Haven, 1840; S. E. Baldwin's paper on the same subject in New Haven Colony Historical Society's Papers, Vol. IV, and Tremain's "Negro in the District of Columbia," in the Nebraska University Studies. On page 20, Mr. Du Bois states the return of sixteen slaves in Vermont in the census of 1790, is an error. This may be true, but that slaves were held in Vermont seems to be established by Jennings' "Memorials of a Century" (pp. 63-64).

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The Speaker of the House of Representatives. By M. P. FOLLETT, Pp. xvi, 330-47. Price, \$1.75. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896.

The political experience of the United States offers material for many valuable volumes on politics. But we lack political scientists who utilize this storehouse of facts. It is so easy to study the constitutionally constructed machinery; to show how the various parts are adjusted to one another and their loss of power through friction. But a large part of our political machinery is extra-constitutional. Unpatented, it is changed continually. The raw material which it weaves into legislation is varied and often difficult of discovery, for it lies embedded in the complex life of society. This makes it difficult to study the living and dominant political forces, and has led the political scientists of our country to avoid the rich fields of human experience and to deal with words and traditions rather than to face the facts of political life.

Personality is an element which must be reckoned with in attempting to explain the growth of institutions. The dignity and power of an office depend mainly upon the incumbent's character and his conception of the scope of his duties. This, of course, does not deny the existence of other important factors in the production of an office. Necessity is the mother of political offices as well as of invention. These observations were suggested by the method followed in the book under review. The author shows that while the Speaker is barely mentioned in the United States constitution, to-day his power is second only to the President's. While Miss Follett has laid considerable stress on the personal element in the development, she has not neglected to set forth the conditions which demanded an extension of the Speaker's authority.

The book begins with a brief historical sketch, under "Genesis of the Speaker's Power," and is continued under the following chapter headings, which indicate the scope of the work: "Choice of the

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Speaker;" "The Personal Element in the Speakership;" "The Speaker's Parliamentary Prerogatives;" "Maintenance of Order;" "Dealing with Obstruction;" "Power through Committee System;" "Power through Recognition;" "Power as a Political Leader;" "The Speaker's Place in Our Political System."

Most persons realize, as each Congress meets and the contest for choice of Speaker is going on, that the speakership is the most important office in the gift of the House. It is also generally thought that when the fifty-two committees are appointed the Speaker is shorn of his strength. But the author clearly shows that from the time when he is escorted to the chair until the vote of thanks is passed the Speaker is the pilot of Congress and determines the course of legislation. To him is largely due the credit or the blame of the success or failure of the session. The author describes several bitter contests in choosing a Speaker. She shows how necessity has induced determined speakers to resort to extra-parliamentary tactics in order to enable the House to organize or to carry on its work, and how in this way new and important rules have been established, as rigid as constitutional paragraphs.

In discussing the responsibility of the Speaker, the author has fallen into the error of the legists by making much of this responsibility. The keynote of her remarks is: "A Speaker elected by the House is responsible to the House." But as no Speaker has ever been called to account for his official actions this theory is merely a dead letter. In fact, the Speaker is no more responsible to the House than the President is. Later on in the book this theory of responsibility is impliedly admitted to be fallacious, for the author advocates the making of the speakership a politically responsible office.

Now, under our present system of dual party government, it is impossible to bring a speaker to account for his actions, because his rulings, although they may be arbitrary, are nearly always made in the interests of party, consequently, his party will not censure him for carrying out its measures. If a different system of representation were adopted so as to bring numerous party factions in the House, it might force the Speaker to consider more the character of his bills than their partisanship. Even though a Speaker were made responsible to the House, the co-operation of the Senate is entirely beyond his control, so that legislation could not be furthered by such responsibility. The book shows a great amount of patient research. It is the kind of work which gives us an insight into the functional activity of government.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.