

ture 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-

relation between party affiliation and religious preference. In addition, he discusses the religious polarization of the Midwest and the political conflicts between primarily Republican pietistic denominations (Methodists and Congregationalists) and primarily Democratic liturgical denominations (Roman Catholic and German Lutherans). The hostility between these two groups manifested itself in such issues as the battle over prohibition in Iowa and Ohio, parochial education in Wisconsin, and the threat of new immigrants to the coal industry in Illinois.

Although the study should be considered a significant contribution to the political history of the Midwest, there is, in this reviewer's opinion, a major flaw. Because of the scarcity of evidence, Jensen has been highly selective in his analysis and expects the reader to accept too many unsupported assumptions and generalizations. He uses, for example, religious preference data from an 1895 Iowa state census to determine a ratio between actual members of a denomination and individuals expressing a preference for that denomination. Then, he argues: "By assuming the ratios were about the same for the same denomination in other midwestern states (a fairly strong assumption, especially when dealing with cities) it becomes possible to estimate the results of a hypothetical survey (in 1890) asking each person over the age of ten to state his religious 'preference'" (p. 86). This, seemingly, is asking a great deal from the reader particularly since Jensen apparently fails to question the validity of some evidence such as the information supplied by churches (not individuals) to the 1890 federal census takers. Similar questions could be raised concerning his assumptions that partisanship followed religious lines or that most liturgicals became Democrats and most pietists became Republicans in the Midwest after 1850.

Anyone studying midwestern politics during this period must acknowledge the significance of religious issues. They undoubtedly influenced the behavior of voters, but whether religion was more important in the Midwest than other factors such as economics or class antagonisms remains to be proved. Perhaps Jensen would have been more successful if he had confined his analysis to a smaller area.

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*The Republican Command, 1897-1913.* By Horace Samuel Merrill and Marion Galbraith Merrill. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971. Pp. xi, 360. Notes, illustrations, bibliography of works cited, index. \$12.50.)

The Merrills argue that between 1897 and 1913 the Republican