

Public Opinion in Massachusetts during the Civil War and Reconstruction. By EDITH ELLEN WARE. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. 1916. Pp. 219.)

The justification for a detailed study of this topic by Dr. Ware is found in a letter quoted from Robert C. Winthrop to Judge Clifford: "I cannot but regret that our state is put forward so prominently. Sumner at the head of foreign affairs, Wilson at the head of military affairs, Butler commanding one wing, Banks commanding another wing, Adams Minister to London, Burlingame to Peking, Motley to Vienna"

By influence and reputation Massachusetts is ranked as a strong Republican state; but political opinion is never expressed perfectly by the majority. It is thus Dr. Ware's purpose to estimate the strength of the minorities and their reasons for opposition. Her conclusions, that during the civil war public opinion was "for the support of the administration in the preservation of the Union, through emancipation, if need be, although emancipation was for the most part a subsidiary issue;" and that during the reconstruction period opinion was for "the support of the victorious party, which is to say the Republican party;" and that "in neither period was there unanimity of opinion;" do not alter the generally accepted judgment. The monograph is valuable rather in that it gathers together and portrays the almost daily registration of opinion and shows how the leaders and the press stood on the crises which occurred. Thus the chapter "The Defense of the Union" vividly shows how the hesitancy and critical opinion described in "The Election of 1861" and "The Period of Secessions" were so precipitated that even the *Boston Courier*, which was "anti-Republican, anti-administration, anti-war and sometimes anti-union," could declare, "there will be no more talk about rights or wrongs; that day is happily past. . . . Hereafter *we act*." The chapter on "Emancipation" traces the growth of the movement, from the nine persons who founded the *Liberator* to the conversion of the majority to the belief that emancipation would hasten the end of the war. In "Copperheadism," which is defined as a movement to supplant the administration and reverse its policies, are discussed both the turbulence and the skillful acceleration of public opinion together with the political organizations of that period. The chapter on "Reconstruction" discusses the various theories held by different groups and

shows how the Republican Party, through the rise of Butler, and by concentrating upon national issues while ignoring state questions, lost the governorship in 1876. There is an excellent, though brief, essay upon "The Press of Massachusetts during the Sixties."

The monograph shows infinite pains in exhausting every possible source of information and great accuracy of quotation and is impartial in tone. It is, what it professes to be, a study of but one phase of Massachusetts history and makes no attempt to present a complete picture.

ERNEST KIMBALL.

Smith College.

The County—The "Dark Continent" of American Politics. By H. S. GILBERTSON. (New York: The National Short Ballot Organization. 1917. Pp. vi, 297.)

While the day of municipal reform in America is well advanced, the dawn of reform in county government is just breaking. Recently, the county, the long neglected unit of government, has begun to receive a portion of the attention which its importance deserves. Since 1910, when the American Political Science Association gave the county a place on the program of its annual meeting, a number of valuable studies of the county have been made. The National Municipal League has embraced the county within the scope of its interests. The *American City* publishes a "Town and County" edition. Conferences for better county government have been held; and the short ballot organization has adopted the reorganization of the county as one of its chief aims.

The work under review by H. S. Gilbertson, secretary of the New York short ballot organization, is the first attempt to set forth within the covers of a single book "the outlines of a very real and important 'county problem.'" The purpose of the work, as stated in the preface, is to stimulate a "much wider and more thorough research into the subject than has yet been attempted" and "to throw a new light upon the 'democratic experiment' in America."

Within the first 119 pages the author presents his "indictment of the county." This is followed (86 pages) by a constructive program of county reform. An appendix of 77 pages contains a number of valuable constitutional and legislative documents relating to county government.

The county is tested by the principles "of the reconstructive demo-