

ists, or, even more darkly, to a "Bourbon" pattern in which blacks had no white allies. (Such "New South moderates" as Jimmy Carter do not fit their binary scheme very neatly.)

This is excellent political journalism. Knowledgeable and commonsensical, the authors offer a thorough, but nonetheless lively, analysis of events. Yet if Barley and Graham display the virtues of newsmen, they do not escape some of their faults: the book lacks a foundation in political theory; it skirts difficult questions concerning the connection of society and politics; and its statistical analysis is unsophisticated—a fact disarmingly admitted by the authors in their appendix. Ignoring recent political science literature on electoral competition, political beliefs, and rational decision-making, the authors paint confusing pictures of party strategies and "rational" or "realistic" choices by voters. Nor do they relate changes in Southern social structure to alterations in politics. Does the category "lower class," for instance, mean the same thing in the 1970s as it did in 1949? As for their methodology, by collapsing 1,134 counties into 24 ecological areas, they have vastly decreased the reliability of their statistical estimates. Their unexplained regional and sociological groupings obscure the determinants of political outcomes. By incautiously generalizing in the text (despite qualifications in the appendix) from data drawn only from homogeneous areas, they may have misled us about the class basis of certain politicians' appeals. Finally, by using total votes, rather than eligible voters, in the denominators of many of their equations, they leave us hopelessly confused about changes in the candidates' voting bases from primary to general elections and about the probably crucial effects of migration and increased electoral participation on political outcomes.

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NUMAN V. BARTLEY and HUGH D. GRAHAM. *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. xvi, 233. \$10.00.

Why have not urbanization, industrialization, and the removal of the institutions which V. O. Key saw inhibiting an organized system of electoral competition—disfranchisement, malapportionment, one-partyism, and Jim Crow—produced a New (Dealish) South? Numan V. Bartley and Hugh D. Graham approach this question through short, sprightly, and incisive narratives of every significant statewide election campaign in the South from 1945 to 1972, as well as analyses of election statistics that fill 36 tables and 46 figures of this 200-page work. They conclude that though a politics of economic self-interest would produce a biracial lower-class ("populist") coalition against the more affluent whites, this class division of the electorate has more often given way in recent Southern politics to an upper-class white/black alignment against rural and lower-class white rac-