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American Burke

The Uncommon Liberalism of Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Greg Weiner

Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1927–2003) may be best known as a statesman. He served in the administrations of presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford; was ambassador to India and the United Nations; and represented New York in the U.S. Senate for four terms. But he was also an intellectual of the first order, whose books and papers on topics ranging from welfare policy and ethnicity in American society to international law stirred debate and steered policy. Moynihan was, journalist Michael Barone remarked, “the nation’s best thinker among politicians since Lincoln and its best politician among thinkers since Jefferson.” He was, Greg Weiner argues, America’s answer to the 18th-century Anglo-Irish scholar-statesman Edmund Burke. Both stood at the intersection of thought and action, denouncing tyranny, defending the family, championing reform. Yet while Burke is typically claimed by conservatives, Weiner calls Moynihan a “Burkean liberal” who respected both the indispensability of government and the complexity of society. And a reclamation of Moynihan’s Burkean liberalism, Weiner suggests, could do wonders for the polarized politics of our day.

In its incisive analysis of Moynihan’s political thought, American Burke lays out the terms for such a recovery. The book traces Moynihan’s development through the broad sweep of his writings and career. “The central conservative truth is that it is culture, not politics, that determines the success of a society,” Moynihan once wrote. “The central liberal truth is that politics can change a culture and save it from itself.” In his ability to embrace both of these truths, this “American Burke” makes it bracingly clear that a wise political thinker can also be an effective political actor, and that commitments to both liberal and conservative values can coexist peaceably and productively.

Weiner’s work is not only a thorough and thoroughly engaging intellectual exploration of one of the most important politicians of the twentieth century; it is also a timely prescription for the healing of our broken system.


“Like James Madison, Daniel Patrick Moynihan was the most interesting public intellectual of his day and he refined his systematic political thinking during decades in the practice of politics. Greg Weiner’s masterful exegesis demonstrates that Moynihan’s robust liberalism was informed, but never deformed, by his Burkean sense of the purposes and limits of politics.”

George F. Will, columnist for Washington Post

“Greg Weiner’s fine book helps us understand this complex thinker. He helps us appreciate the man in full without ignoring his subtleties, his ambivalences, and his contradictions. To understand American politics, one should read Moynihan, and to understand Moynihan, one should read Weiner.”

R. Shep Melnick, O’Neill Professor of American Politics, Boston College

FEBRUARY

208 pages, 5½ x 8½

American Political Thought
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2096-8, $27.95(s)
“Robert M. Pallitto thoroughly explores the historical and contemporary influence of the Magna Carta on law and courts in the United States, including in cases on the issues of slavery, the incorporation of the Bill of Rights, the writ of habeas corpus, and individual liberties during the ‘war on terror.’ He masterfully explains why the Magna Carta has been a key component of American jurisprudence and continues to serve as an important legal guide today, making *In the Shadow of the Great Charter* a must read for any scholar of the Constitution.”

**Eric T. Kasner**, author of *Impartial Justice: The Real Supreme Court Cases That Define the Constitutional Right to a Neutral and Detached Decisionmaker*

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**In the Shadow of the Great Charter**

**Common Law Constitutionalism and the Magna Carta**

Robert M. Pallitto

In the Supreme Court’s 2008 ruling on whether Guantanamo detainees could be barred from U.S. courts, Justice Anthony Kennedy cited the U.S. Constitution, of course. But he also linked the decision to the Magna Carta. Why would a twenty-first-century judge, even under the extraordinary circumstances of the “war on terror,” invoke a document signed by an English king in the thirteenth century? To address this question, as Robert Pallitto does in this clarifying book, is to probe the history of modern civil liberties, and to explore the process by which judges decide individual rights cases. Pallitto’s work, with its insight into competing ideas about interpreting the Constitution—“originalism” versus “constitutional common law”—is of critical importance to our understanding of the nation’s founding document.

Of far more than symbolic significance, the Magna Carta exerts immediate practical influence on legal outcomes, as Justice Kennedy’s opinion demonstrates. To explain this, Pallitto first goes into the Charter’s origins, history, and nature, especially its explicit use of “the law of the land” to protect subjects’ rights and liberty. The Magna Carta’s legacy in the United States reaches back to the nation’s founding, with even the colonial charters reflecting its influence. But it is in the Supreme Court’s reference to the Charter, spanning the institution’s full two-hundred years, that Pallitto finds the greatest impact—most frequently in the principles of due process (in criminal proceedings) and habeas corpus, but in many other provisions as well. And the weight of this impact registers most deeply and clearly in the development of the constitutional common law—the theory that courts should and do interpret and expand on constitutional texts by reference to tradition and precedent rather than to the drafters’ original intent.

Charting the Magna Carta’s influence on the contemporary jurisprudence of individual rights—from the legal thought of the American colonies through exemplary cases over the history of the Supreme Court—this book offers resounding evidence of the evolution and value of abiding principles through which American liberty endures.

Robert M. Pallitto is associate professor of political science at Seton Hall University. He is the author of *Torture and State Violence in the United States: A Short Documentary History* and, with William G. Weaver, *Presidential Secrecy and the Law.*
The Hemingway Log
A Chronology of His Life and Times

Brewster Chamberlin

Few if any writers have made a mark as broad and deep as Ernest Hemingway, whose life and work—and even image—continue to permeate American culture more than a half-century after his death in 1961. And never has there been a chronology of the writer’s life and times as comprehensive, detailed, and useful as The Hemingway Log.

For more than a dozen years, Brewster Chamberlin “has been compiling and wonderfully annotating and continuously updating what amounts to almost a daybook calendar of Hemingway’s life,” as author Paul Hendrickson noted in his acclaimed Hemingway’s Boat: Everything He Loved in Life, and Lost. At long last available to readers and scholars, this chronology extends from the birth of Mark Twain (whose Huckleberry Finn, Hemingway said, was the source of all modern American literature) to the 2013 publication of the second volume (of a projected seventeen) of the Hemingway letters. Throughout, the events and dates that had any influence whatsoever on the writer are detailed day by day. Who won the Nobel Prize in literature each year, for instance, or the Pulitzer? What works of poetry, fiction, or drama were published? What was happening in the world and in the country, and how did it relate to Hemingway? Within this clarifying context, the chronological facts of the writer’s own life and work unfold: literary production and publishing; travels and households; activities and relevant occurrences; relations with family, friends, lovers, and enemies.

Drawing on biographies, memoirs, and various Hemingway collections and websites, as well as the full range of original sources such as letters, fishing logs, notebooks, and manuscripts, The Hemingway Log presents the most extensive and accurate chronology of Hemingway’s life and times—and in the process clears up many of the inconsistencies and factual errors that riddle accounts of the writer’s life and work. Any future scholar of Hemingway will find the book not just invaluable but absolutely necessary, and any serious reader of Hemingway will find it irresistible.

Brewster Chamberlin has written many works of poetry and prose, including Paris Now and Then: Memoirs, Opinions, and a Companion to the City of Light for the Literate Traveler; Mediterranean Sketches: Fictions, Memories, and Metafictions; Radovic’s Dilemma: A Mediterranean Thriller, A Chronology of the Life and Times of Lawrence Durrell; and Shorts of All Sorts: Selected Prose and Poems.

“Although some before him have tried to compile a chronology of Hemingway’s life and works, none to my knowledge have come close to attaining Brewster Chamberlin’s achievement in The Hemingway Log: a veritable ‘daybook’ companion to the man, with incisive interpretations and literary asides beautifully interwoven. This is a work of art of a certain kind.”

Paul Hendrickson, author of Hemingway’s Boat: Everything He Loved in Life, and Lost

“Brewster Chamberlin’s perspicacious scholarship and research, his vivid sense of story and style, and his illuminating annotations of Hemingway’s cultural milieu are here admirably combined to make this book an indispensable resource and a joy to read.”

H. R. Stoneback, author of Reading Hemingway’s The Sun Also Rises and president, The Hemingway Foundation & Society

MARCH
398 pages, 6 x 9
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2067-8, $39.95(s)

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
Luminaries of the Harlem Renaissance—Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, Wallace Thurman, and Arna Bontemps, among others—are associated with, well . . . Harlem. But the story of these New York writers unexpectedly extends to the American West. Hughes, for instance, grew up in Kansas, Thurman in Utah, and Bontemps in Los Angeles. Toomer traveled often to New Mexico. Indeed, as West of Harlem reveals, the West played a significant role in the lives and work of many of the artists who created the signal urban African American cultural movement of the twentieth century. Uncovering the forgotten histories of these major American literary figures, the book gives us a deeper appreciation of that movement, and of the cultures it reflected and inspired. These recovered experiences and literatures paint a new picture of the American West, one that better accounts for the disparate African American populations that dotted its landscape and shaped the multiethnic literatures and cultures of the borderlands.

Tapping literary, biographical, historical, and visual sources, Emily Lutenski tells the New Negro movement’s western story. Hughes’s move to Mexico opens a window on African American transnational experiences. Thurman’s engagement with Salt Lake City offers an unexpected perspective on African American sexual politics. Arna Bontemps’s Los Angeles, constructed in conjunction with Louisiana, provides a new vision of the Spanish borderlands. Lesser-known writer Anita Scott Coleman imagines black Western autonomy through domesticity. The experience of others—like Toomer, invited to socialite Mabel Dodge Luhan’s circle of artists in Taos—present a more pluralistic view of the West. It was this place, with its transnational and multiracial mix of Native Americans, Latina/os, Anglos, and African-Americans, which buttressed Toomer’s idea of a “new American race.”

Turning the lens elsewhere, Lutenski also explores how Latina/o, Asian American, and Native American western writers understood and represented African Americans in the early twentieth-century borderlands. The result is a new, unusually nuanced and unexpectedly complex view of key figures of the Harlem Renaissance and the borderlands cultures that influenced their art in surprising and important ways.

Emily Lutenski is assistant professor of American Studies at Saint Louis University.
Early in the twentieth century, the political humorist Will Rogers was arguably the most famous cowboy in America. And though most in his vast audience didn’t know it, he was also the most famous Indian of his time. Those who know of Rogers’s Cherokee heritage and upbringing tend to minimize its importance, or to imagine that Rogers himself did so— notwithstanding his avowal in interviews: “I’m a Cherokee and they’re the finest Indians in the World.” The truth is, throughout his adult life and his work the Oklahoma cowboy made much of his American Indian background. And in doing so, as Amy Ware suggests in this book, he made Cherokee artistry a fundamental part of American popular culture.

Rogers, whose father was a prominent and wealthy Cherokee politician and former Confederate slaveholder, was born into the Paint Clan in the town of Oolagah in 1879 and raised in the Cooweescoowee District of the Cherokee Nation. Ware maps out this milieu, illuminating the familial and social networks, as well as the Cherokee ranching practices, educational institutions, popular publications and heated political debates that so firmly grounded Rogers in the culture of the Cherokees. Through his early career, from Wild West and vaudeville performer to Ziegfeld Follies headliner in the late 1910s, she reveals how Rogers embodied the seemingly conflicting roles of cowboy and Indian, in effect enacting the blending of these identities in his art. Rogers’s work in the film industry also reflected complex notions of American Indian identity and history, as Ware demonstrates in her reading of the clearest examples, including Laughing Billy Hyde, in which Rogers, an Indian, portrayed a white prospector married to an Indian woman—who was played by a white actress.

In his work as a columnist for the New York Times, and in his radio performances, Ware continues to trace the Cherokee influence on Rogers’s material—and in turn its impact on his audiences. It is in these largely uncensored performances that we see another side of Rogers’ Cherokee persona—a tribal elitism that elevated the Cherokee above other Indian nations. Ware’s exploration of this distinction exposes still-common assumptions regarding Native authenticity in the history of American culture, even as her in-depth look at Will Rogers’s heritage and legacy reshapes our perspective on the Native presence in that history, and in the life and work of a true American icon.

Amy M. Ware holds her PhD in American Studies from The University of Texas at Austin.

AMY WARE’S EXCITING NEW TREATMENT OF WILL ROGERS PUTS THE ‘CHEROKEE’ BACK INTO THE ‘CHEROKEE KID,’ DEMONSTRATING THE WAYS THAT ROGERS’S DEEP INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN CULTURE EMERGED FROM A TRIBAL CONTEXT THAT CARRIED ACROSS HIS ENTIRE CAREER. A STUNNING CONTRIBUTION TO THE RICH BODY OF NEW WORK EXAMINING AMERICAN INDIAN ENGAGEMENTS WITH MODERNITY, INTERNATIONALISM, AND CELEBRITY.”

PHILIP J. DELORIA, AUTHOR OF INDIANS IN UNEXPECTED PLACES

AMY WARE PLumbs ROGERS’S EXISTING MATERIALS, FROM RADIO SHOWS TO SCREENPLAYS, FROM NEWSPAPER COLUMNS TO FAMILY LETTERS, TO PROBE THE MEANINGS OF NATIVE AMERICAN CELEBRITY AS WELL AS ELITE CHEROKEE IDENTITY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY.”

TYA MILES, AUTHOR OF THE HOUSE ON DIAMOND HILL: A CHEROKEE PLANTATION STORY

www.kansaspress.ku.edu

JUNE
400 pages, 27 illustrations, 6 x 9
CultureAmerica
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2100-2, $37.50(s)
The Big Trial
Law as Public Spectacle
Lawrence M. Friedman

The trial of O. J. Simpson was a sensation, avidly followed by millions of people, but it was also, in a sense, nothing new. One hundred years earlier the Lizzie Borden trial had held the nation in thrall. The names (and the crimes) may change, but the appeal is enduring—and why this is, how it works, and what it means are what Lawrence Friedman investigates in The Big Trial.

What is it about these cases that captures the public imagination? Are the “headline trials” of our period different from those of a century or two ago? And what do we learn from them, about the nature of our society, past and present? To get a clearer picture, Friedman first identifies what certain headline trials have in common, then considers particular cases within each grouping. The political trial, for instance, embraces treason and spying, dissenters and radicals, and, to varying degrees, corruption and fraud. Celebrity trials involve the famous—whether victims, as in the case of Charles Manson, or defendants as disparate as Fatty Arbuckle and William Kennedy Smith—but certain high-profile cases, such as those Friedman categorizes as tabloid trials, can also create celebrities. The fascination of whodunit trials can be found in the mystery surrounding the case: Are we sure about O. J. Simpson? What about Claus von Bulow—tried, in another sensational case, for sending his wife into a coma? An especially interesting type of case Friedman groups under the rubric worm in the bud. These are cases, such as that of Lizzie Borden, that seem to put society itself on trial; they raise fundamental social questions and often suggest hidden and secret pathologies. And finally, a small but important group of cases proceed from moral panic, the Salem witchcraft trials being the classic instance, though Friedman also considers recent examples.

Though they might differ in significant ways, these types of trials also have important similarities. Most notably, they invariably raise questions about identity (Who is this defendant? A villain? An innocent unfairly accused?). And in this respect, The Big Trial shows us, the headline trial reflects a critical aspect of modern society. Reaching across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the latest outrage, from congressional hearings to lynching and vigilante justice to public punishment, from Dr. Sam Sheppard (the “fugitive”) to Jeffrey Dahmer (the “cannibal”), The Rosenbergs to Timothy McVeigh, the book presents a complex picture of headline trials as displays of power—moments of “didactic theater” that demonstrate in one way or another whether a society is fair, whom it protects, and whose interest it serves.

Lawrence M. Friedman is Marion Rice Kirkwood Professor at Stanford Law School. He is the author, among other works, of A History of American Law; The Legal System: A Social Science Perspective; Crime and Punishment in American History; and The Human Rights Culture.
Most people could probably tell you that Lizzie Borden “took an axe and gave her mother forty whacks,” but few could say that, when tried, Lizzie Borden was acquitted, and fewer still, why. In Joseph A. Conforti’s engrossing retelling, the case of Lizzie Borden, sensational in itself, also opens a window on a time and place in American history and culture.

Surprising for how much it reveals about a legend so ostensibly familiar, Conforti’s account is also fascinating for what it tells us about the world that Lizzie Borden inhabited. As Conforti—himself a native of Fall River, the site of the infamous murders—introduces us to Lizzie and her father and step-mother, he shows us why they were matters almost as much to the trial’s outcome as the actual events of August 4, 1892. Lizzie, for instance, was an unmarried woman of some privilege, a prominent religious woman who fit the profile of what some characterized as a “Protestant nun.”

She was also part of a class of moneyed women emerging in the late 19th century who had the means but did not marry, choosing instead to pursue good works and at times careers in the helping professions. Many of her contemporaries, we learn, particularly those of her class, found it impossible to believe that a woman of her background could commit such a gruesome murder.

As he relates the details, known and presumed, of the murder and the subsequent trial, Conforti also fills in that background. His vividly written account creates a complete picture of the Fall River of the time, as Yankee families like the Bordens, made wealthy by textile factories, began to feel the economic and cultural pressures of the teeming population of native and foreign-born who worked at the spindles and bobbins. Conforti situates Lizzie’s austere household, uneasily balanced between the well-to-do and the poor, within this social and cultural milieu—laying the groundwork for the murder and the trial, as well as the outsize reaction that reverberates to our day. As Peter C. Hoffer remarks in his preface, there are many popular and fictional accounts of this still-controversial case, “but none so readable or so well-balanced as this.”

Joseph A. Conforti is Distinguished Professor of American and New England Studies Emeritus at the University of Southern Maine in Portland. He is the author of several books, including the award-winning Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century and Another City upon a Hill, a memoir of growing up in Lizzie Borden’s hometown.

“Joseph A. Conforti brings to life fin de siècle Fall River in this engaging portrait of Lizzie Borden’s world. Gracefully written and with detailed attention to conflicts of class, ethnicity, and gender, Conforti’s nuanced analysis sheds new light on an old murder.”

Elizabeth de Wolfe, PhD, Chair of the Department of History & Philosophy, University of New England

Lizzie Borden on Trial
Murder, Ethnicity, and Gender
Joseph A. Conforti
Red, White, and Blue
A Critical Analysis of Constitutional Law
Mark Tushnet
With a New Foreword by Sanford Levinson
And a New Afterword by the Author

“Red, White, and Blue” brilliantly crystallized the anxieties about judicial review that dominated constitutional debates during the 1980s, and its central, critical arguments retain their bite. As a critique of grand constitutional theorizing, Red, White, and Blue remains unsurpassed.”

Richard H. Fallon, Jr., author of The Dynamic Constitution: An Introduction to American Constitutional Law and Practice

“What is most remarkable is precisely the extent to which Red, White, and Blue, even if necessarily limited to cases and other materials available by 1987, is a book for our own time and well deserving of a new set of readers trying to make sense of the acrimonious debates about constitutional law that are so pervasive into the 21st century.”

Sanford V. Levinson, University of Texas Law School

The first paperback edition of a classic of American constitutional theory. The book is divided into two parts. In Part I Professor Tushnet appraises the five major competing “grand theories” of constitutional law and interpretation, and, argues that none of them satisfy their own requirements for coherence and judicial constraint. In Part II the author offers a descriptive sociology of constitutional doctrine and raises critical questions as to whether a grand theory is necessary, is it possible to construct a coherent, useful grand theory, and is construction of an uncontroversial grand theory possible?

Professor Tushnet’s new Afterword is organized in parallel fashion to the original text. Part I offers a new survey of the contemporary terrain of constitutional interpretation. Part II provides an extended discussion of the most prominent of contemporary efforts to provide an external analysis of constitutional law, the idea of regime politics. This includes discussion of major court decisions, including Bush v. Gore and Citizens United.

“Professor Tushnet’s book is a healthy antidote to the prevailing mode of American constitutional scholarship.”—Frederick Schauer, Georgetown Law Journal

“[Professor Tushnet’s] contributions to the debates about constitutional interpretation and insights into the dynamics of constitutional theory and doctrine are invaluable. In the final analysis, he forces us not only to remain intellectually honest but also to question the precepts to run our government and live our lives.”—Michael J. Gerhardt, Texas Law Review

“Red, White, and Blue” ranks with Laurence Tribe’s Constitutional Choices in its ambition, erudition, and importance. Tushnet’s rejection of the five unitary grand theories . . . deserves attention, and, I believe, acclaim.”

—Philip Bobbitt, Stanford Law Review

Mark Tushnet is the William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law at Harvard Law School. He is the author of Weak Courts, Strong Rights: Judicial Review and Social Welfare Rights in Comparative Constitutional Law and Slave Law in the American South: State v. Mann in History and Literature (Kansas).
In their initial effort to end the Vietnam War, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger attempted to lever concessions from Hanoi at the negotiating table with military force and coercive diplomacy. They were not seeking military victory, which they did not believe was feasible. Instead, they backed up their diplomacy toward North Vietnam and the Soviet Union with the Madman Theory of threatening excessive force, which included the specter of nuclear force. They began with verbal threats then bombed North Vietnamese and Viet Cong base areas in Cambodia, signaling that there was more to come. As the bombing expanded, they launched a previously unknown mining ruse against Haiphong, stepped-up their warnings to Hanoi and Moscow, and initiated planning for a massive shock-and-awe military operation referred to within the White House inner circle as DUCK HOOK.

Beyond the mining of North Vietnamese ports and selective bombing in and around Hanoi, the initial DUCK HOOK concept included proposals for “tactical” nuclear strikes against logistics targets and U.S. and South Vietnamese ground incursions into the North. In early October 1969, however, Nixon aborted planning for the long-contemplated operation. He had been influenced by Hanoi’s defiance in the face of his dire threats and concerned about U.S. public reaction, antirwar protests, and internal administration dissent.

In place of DUCK HOOK, Nixon and Kissinger launched a secret global nuclear alert in hopes that it would lend credibility to their prior warnings and perhaps even persuade Moscow to put pressure on Hanoi. It was to be a “special reminder” of how far President Nixon might go. The risky gambit failed to move the Soviets, but it marked a turning point in the administration’s strategy for exiting Vietnam. Nixon and Kissinger became increasingly resigned to a “long-route” policy of providing Saigon with a “decent chance” of survival for a “decent interval” after a negotiated settlement and U.S. forces left Indochina.

Burr and Kimball draw upon extensive research in participant interviews and declassified documents to offer a history that holds important lessons for the present and future about the risks and uncertainties of nuclear threat making.

William Burr is senior analyst, National Security Archive, George Washington University. Jeffrey P. Kimball is professor of history, emeritus at Miami (OH) University. He is the author of The Vietnam War Files and Nixon’s Vietnam War, both published by Kansas.

“I didn’t know any of this as I was copying the top secret Pentagon Papers that fall, but if I had I would have given the Papers to the newspapers right away—rather than two years later, after waiting in vain for Congress to act on them—in desperate hopes of heading off massive escalation and possible nuclear war. A gripping and essential read!”

Daniel Ellsberg, author of Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers

“Finally, a well-researched and well-written account of our leaders’ dangerous nuclear brinksmanship across the high years of the Cold War. There’s much here that’s new and much that’s troubling—for today as well as yesterday.”

Richard Rhodes, Pulitzer-Prize-winning author of The Making of the Atomic Bomb

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“We cleaned up the S&L crisis . . . [a] huge expenditure, but looking back, it was the right thing to do . . . . [W]e cleaned up the environment with the Clean Air Act . . . [and] expanded opportunities for 37 million people with disabilities in a very bipartisan way when Congress passed the ADA and I was privileged to be the president who signed it . . . . We forewent the ‘reading of lips’ by passing a budget agreement that put firm controls really for the first time on discretionary spending.”

George Bush accomplished each of the things on his list, and more. Thus, it is difficult to understand how some historians and political scientists continue to characterize George H. W. Bush as a passive president.

FROM THE BOOK

Shortly after George H. W. Bush lost his re-election bid to Bill Clinton in 1989, John Robert Greene’s verdict on the 41st president of the United States was that he “brought no discredit to the office” and “Bush was both patient and prudent . . . mak[ing] few mistakes.” In the years since the release of Greene’s profile of the senior Bush, deemed by Publishers Weekly, “the essential introduction to Bush’s abbreviated, but still consequential, tenure in office,” a wealth of materials about Bush’s presidency has become available, even as distance has sharpened our perspective on the Bush years. In this significantly expanded second edition of The Presidency of George H. W. Bush, Greene takes full advantage of newly released documents to revisit Bush’s term, to consider his post-presidency accomplishments, and to enhance and clarify our understanding of his place in history.

Such milestones as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany, the fall of the Soviet Union, the savings and loan crisis, and the transition to the Clinton administration receive renewed and far more detailed treatment here, as do the ramifications of George H. W. Bush’s positions and policies. Greene also devotes ample attention to Bush’s post-presidency, including his relationship with his son, President George W. Bush, as well as the development of his close friendship with Bill Clinton. The elder Bush emerges from this reappraisal as a considerably more activist president, with a more activist administration, than was previously assumed. Greene’s concise and readable account, drawing on the contents of the Bush Library, the papers of James A. Baker III, and personal interviews, shows us the 41st president—and thus an important chapter in American history—in a new and more revealing light.

John Robert Greene is Paul J. Schupf Professor of History and Humanities at Cazenovia College. His many books include The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford and Betty Ford: Candor and Courage in the White House, both published by Kansas.
In 1891 Benjamin Harrison, the first president engaged in conservation, had to have this new area of public policy explained to him by members of the Boone and Crockett Club. This didn’t take long, as he was only asked to sign a few papers setting aside federal timberland. But from such small moments great social movements grow, and the course of natural resource protection policy through 22 presidents has altered Americans’ relationship to the natural world in then almost unimaginable ways. Presidents and the American Environment charts this course. Exploring the ways in which every president from Harrison to Obama has engaged the expanding agenda of the Nature protection impulse, the book offers a clear, close-up view of the shifting and nation shaping mosaic of both “green” and “brown” policy directions over more than a century.

While the history of conservation generally focuses on the work of intellectuals such as Muir, Leopold, and Carson, such efforts could only succeed or fail on a large scale with the involvement of the government, and it is this side of the story that Presidents and the American Environment tells. On the one hand, we find a ready environmental engagement, as in Theodore Roosevelt’s establishment of Pelican Island bird refuge upon being informed that the Constitution did not explicitly forbid it. On the other hand, we have leaders like Calvin Coolidge, playing hide-and-seek games in the Oval Office while ignoring reports of coastal industrial pollution. The book moves from early cautious sponsors of the idea of preserving public lands to crusaders like Theodore Roosevelt, from the environmental implications of the New Deal to the politics of pollution in the boom times of the forties and fifties, from the emergence of “environmentalism” to recent presidential detractors of the cause.

From Harrison’s act, which established the American system of National Forests, to Barack Obama’s efforts on curbing climate change, presidents have mattered as they resisted or used the ever-changing tools and objectives of environmentalism. In fact, with a near even split between “browns” and “greens” over those 22 administrations, the role of president has often been decisive. How, and how much, distinguished historian Otis L. Graham, Jr., describes in full for the first time, in this important contribution to American environmental history.

Otis L. Graham, Jr., is professor of history emeritus at the University of California, Santa Barbara.
Federalism on Trial
State Attorneys General and National Policymaking in Contemporary America
Paul Nolette

“In this eye-opening book, Paul Nolette illuminates an increasingly important feature of America’s uniquely litigious system of regulation and governance – coordinated policy-oriented lawsuits by state attorneys’ general. Federalism on Trial should be essential reading for scholars, teachers, and students interested in the interaction of law and politics, in federalism, and in the politics of public policy.”

ROBERT A. KAGAN, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LAW AND SOCIETY AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

“This is an important and compelling book that quite persuasively demonstrates that federalism must be understood as an interactive process in which litigation, politics and policy making at the State and national level cannot be studied in isolation.”

GORDON SILVERSTEIN, ASSISTANT DEAN AT YALE LAW SCHOOL

“T is one of the happy incidents of the federal system,” Justice Louis Brandeis wrote in 1932, “that a single courageous state may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory, and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country.” It is one of the features of federalism in our day, Paul Nolette counters, that these “laboratories of democracy,” under the guidance of state attorneys general, are more apt to be dictating national policy than conducting contained experiments. In Federalism on Trial, Nolette presents the first broadscale examination of the increasingly nationalized political activism of state attorneys general. Focusing on coordinated state litigation as a form of national policymaking, his book challenges common assumptions about the contemporary nature of American federalism.

In the tobacco litigation of the 1990s, a number of state attorneys general managed to reshape one of America’s largest industries—all without the involvement of Congress or the executive branch. This instance of prosecution as a form of regulation is just one case among many in the larger story of American state development. Federalism on Trial shows how new social policy regimes of the 1960s and 1970s—adopting national objectives such as cleaner air, wider access to health care, and greater consumer protections—promoted both “adversarial legalism” and new forms of “cooperative federalism” that enhanced the powers and possibilities open to state attorneys general. Nolette traces this trend—as AGs took advantage of these new circumstances and opportunities—through case studies involving drug pricing, environmental policy, and health care reform.

The result is the first full account—far-reaching and finely detailed—of how, rather than checking national power or creating productive dialogue between federal and state policymakers, the federalism exercised by state attorneys general frequently complicates national regulatory regimes and seeks both greater policy centralization and a more extensive reach of the American regulatory state.

Paul Nolette, who has worked as a litigation associate and served as chief legal counsel for the Joint Committee on Labor and Workforce Development in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, is assistant professor at Marquette University.
Tort reform is a favorite cause for many business leaders and right-leaning politicians, who contend that out-of-control lawsuits throttle growth and inflate costs, particularly in healthcare. Less is said about how such reforms might affect the ability of individuals to recover damages for injuries suffered through another party’s negligence. On that count, Texas—where efforts at tort reform have been energetic and successful—provides an opportunity to appraise the outcome for plaintiffs and their lawyers, an opportunity that Stephen Daniels and Joanne Martin take full advantage of in this timely and provocative work. Because much of the action on tort reform takes place on the state level, a look at the experience of Texas, a large and important state with a very active plaintiff’s bar, is especially instructive.

Plaintiffs’ lawyers work on a contingency fee basis, collecting compensation for themselves as a percentage only if they win. Reduce lawyers’ ability to use contingency fees as compensation, as tort reform inevitably does, and you reduce their economic incentive to do this work. Daniels’ and Martin’s study bears this out. Drawing on over 20 years of research, extensive surveys and interviews, the authors explore the impact the tort reform movement in Texas has had on the ability of plaintiffs to obtain judgments—in short on private citizens’ meaningful access to the full power of the law. In the course of their analysis, the authors explain the history and economics behind the workings of the plaintiffs’ bar. They explore how lawyers select cases and clients, as well as the referral process that moves cases among lawyers and allows for specialization. They also examine the effects of medical malpractice reforms on plaintiffs’ lawyers—reforms that often close the courthouse doors to certain types of people—tort reform’s “hidden victims.”

Plaintiffs’ lawyers are the civil justice system’s gatekeepers, providing meaningful access to the rights the law provides. Daniels’s and Martin’s thorough and fair-minded work offers a unique and sobering perspective on how tort reform can curtail this access—and thus, the legal rights of American citizens.

Stephen Daniels is a research professor for the American Bar Foundation. Joanne Martin is Director of Administrative Services at the American Bar Endowment.

“Daniels and Martin give us a penetrating and alarming account of the most energetic and successful campaign to dismantle the legal protections that Americans gained over the course of the past century.”
MARC GALANTER, co-author of Tournament of Lawyers: The Transformation of the Big Law Firm

“In this masterful book, Daniels and Martin demonstrate how a sustained attack on the plaintiffs’ bar can deprive ordinary people of access to justice when they are injured by the negligence of others.”
HERBERT KREZKER, co-author of The Oxford Handbook of Empirical Legal Research
“This slim volume skillfully exploits recent archival releases and classic accounts to form a clear, concise and frequently poignant portrayal of Russian participation in World War I, a war that fundamentally altered the course of Russian history. It is a “must read” for those interested in the subject.”

David M. Glantz, author of Endgame at Stalingrad

“For many, the First World War in the East is little known. Yet, as Stone says, there everything changed. Stone is a superb guide to the innovative and exciting work going on in this field and his account grips the reader from the first paragraph.”

Christopher Read, author of War and Revolution in Russia: 1914-22: The Collapse of Tsarism and the Establishment of Soviet Power

A full century later, our picture of World War I remains one of wholesale, pointless slaughter in the trenches of the Western front. Expanding our focus to the Eastern front, as David R. Stone does in this masterly work, fundamentally alters—and clarifies—that picture. A thorough, and thoroughly readable, history of the Russian front during the First World War, this book corrects widespread misperceptions of the Russian Army and the war in the east even as it deepens and extends our understanding of the broader conflict.

Of the four empires at war by the end of 1914—the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, German, and Russian—none survived. But specific political, social, and economic weaknesses shaped the way Russia collapsed and returned as a radically new Soviet regime. It is this context that Stone’s work provides, that gives readers a more judicious view of Russia’s war on the home front as well as on the front lines. One key and fateful difference in the Russian experience emerges here: its failure to systematically and comprehensively reorganize its society for war, while the three westernmost powers embarked on programs of total mobilization.

Context is also vital to understanding the particular rhythm of the war in the east. Drawing on recent and newly available scholarship in Russian and in English, Stone offers a nuanced account of Russia’s military operations, concentrating on the uninterrupted sequence of campaigns in the first 18 months of war. The eastern empires’ race to collapse underlines the critical importance of contingency in the complete story of World War I. Precisely when and how Russia lost the war was influenced by the structural strengths and weaknesses of its social and economic system, but also by the outcome of events on the battlefield. By bringing these events into focus, and putting them into context, this book corrects and enriches our picture of World War I, and of the true strengths and weaknesses, triumphs and successes of the Russian Army in the Great War.

David R. Stone is Pickett Professor of History at Kansas State University. He is the author of A Military History of Russia: From Ivan the Terrible to the War in Chechnya and Hammer and Rifle: The Militarization of the Soviet Union, 1926–1933 (also from Kansas) and editor of The Soviet Union at War, 1941–1945.
November 1917. The American troops were poorly trained, deficient in military equipment and doctrine, not remotely ready for armed conflict on a large scale—and they’d arrived on the Western front to help the French push back the Germans. The story of what happened next—the American Expeditionary Force’s trial by fire on the brutal battlefields of France—is told in full for the first time in Thunder and Flames.

Where history has given us some perspective on the individual battles of the period—at Cantigny, Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, the Marne River, Soissons, and little-known Fismette—they appear here as part of a larger series of interconnected operations, all conducted by Americans new to the lethal killing fields of World War I and guided by the battle-tested French. Following the AEF from their initial landing to their emergence as an independent army in late September 1918, this book presents a complex picture of how, learning warfare on the fly, sometimes with devastating consequences, the American force played a critical role in blunting and then rolling back the German army’s drive toward Paris. The picture that emerges is at once sweeping in scope and rich in detail, with firsthand testimony conjuring the real mud and blood of the combat that Edward Lengel so vividly describes. Official reports and documents provide the strategic and historical context for these ground-level accounts, from the perspective of the Germans as well as the Americans and French.

Battle by battle, Thunder and Flames reveals the cost of the inadequacies in U.S. training, equipment, logistics, intelligence, and command, along with the rifts in the Franco-American military marriage. But it also shows how, by trial and error, through luck and ingenuity, the AEF swiftly became the independent fighting force of General John “Blackjack” Pershing’s long-held dream—its divisions ultimately among the most combat-effective military forces to see the war through.

Edward G. Lengel is Professor and Director of the Papers of George Washington project at the University of Virginia. He is the author of To Conquer Hell: The Meuse-Argonne, 1918 and General George Washington: A Military Life, among other works.

“Lengel has done an admirable job cutting through the decades of legend and half-truths surrounding the American Expeditionary Forces in the First World War. Students of the war will owe him a great debt for this comprehensive and effective book.”

Michael S. Neiberg, author of Dance of the Furies: Europe and the Outbreak of World War I

“Lengel employs meticulous research and vivid, fast-paced prose to dissect American soldiers’ baptism by fire’ on the Western Front. It is a great read and a major scholarly contribution—no one will ever again be able to claim that America was ‘barely bloodied’ by World War I.”

Jennifer D. Keene, author of Doughboys, the Great War and the Remaking of America

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The Pacific War and Contingent Victory
Why Japanese Defeat Was Not Inevitable

Michael W. Myers

“About the Allies’ victory in the Pacific in WWII, it goes almost without question that Japan’s defeat was inevitable in the face of overwhelming American military might and economic power. But the outcome, Michael W. Myers contends, was actually anything but inevitable. This book is Myers’s thorough and deeply informed explanation of how contingent the “foregone conclusion” of the war in the Pacific really was.

However disproportionate their respective resources, both Japan and the Allied forces confronted significant obstacles to ultimate victory. One the two sides shared, Myers shows, was the lack of a single individual with the knowledge, vision, and authority to formulate and implement effective strategy. Both exercised leadership by committee, and Myers cogently explains how this contributed to the contingent nature of the conflict. A remarkable exercise in logical methods of strategic thinking, his book analyzes decisive campaigns in the Pacific War, examining the economic and strategic challenges that both sides faced and had to overcome to achieve victory. Japan, for instance, had two goals going into the war: to expand the boundaries of what they termed the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” and to end their long and frustrating war in China. These goals, as Myers shows us, had unforeseen and devastating logistical and strategic consequences. But the United States faced similar problems—as well as other hurdles specific to a nation not yet on full war footing.

Overturning conventional historiography, The Pacific War and Contingent Victory clarifies the proper relationship between freedom and determinism in historical thinking. A compelling retelling of the Pacific war that might easily have been, the book offers historical lessons in thinking about contemporary American foreign policy and American exceptionalism—most saliently about the dangers of the presumption of American ascendancy.

Michael W. Myers is professor in the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs at Washington State University, where he has served as interim director of the Asia program and taught Japanese philosophy and religions. He is the author of Brahman: A Comparative Theology and Let the Cow Wander: Modeling the Metaphors in Veda and Vedanta.
The Mediterranean Air War
Airpower and Allied Victory in World War II

Robert S. Ehlers, Jr.

Without what the Allies learned in the Mediterranean air war in 1942–1944, the Normandy landing—and so, perhaps, World War II—would have ended differently. This is one of many lessons of *The Mediterranean Air War*, the first one-volume history of the vital role of airpower during the three-year struggle for control of the Mediterranean Basin in World War II—and of its significance for Allied successes in the war’s last two years.

Airpower historian Robert S. Ehlers opens his account with an assessment of the pre-war Mediterranean theater, highlighting the ways in which the players’ strategic choices, strengths, and shortcomings set the stage for and ultimately shaped the air campaigns over the Middle Sea. Beginning with the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, Ehlers reprises the developing international crisis—initially between Britain and Italy, and finally encompassing France, Germany, the US, other members of the British Commonwealth, and the Balkan countries. He then explores the Mediterranean air war in detail, with close attention to turning points, joint and combined operations, and the campaign’s contribution to the larger Allied effort. In particular, his analysis shows how and why the success of Allied airpower in the Mediterranean laid the groundwork for combined-arms victories in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean area, North Africa, and northwest Europe, and how victory in the Middle Sea benefitted Allied efforts in the Battle of the Atlantic and the China-Burma-India campaigns.

Of grand-strategic importance from the days of Ancient Rome to the Great-Power rivalries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Middle Sea was no less crucial to the Allied forces and their foes. Here, in the successful offensives in North Africa in 1942 and 1943, the US and the British learned to conduct a coalition air and combined-arms war. Here, in Sicily and Italy in 1943 and 1944, the Allies mastered the logistics of providing air support for huge naval landings and opened a vital second aerial front against the Third Reich, bombing critical oil and transportation targets with great effectiveness. The first full examination of the Mediterranean theater in these critical roles—as a strategic and tactical testing ground for the Allies and as a vital theater of operations in its own right—*The Mediterranean Air War* fills in a long-missing but vital dimension of the history of World War II.

Robert S. Ehlers, Jr., professor of security studies at Angelo State University (San Angelo, Texas), is a retired colonel in the United States Air Force. He is the author of *Targeting the Third Reich: Air Intelligence and the Allied Bombing Campaigns*, also from Kansas, winner of the Air Force Historical Foundation’s “Best Airpower History Book” award.
General Lesley J. McNair
Unsung Architect of the U.S. Army
Mark T. Calhoun

“Well written, clear, concise, and balanced, this work will remain the standard reference work in the life, career, and influence of McNair, a general officer arguably second in importance only to George C. Marshall.”

Peter Schefferle, author of America’s School for War: Fort Leavenworth Officer Education and Victory in World War II

“An exceptionally well researched and argued reappraisal of the career of Lesley J. McNair and his role in fashioning American ground forces before and during World War II. Calhoun argues convincingly that far from the ineffectual general of common lore, McNair was a crucial architect of Allied victory. A must-read for students of modern U.S. and World War II military history.”

Peter Mansoor, author of The GI Offensive in Europe: The Triumph of American Infantry Divisions, 1941-1945

George C. Marshall once called him “the brains of the army.” And yet General Lesley J. McNair (1883-1944), a man so instrumental to America’s military preparedness and Army modernization, remains little known today, his papers purportedly lost, destroyed by his wife in her grief at his death in Normandy. This book, the product of an abiding interest and painstaking research, restores the general Army Magazine calls one of “Marshall’s forgotten men” to his rightful place in American military history. Because McNair contributed so substantially to America’s war preparedness, this first complete account of his extensive and varied career also leads to a reevaluation of U.S. Army effectiveness during WWII.

Born halfway between the Civil War and the dawn of the 20th century, Lesley McNair—“Whitey” by his classmates for his blond hair—graduated 11th of 124 in West Point’s class of 1904 and rose slowly through the ranks like all officers in the early twentieth century. He was 31 when World War I erupted, 34 and a junior officer when American troops prepared to join the fight. It was during this time, and in the interwar period that followed the end of the First World War, that McNair’s considerable influence on Army doctrine and training, equipment development, unit organization, and combined arms fighting methods developed. By looking at the whole of McNair’s career—not just his service in WWII as chief of staff, General Headquarters, 1940-1942, and then as commander, Army Ground Forces, 1942-1944—Calhoun reassesses the evolution and extent of that influence during the war, as well as McNair’s, and the Army’s, wartime performance. This in-depth study tracks the significantly positive impact of McNair’s efforts in several critical areas: advanced officer education; modernization, military innovation, and technological development; the field-testing of doctrine; streamlining and pooling of assets for necessary efficiency; arduous and realistic combat training; combined arms tactics; and an increasingly mechanized and mobile force.

Because McNair served primarily in staff roles throughout his career and did not command combat formations during WWII, his contribution has never received the attention given to more public—and publicized—military exploits. In its detail and scope, this first full military biography reveals the unique and valuable perspective McNair’s generalship offers for the serious student of military history and leadership.

After a twenty-year career as an Army Aviator and military operational planner, Mark T. Calhoun now serves as an associate professor at the United States Army’s School of Advanced Military Study.

MILITARY HISTORY | WORLD WAR I | WORLD WAR II

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NEW BOOKS

Pursuing Horizontal Management
The Politics of Public Sector Coordination
B. Guy Peters

From the first, specialization and coordination have presented governments with a conundrum: specialized program might be best for delivering one service to the public, but combining such programs for all public services inevitably produces costly redundancies and inefficiencies. In this long-awaited book, Guy Peters brings his expertise and extensive experience to bear on the problem of administrative and policy coordination. Through theory and four real-world case studies, he explores how—and whether—coordination can transform ordinary, flawed patterns of governing into more effective and efficient performance by the public sector.

This timely work arrives at a moment when coordination is proving especially challenging—as popular approaches to public administration emphasize breaking larger public organizations into smaller, single purpose programs, and as a push to involve the private sector in policy development and implementation has increased government segmentation. For insights into the workings—and limitations—of coordination, or horizontal management, Peters draws on extensive scholarship as well as his own consulting work with governments including Finland, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, and Mexico. He highlights practical successes, and failures, of horizontal management in case studies of Homeland Security in the US.; child protection in the UK.; policymaking in Finland; and the operations of the European Union. In the process, Peters evaluates a full tool chest of “instruments” that might be used to enhance coordination.

Combining theory and practice, and considering a wide range of public policy challenges, this book clearly and cogently presents the most comprehensive, in-depth, and detailed discussion available of policy coordination in the public sector—at a time when its insights are most urgently needed.

B. Guy Peters is Maurice Falk Professor of Government at the University of Pittsburgh and Distinguished Professor of Comparative Governance at Zeppelin University in Friedrichshafen, Germany. He is the author of over seventy books, including The Future of Governing: Four Emerging Models, also from Kansas.

“Guy Peters gives us a comprehensive inside view of the Holy Grail of Coordination. In this book we benefit from his vast international experience, his capacity to go to the essence of horizontal management, and this critical view of coordination as part of a problem but also as part of a solution.”

Geert Bouckaert, President of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences

“Coordination has held ‘keyword’ status in administrative studies for over a century (at least), but few have tackled it with the thoroughness and insight that B. Guy Peters does here, offering a depth and breadth of comparative knowledge second to none. This analysis will set the discussion for years to come.”

Mel Dubnick, co-editor of Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy
“This book will be very appealing to anyone who wants to know what plants are growing and flowering in Kansas. It will also be a critical resource for ecological researchers as they investigate how the biomes in Kansas respond to a changing climate. *Kansas Wildflowers and Weeds* will serve the research community for a very long time.”

**John Briggs**, Director of Konza Prairie Biological Station

“This book features current and accurate information on taxonomy and distribution of herbaceous plants of Kansas, including thorough descriptions and color photographs throughout. It is an important reference for all who admire our state’s botanical richness and want to learn more.”

**Iralee Barnard**, author of *Field Guide to the Common Grasses of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska*

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In the 35 years since the publication of Janét E. Bare’s popular *Wildflowers and Weeds of Kansas*, our understanding of flowering plants has undergone dramatic changes. This transformation is reflected in the pages of *Kansas Wildflowers and Weeds*. A reference and a guidebook for a new generation of plant enthusiasts, this volume includes up-to-date nomenclature, keys, and descriptions, as well as habitat, distribution, and ecological information. In addition to herbaceous plants, the book profiles several woody species generally perceived to be either “showy wildflowers” or “weedy”-species such as *Amorpha fruticosa* (false indigo bush), *Campsis radicans* (trumpet vine), *Ceanothus herbaceus* (Jersey tea), *Cephalanthus occidentalis* (buttonbush), *Rhus glabra* (smooth sumac), *Rosa Arkansana* (prairie rose), and *Toxicodendron radicans* (poison ivy).

Designed for the professional botanist and passionate amateur alike, *Kansas Wildflowers and Weeds* brings names and taxonomic information into line with recent revolutions in studies of DNA, macro- and micromorphology, cytology, ecology, and phenology. It expands upon Bare’s earlier book’s 831 entries with descriptions of 1,163 species — representing about 5 percent of the native and naturalized species currently known in Kansas—as well as 742 color photographs. For purposes of identification, conservation, study, or the simple pleasure of thumbing through, it is a resource without parallel.

**Michael John Haddock** is Assistant Dean, Research, Education, and Engagement Division, K-State Libraries, Kansas State University. **Craig C. Freeman** is Senior Curator, R. L. McGregor Herbarium, Kansas University. Janét E. Bare is the author of the original *Wildflowers and Weeds of Kansas* (1979).
Kansas Trail Guide
The Best Hiking, Biking, and Riding in the Sunflower State
Jonathan Conard and Kristin Conard

From the windswept plains to the majestic Flint Hills, the subtle beauty of the Sunflower State is best appreciated from its myriad wide-ranging trails. And whether you’re an avid hiker or desultory explorer, a bicyclist or horseback rider, this book makes a most congenial guide. An invaluable companion for exploring new trails or learning about accustomed routes, this comprehensive guide will tell you all you need to know (as well as what it might surprise you to learn) about the trails that crisscross Kansas—history and geography, wildlife and scenery, park locations and cultural possibilities, and, now and then, even a bit of geology and botany.

The illustrated guide includes detailed full-color maps, GPS coordinates, and, of course, extensive route descriptions—through historic sights and prairies and state parks, to lakes and rivers and wildlife refuges. The authors identify the best trails for families or going solo; for running or hiking, biking or horseback riding; for hunting wildflowers, encountering wildlife, enjoying scenic vistas, or exploring Kansas history. They also include helpful descriptions of flora and fauna, and historical highlights for each area.

Concise, complete, and engaging, this is the guide anyone journeying the trails of Kansas, seasoned hiker and armchair traveler alike, should not be without.

Jonathan Conard is assistant professor at Sterling College, in Sterling, Kansas. Kristin Conard is a lecturer at Santa Clara University and the University of Santa Cruz, and a freelance writer whose work has appeared in many publications, including Travel + Leisure, Conde Nast Traveler, and BBC Travel.

“Kansas holds many hidden treasures in its continually expanding trail system. This book is a great starting place for people wanting to explore some of the adventurous and recreational trails our beautiful state has to offer.”

LYLE RIEDY, President of the Kansas Trails Council

“Grab your binoculars, camera and lunch, pack up the family, and let the Conards lead you on an adventure. Whether you prefer exploring by foot, bike or horseback, this extensive guide showcases the best of natural Kansas. You’ll be amazed at what you find!”

BOB GRESS, Director emeritus of Great Plains Nature Center

“Hike ‘em, bike ‘em, ride a horse on ‘em. Grab this book and get out there.”

REX BUCHANAN, Director of Kansas Geological Survey

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NEW IN PAPERBACK

Writing the Gettysburg Address
Martin P. Johnson

WINNER OF THE LINCOLN PRIZE

“Beautifully written and closely argued, this book grips the reader much like a detective novel and teaches us how little we know about a subject we thought we knew so well.” —Library Journal (starred review)

“With Sherlock Holmes-like ingenuity and sophistication, Johnson solves a number of mysteries surrounding the composition, delivery, and reception of the Gettysburg Address. His strikingly original conclusions rest on exhaustive research and subtle analysis. . . . A major contribution to the Lincoln literature, shedding bright light on the evolution of Lincoln’s thinking about the significance of the Civil War.” —Michael Burlingame, author of Abraham Lincoln: A Life

“Johnson provides a near hour-by-hour account of how Lincoln wrote and delivered the Gettysburg Address. The result is a masterful work of historical scholarship that erases many of the myths and mysteries that surround the speech and allows us to understand it in a new light.” —Louis Masur, author of Lincoln’s Hundred Days: The Emancipation Proclamation and the War for the Union

“Johnson has opened new windows onto a canonical moment in history, and unleashed a fresh breeze of new research and sharp analysis. This is simply one of the best books ever written about the Gettysburg Address. It will be read and appreciated by Lincoln students for years to come.” —Harold Holzer, Chairman, Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation

Martin P. Johnson is an assistant professor of history at Miami University and is the author of two books on European politics and several articles on Lincoln and the Civil War.

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Winfield Scott
The Quest for Military Glory
Timothy D. Johnson

“Well-written and meticulously researched. This is a masterful biography that will appeal to laymen and scholars alike.” —Journal of Military History

One of the most important public figures in antebellum America, Winfield Scott is known today more for his swagger than his sword. “Old Fuss and Feathers” was a brilliant military commander whose tactics and strategy were innovative adaptations from European military theory; yet he was often underappreciated by his contemporaries and until recently overlooked by historians.

Johnson’s work draws extensively on unpublished sources to reveal neglected aspects of Scott’s life, present a complete view of his career, and accurately balance criticism and praise. Johnson dramatically relates the key features of Scott’s career: how he led troops to victory in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, fought against the Seminoles and Creeks, and was instrumental in professionalizing the U.S. Army, which he commanded for two decades. He also tells how Scott tried to introduce French methods into army tactical manuals, and how he applied his study of the Napoleonic Wars during the Mexico City campaign, and created an officer corps that boasted Grant, Lee, McClellan, and Jackson.

“A fresh and engaging biography of ‘Old Fuss and Feathers,’ who helped shape American history in the antebellum republic, only to be eclipsed by the generation of Civil War officers who learned the art of war from him. Will appeal to scholars and general readers alike.” —Richard Bruce Winders, author of Mr. Polk’s Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War

Timothy D. Johnson is university research professor at Lipscomb University.

JUNE | MILITARY HISTORY
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Abraham Lincoln and White America
Brian R. Dirck

“Excellent.”—Journal of American History

“Careful in context and clear in argument, Dirck’s book will not settle the question of Lincoln and race, but it will redirect discussion away from canards and toward the content of Lincoln’s ideas and actions. Highly recommended for anyone wanting to grapple with the meaning of race in America.”—Library Journal

“A deftly written and groundbreaking work that carefully puts Lincoln’s racial attitudes in historical context, this volume is highly recommended to anyone interested in the Civil War or the history of race in America.”—Civil War History

“Dirck has produced a very ambitious, provocative, and engaging book that will be of interest not only to Lincoln scholars but also to anyone interested in race relations in mid-nineteenth-century America. In addition, he has contributed significantly to the historiography by challenging all too common (if baffling) suppositions that Lincoln was somehow divorced from the racial assumptions and relations that governed the society in which he lived.”—Kansas History

Brian R. Dirck is professor of history at Anderson University, author of Lincoln & Davis: Imagining America, 1809–1865, also from Kansas.

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The Allied Nations’ Proxy War with Japan, 1935–1941
Franco David Macri

“Every so often, a work of scholarship completely changes the way we thought we understood the past. This superb new volume details the extensive back-story which led up to the global outbreak of war with Japan in 1941. . . . The book is eminently readable. . . . Essential reading for anyone who wants to better understand Hong Kong’s vital strategic role in China in the late 1930s as the war with Japan steadily gathered pace.”—South China Morning Post

“Any reader seeking an understanding of the powers’ military and diplomatic actions in China, in particular south of the Yangtze and at Hong Kong, from the mid-1930s through 1941, will learn much from this detailed, well written, and deeply researched history. Drawing on his Herculean labors in various Western archives, he presents much new material.”—The Journal of Military History

“Macri devotes a large portion of the book to the role of Hong Kong as the keystone in the so-called “proxy war” for the Allies during the Sino-Japanese conflict, and the detailed history of Hong Kong during this period is perhaps the book’s major contribution.”—Choice

“Massively researched and splendidly narrated, Macri’s study presents with admirable clarity a very complex diplomatic and military tale. It is the best available international history of Hong Kong and its immediate vicinities (such as Canton) during the China-Japan war.”—Akira Iriye, author of China and Japan in the Global Setting

“Macri’s clear-eyed geostrategic analysis provides an entirely new approach that puts Asia back at the center of the war.”—Timothy Brook, author of Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China

Franco David Macri is visiting assistant professor at The University of Hong Kong.

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Through the Maelstrom
A Red Army Soldier’s War on the Eastern Front, 1942–1945
Boris Gorbachevsky
Translated and edited by Stuart Britton • Foreword by David M. Glantz

“A work that not only brings to life the daily experiences of a Soviet soldier on the Eastern Front, but also provides a window into Soviet society during the struggle to defend the Motherland. Masterful and balanced . . . A must-read for scholars of the Eastern Front and those interested in the role of the Communist Party in the Red Army during World War II.”—Army History

“[O]ne of the best memoirs available because it addresses so many issues. . . . The descriptions of the various battles, of which the battle for Rzhev forms the bulk of the book, are worthy of being read by both specialists and the general readers.”—Journal of Military History

“He provides us with a keen understanding of the trials and tribulations endured by Red army soldiers from the ground up. As a Russian Jew, he writes of the anti-Semitism in the Red Army. In scattered but searing descriptions, Gorbachevsky writes of the horror the Germans visited upon the Russian people. . . . [and] he openly recounts the retribution of the Red Army once it reached German territory.”—Russian Review

“This extraordinary memoir represents a veritable final testament to the countless millions of Soviet soldiers who fought and often perished in cruel anonymity.”—David Glantz, author of The Stalingrad Trilogy

Boris Gorbachevsky worked for forty years as a professor, journalist, and editor in Russia before emigrating to the United States in 1994.

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