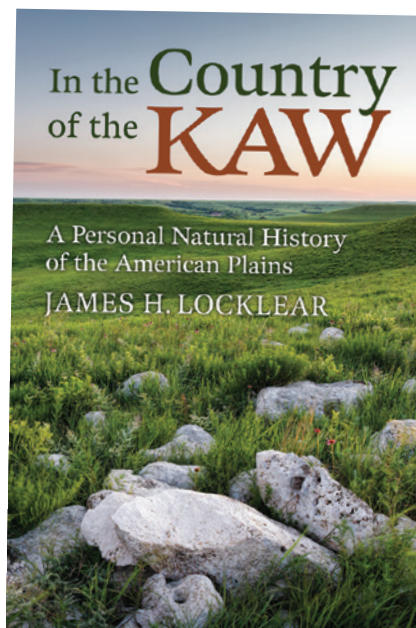
The book's first section profiles geology, landforms, and the region's woodlands and grasslands. The second explores the rich biological diversity associated with the land and its inhabitants' remarkable adaptations to the environment and each other. The final section is a collection of stories of human interaction with the landscape, how nature has shaped culture and culture nature. Locklear finds "astonishments" at every turn.

In the Country of the Kaw is also a call to seek the flourishing of the natural and

human communities of the region. Locklear describes staggering, human-wrought environmental degradations but also finds great hope in the resilience of Nature and the inspiring work of conservation, preservation, restoration, and renewal being accomplished by individuals and organizations throughout the region.

Locklear's relationship with the country of the Kaw stretches from his childhood in Kansas City in the 1960s to his current professional life as a botanist working in the Great Plains. A half century of rambling and rooting around in this region has given him a deep awe and affection for its uniqueness and goodness, which he conveys to the reader on every page.

James H. Locklear is director of conservation at Lauritzen Gardens in Omaha, NE.



"A singular and significant addition to the literature of the Great Plains. Thoughtfully written, it captures the essence of the entire Kaw River basin, from the High Plains of eastern Colorado to the forested hills of northeastern Kansas. *In the Country of the Kaw* will help you understand this part of our natural world and live there more fully."

Rex C. Buchanan, editor of *Kansas Geology* and coauthor of *Roadside Kansas*

"James Locklear writes about the land with the easy grace of someone describing an old friend. Indeed, Locklear's ambition is to convey the personality of the plains along the Kansas River through a series of sketches of the plants, animals, fossils, towns, and people to be found in the 173 water miles from Junction City to the confluence with the Missouri. This is a book to delight and instruct and to reassure that you aren't the only one thinking and caring deeply about the natural world."

Max McCoy, author of *Elevations: A Personal Exploration of the Arkansas River*

MARCH

328 pages, 16 color photographs, 3 maps, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3641-9, \$34.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3643-3, \$34.95

The Inland Campaign for Vicksburg

Five Battles in Seventeen Days, May 1–17, 1863

Timothy B. Smith

“In producing the fifth and final installment of his critically acclaimed study of the Vicksburg campaign Tim Smith saves his best work for last. Wielding his talented pen, the author chronicles the operational phase of the campaign during which Ulysses S. Grant and his Union Army of the Tennessee fought five battles in seventeen days as they drove deep into the interior of Mississippi and to the gates of Vicksburg. The insights and analysis Smith provides of the generalship of Grant and his opponent John C. Pemberton during this crucial phase of the campaign are spot-on and provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of these operations and the artistry of war. But it is the experiences of the common soldier that will captivate the reader, and here Smith is at his finest.”

Terrence J. Winschel, author of *Triumph & Defeat: The Vicksburg Campaign, Vols. 1–2*, and *The Civil War Diary of the Common Soldier*

APRIL

552 pages, 22 photos, 22 maps, 6 1/4 x 9 1/4
Modern War Studies

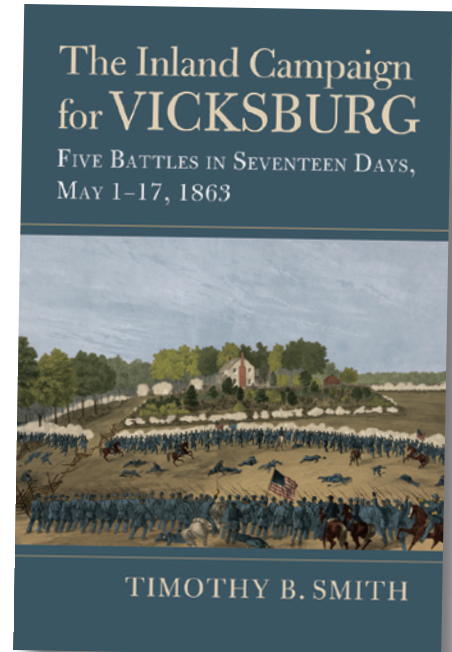
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3655-6, \$54.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3656-3 \$54.95

In this fifth and final volume of his renowned series detailing the campaign for Vicksburg, Tim Smith sheds much-needed light to this often-misunderstood episode of the Union’s efforts to take Vicksburg. In the entire nine-month-long campaign, there was no more tension and drama than in these seventeen days when Grant’s Army of the Tennessee marched through the wilds of Mississippi, claiming victory after victory, tearing the heart out of the State of Mississippi and the Confederacy. By the end of the swift assault, Grant arrived victorious at the exact place he had worked to gain for months: the high ground east of Vicksburg where he had access to both the city and an open and unchallenged supply route via the Yazoo River to the north. He could finally begin the process of capturing Vicksburg.

Civil War historians have long disagreed about how to understand this moment of the Vicksburg Campaign as they analyze Union supply lines, the swiftness of the campaign, and other salient details of Grant’s success. Amid this debate, Tim Smith has written the first standalone investigation of the Inland Campaign, which boasts new insights, keen attention to primary sources, and a broad, clear-eyed look at Grant’s brilliance as he led the Army of the Tennessee toward Vicksburg.

Completing the Vicksburg series, this book lies between Smith’s *Bayou Battles for Vicksburg* (January 1–April 30, 1863) and *The Union Assaults at Vicksburg* (May 17–22, 1863).



“Tim Smith unquestionably provides us with the best researched and most closely detailed account yet published of a complex series of events.”—*Civil War Books and Authors*

Timothy B. Smith teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin. His many books on the Civil War include *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.

Thomas Jefferson and the Fight against Slavery

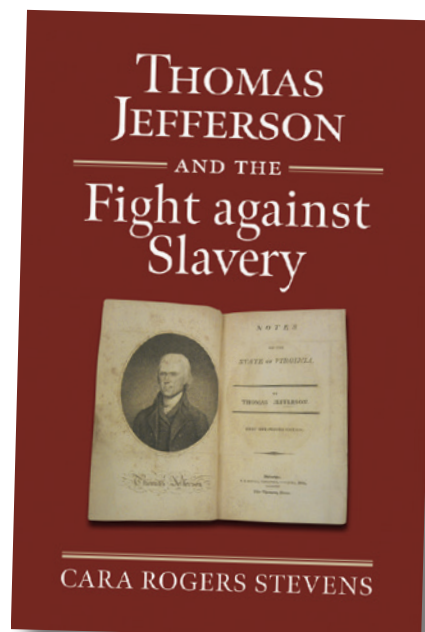
Cara Rogers Stevens

In this groundbreaking work, Cara Rogers Stevens examines the fascinating life of Thomas Jefferson's book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, from its innocuous composition in the early 1780s to its use as a political weapon by both pro- and antislavery forces in the early nineteenth century. Initially written as a brief statistical introduction to Virginia for French readers, Jefferson's book evolved to become his comprehensive statement on almost all facets of the state's natural and political realms. As part of an antislavery education strategy, Jefferson also decided to include a treatise on the nature of racial difference, as well as a manifesto on the corrupting power of slavery in a republic and a plan for emancipation and colonization. In consequence, his book—for better or worse—defined the boundaries of future debates over the place of African-descended people in American society.

Although historians have rightly criticized Jefferson for his racism and

failure to free his own slaves, his antislavery intentions for the *Notes* have received only cursory notice, partly because the original manuscript was not available for detailed examination until recently. By analyzing Jefferson's complex revision process, *Thomas Jefferson and the Fight against Slavery* traces the evolution of Jefferson's views on race and slavery as he considered how best to persuade younger slaveholders to embrace emancipation. Rogers Stevens then moves beyond Jefferson to examine contemporary responses to the *Notes* from white and black intellectuals and politicians, concluding with an attempt by Jefferson's grandson to implement elements of the *Notes*'s emancipation plan during Virginia's 1831–1832 slavery debates.

Cara Rogers Stevens is an associate professor of history at Ashland University.



“This is a magnificent achievement both in the fields of the history of the Early Republic and in Jefferson studies. Cara Rogers Stevens’s understanding of Jefferson and his times is exceptionally clear-minded, while based on a huge amount of innovative work with actual source material. I was particularly delighted by an exceptionally comprehensive and important account of Jefferson’s correspondence with William Short and Edward Bancroft. As a historian Rogers Stevens is meticulous, profound, pointed, and intelligent—the kind we need more of.”

Ari Helo, author of *Thomas Jefferson’s Ethics and the Politics of Human Progress: The Morality of a Slaveholder*

“Students of Jefferson and slavery will need to engage with this original, provocative, and well-written study.”

Frank Cogliano, author of *Revolutionary America, 1763–1815: A Political History and Emperor of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson’s Foreign Policy*

JANUARY

400 pages, 6 x 9

American Political Thought

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3597-9, \$54.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3598-6, \$54.95

Roadblocked

Joe Biden's Rocky Transition to the Presidency

Heath Brown

"The Trump-Biden transition was like no other in American presidential history. Heath Brown combines political science theory, a new data set on interest groups and their strategies for gaining access to incoming administrations, and a clear, engaging writing style to provide a highly readable and interesting look at this most unusual period in American politics. *Roadblocked* will take its place among the best scholarship on presidential transitions."

Daniel E. Ponder, author of *Presidential Leverage: Presidents, Approval, and the American State* and *Good Advice: Information and Policy Making in the White House*

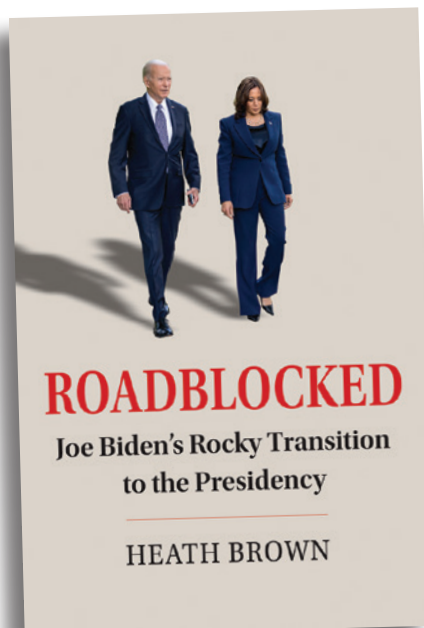
Joe Biden and Kamala Harris began their transition to the White House in the most unusual of circumstances: a global pandemic, a sitting president violently refusing to accept the results of the election, and a historic racial reckoning all posed profound questions about how they would staff large parts of the government and articulate policy remedies to pressing problems in just eleven weeks.

Heath Brown's *Roadblocked* is a revelatory look at the seventy days between the election and the inauguration with a focus on the ways the Biden-Harris transition team sought help and advice to overcome these obstacles. Informed by over 125 exclusive interviews with members of the transition team and a wide cast of other stakeholders, Brown takes readers deep inside the 2020 presidential transition. More than that, *Roadblocked* is also a gripping history of US presidential

transitions over the past half century that compares the transition teams of the last four administrations.

Biden-Harris transition leaders had a massive team with a complex organizational structure and a stated aim to promote coordination, encourage teamwork, and avoid siloing staff. In the end, however, these aims were foiled by the conditions of the pandemic and steep hierarchies, which both reduced collaboration and information sharing and left many feeling isolated. In the end, despite substantial changes in the Democratic coalition, newly influential groups armed with novel tactics, and great shifts in their political agenda, the Biden-Harris transition did not lead to transformation. *Roadblocked* explains why.

Heath Brown is associate professor of public policy at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York, and the CUNY Graduate Center, and the author of *Homeschooling the Right*, *Immigrants and Electoral Politics*, and *Lobbying the New President*.



JUNE

200 pages, 2 figures, 8 tables, 6 x 9
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3657-0, \$90.00(s)
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3707-2, \$29.95(s)
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3658-7, \$29.95

Grand Old Unraveling

The Republican Party, Donald Trump, and the Rise of Authoritarianism

John Kenneth White

It didn't begin with Donald Trump. The unraveling of the Grand Old Party has been decades in the making. Since the time of FDR, the Republican Party has been home to conspiracy thinking, including a belief that lost elections were rigged. And when Republicans later won the White House, the party elevated their presidents to heroic status—a predisposition that eventually posed a threat to democracy. Building on his esteemed 2016 book, *What Happened to the Republican Party?*, John Kenneth White proposes to explain *why* this happened—not just the election of Trump but the authoritarian shift in the party as a whole that led to the insurrection of January 6, 2021, and its aftermath.

White presents a clear and concise analysis of how the modern Republican Party came to be by tracing historical patterns that reach back to the 1930s. He argues that the rise of Republican authoritarianism has been decades in the making, going back to the desperation that took hold among party elites in the wake of twenty years of Democratic dominance between 1932 and 1952. The fear of losing that overtook the party during the Roosevelt period eventually led to an escalation of intrigue that included the rise of the John Birch Society in the 1950s and QAnon today. White traces the development of this culture of conspiracy theories within the GOP and explains how the emphasis on winning at any cost created a cult of personality and a willingness to seize power by any means necessary.



John Kenneth White is professor of politics at Catholic University of America in Washington, DC. He is the coauthor of *American Political Parties: Why They Formed, How They Function, and Where They're Headed* and the author of *What Happened to the Republican Party? And What It Means for Presidential Politics*, among many other books.

"Grand Old Unraveling is a powerful warning of the dangers presented by Trumpist conspiracy-mongering and contempt for democratic norms. John Kenneth White contends that Trumpism has been germinating within the GOP for decades, and that Donald Trump is a 'symptom, not a cause of our present-day dilemma.' It is, in White's retelling, 'the culture within the Republican Party' that made Trump possible. This book should be required reading for all Americans concerned about the fate of the republic in 2024 and beyond."

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

"White effectively demonstrates how the Republican Party became a place that Trump would view as home long before he thought about running for office."

Seth Masket, author of *Learning from Loss: The Democrats, 2016–2020*

APRIL

280 pages, 1 table, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3653-2, \$90.00(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3708-9, \$29.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3654-9, \$29.95

Whistling Dixie

Ronald Reagan, the White South, and the Transformation of the Republican Party

Jonathan Bartho

“For anyone who wants to understand how reactionary populism took root in the Republican Party, Jonathan Bartho’s *Whistling Dixie* is required reading. Bartho’s history of white Southerners’ tempestuous love affair with Ronald Reagan explains the GOP’s southern ascendancy, the Republican Party’s ongoing fight between economic libertarians and ‘America First’ populists, as well as the social conservatism that has only deepened its hold over the GOP’s base.”

David Farber, author of *The Rise and Fall of Modern American Conservatism: A Short History*

“Accessible, engaging, and frequently insightful, Jonathan Bartho’s *Whistling Dixie* is a surprisingly fresh contribution to the tidal wave of literature that has been produced on the rise of modern American conservatism over the past three decades.”

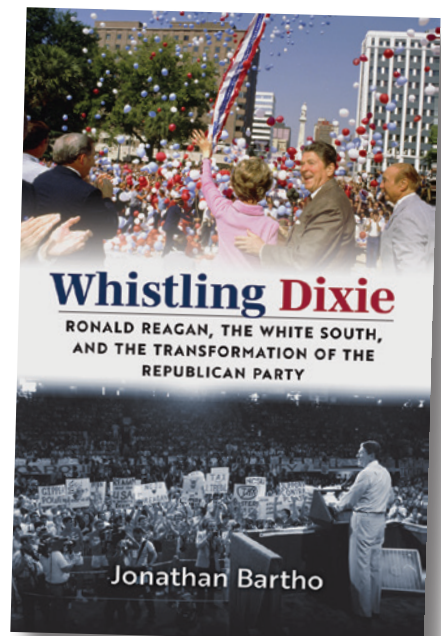
Sean Cunningham, author of *Bootstrap Liberalism: Texas Political Culture in the Age of FDR*, *Cowboy Conservatism: Texas and the Rise of the Modern Right*, and *American Politics in the Postwar Sunbelt: Conservative Growth in a Battleground Region*

Jonathan Bartho’s *Whistling Dixie* explores the interdependent political relationship between Ronald Reagan and the white conservative South, a relationship that had a profound impact on Reagan’s own career, on the political landscape of the South and the entire United States, and on the identity of the modern Republican Party. Millions of southerners were attracted to the GOP by Reagan’s anti-statist ideology and their affection for the man himself—an affection that had been built over decades of appearances in the region. The support of these white southern conservatives was crucial to Reagan’s political success, ultimately propelling him to the White House in 1980. Conversely, by supporting Reagan’s presidential campaigns, southern conservatives were able to influence the direction of the Republican Party and begin restoring their region to a position of power in Washington.

Bartho deftly provides a new perspective on Reagan’s political career and the Republican Party of the Reagan era while detailing the often-rancorous philosophical differences between Reaganism and southern conservatism and the resulting political conflicts. *Whistling Dixie* highlights a divide in the Republican Party and in American conservatism that has often been overlooked—a divide that laid the foundations for the GOP’s southernization and ultimately led to the rise of Donald Trump.

“Jonathan Bartho’s *Whistling Dixie* offers a nuanced, even-handed analysis of a controversial topic and presents a compelling argument that the relationship between Reagan and white southerners was more complicated and contentious than political historians have often assumed. This thoughtful and informative book not only sheds new light on the politics of the 1980s but also gives readers the historical background to understand why the Republican Party eventually abandoned Reagan’s ideology and endorsed the politics of Donald Trump.”—**Daniel K. Williams**, author of *God’s Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*

Jonathan Bartho is an independent scholar and researcher who specializes in US history.



FEBRUARY

320 pages, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3649-5, \$54.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3650-1, \$54.95

Commander in Chief

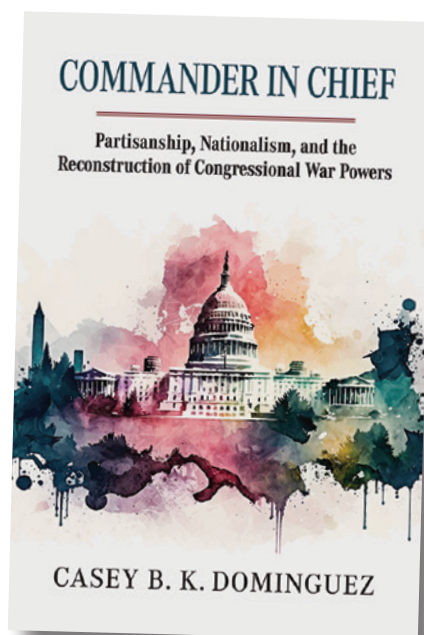
Partisanship, Nationalism, and the Reconstruction of Congressional War Powers

Casey B. K. Dominguez

The constitutional balance of war powers has shifted from Congress to the president over time. Today, presidents broadly define their constitutional authority as commander in chief. In the nineteenth century, however, Congress was the institution that claimed and defended expansive war power authority. This discrepancy raises important questions: How, specifically, did Congress define the boundaries between presidential and congressional war powers in the early republic? Did that definition change, and if so, when, how, and why did it do so?

Based on an original, comprehensive dataset of every congressional reference to the commander-in-chief clause from the Founding through 1917, Casey Dominguez's *Commander in Chief* systematically analyzes the authority that members of Congress ascribe to the president as commander in chief and the boundaries they put around that authority.

Dominguez shows that for more than a century members of Congress defined the commander in chief's authority narrowly, similar to that of any high-ranking military officer. But in a wave of nationalism during the Spanish-American War, members of Congress began to argue that Congress owed deference to the commander in chief. They also tended to argue that a president of their own party should have broad war powers, while the powers of a president in the other party should be defined narrowly. Together, these two dynamics suggest that the conditions for presidentially dominated modern constitutional war powers were set at the turn of the twentieth century, far earlier than is often acknowledged.



Casey B. K. Dominguez is professor of political science at the University of San Diego and the coeditor of *The Making of the Presidential Candidates 2024*.

“Dominguez has produced groundbreaking work on the changing relationship between the political branches in the realm of war. Using the unique prism of nineteenth- and twentieth-century congressional debates about the commander-in-chief clause, she demonstrates how members of Congress used to act as a constraint on executive war-making and this has given way to deference. Through her rigorous investigation we have clearer proof that presidents started collecting more power into their branch during the Spanish-American War.”

Sarah Burns, author of *The Politics of War Powers: The Theory and History of Presidential Unilateralism*

MAY

280 pages, 2 figures, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3651-8, \$54.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3652-5, \$54.95

Two Forms of Conservatism

Judicial Reasoning in New York Courts, 1860–1920

William E. Nelson

“Nelson’s book represents the best tradition of legal scholarship: lucid in its prose, subtle in its findings, and relentless in its inquiry. One would expect nothing less from a master of the field working at the height of his powers.”

Andrew Porwancher, coauthor of *The Prophet of Harvard Law* and *John Henry Wigmore and the Rules of Evidence: The Hidden Origins of Modern Law*

“Nelson’s essay is clear, persuasive, and thorough. The choice of New York State’s appellate courts to make the argument about the bifurcated nature of conservative jurisprudence in the ‘classical age’ is a natural one. The state’s courts led in areas of commercial law, domestic relations law, and in the later years of the period Nelson considers, tort law. Masterful.”

Peter Charles Hoffer, author of *Uncivil Warriors: The Lawyers’ Civil War* and *Rutgers v. Waddington: Alexander Hamilton, the End of the War for Independence, and the Origins of Judicial Review*

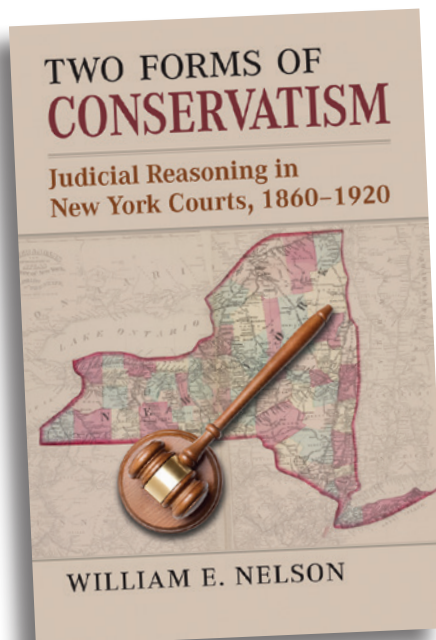
The period between 1860 and 1920—inclusive of the Gilded Age and much of the *Lochner* era in legal history—is typically regarded as the heyday of conservative jurisprudence. According to this received wisdom, conservative judges and much of the legal profession were on the side of big business and the rich. Judges in this period subscribed to “classical” legal thought, and it was only when this was supplanted by “progressive” legal thought that courts reached decisions critical of business.

Renowned legal historian William E. Nelson seeks to correct this narrative by examining in close detail the work of judges in the single jurisdiction of New York as well as the rulings of US Supreme Court justices. What he finds is another type of conservatism besides the one that favors

the rich. Instead, the judges in this period often reached decisions that were critical of business. Many of their accomplishments were forward-looking and progressive in character but conservative for another reason: they rigidly followed precedent, with only occasional exceptions. While some legal realists see the emphasis on precedent as a veneer to hide the judges’ policy preferences, Nelson shows that this explanation does not fit the evidence. The judges had no consistent policy preferences, and their decisions favored a wide array of policies.

Two Forms of Conservatism is the work of an expert historian with an eye for detail and a deep understanding of legal thought. He shows that these New York judges, who were quite conservative regarding the law, nevertheless laid the foundation for the liberalism of later political leaders.

William E. Nelson is the author of *Marbury v. Madison: The Origins and Legacy of Judicial Review* and *E Pluribus Unum: How the Common Law Helped Unify and Liberate Colonial America, 1607–1776*.



JUNE

176 pages, 6 x 9

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3664-8, \$49.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3665-5, \$49.95

Keeping the Republic

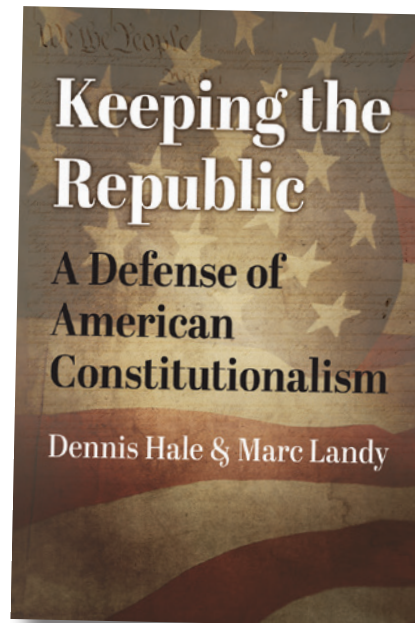
A Defense of American Constitutionalism

Dennis Hale and Marc Landy

Keeping the Republic is an eloquent defense of the American constitutional order and a response to its critics, including those who are estranged from the very idea of a fixed constitution in which “the living are governed by the dead.” Dennis Hale and Marc Landy take seriously the criticisms of the United States Constitution. Before mounting their argument, they present an intellectual history of the key critics, including Thomas Paine, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry David Thoreau, Woodrow Wilson, Robert Dahl, Sanford Levinson, and the authors of *The 1619 Project*. Why, they ask, if the constitutional order is so well designed, do so many American citizens have a negative view of the American political order? To address that question, they examine the most crucial episodes in American political development from the Founding to the present.

Hale and Landy frame their defense of the Constitution by understanding America in terms of modernity, where small republics are no longer possible and there is a need to protect the citizens of a massive modern state while still preserving liberty. The Constitution makes large, popular government possible by placing effective limits on the exercise of power. The Constitution forces the people to be governed by the dead, both to pay the debt we owe to those who came before us and to preserve society for generations yet unborn.

The central argument of *Keeping the Republic* is that the Constitution provides for a free government because it places effective limits on the exercise of power—an essential ingredient of any good government, even one that aims to be a popular government. That the people should rule is



a given among republicans; that the people can do anything they want is a proposition that no one could accept with their eyes wide open. Thus, the limits that the Constitution places on American political life are not a problem, but a solution to a problem.

Hale and Landy offer both a survey of American anti-constitutionalism and a powerful argument for maintaining the constitutional order of the nation's Framers.

Dennis Hale is professor of political science at Boston College, author of *The Jury in America: Triumph and Decline*, and editor of three other volumes.

Marc Landy is professor of political science at Boston College and coauthor of *Presidential Greatness* and *The Environmental Protection Agency: Asking the Wrong Questions: From Nixon to Clinton*.

“In *Keeping the Republic*, Dennis Hale and Marc Landy provide a full-throated defense of the US Constitution as an elegant and necessary response to the challenges posed by modernity. The limitations that the Constitution places on democracy, they argue, allow liberty, equality, and justice to thrive in a large, diverse, modern republic. Hale and Landy trace the intellectual themes that unite the Constitution's critics and ultimately provide the reader with valuable analytical tools to understand whether policies reinforce or detract from the Constitution's core purposes. Their insights make an indispensable contribution to our understanding of the Constitution's role in modern life.”

Emily Pears, author of *Cords of Affection: Constructing Constitutional Union in Early American History*

FEBRUARY

280 pages, 6 x 9

American Political Thought

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3623-5, \$54.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3624-2, \$54.95

Adding the Lone Star

John Tyler, Sam Houston, and the Annexation of Texas

Jordan T. Cash

"Adding the Lone Star is an impeccably researched and marvelously readable account of the US annexation of Texas, told from the perspectives of Texas President Sam Houston and US President John Tyler. Focusing in a systematic fashion on these two presidents and the decisions they made, Jordan Cash not only contributes to a better understanding of Texas annexation but also generates insights regarding executive power."

John J. Dinan, author of *The American State Constitutional Tradition*

"Cash's comparative approach allows him to offer fresh insights about executive authority, presidential behavior, and geopolitics, all while demonstrating the importance of annexation to the sectional crisis in the United States that ultimately led to the Civil War."

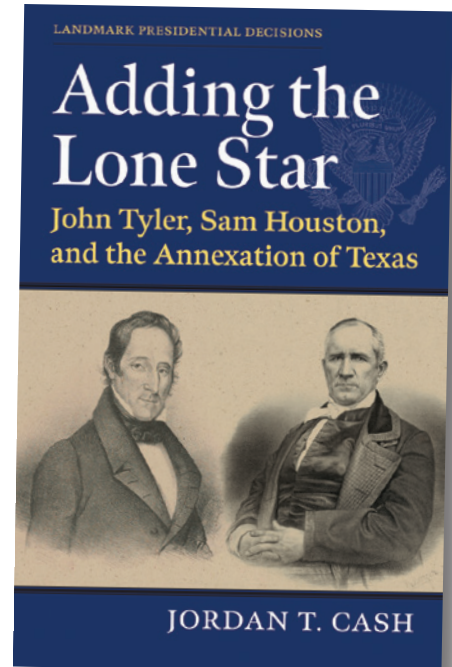
Christopher J. Leahy, author of *President without a Party: The Life of John Tyler*

The annexation of Texas was one of the most momentous actions the United States government took in the antebellum period. Apart from adding what was the largest state in the Union at that time, it expedited further avenues for westward expansion, exacerbated tensions with Mexico resulting in the Mexican-American War, and accelerated the sectional conflict over slavery.

While the familiar concept of Manifest Destiny gives the impression that Texas joining the United States was inevitable, the history is much more complicated. In *Adding the Lone Star*, Jordan Cash explores how the decisions and actions of a cast of political actors in the United States, Texas, Mexico, and Great Britain contributed to the addition of Texas to the Union.

Cash focuses on the annexation of Texas as a two-president decision while examining the administrations of American President John Tyler and Texian President Sam Houston, providing a comparative case study of the American and Texian presidencies to better comprehend how executive authority may be used in a system of separation of powers.

Tyler's ability to push his agenda on Texas despite the lack of institutional support shows the strength of premodern presidential power. Houston's actions give an alternative view of executive authority since the Texian Republic, including the powers bestowed on the presidency, was structured on the model of its American counterpart. Tyler viewed the decision to annex Texas as beneficial for the United States as a whole while Houston considered it to be beneficial for Texas and proponents



of slavery; Tyler's secretary of state, John C. Calhoun, saw the decision as a victory for the South and the expansion of slavery.

The examination of how these two presidents worked on the same issue at the same time but in largely different constitutional, institutional, political, and geographical contexts provides not only a better understanding of the history and politics of annexation but also an investigation of the nuances of presidential power in a constitutional system of checks and balances and separation of powers.

Jordan T. Cash is assistant professor of political theory and constitutional democracy at James Madison College, Michigan State University, and author of *The Isolated Presidency*.

MARCH

160 pages, 5½ x 8½

Landmark Presidential Decisions

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3638-9, \$90.00(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3636-5, \$29.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3637-2 \$29.95

Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Federal Highway Act

Charles U. Zug

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is remembered by many as the originator of the American Interstate Highway System. He is also praised for restraining executive overreach, restoring the separation of powers, and presiding over an era of governmental equanimity and goodwill.

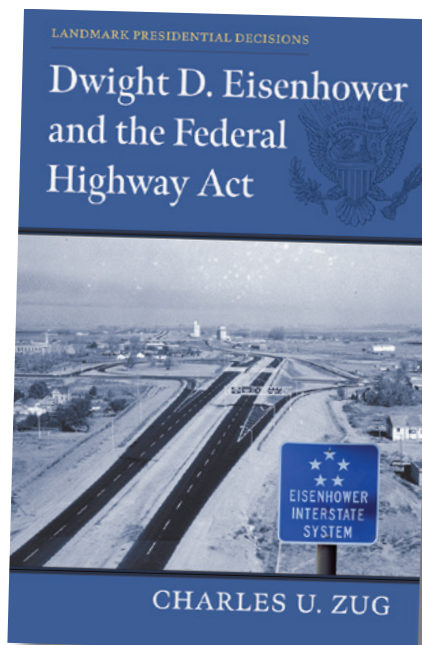
In *Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Federal Highway Act*, Charles Zug contests all these assumptions. Through archival research, Zug shows that Eisenhower's attempt to lead highway expansion during 1952–1955 ended in dismal failure. Far from championing the separation of powers, Eisenhower sought to marginalize Congress from the legislative process by secretly writing a transformative highway bill within the confines of his White House. And once it was announced, Eisenhower's highway plan was almost universally panned: Ike's own comptroller general deemed the plan's funding mechanism "illegal" before a bipartisan majority laughed it out of the Senate in the spring of 1955. The highway bill that did eventually pass Congress in 1956, and that went on to launch the modern interstate system, was written by congressional Democrats and emphatically rejected Eisenhower's basic approach to highway reform.

Drawing on executive politics, American political development, and leadership studies, Zug uses the Federal Highway Act to argue for a foundational reassessment of Eisenhower's legacy as highway founder, president, and political leader.

"Although Eisenhower's name is forever etched upon our interstate highway system, Charles Zug's meticulous and myth-busting

account of the making of the Federal Highway Act chronicles a far more complicated and captivating story, one that restores Congress to the center of the policymaking process and forces us to fundamentally rethink the presidential leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Deeply researched as well as engagingly written, this book is a must-read not only for those interested in the Eisenhower presidency or fascinated by transportation policy but for all Americans who care about the role of the presidency and Congress in our constitutional system of separation of powers."—Richard J. Ellis, author *Old Tip vs. the Sly Fox: The 1840 Election and the Making of a Partisan Nation*

Charles U. Zug is assistant professor of political science and Kinder Assistant Professor of Constitutional Democracy at the University of Missouri and the author of *Demagogues in American Politics*.



"This nuanced, highly readable, and deeply informative book unpacks when and why presidential leadership matters by focusing on a single case (the Highway Act) and a single president (Eisenhower) to help us see when the president was important in pushing the act through and when other actors provided the hidden-hand leadership that led to success."

Michael A. Genovese, author of *The Modern Presidency: Six Debates That Define the Institution*

"This richly detailed book takes readers inside the workings of the Eisenhower administration and the lawmaking warrens of Capitol Hill. With incisive analysis backed by meticulous research, Zug has produced a thought-provoking work on the president, Congress, and the genesis of the Federal Highway Act."

Yanek Mieczkowski, author of *Eisenhower's Sputnik Moment: The Race for Space and World Prestige*

JANUARY

168 pages, 1 figure, 5½ x 8½

Landmark Presidential Decisions

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3600-6, \$90.00(s)

Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3599-3, \$29.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3601-3, \$29.95

The Collaborative Fight

Pursuing Jointness in the US Military

Paul R. Birch and Lina M. Svedin

“This unique study will be of great value to scholars and defense practitioners alike, particularly in staff and war colleges where there is always a need for rigorous, relevant, and informative case studies. Birch and Svedin offer penetrating insights why in the past the US military either failed to achieve jointness or to sustain it if it was achieved for a time. This is a timely book that will challenge assumptions, fuel arguments, and do tremendous good for the joint force.”

J. P. Clark, author of *Preparing for War: The Emergence of the Modern U.S. Army, 1815–1917*

The beautiful picture of brothers in arms vanquishing a tyrant. The power of a well-orchestrated army and navy winning historic battles. Overwhelming military might and ability through teamwork. This is how the US military services portray themselves to the public and to their own service members through official doctrine. However, under the veneer of jointness, deeply fraught processes are at play. Frequently, the services think more about protecting organizational turf than about national security and maintaining an advantage against the United States’ external adversaries. Uniting US military services is a difficult endeavor that becomes even more so the farther from a battlefield and the higher up the command structure the unifying needs to happen.

In *The Collaborative Fight*, Paul R. Birch and Lina M. Svedin examine cases of

institutional jointness among US military services from the late nineteenth century into the twenty-first century. They draw actionable conclusions for practitioners in the defense establishment while giving examples of successful joint cooperation that overcame the difficulties inherent in pursuing it. Even the successful cases that Birch and Svedin discuss show that the US military services face bureaucratic incentives and organizational leadership issues that make battlefield cooperation less than ideal.

Birch and Svedin adeptly translate theory and history into approaches useful to practitioners in the field while examining the theoretical framework outlining the drivers in joint military cooperation.

Paul R. Birch works in the Plans and Programs directorate at Headquarters U.S. Air Force, the Pentagon.

Lina M. Svedin is professor of strategy and security studies, School of Advanced Air and Space Studies, Air University, Montgomery, AL.



JANUARY

344 pages, 6 x 9

Studies in Civil-Military Relations

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3621-1, \$59.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3622-8, \$59.95

The Globe and Anchor Men

U.S. Marines and American Manhood in the Great War Era

Mark Ryland Folse

Throughout the World War I era, the United States Marine Corps' efforts to promote their culture of manliness directed attention away from the dangers of war and military life and towards its potential benefits. As a military institution that valued physical, mental, and moral strength, the Marines created an alluring image for young men seeking a rite of passage into manhood. Within this context, the potential for danger and death only enhanced the appeal.

Mark Ryland Folse's *The Globe and Anchor Men* offers the first in-depth history of masculinity in the Marine Corps during the World War I era. White manhood and manliness constituted the lens through which the Marines of this period saw themselves, how they wanted the public to see them, and what they believed they contributed to society. Their highly gendered culture helped foster positive public relations, allowing Marines to successfully promote the potential benefits of becoming a Marine over the costs, even in times of war.

By examining how the Marine Corps' culture, public image, and esteem within U.S. society evolved, Folse demonstrates that the American people measured the Marines' usefulness not only in terms of military readiness but also according to standards of manliness set by popular culture and by Marines themselves. The Marines claimed to recruit the finest specimens of American manhood and make them even better: strong, brave, and morally upright. They claimed the Marine would be a man with a wealth of travel and experience behind him. He would be a



proud and worthy citizen who had earned respect through his years of service, training, and struggle in the Marine Corps. Becoming a Marine benefited the man, and the new Marine benefited the nation. As men became manlier, the country did, too.

Mark Ryland Folse is a historian at the U.S. Army Center of Military History in Washington, DC, and the author of *Operation Enduring Freedom: The United States Army in Afghanistan, September 2001–March 2002*.

"It is impossible to understand the Marine Corps without appreciating how much gender has shaped its institutional culture. By placing gender at the heart of his analysis, Mark Folse's sophisticated work thus greatly advances our understanding of the Marine Corps' history in the twentieth century."

Heather P. Venable, author of *How the Few Became the Proud: Crafting the Marine Corps Mystique 1874–1918*

"A fascinating history of how the few became the proud, *The Globe and Anchor Men* exposes the Marine Corps' efforts to secure legitimacy, funding, and public approval by idolizing Marines as the epitome of physical, mental, and moral manliness."

Kara Dixon Vuic, author of *The Girls Next Door: Bringing the Home Front to the Front Lines* and *Officer, Nurse, Woman: The Army Nurse Corps in the Vietnam War*

MARCH

416 pages, 65 photographs

Modern War Studies

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3625-9, \$59.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3626-6 \$59.95

Progressive States' Rights

The Forgotten History of Federalism

Sean Beienburg

"In a masterful confounding of our received wisdom on states' rights and federalism more broadly, Sean Beienburg unearths a forgotten history of progressive federalism that reveals not only a robust role for states in constitutional politics but also importantly decouples states' rights from the reactionary racism and white supremacy with which it is most often associated. Beienburg's richly nuanced, comprehensive, and impressive study is sure to be of interest to students of political development, political thought, and constitutional law as well as to anyone considering possibilities for constitutional and political reform."

Stephen M. Engel, author of *Fragmented Citizens: The Changing Landscape of Gay and Lesbian Lives*

"This book is required reading for those who believe that the states today remain a vital level of government for progressive causes, from gun control to abortion rights."

Kathleen Sullivan, coauthor of *Constitutional Law*, Twentieth Edition

Today, when politicians, pundits, and scholars speak of states' rights, they are usually referring to Southern efforts to curtail the advance of civil rights policies or to conservative opposition to the federal government under the New Deal, Great Society, and Warren Court. Sean Beienburg shows that this was not always the case, and that there was once a time when federalism—the form of government that divides powers between the state and federal governments—was associated with progressive, rather than conservative, politics.

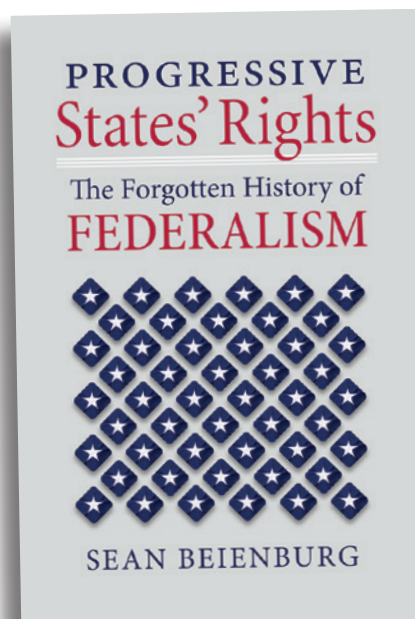
In *Progressive States' Rights*, Sean Beienburg tells an alternative story of federalism by exploring states' efforts in the years before the New Deal of shaping constitutional discourse to ensure that a protective welfare and regulatory governmental regime would be built in the states

rather than the national government. These state-level actors not only aggressively participated in constitutional politics and interpretation but also specifically sought to create an alternative model of state-building that would pair a robust state power on behalf of the public good with a traditionally limited national government.

Current politics generally collapse policy and constitutional views (where a progressive view on one policy also assumes a progressive view on the other), but Beienburg shows that this was not always true, and indeed many of those most devoted to progressive policy views were deeply committed to a conservative constitutionalism.

"The defense of slavery and massive resistance to civil rights has understandably loomed large in arguments about American federalism. Sean Beienburg's illuminating study of Progressive-Era constitutional development shows that something important is lost when we allow these concerns to eclipse the more variegated tapestry of constitutional contention over centralization and localism, which is both our heritage and a resource. In our own unsettled constitutional moment, readers across the political spectrum will find Beienburg's contextualizing history stimulating and enlightening."—**Ken Kersch**, author of *American Political Thought: An Invitation*

Sean Beienburg is assistant professor in the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership at Arizona State University.



FEBRUARY

344 pages, 1 map, 6 x 9
Constitutional Thinking

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3619-8, \$59.95(s)

Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3620-4, \$59.95

The Shifting Twenty-First-Century Presidency

Assessing the Implications for America and the World

Edited by Tevi Troy

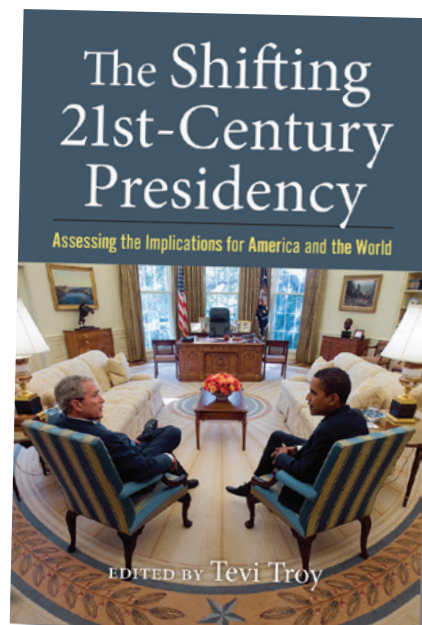
The role and range of the American presidency has undergone significant changes in the twenty-first century, with George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and now Joe Biden transforming the office in distinct ways. Many but not all of these changes stem from the numerous crises of this young century: 9/11 and the resulting war on terror, Hurricane Katrina, the Great Recession, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the social unrest of 2020.

While crisis brings rapid change, there are other factors at work as well. Increased polarization has led presidents of both parties to press existing rules and norms to their limits in an attempt to accomplish more during their brief tenures. The result is a lot of policy and structural change in a short period, including new cabinet departments, new election rules, and significantly increased spending and debt, among other things. For the most part, these changes have occurred with little thought to what it all means for the functionality and stability of our democratic institutions and, consequently, our nation's capacity to address the needs as well as the aspirations of the American people.

The Bipartisan Policy Center's Tevi Troy has brought together a group of presidential scholars and political experts to address these important issues and to reflect on how the presidency has changed and what it might mean for the future. Contributors include Elaine Kamarck (former aide to President Clinton), Jonathan Burks (former

chief of staff to Speaker Paul Ryan), Kenneth Baer (former aide to presidents Clinton and Obama), and Kristen Soltis Anderson (Republican pollster and radio host).

Tevi Troy is senior fellow and director of the Presidential Leadership Initiative at the Bipartisan Policy Center, a visiting fellow at the Mercatus Center, senior scholar at the Straus Center at Yeshiva University, and the author of four books on the presidency, including, most recently, *Fight House: Rivalries in the White House from Truman to Trump* and *Shall We Wake the President? Two Centuries of Disaster Management from the Oval Office*.



"Today, the American presidency is the first among equals in our reformulated constitutional form of government. This book, with its first-class series of contributors, offers a comprehensive look at a presidency transformed. From presidential transitions to policymaking to the changed relationships between Congress and the White House and the relationship between presidents and publics, this book is a timely contribution to the scholarly literature. A must-read!"

John Kenneth White, author of *Grand Old Unraveling: The Republican Party, Donald Trump, and the Rise of Authoritarianism*

"This book is an excellent combination of real-world and scholarly perspectives on the American presidency."

Lori Cox Han, author of *Advising Nixon: The White House Memos of Patrick J. Buchanan* and coauthor of *Presidents and the American Presidency*

FEBRUARY

184 pages, 9 photographs, 1 figure, 6 x 9
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3646-4, \$90.00(s)
Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3647-1, \$29.95(s)
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3648-8, \$29.95

Making Climate Lawyers

Climate Change in American Law Schools, 1985–2020

Kimberly K. Smith

“Kimberly Smith’s *Making Climate Lawyers* offers a unique perspective of the role American legal education played in shaping climate policy. The ongoing transformation in law schools in studying climate change has generated the legal expertise necessary to structure an effective climate policy. This is a fascinating and untold study of the outsize role US lawyers possess in framing, shaping, and structuring public policy, including climate policy—a role American law schools are central in developing.”

Michael S. Ariens, author of *The Lawyer’s Conscience: A History of American Lawyer Ethics*

“Kimberly Smith explains with research and insights how lawyers make policy in the United States and how lawyers are shaped by law school. The advances in legal education that Smith shares and the bold further recommendations she offers would help transform the law to meet the challenges of climate change.”

Noah Hall, coauthor of *Water Law: Concepts and Insights*

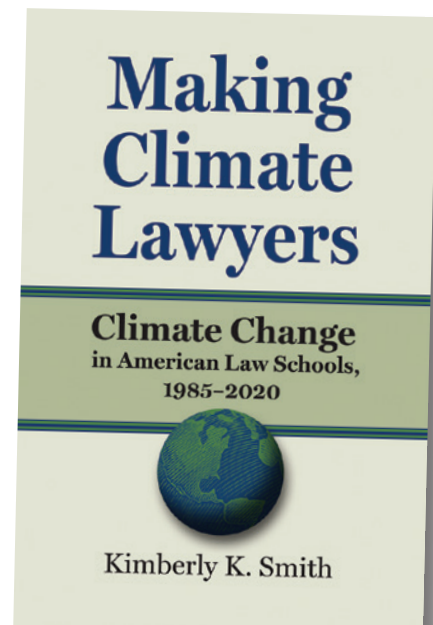
Why did it take so long for American law schools to start teaching about climate change? Although most environmental law professors were aware of climate change by 1990, it took nearly fifteen years for them to incorporate the topic into their curriculum. In her innovative new work, Kimberly K. Smith explores how American environmental law professors have addressed climate change, identifying the barriers they faced, how they overcame them, and how they created “climate law” as a domain of legal specialization.

Making Climate Lawyers explores the history of why American law schools were resistant to teaching about climate change and how that changed over the course of a forty-year period, resulting in law schools across the country incorporating climate change into their curricula, with many even establishing centers on the environment. Smith challenges dominant explanations of why the United States was slow to develop climate policy: it wasn’t just political opposition or short-sightedness. Creating climate legal professionals required changing the fundamentals of legal education.

Based on dozens of interviews with faculty and students, *Making Climate Lawyers* fills a gap in the literature on the intellectual history of climate change, most of which focuses on the history of climate science. Smith focuses instead on how the climate problem fits (or doesn’t fit) into the structure of American law. She uses this story as a lens through which to understand both the transformation of legal education since the 1980s and the nature of climate change as a policy problem.

“This book is essential reading for anyone wondering how law schools can do more, and do better, to address the most far-reaching environmental challenge of our era.”—**Todd A. Wildermuth**, coauthor of *Wildlife Law*, Second Edition

Kimberly K. Smith is professor of environmental studies emerita at Carleton College and the author of *The Conservation Constitution: The Conservation Movement and Constitutional Change, 1870–1930*, *African American Environmental Thought: Foundations*, and *Wendell Berry and the Agrarian Tradition: A Common Grace*.



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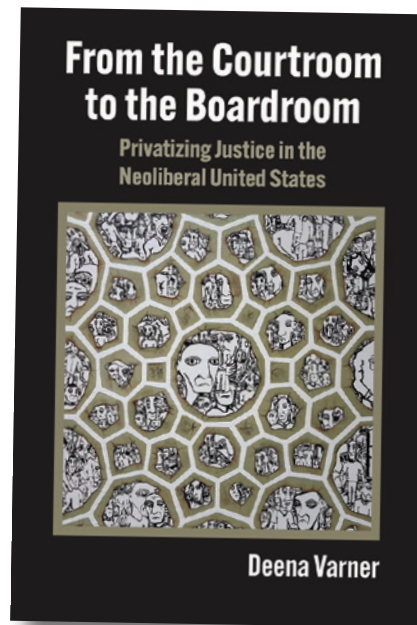
From the Courtroom to the Boardroom

Privatizing Justice in the Neoliberal United States

Deena Varner

The era of mass incarceration has been associated with the idea of “law and order,” referring to the carceral regime in which politicians exploited public anxieties over crime and funneled resources into policing and prisons. As important as this system has been and remains to be, there has been a shift in recent years shaped by neoliberalism—the political, economic, and sociocultural program that has supplanted liberal democratic legal frameworks, subordinating them to operations of the market and mandating that private entities intervene in the creation, interpretation, and enforcement of law. While courts and legislatures play a significant role in shaping legal personhood in the neoliberal United States, private, profit-driven institutions are increasingly responsible for determining the post-sentence consequences that people with criminal convictions face. The result has been a move from the courtroom to the boardroom, from a law-and-order society to a policy-and-order society.

From the Courtroom to the Boardroom is an interdisciplinary cultural studies project that examines the role of the criminal justice system in implementing neoliberal restructuring in the United States, including the partial transfer of quasi-judicial authority to employers, landlords, lenders, social media companies, and other businesses. In this important study, Deena Varner examines the way the consumer background report industry has privatized the surveillance and punishment of individuals, conflating crime with bad



credit and eviction history. She positions Airbnb's 2018 policy of banning people convicted of crimes as an example of the way corporate entities are increasingly vested with the authority to determine things like the seriousness or severity of crimes. Varner also tackles the phenomenon of “cancel culture,” arguing that this is best understood not as a feature of the culture wars but rather as a partial return to what Foucault described as the punitive model of infamy, in which the responsibility for punishing has been transferred from the state to individuals.

Deena Varner is an assistant professor of practice in the Department of English at Texas Tech University.

“Varner offers an illuminating and timely study of how neoliberalism has given rise to the corporation as the ultimate arbiter of citizenship. Varner deftly traces the roots of our present moment in which companies like Airbnb have the power to condemn formerly incarcerated people to a kind of social death, taking away the basic privileges that comprise modern citizenship in an era of the gig economy and surveillance capitalism. This book makes lucid, highly readable, and important interventions upon ongoing debates in American studies, criminology, critical race studies, and legal studies. It testifies to the emergence of a vital scholarly voice that can help us see and understand the often-hidden methods of institutional and digital control that define today’s United States.”

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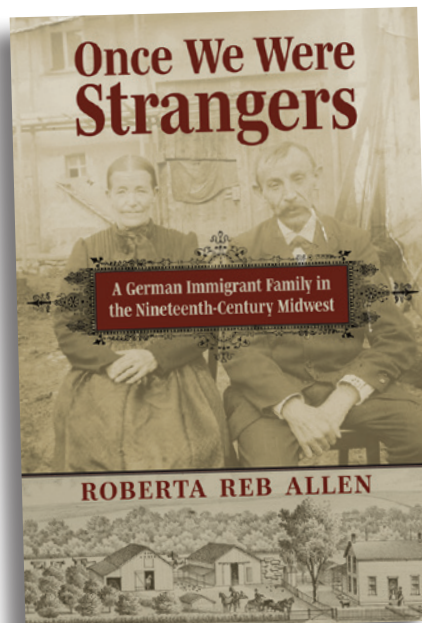
Little attention has been paid to the settlement of Germans in Kansas, and Roberta Reb Allen's *Once We Were Strangers* helps to fill that void. It is both the saga of an immigrant family told within the larger social, political, and economic context of the day and a scholarly exploration of the settlement patterns and the diverse choices made by German pioneers. Starting in the small village of Ebhausen in the Black Forest of the Kingdom of Württemberg in what is now Germany, Allen follows the fortunes of the Lodholzes who journeyed across the Atlantic and eventually settled on the plains of the Kansas Territory in Marshall County.

Based on nearly 200 family letters and documents translated from Old German, *Once We Were Strangers* chronicles, through the pens of ordinary people, the conditions

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This family's story is full of hardship, endurance, joys, and sorrows, and is interwoven with the history of westward expansion, German migration, and Kansas, with a particular emphasis on German settlement patterns prior to the Civil War.

Roberta Reb Allen holds a master's in history from the University of Chicago and is a retired professional in education.



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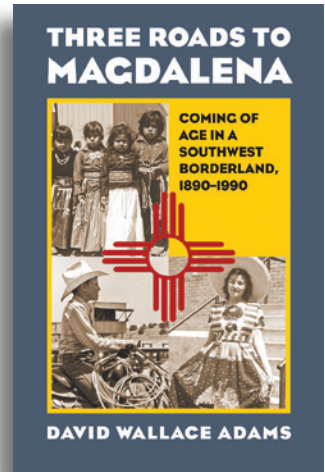
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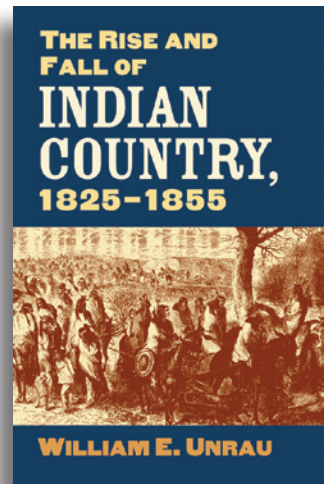
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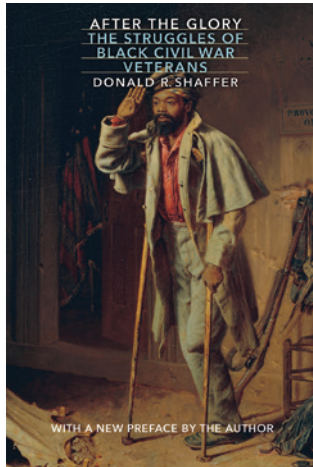
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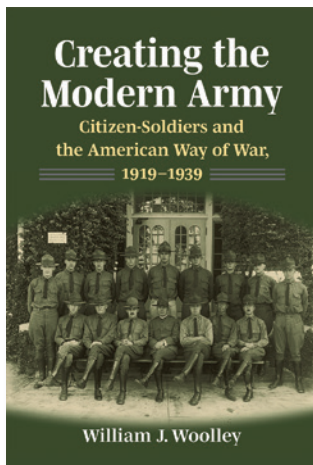
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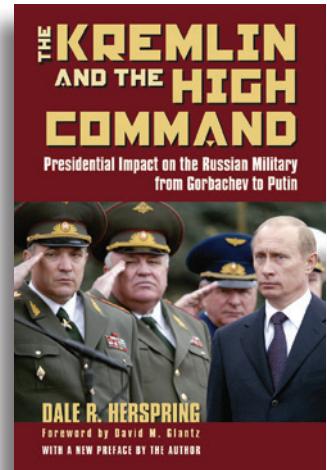
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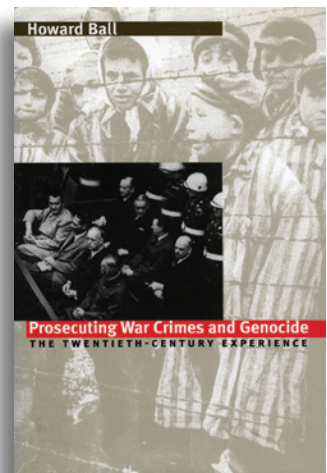
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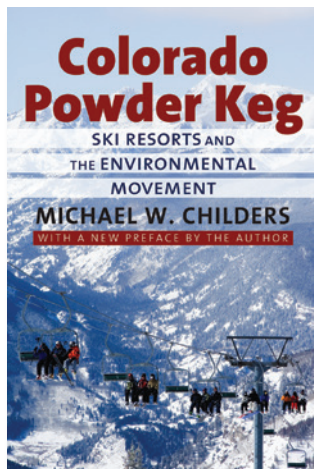
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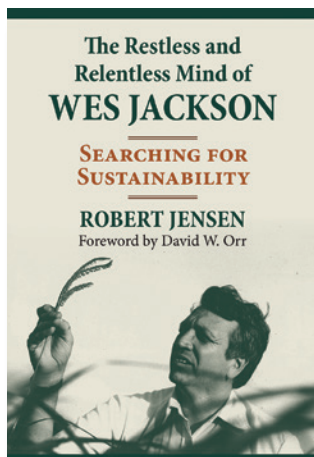
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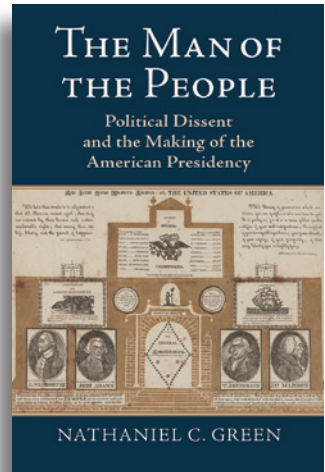
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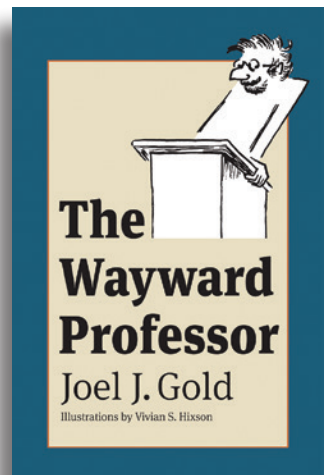
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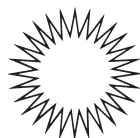
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