

concepts to explain voter realignments for the periods 1880-1928 and 1932-1983 and the "conservative reaction" of 1938-1980.

The ways that parties organized themselves and conducted campaigns are also explained in terms of two concepts. One, the army style, characterizes nineteenth century parties that organized themselves into a military hierarchy and mobilized their troops by appeal to traditional party loyalty, employment of extensive patronage rewards, and communication of issue positions through partisan mass-circulation newspapers. The other, the advertising style, describes practices typical of the twentieth century when candidates, using merchandising techniques and deemphasizing their party affiliations, raised their own campaign funds, formed campaign organizations independent of party, hired their own political consultants, and placed greater emphasis on their qualifications than on partisan issues.

The interpretative analysis is presented in a text comprising about one third of the volume, the remaining two thirds consisting of documents—largely newspapers, magazines, and books printed contemporaneous to events discussed in the text. The documents serve as informational notes illustrating points made in the text where document numbers are given at appropriate places.

The book reflects the problems inherent in the treatment of an extensive time period in a short space and in the explanation of a complex subject in terms of dichotomies. All American voters do not neatly fit into the "traditional" or "modern" categories. For example, as the author observes, many black voters of the nineteenth century were outside the market economy ("traditional") and were at the same time "pietistic" ("modern").

The general reader interested in American politics will be pleased by the author's writing style. Students and teachers of American history may use *Grass Roots Politics* as a point of departure in discussion of the electoral process. Hoosier readers will observe that there is one reference to Indiana, which indicates that it is one of the few states maintaining "very large patronage markets into the late twentieth century" (p. 32).

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Essays on Lincoln's Faith and Politics. Volume IV. By Hans J. Morgenthau and David Hein; edited by Kenneth W. Thompson. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983. Pp. x, 205. Appendix, notes. Clothbound, \$23.50; paperbound, \$9.25.)

Appearing in a series called *American Values Projected Abroad* and funded by the Exxon Education Foundation, this volume,

according to its editor, explores the extent to which and the ways in which Abraham Lincoln's "religious and political ethics represent core values in the American political tradition" (p. x). The explorations occur in two separately authored, long essays—one by political and social theorist Hans J. Morgenthau (left unfinished at his death in 1981 and completed for publication by editor Thompson), the other by religious historian David Hein. Together, these essays provide fresh perspectives on the much-debated case of Lincoln's religious faith and political sensibility.

At first blush, however, the essays could not seem more dissimilar, at least in their interpretive approaches. The Morgenthau essay designs to account for the nature of Lincoln's "greatness" of mind—not as a politician or a statesman or a thinker but as a person—and this agenda requires the effort to penetrate "the mist of mythological incense" (p. 5) obscuring those qualities of mind and personality in which Lincoln's genuine greatness can be discerned. In this, Morgenthau is not interested in the ways Lincoln measured up to and exceeded the historical roles which fell to him, for that would be to limit his stature to what he *did*; the interest, rather, is in determining how Lincoln's self-expression reveals his profound understanding of a way to be or, in short, in finding "the nature of greatness" in what Lincoln *was*. He was, Morgenthau contends, consistently and deeply religious. Oriented throughout adulthood by the conviction that life always followed transcendent guidance that human beings could not fathom, Lincoln, in the distance he felt from this providential force, gained his centrally defining quality of "detachment," not from the course of life but from the local and momentary claims of self-interest, partisanship, ambition, and fame, all of which paled for him under the shadow of eternity. Such detachment was not marked by indifference or apathy; indeed, it liberated other qualities in him—objectivity, humility, compassion, toughness, justness—with which he engaged the political realm and in which his greatness is manifested in American terms. David Hein's essay likewise wants to "de-mythologize" Lincoln, but the mists he wants to evaporate are those in the scholarship on Lincoln's religion more than those vapors rising from cultural mythology. In particular, Hein attempts to free the scholars from the notion—in some respects abetted by Morgenthau's views—that Lincoln was a fatalist who succumbed to a grim determinism; and, with this charge, the essay seeks to define the distinctive character of Lincoln's theological outlook by examining it in its political and historical contexts. In those contexts, according to Hein, Lincoln's private and public expression reveals his consistent and radical monotheism, his embrace of the doctrine of *sola gratia*, and his con-

certed efforts to practice an ethics of response, each of which comes to the fore when Hein draws to Lincoln's case these ideas resident in H. Richard Niebuhr's essential Protestantism. Thus, at last, the two essays in some respects converge in their views on Lincoln's faith with Morgenthau's analytical subtlety lent refinement by Hein's more sophisticated theological vocabulary.

Despite their general successes in presenting fresh perspectives on Lincoln's greatness and his theological views, neither essay is free of problems. With Morgenthau's approach Lincoln's "mind" seems rather too much a specimen on a laboratory table, too cleanly removed from the world of ambiguity and inconsistency, too perfectly apart from the web of historical actions and anguish. One could reasonably argue that, in Lincoln's case, the nature of his greatness can be comprehended *only* in historical context, in the maculate stuff of confusion and circumstance, limited possibility, attenuated opportunity. In Hein's essay the agenda seems converted in midstream from an initial intention to provide a historical account of Lincoln's theology to the altered aim as the essay proceeds of a theological account of Lincoln's history. With this alteration Hein occasionally seems tone-deaf in dealing with Lincoln's rhetoric: he ignores the possibility that personal and political discourse can disguise as well as disclose, can be duplicitous and manipulative as well as forthright and affirmative. Finally, hard-headed historians might be inclined to conclude that both essays relent too quickly from critical inquiry to celebrate the American values they find embodied in Lincoln and, thus, that they bend too exorbitantly toward creating panegyrics to Abraham to send abroad. Even if this is so, the book will heighten the debate on Lincoln's religion.

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Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity: Aid under the Radical Republicans, 1865-1877. By Mark W. Summers. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984. Pp. xiii, 361. Notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

Mark W. Summers promises the readers of this book a fresh approach to Radical Reconstruction. Through a thorough examination of a hitherto neglected aspect of that era—the railroad aid program of southern Republicans—he makes good on his promise, but, in doing so, he prompts new queries about the strength and adequacy of his own thesis.

Following the Civil War, Dixie desperately needed economic rejuvenation, and the majority of southerners "trusted in railroads to achieve that end" (p. 46). Consequently, a railroad mania