

Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln. Edited with an introduction by Frederick C. Luebke. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971. Pp. xxxii, 226. Notes, tables, appendices. \$9.75.)

This volume contains eleven essays on ethnic voting in the presidential election of 1860. Arranged in the chronological order of their original publication, the first nine are journal articles, the earliest from 1932, and the final two were prepared for this anthology. Professor Luebke is a qualified editor for this topic, as his own published research has demonstrated. The introduction deserves attention as a succinct digest of work published to date, and the selections amplify this history, documenting the evolution of scholarship concerning ethnic voting in 1860. Inevitably, the major focus is upon the role of German voters in the states of the former Northwest Territory. Luebke is justified in reflecting this emphasis since past and current research has given major attention to it.

The first five articles in part present the views of the "traditionalists," those historians who believe that foreign born voters of the Northwest, particularly Germans, moved en masse into the Republican party in 1860, providing the key votes which elected Lincoln. In addition, this first section of the book reproduces some of the work of historians who led the attack on the traditional view and includes Joseph Schafer's famous article of 1941, based upon Wisconsin township data. Although not subtitled, this section might have been labeled "Pre-Empirical Research."

The final six articles were selected from recent empirical research on the 1860 election, including George H. Daniels' analysis of Iowa township data and Paul J. Kleppner's "religious polarization" hypothesis based upon data from Pittsburgh's wards. These articles successfully challenge the traditional view and add several new dimensions to an understanding of the 1860 election. Daniels and others, following Schafer's lead, have shown that certain large blocs of Germans remained loyal to the Democratic party in 1860. Ronald P. Formisano's article, "Ethnicity and Party in Michigan, 1854-60," agrees that ethnicity is a key variable but asserts that it did not operate independently of the religious affiliation of the ethnic groups in question. As Luebke points out, Formisano, Kleppner, and others have found ethnicity to be "a cloak disguising more important religious and cultural variables" (p. xxx). These articles present data that are fully representative of the areas studied and utilize modern statistical analysis. They also illustrate the editor's claim (p. xxxi) that historians have yet to examine all of the variables that might hold the key to ethnic voting in the midnineteenth cen-

tury and that important geographic areas have yet to be studied before achieving a full picture of ethnic voting in 1860.

As editor, Luebke had comparatively few choices since the body of articles on 1860 ethnic voting is not yet extensive. Nevertheless, the first five selections can be viewed mainly as historical curiosities and not of major importance today. Luebke's summary of them is more than adequate. Had he restricted himself to the introductory digests, it would have allowed him to allocate more space to recent research efforts. Also, Luebke is qualified to author an article analyzing the research methods that have been used to study the 1860 election; such an article would have been appropriate to this volume and useful to scholars. Nonetheless, this anthology should help to focus attention upon an election that needs further study by historians and upon the most recent subtleties of election data analysis that deserve a rightful place as tools for the American political historian.

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The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896. By Richard Jensen. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971. Pp. xvii, 357. Notes, tables, appendix, critical guide to sources, index. \$12.50.)

The Winning of the Midwest is a study of the changing character of voting patterns and party organizations in six midwestern states (Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin) in the 1890s. The presidential election of 1888 confirmed the contemporary view that the Midwest was safe Republican territory. The gubernatorial and congressional elections of 1889 and 1890, however, resulted in a near Democratic sweep. Then in 1894 the Republicans returned to power with a massive landslide victory and set out to solidify their newly organized "coalition into a standing majority that lasted until the New Deal." Professor Jensen is primarily concerned with the issues and conflicts which produced this "dizzy series of electoral turnabouts" (p. xiii).

While acknowledging the importance of other issues, particularly economic ones, the author apparently believes that religion was the source of most political conflicts in the Midwest. "Religion shaped the issues and the rhetoric of politics, and played the critical role in determining the party alignments of the voters" (p. 58). Using the methods of the quantifier, he attempts to analyze the religious composition of the states involved in the study and to demonstrate a cor-