

The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, History Series, No. 2. By ALBERT EDWARD MCKINLEY. Philadelphia, 1905. —vii, 518 pp.

Dr. McKinley has produced a thorough and valuable study of the suffrage in the English-American colonies. It differs from Bishop's monograph—published twelve years ago—in the scope of the subject treated, in the classification of the material, and in the purpose which has controlled the work. Bishop sought to describe not only conditions which affected the suffrage, local and colonial, but the mechanism of elections as well. McKinley concerns himself almost wholly with the former subject. Bishop classified his material with a view to the light it might throw on elections as such—on the method of conducting them and the classes who took part in them. In other words, elections considered as a political phenomenon of world-wide significance; was what he sought to illustrate, and those which occurred in the American colonies were selected for the purpose. His work was therefore primarily a contribution to political science, and only secondarily a contribution to American history.

McKinley, on the other hand, has based the classification of his material on the colonies themselves. He has not studied the subject of elections wholly for its own sake, but for the light which it may throw on political conditions and organization in the American colonies. His controlling purpose has been to use the subject of elections as a means of throwing light on the origin of the American nation and on its political kinship with England. His work is therefore primarily a contribution to American history and only secondarily a study in political science. This, as it seems to the reviewer, indicates in broad lines the difference between these two useful monographs.

Dr. McKinley begins with a chapter on parliamentary suffrage in England. In the light of English experience he then reviews the law and practice relating to the subject in each of the American colonies. He has not used any special classification of the colonies, though that might have facilitated his work and have better enabled him to distinguish results which proceeded wholly from frontier or colonial conditions from those which were to an extent imposed by colonial executives or came in through instructions from the home government. Attention, however, has been paid to "the influence of cheap land, of religious zeal, and of frontier ideals of equality" upon the aristocratic system which was inherited from England. As the author begins with England, so with her he concludes. He finds that her customs exer-

cised a controlling influence on the qualifications of voters in the colonies. Unconsciously or consciously, this result was brought about by the efforts of British authorities. In the beginning, especially in New England, a franchise similar to that of the English towns was developed. Later, partly under outside pressure and partly as the result of the operation of an aristocratic instinct among the colonists themselves, property qualifications were prescribed in the colonies. This caused a more complete approximation to the English county franchise.

Of special value is Dr. McKinley's monograph in its treatment of the various property qualifications in the colonies, his analysis of free-
manship in the New England colonies, his references to proxy voting and the use of the ballot, his account of the definitions which were given of residence and what constituted an inhabitant for the purpose of the suffrage. The property qualifications he distinguishes as those which did not state the form of property required, those which limited the necessary property to freehold alone, those which prescribed an alternative between a minimum in the form of personal property and one in the form of real property, and those which established a tax-paying requisite for voters. He calls attention to the peculiar fact that in New England and New York the freehold was expressed in terms of value or income, while in the colonies south of New York it was stated in terms of acres or lots. The number and importance of boroughs in the southern and middle provinces and the characteristics of their suffrage are emphasized more than in any other work.

Dr. McKinley's conclusions as to the size of the voting class are interesting and are borne out by all the evidence which he and others have collected. They are that in Puritan New England the suffrage was more restricted than in the other colonies, and that, in them all, both the actual and the potential voting class formed only a small fraction of the total population. "The potential voters seem to vary," he says, "from one-sixth to one-fiftieth of the population."

At best the colonial elections called forth both relatively and absolutely only a small fraction of the present percentage of voters. Property qualifications, poor means of communication, large election districts, and the absence of party organization, combined to make the most sharply contested elections feeble in their effects upon the community as compared with the widespread suffrage of the twentieth century.

A thoroughly prepared index adds greatly to the ease with which the book may be used.

HERBERT L. OSGOOD.

Party Organization and Machinery. By JESSE MACY. New York, The Century Company, 1904.—xvii, 299 pp.

Early Political Machinery in the United States. By GEORGE D. LUETSCHER. George School, Bucks County, Pa., 1903.—160 pp.

Professor Macy's volume is the third of the *American State Series*, in which Willoughby's *American Constitutional System* and Goodnow's *City Government in the United States* have already appeared. It is also the third systematic treatise on the subject of American political parties within the last few years. First came Ostrogorski's *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (2 vols., 1902), then Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (1904), and now Professor Macy's exposition. The characteristic feature of this volume, however, is its critical and comparative examination of party machinery as such. In addition to an inquiry into the national organization, four states, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Indiana and Missouri, are selected for detailed examination of the anatomy of state and local committees and the interrelation of the various party organs. The author by no means limits himself, however, to an inspection of the intricacies of party machinery, but enters incidentally into an investigation of the actual operation of the system and the forces that produce and sustain action.

This study is not and was not intended to be an exhaustive treatise covering the entire field of party activity. It is an examination of special phases of party practice; and consequently such subjects as primary regulation, the boss, his methods and significance, the legal status of parties, plans for party reform and their workings, are of necessity either briefly discussed or entirely omitted. Even in the field of party organization the inquiry is not comprehensive, but is intended merely to display certain typical forms. Professor Macy himself recognizes the difficulties when he says:

Study of the party system and the party organization more thoroughgoing and comprehensive than has yet been undertaken, and by a large number of careful students and observers, must precede any adequate solution of the questions here suggested [p. 125].

Some errors, although none of importance, have been noted. The meetings of the congressional caucus were not secret, as indicated on page 61; neither the national committee nor the temporary chairman chooses the committee on permanent organization (p. 75), but this is done by the delegations from the various states; delegates to a state