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THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, by
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THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, by George H. Haynes. Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1938. 2 vols. Pp. x, 1118. \$8.50.

After a searching examination of biographies, official documents, formal treatises, and other available sources which contained information on the United States Senate, Mr. Haynes recorded his findings with respect to Senate routine and procedure in this well-organized and painstaking compilation. As a collection of anecdotal and procedural miscellany, it seems most complete. In the first volume the author recounts the discussion in the Convention of 1787 with respect to the organization and powers of the Senate and describes Senate precedents established during the first Congress. He then narrates uncritically the chief incidents which led to popular election of Senators and describes, with numerous illustrations, the routine which the Senate follows in determining the elections and qualifications of members, procedural aspects of the composition and work of committees, investigations, duties of Senate officers, and formulation and administration of rules with respect to attendance, voting, pairing, and debate. The importance which the author attaches to "leadership and lobbying" in the Senate is strikingly illustrated by the fact that he disposes of the matter with a briefer treatment than he gives either to rules and procedure or to election of Senators by state legislatures.

The chapters of the second volume contain much illustrative material on the procedural mechanics of senatorial participation in treaty-making and foreign affairs, in appointments and removals, and in the impeachment process. Two chapters illustrating senatorial privileges and social traditions are quite interesting. After a brief commentary on the political relations between the President and the Senate, the second volume concludes with a comparison of the Senate and House, chiefly with respect to composition, prestige, and personnel.

In the course of his extensive research the author unearthed many petty facts long since buried under library dust. He re-interred so many trivia between the covers of these volumes that the reader is left with the impression that he has visited a new graveyard for piddling incidents. He can only guess at the significance of such trifling matters as these, for example: "In the controversy over the admission of Missouri as a state, Henry Clay took the lead in the House in proposing that the problem be referred to a joint committee of Congress,"¹ or, "In November,

1. Vol. I, p. 312.

1919, when the question was raised in the Senate, whether the President could give notice of the denunciation of a treaty without authorization by Congress, Walsh (Montana) replied: 'I think not; certainly not. I cannot believe that anybody could entertain serious doubts as to that,'"² or "At the opening of the second session of the fourteenth Congress a motion, that the Senate raise thirteen select committees for the consideration of the various portions of President Madison's annual message, was laid over; and a few days later in its place there was passed a resolution, introduced by Senator Barbour of Virginia, that eleven additional standing committees should be appointed at each session. . . ."³

Under such treatment the Senate somehow seems to lose its identity as a dynamic, integral part of the American legislative process and to become a remote, isolated place where distinguished men move mechanically about, attending to this, that, or the other in strict accordance with customary routine, quite undisturbed at the course of events in the outside world. These volumes will be of value for the excellent illustrations of procedural practices which they contain, but they shed no light on the question of whether the Senate, in performing the role assigned to it by the Constitution, has proven itself capable of meeting satisfactorily the problems which now face modern democracies.

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2. Vol. II, p. 671.

3. Vol. I, p. 272.

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