The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography 1789-present

Introduction

- I. Reference
- II. Constitutional Structure
- III. Constitutional Powers
- **IV.** Rules and Practice
- V. Leadership and Parties
- VI. Committees
- VII. Administration
- **VIII. External Relations**
- IX. Elections
- X. Contemporary Accounts
- XI. Seniority and Influence
- XII. Archiving the Senate
- XIII. A Guide to Sources

Introduction

This selective bibliography, compiled by the United States Senate Historical Office, is designed to provide general readers and scholars with a guide to articles, documents, and books on the institutional development of the Senate. In addition to covering the fundamental powers of the Senate, the bibliography includes sources on Senate practices, customs, and rules of procedure. While illustrative case studies are listed, the bibliography's emphasis is on the historical evolution of the institution, not isolated occurrences. Studies on individuals and the current status of the Senate have, for the most part, been excluded. For a comprehensive list of sources on U.S. senators, consult the congressional document, *Senators of the United States: A Historical Bibliography* (1995), which is listed under the Bibliographies subheading of the Reference section of this bibliography. Also see the on-line Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress (http://bioguide.congress.gov/).

The bibliography contains over six hundred sources arranged by subject headings and subheadings. The sources may be listed under multiple headings if they cover more than one subject. Under each heading, the sources are further divided by the time period of their first publication. The publication time periods are 1789-1889, 1890-1939, 1940-1989, and 1990 to the present. The chronological divisions are meant to reveal trends in Senate scholarship as well as to aid researchers interested in sources published during a particular period. If the source is a reprinted book, the citation will often include the latest publication information.

Periodically, citations will be added to the bibliography provided that they meet the criteria determined by the Senate Historical Office. Suggestions for additions are encouraged. Send your comments regarding the bibliography to historian@sec.senate.gov.

I. Reference

A. General (1890-1939)

- Haynes, George H. *The Senate of the United States*. Two volumes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. *The Origin and Development of the United States Senate*. Ithaca, NY: Andrus & Church, 1895.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. "The Senate of the United States." In *The Senate of the United States and Other Essays and Addresses Historical and Literary.* Chapter 1, pp. 1-31. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.

(1940-1989)

- Byrd, Robert C. The Senate, 1789-1989: Addresses on the History of the United States Senate. Volume I and II: Addresses on the History of the United States Senate. Volume III: Vital Speeches, 1830-1993. Volume IV: Historical Statistics, 1789-1992. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989-1994.
- Dole, Bob. Historical Almanac of the United States Senate. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.
- Martis, Kenneth. The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789-1989. New York: Macmillan, 1989.
- Ornstein, Norman J., et al, eds. *Vital Statistics on Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, biennial.
- de Pauw, Linda Grant, et al, eds. *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress* 1789-1791. Fourteen volumes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972-.
- Sinclair, Barbara. *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Stubbs, Walter. Congressional Committees, 1789-1982: A Checklist. Wesport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

(1990-)

Bacon, Donald, Roger Davidson, and Morton Keller, eds. *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*. Four volumes. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

- Baker, Richard A. 200 Notable Days: Senate Stories 1787 to 2002. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2006.
- Baker, Richard A. *Traditions of the United States Senate*. Senate Publication 11. 110th Congress. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2007.
- Christianson, Stephen G. Facts About the Congress. New York: Wilson, 1996.
- Congressional Quarterly, Inc. Congress A to Z. Fifth Edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2008.
- Congressional Quarterly, Inc. *How Congress Works*. Fourth Edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2008.
- Congressional Quarterly's Guide to Congress. Fifth Edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2008.
- Daschle, Thomas, and Charles Robbins. The U.S. Senate. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2013.
- Davidson, Roger H., and Walter J. Oleszek. *The Congress and Its Members*. Eighth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002.
- Dubin, Michael J. United States Congressional Elections, 1788-1997: The Official Results of the Elections of the 1st Through 105th Congresses. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998.
- Gould, Lewis L. *The Most Exclusive Club: A History of the United States Senate*. New York: Basic Books, 2005.
- Harris, Fred R. *Deadlock or Decision: The U.S. Senate and the Rise of National Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Hibbing, John R., and John G. Peters. "Studying the U.S. Senate: An Introduction to the Hendricks Symposium Papers." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (May 1989): 163-174.
- Hibbing, John, ed. The Changing World of the Senate. Berkeley, CA: IGS Press, 1990.
- Landsberg, Brian K., ed. *Major Acts of Congress*. Three volumes. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004.
- Loomis, Burdett A. and Wendy J. Schiller. *The Contemporary Congress*. Seventh Edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.
- MacNeil, Neil, and Richard A. Baker. *The American Senate: An Insider's History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Polsby, Nelson W., and Eric Schickler. "Landmarks in the Study of Congress Since 1945."

Annual Review of Political Science 5 (2002): 333-367.

- Ritchie, Donald A. *The Congress of the United States: A Student Companion*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Silbey, Joel, ed. *The Congress of the United States*, 1789-1989. Twenty three volumes. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1991.
 –Reprints of 356 articles published between 1940 and 1989.
- Silbey, Joel H. Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System: Studies of the Principal Structures, Processes, and Policies of Congress and the State Legislatures since the Colonial Era. Three volumes. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1994.
- Stathis, Stephen W. Landmark Legislation 1774-2002: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2003.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. *Black Americans in Congress*, 1870-2007.
 Prepared under the Direction of the Committee on House Administration of the U.S. House of Representatives, by the Office of History and Preservation, Office of the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives. House Document 108-224. Washington, DC: GPO, 2008.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822-2012*. Prepared under the Direction of the Committee on House Administration of the U.S. House of Representatives, by the Office of History and Preservation, Office of the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives. House Document 108-225. Washington, DC: GPO, 2013.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Women in Congress, 1917-2006. Prepared under the Direction of the Committee on House Administration of the U.S. House of Representatives, by the Office of History and Preservation, Office of the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives. House Document 108-223. Washington, DC: GPO, 2006.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators,* 1789-1995. Senate Document 35. 103rd Congress, second session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1995.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, 1774-2005. House Document 108-222. Washington, DC: GPO, 2005.
- Zelizer, Julian E., ed. *The American Congress: The Building of Democracy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

B. Bibliographies (1890-1939)

- Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark. Selected List of References on Impeachment. Washington, DC: GPO, 1905.
- U.S. Congress. Library of Congress. *List of References on the Treaty-Making Power*. Compiled by Herman H. B. Meyer. Washington, DC: GPO, 1920.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *List of Books, Etc., Treating of the United States Senate.* 59th Congress, 1st session. Senate Document No. 303. Compiled by A.P.C. Griffin. Washington, DC: GPO, 1906.

(1940-1989)

- Goehlert, Robert U., and John R. Sayre. *The United States Congress: A Bibliography*. New York: The Free Press, 1982.
- Hill, Sidney B. "Treaty Making Power of the United States, a Bibliographical Guide." *Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York* 9 (February 1954): 1-23.
- Kingsley, Thomas C. *The Federal Impeachment Process: A Bibliographic Guide to English and American Precedence, Historical and Procedural Development, and Scholarly Commentary.* Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell Law Library, Cornell Universities Libraries, 1974.
- Ripley, Randall B., and Charles Jones. *The Role of Political Parties in Congress: A Bibliography and Research Guide*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966.
- Slinger, Michael J., Lucy Salsbury Payne, James Lloyd Gates, Jr. "The Senate Power of Advice and Consent on Judicial Appointments: An Annotated Research Bibliography." Notre Dame Law Review 64 (1989):106-35.
- Tansill, William Raymond. The Organization of Congress: A Select, Annotated Bibliography on the Organization, Procedure, and Reorganization of Congress. Volume II. Washington, DC: GPO, 1945.

(1990-)

- Goehlert, Robert U., and Fenton S. Martin. *The United States Congress: An Annotated Bibliography 1980-1993*. Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1995.
- Mantel, Matthew. "Congressional Investigations: A Bibliography." *Law Library Journal* 100 (2008): 323-361.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Senators of the United States: A Historical Bibliography*. Senate Document 34. 103rd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1995.

II. Constitutional Structure A. General

(1789-1889)

Story, Joseph. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States. Edited by Melville M. Bigelow. Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co., 1994 (originally published in 1833).
Also in: Story, Joseph. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States: With a Preliminary Review of the Constitutional History of the Colonies and States Before the Adoption of the Constitution. Two volumes. Boston: Brown & Little, 1891.

(1890-1939)

- Foster, Roger. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, Historical and Juridical, with Observations upon the Ordinary Provisions of State Constitutions and a Comparison with the Constitutions of other Countries. Boston: Boston Book Company, 1895.
- Hopkins, J. Castell. "The Senate and the House of Lords: A Comparison." *American Journal of Politics* 5 (November 1894): 461-69.

(1940-1989)

- Hammond, Thomas H., and Gary J. Miller. "The Core of the Constitution." *American Political Science Review* 81 (December 1987): 1155-74.
- Kurland, Philip B., and Ralph Lerner. *Founders' Constitution*. Volume II. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

B. Equal Representation (Two Senators Per State) (1789-1889)

Madison, James. "Paper Nos. 62 and 63." In *The Federalist*. Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: New American Library, 1961 (originally published 1788).

(1890-1939)

- Baxter, Sylvester. "The Representative Inequality of Senators." *North American Review* 177 (December 1903): 897-903.
- Hoar, George Frisbie. *The Connecticut Compromise: Roger Sherman, the Author of the Plan of Equal Representation of the States in the Senate, and the Representation of the People in Proportion to Numbers in the House.* Worcester, MA: Press of Charles Hamilton, 1903.
- Holst, H. Von. "Ought the United States Senate to be Abolished?" *Monist* 5 (October 1894): 1-21.
- "How Can We Secure Better United States Senators?" *Century* 45 (March 1893): 793-794. Also see: "Better United States Senators." *Century* 46 (May 1893):156.

Ingersoll, L.D. "The Reform of the Senate." Lakeside Monthly 5 (May 1871): 322-23; 327.

Stewart, William M. "Misrepresentation in the Senate." North American Review 157 The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> (November 1893): 513-22.

- Warner, Charles D. "The Attack on the U.S. Senate." Century 48 (July 1894): 374-9. Also see: Brainerd, Cephas. "The Senate and the Constitution." Century 48 (August 1894): 636-639.
- Woody, Carroll H. "Is the Senate Unrepresentative?" *Political Science Quarterly* 41 (June 1926): 219-39.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "Roger Sherman in the Federal Convention." By Lewis Henry Boutell. In Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893. Miscellaneous Document 104. 53d Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1894.

(1940-1989)

Jillson, Calvin C. Constitution Making: Conflict and Consensus in the Federal Convention of 1787. New York: Agathon Press, 1988.

(1990-)

- Bernstein, Robert A. "Determinants of Differences in Feelings toward Senators Representing the Same State." *Western Political Quarterly* 45 (1992): 701-25.
- Bowman, S.J. "Wild Political Dreaming: Constitutional Reformation of the United States Senate." *Fordham Law Review* 72 (March 2004): 35.
- Griffin, John D. "Senate Apportionment as a Source of Political Inequality." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31 (August 2006): 405-432.
- Herrick, Rebekah, and Sue Thomas. "Split Delegations in the United States Senate: 1920-1988." Social Science Journal 30 (1993): 69-81.
- Lee, Frances, and Bruce Oppenheimer. Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Stephens, G. Ross. "Urban Underrepresentation in the U. S. Senate." Urban Affairs Review 31 (1996): 404-18.
- Tseytlin, Misha. "The United States Senate and the Problem of Equal State Suffrage." *Georgetown Law Journal* 94 (March 2006): 859-888.

C. Term

(1789-1889)

Adams, Charles Francis, Jr. "The Senatorial Term." *American Law Review* 4 (October 1869): 18-30.

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. *The Term of a Senator: When Does it Begin and End?: Constitution, Laws, and Precedents Pertaining to the Term of a Senator.* By Robert Dove. Senate Document 29. 98th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1984.

D. Class System (1890-1939)

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Proceedings of the Senate Relating to the Classification of United States* Senators under the Second Paragraph of the Third Section of the First Article of the Constitution of the United States: Taken from the Journals of the Senate. Compiled by Henry H. Gilfry. 60th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1907.

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. *The Classification of United States Senators*. By Floyd M. Riddick. Senate Document 103. 89th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1966.

III. Constitutional Powers

A. General

(1789-1889)

- Bryce, James. "The Senate as an Executive and Judicial Body." In *The American Commonwealth.* Volume I, chapter 11. London: MacMillan and Co., 1888.
- Dickinson, John. The Political Writings of John Dickinson, Esquire, Late President of the State of Delaware, and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Wilmington, Del.: Bonsal and Niles, 1801.
 Also in: The Political Writings of John Dickinson, 1764-1774. Edited by Paul Leicester Ford. New York, Da Capo Press, 1970 (reprint of 1895 edition).
- Ford, Paul Leicester, ed. Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States Published During Its Discussion By the People, 1787-1788. New York: Burt Franklin, 1888.
- Hamilton, Alexander. "Speech on the Senate of the United States (1788)." Edited by Henry Cabot Lodge. New York ; London : G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904 (originally published 1885).
- Story, Joseph. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States. Edited by Melville M. Bigelow. Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co., 1994.
 Also in: Story, Joseph. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States: With a Preliminary Review of the Constitutional History of the Colonies and States Before the Adoption of the Constitution. Two volumes. Boston: Brown & Little, 1891 (originally published in1833).

(1890-1939)

Ford, Henry Jones. "The Senate." In *The Rise and Growth of American Politics*. Chapter 21. The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> New York: Da Capo Press, 1967 (originally published 1898).

- Foster, Roger. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, Historical and Juridical, with Observations upon the Ordinary Provisions of State Constitutions and a Comparison with the Constitutions of other Countries. Boston: Boston Book Company, 1895.
- Haynes, George H. "Planning the Senate in the Federal Convention; Setting Senate Precedents in the First Congress." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume I, chapters 1-2. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Hoar, George Frisbie. *The Connecticut Compromise. Roger Sherman, the Author of the Plan of Equal Representation of the States in the Senate, and Representation of the People in Proportion to Numbers in the House.* Worcester, MA: Press of Charles Hamilton, 1903.
- McCall, Samuel W. "The Power of the Senate." Atlantic Monthly 92 (October 1903): 433-42.
- Miller, Samuel Freeman. "The Separate Powers of the Senate and House of Representatives." In *Lectures on the Constitution of the United States*. Littleton, CO : F.B. Rothman, 1980(originally published 1891).
- Moffett, S. E. "Is the Senate Unfairly Constituted?" *Political Science Quarterly* 10 (June 1895): 248-56.
- Rogers, Lindsay. "The Senate as an Executive Council." In *The American Senate*. Chapter 3, pp. 22-87. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1968 (originally published 1926).
- Moody, William H. "Constitutional Powers of the Senate; A Reply." North American Review 174 (March 1902): 386-94.
 –Reply to A. Maurice Low. "The Oligarchy of the Senate." North American Review 174 (February 1902): 231-44.

(1940-1989)

Amer, Vik D. "The Senate and the Constitution." Yale Law Journal 97 (May 1988): 1111-30.

- Baker, Richard Allan. "The Senate of the United States: Supreme Executive Council of the United States." *Prologue* 21 (Winter 1989): 289-313.
- Galloway, George. "The Functions of Congress." In *Congress at the Crossroads*. Pp.1-21. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946.

(1990-)

Mayhew, D.R. "Supermajority Rule in the U.S. Senate." *PS-Political Science & Politics* 36 (January 2003): 31-36.

B. Origin, Formation

(1789-1889)

- Maclay, William. Sketches of Debate in the First Senate of the United States, in 1789-90-91.
 Edited by George W. Harris. Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, Printer, c1880.
 Also in: Bickford, Charlene Bangs, Kenneth R. Bowling, and Helen E. Veit, eds. "The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates." In Birth of the Nation: The First Federal Congress 1789-1791. Volume IX. Washington, DC: George Washington University, The First Federal Congress Project, 1989.
- Madison, James. *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1984 (originally published 1840).
- Shepard, Elliott F. "Equalization of Representation in the United States Senate." *New York State Bar Association* 2 (1879): 63-75.

(1890-1939)

- Farrand, Max. *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972 (originally published 1913).
- Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*. Four volumes. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966 (originally published 1911).
- Schulz, George J., ed. Creation of the Senate: From the Proceedings of the Federal Convention. Senate Document 7. 100th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1987 (originally published 1937).
- Woodburn, James Albert. "The Senate." In *The American Republic and its Government*. Chapter 4, pp. 196-239. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916 (originally published 1903).
- Woody, Carroll H. "Is the Senate Unrepresentative?" *Political Science Quarterly* 41 (June 1926): 219-39.

(1940-1989)

- Bickford, Charlene Bangs, and Kenneth R. Bowling, eds. *Birth of the Nation: The First Federal Congress 1789-1791*. Washington, DC: George Washington University, The First Federal Congress Project, 1989.
- Kammen, Michael, ed. *The Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- Kurland, Philip B., and Ralph Lerner. *Founders' Constitution*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Main, Jackson Turner. The Upper House in Revolutionary America, 1763-1788. Madison:

University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.

- Riker, William H. "The Senate and American Federalism." *American Political Science Review* 49:2 (1955): 452-469.
- Sofaer, Abraham D. War, Foreign Affairs and Constitutional Power. Volume I: The Origins. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Bicentennial Commission. A Necessary Fence: The Senate's First Century. Washington, DC: Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Senate, 1989.
- Van Doren, Carl. The Great Rehearsal: The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States. New York: The Viking Press, 1948.

(1990-)

- Bowling, Kenneth R. And Donald R. Kennon, eds. *The House and Senate in the 1790's: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002.
- Bowling, Kenneth R., and Donald R. Kennon, eds. *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress.* Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1999.
- Currie, David P. *The Constitution in Congress: Democrats and Whigs, 1829-1861.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Currie, David P. *The Constitution in Congress: Descent into the Maelstrom, 1829-1861.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Currie, David P. *The Constitution in Congress: The Federalist Period 1789-1801*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Currie, David P. *The Constitution in Congress : the Jeffersonians, 1801-1829.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Greenfield, Kent. "Original Penumbras: Constitutional Interpretation in the First Year of Congress." *Connecticut Law Review* 26 (Fall 1993): 79-144.
- Swift, Elaine K. *The Making of an American Senate: Reconstitutive Change in Congress, 1787-1841.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Wirls, Daniel and Stephen Wirls. *The Invention of the United States Senate*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

C. Treaties

(1789-1889)

- Croswell, Simon G. "The Treaty-Making Power Under the Constitution." *American Law Review* 20 (July-August 1886): 513-527.
- Jay, John. "Paper No. 64." In *The Federalist*. Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: New American Library, 1961 (originally published 1788).

(1890-1939)

- Anderson, Chandler P. "The Extent and Limitations of the Treaty-Making Power Under the Constitution." *American Journal of International Law* 1 (July 1907): 636-670.
- Bacon, Augustus O. "The Treaty-Making Power of the President and the Senate." *North American Review* 182 (1906): 502-12.
- Barrett, James T. "International Agreements without the Advice and Consent of the Senate." *Yale Law Journal* 15 (November 1905): 18-27.
- Black, Forrest R. "The United States Senate and the Treaty Power." *Rocky Mountain Law Review* 4 (November 1931): 1-19.
- Boyd, James H. "Limitations of the Treaty-Making Power of the President of the United States with the Concurrent Power of the Senate." *Central Law Journal* (March 8, 15, 1918): 172-176; 188-194.
 Find in: Library of Congress, Microfilm Room, Microfilm 05422 no. 548-566 AP
- Butler, Charles H. *The Treaty-Making Power of the United States*. New York: Banks Law Publishing Company, 1902.
- Crandall, Samuel B. *Treaties, Their Making and Enforcement*. Washington, DC: J. Byrne & Company, 1904, 1916.
- Cullom, S.M. "The Treaty-Making Power." North American Review 180 (March 1905): 335-346.
- Dangerfield, Royden J. In Defense of the Senate: A Study in Treaty Making. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1966 (originally published 1933).
- Davis, John W. *The Treaty-Making Power in the United States*. London: Oxford University Press, 1920.
- Dennis, William Cullen. "The Arbitration Treaties and the Senate Amendments." *American Journal of International Law* 5 (July 1911): 614-28.

Finch, George A. "The Treaty of Peace with Germany in the United States Senate." American

Journal of International Law 14 (January-April 1920): 155-206.

- Fleming, Denna Frank. "Role of the Senate in Treaty Making: A Survey of Four Decades." *American Political Science Review* 28 (1934): 583-98.
- Fleming, Denna Frank. *The Treaty Veto of the American Senate*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930.
- Hayden, Ralston. The Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817: The Development of the Treaty-Making Functions of the United States Senate During Their Formative Period. New York: Macmillan, 1920.
- Hayden, Ralston. "The States' Rights Doctrine and the Treaty-Making Power." *American Historical Review* 22 (April 1917): 566-85.
- Haynes, George H. "The Senate's Part in Treaty-Making and Foreign Relations." In *The Senate* of the United States. Volume II, chapter 7. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Holt, W. Stull. *Treaties Defeated by the Senate*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933.
- Hudson, Manley O. "The United States Senate and the World Court." *American Journal of International Law* 29 (April 1935): 301-7.
- Jones, Francois Stewart. "Treaties and Treaty-Making." *Political Science Quarterly* 12 (September 1897): 420-49.
- Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. "The Senate as an Executive Body–Treaties." In *The Origin and Development of the United States Senate*. Chapter 4, pp. 135-58. Ithaca, NY: Andrus & Church, 1895.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. "The Treaty-Making Powers of the Senate." Scribner's Magazine 31 (January 1902): 33-43.
 Also in: A Fighting Frigate and Other Essays and Addresses. Pp. 219-56. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.
- McClendon, R. Earl. "The Two-Thirds Rule in Senate Actions Upon Treaties, 1789-1901. American Journal of International Law 26 (1932): 37-56.
- Mikell, William E. "The Extent of the Treaty-Making Power of the President and Senate of the United States." University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register 57 (April-May 1909): 435-458; 528-562.

Miller, Shackelford. "Treaty-Making Power." American Law Review 41 (July-August 1907):

527-549.

- Ogden, R. "The Senate as Treaty-Maker." Nation (1902): 84-.
- Ogden, R. "The U.S. Senate: The Graveyard of Good Treaties." Nation (1900): 199-.
- Pepper, George W. "Family Quarrels Over Treaties." In *Family Quarrels: The President, the Senate, the House.* Chapter 1, pp. 1-74. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Company, 1931.
- Sprout, H.H. "Storm Center in Treaty-Making: Veto Power of Senate." *American Scholar* 7 (April 1938): 211-22.
- Tansill, Charles C. "The Treaty-Making Powers of the Senate." *American Journal of International Law* 18 (July 1924): 459-82.
- Thompson, B.M. "The Power of the Senate to Amend a Treaty." *Michigan Law Review* 3 (1905): 427-41.
- U.S. Congress. Library of Congress. *List of References on the Treaty-Making Power*. Compiled by Herman H. B. Meyer. Washington, DC: GPO, 1920.
- Woolsey, Theodore S. "Treaty-making under the United States Constitution." *Journal of Social Science* 40 (December 1902): 83-95.
- Wright, Quincy. "The Control of Foreign Relations." *American Political Science Review* 15 (February 1921): 1-26.

(1940-1989)

- Berman, Daniel M. "Appointments and Treaties." In *In Congress Assembled: The Legislative Process in the National Government*. Chapter 13. (London: The Macmillan Company, Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1964): 361-81.
- Bestor, Arthur. "'Advice' From the Very Beginning, 'Consent' When the End is Achieved." *American Journal of International Law* 83 (1989): 718-27.
- Bestor, Arthur. "Respective Roles of Senate and President in the Making and Abrogation of Treaties–The Original Intent of the Framers of the Constitution Historically Examined." *Washington Law Review* 55 (1979): 4-135.
- Cole, Wayne S. "With the Advice and Consent of the Senate: The Treaty-Making Process before the Cold War Years." In Congress and United States Foreign Policy: Controlling the Use of Force in the Nuclear Age. Edited by Michael A. Barnhart, 79-89. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.

- Colegrove, Kenneth W. *The American Senate and World Peace*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1944.
- Glennon, Michael J. "The Senate Role in Treaty Ratification." *American Journal of International Law.* 77 (April 1983): 257-80.
- Hill, Sidney B. "Treaty Making Power of the United States, a Bibliographical Guide." *Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York* 9 (February 1954): 1-23.
- Fischer, Robert. "Henry Cabot Lodge and the Taft Arbitration Treaties." South Atlantic Quarterly 78 (1979): 244-58.
- Heindel, Richard H., et. al. "The North Atlantic Treaty in the United States Senate." *American Journal of International Law* (October 1949): 633-65.
- Hewes, James E., Jr. "Henry Cabot Lodge and the League of Nations." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 114 (August 1970): 245-55.
- Jones, J. Mervyn. *Full Powers and Ratification: A Study in the Development of Treaty-Making Procedure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946.
- Lael, Richard L. "Struggle for Ratification: Wilson, Lodge, and the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty." *Diplomatic History* 2 (Winter 1978): 81-102.
- McClendon, R. Earl. "Violations of Secrecy: Senate Executive Sessions, 1789-1929." *American Historical Review* 51 (October 1945): 35-54.
- McCluggage, Robert W. "The Senate and Indian Land Titles, 1800-1825." *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (October 1970): 415-25.
- Mervin, David. "Henry Cabot Lodge and the League of Nations." *Journal of American Studies* 4 (February 1971): 201-14.
- Nelson, Randall H. "Legislative Participation in the Treaty and Agreement-Making Process." *Western Political Quarterly* 13 (March 1960): 154-71.
- Rakove, Jack N. "Solving a Constitutional Puzzle: The Treatymaking Clause as a Case Study." *Perspectives in American History* 1 (1984): 233-81.
- Reter, Ronald F. "President Theodore Roosevelt and the Senate's 'Advice and Consent' to Treaties." In *Historian* 44 (1982): 483-504.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Role of the Senate in Treaty Ratification.* By Morella Hansen. Senate Print 486-5. 95th Congress, 1st session.

Washington, DC: GPO, 1977.

- Vinson, J. Chal. "The Parchment Peace: The Senate Defense of the Four-Power Treaty of the Washington Conference." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39 (September 1952): 303-14.
- Webb, Richard E. "Treaty-Making and the President's Obligation to Seek the Advice and Consent of the Senate with Special Reference to the Vietnam Peace Negotiations." *Ohio State Law Journal* (Summer 1970): 490-519.
- Wright, Herbert. "The Two-Thirds Vote of the Senate in Treaty-Making." American Journal of International Law 38 (October 1944): 643-50.

(1990-)

- Auerswald, D., and F. Maltzman. "Policymaking Through Advice and Consent: Treaty Consideration by the United States Senate." *Journal of Politics* 65 (November 2003): 1097-1110.
- Deibel, Terry L. "The Death of a Treaty." Foreign Affairs 2002 81 (5): 142-161.
- Evans, C. Lawrence, and Walter J. Oleszek. "A Tale of Two Treaties: The Practical Politics of Treaty Ratification in the U.S. Senate." In *Congress and the Politics of Foreign Policy*. Edited by Colton C. Campbell, et. al. pp.90-111. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.
- Love, John. "On the Record: Why the Senate Should Have Access to Treaty Negotiating Documents." *Columbia Law Review* 113 (March 2013): 483-529.
- Pitsvada, Bernard T. *The Senate, Treaties, and National Security, 1945-1974.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Treaties and Other International Agreements: The Role of the United States Senate*. Senate Print 53. 103rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, November, 1993.
- Vagts, Detlev F. "International Agreements, the Senate and the Constitution." In *Politics, Values and Functions: International Law in the 21st Century*. Edited by Jonathan I. Charney, et. al. pp.137-148. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1998.

D. Nominations

1. General

(1789-1889)

Hamilton, Alexander. "Federalist Paper No. 76; The Same View Continued in Relation to the Appointment of the Officers of the Government." In *The Federalist*. Edited by Clinton

Rossiter. New York: New American Library, 1961 (originally published 1788).

Whitney, E.B. "The Advice and Consent of the Senate." Nation 42 (1886): 125-.

(1890-1939)

- Haynes, George H. "Senate 'Advice and Consent' to Appointments." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume II, chapter 8. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. "The Senate as an Executive Body–Appointments." In *The Origin and Development of the United States Senate*. Chapter 4, pp. 104-35. Ithaca, NY: Andrus & Church, 1895.
- Pepper, George W. "Family Quarrels Over Nominations." In Family Quarrels: The President, the Senate, the House. Chapter 11, pp. 75-188. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Company, 1931.

(1940-1989)

- Berman, Daniel M. "Appointments and Treaties." In *In Congress Assembled: The Legislative Process in the National Government*. Chapter 13. (London: The Macmillan Company, Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1964): 361-81.
- Curl, Donald Walter. "The Long Memory of the United States Senate." *Ohio History* 76 (1967): 103-13.
- Fein, Bruce E. "A Circumscribed Senate Confirmation Role." *Harvard Law Review* 102 (January 1989): 672-87.
- Fowler, Dorothy G. "Congressional Dictation of Local Appointments." *Journal of Politics*. 7 (1945): 25-57.
- Harris, Joseph P. The Advice and Consent of the Senate: A Study of the Confirmation of Appointments by the United States Senate. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968 (originally published 1953).
- Macmahan, Arthur W. "Senatorial Confirmation." *Public Administration Review* (Autumn 1943): 281-96.
- Nigro, Felix A. "Senate Confirmation." Georgetown Law Journal 42 (January 1954): 241-60.
- Percy, Charles H. "Advice and Consent: A Reevaluation." *Southern Illinois University Law Journal* 1978 (May1978): 31-43.

(1990-)

- Bickford, Charlene. "Setting Precedent: The First Senate and President Washington Struggle to Define 'Advice and Consent'." *Federal History Journal* 7(2015): 1-16.
- DeRouen, Karl, Jr., et al. "Presidential Mandates and the Dynamics of Senate Advice and Consent, 1885-1996." *American Politics Research* 2005 33(1): 106-131.
- Gerhardt, Michael J. *The Federal Appointments Process*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Sollenberger, Mitchel A. "The President 'Shall Nominate': Exclusive or Shared Constitutional Power?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36(4) (2006): 714-731.
- Sollenberger, Mitchel A. *The President Shall Nominate: How Congress Trumps Executive Power*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008.

2. Judicial

a. General

(1890-1939)

Cole, Kenneth C. "Judicial Affairs: The Role of the Senate in the Confirmation of Judicial Nominations." *American Political Science Review* 28 (October 1934): 875-94.

(1940-1989)

- Black, Charles. "A Note on Senatorial Consideration of Supreme Court Nominations." Yale Law Journal 79 (March 1970).
- Chase, Harold. *Federal Judges: The Appointing Process*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972.
- Danelski, David J. A Supreme Court Justice is Appointed. New York: Random House, 1964.
- Ferling, John. "The Senate and Federal Judges: The Intent of the Founding Fathers." *Capitol Studies* 2 (Winter 1974): 57-70.
- Friedlander, Robert A. "Judicial Selection and the Constitution: What did the Framers Originally Intend?" *Saint Louis University* 8 (1989): 1-11.
- Friedman, Richard D. "The Transformation in Senate Response to Supreme Court Nominations: From Reconstruction to the Taft Administration and Beyond." *Cardozo Law Review* 5 (Fall 1983): 1-95.
- Freund, Paul A. "Appointment of Justices: Some Historical Perspectives." *Harvard Law Review* 101 (April 1988): 1146-63.

Gauch, James E. "The Intended Role of the Senate in Supreme Court Appointments." University of Chicago Law Review 56 (Winter 1989): 337-65. The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>

- Ginsburg, Ruth Bader. "Confirming Supreme Court Justices: Thoughts on the Second Opinion Rendered by the Senate." *University of Illinois Law Review* 1988 (1988): 101-17.
- Kurland, Philip B. "The Appointment and Disappointment of Supreme Court Justices." *Arizona* State University Law Journal: Law and the Social Order 1972 (1972): 183-237.
- Manoloff, Richard D. "The Advice and Consent of the Congress: Toward a Supreme Court Appointment Process for Our Time." *Ohio State Law Journal* 54 (1993): 1087-107.
- Massaro, John. Supremely Political: The Role of Ideology and Presidential Management in Unsuccessful Supreme Court Nominations. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- Mathias, Charles McC. "Advice and Consent: The Role of the United States Senate in the Judicial Selection Process." *University of Chicago Law Review* 54 (Winter 1987): 200-7.
- Mitzner, Adam. "The Evolving Role of the Senate in Judicial Nominations." *Journal of Law and Politics* 5 (Winter 1989): 387-428.
- Monaghan, Henry Paul. "The Confirmation Process: Law or Politics?" *Harvard Law Review* 101 (April 1988): 1202-12.
- Palmer, Jan. "Senate Confirmation of Appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court." *Review of Social Economy* 41 (1983): 152-62.
- Perry, James R. "Supreme Court Appointments, 1789-1801: Criteria, Presidential Style, and the Press of Events." *Journal of the Early Republic* 6 (Winter 1986): 371-410.
- Pierce, Carl A. "A Vacancy on the Supreme Court: The Politics of Judicial Appointment, 1893-94." *Tennessee Law Review* (Summer 1972): 555-612.
- Rader, Randall R. "The Independence of the Judiciary: A Critical Aspect of the Confirmation Process." *Kentucky Law Journal* 77 (Summer 1989): 767-820.
- Ross, William G. "The Functions, Roles, and Duties of the Senate in the Supreme Court Appointment Process." *William and Mary Law Review* 28 (Summer 1987): 633-82.
- Rotunda, Ronald D. "The Confirmation Process for Supreme Court Justices in the Modern Era." *Emory Law Journal* 37 (1988): 559-86.
- Ryther, Scott R. "Advice and Consent: The Senate's Political Role in the Supreme Court Appointment Process." *Utah Law Review* 1988 (1988): 411-33.

- Schmidhauser, John R., and Larry L. Berg. *The Supreme Court and Congress*. New York: The Free Press, 1972.
- Segal, Jeffrey. "Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Justices: Partisan and Institutional Politics." *Journal of Politics* 49 (1987): 998-1015.
- Simon, Paul. "The Senate's Role in Judicial Appointments." Judicature 70 (1986): 55-60.
- Slinger, Michael J., Lucy Salsbury Payne and James Lloyd Gates, Jr. "The Senate Power of Advice and Consent on Judicial Appointments: An Annotated Research Bibliography." *Notre Dame Law Review* 64 (1989):106-35.
- Stock, Linda M. "That Salutary Restraint: The Senate and the Appointment of Supreme Court Justices." *Southwestern University Law Review* 18 (1989): 283-333.
- Sulfridge, Wayne. "Ideology as a Factor in Senate Consideration of Supreme Court Nominations." *Journal of Politics* 42 (May 1980): 560-67.
- Thorpe, James A. "The Appearance of Supreme Court Nominees Before the Senate Judiciary Committee." *Journal of Public Law* 18 (1969): 371-402.
- Tribe, Laurence H. God Save This Honorable Court: How the Choice of Supreme Court Justices Shapes Our History. New York: New American Library, 1986.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. *Advice and Consent on Supreme Court Nominations*. Senate Print 391-0006. 94th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. The Supreme Court of the United States: Hearings and Reports on Successful and Unsuccessful Nominations of Supreme Court Justices by the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1916-1972. Compiled by Roy M. Mersky and J. Myron Jacobstein. Buffalo: W.S. Hein, 1975. Supplement: 1916-1975; 1977-1996.

(1990-)

- Abraham, Henry J. Justices, Presidents, and Senators: A History of the U.S. Supreme Court Appointments from Washington to Clinton. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999 (originally published in1992).
- Bell, L.C. "Senatorial Discourtesy: The Senate's Use of Delay to Shape the Federal Judiciary." *Political Research Quarterly* 55 (September 2002): 589-607.
- Bell, Lauren Cohen. *Warring Factions: Interest Groups, Money, and the New Politics of Senate Confirmation.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002.

- Binder, Sarah A., Anthony J. Madonna and Steven S. Smith. "Going Nuclear, Senate Style." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (2007): 729-740.
- Binder, Sarah, and Forrest Maltzman. "Is Advice and Consent Broken? The Contentious Politics of Selecting Federal Judges and Justices." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Eleventh Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2017 (originally published in 1977).
- Binder, Sarah A. and Forrest Maltzman. 2004. "The Limits of Senatorial Courtesy." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24 (February 2004): 5-22.
- Binder, Sarah A., and Forrest Maltzman. "Senatorial Delay in Confirming Federal Judges, 1947-1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 2002 46 (1):190-199.
- Binder, Sarah A., and Forrest Maltzman. *Advice & Dissent: The Struggle to Shape the Federal Judiciary*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2009.
- Binder, Sarah A. "The Senate as a Black Hole? Lessons Learned from the Judicial Appointments Experience." In *Innocent Until Nominated: The Breakdown of the Presidential Appointments Process*. Edited by C. Calvin Mackenzie. Chapter 6, pp.173-195. Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
- Binder, Sarah A. "Where Do Institutions Come From? Exploring the Origins of the Senate Blue Slip." *Studies in American Political Development* 21:1 (2007): 1-15.
- Burbank, S.B. "Politics, Privilege & Power The Senate's Role in the Appointment of Federal Judges." *Judicature* 86 (July-August 2002): 24-27.
- Caldeira, Gregory A., and John R. Wright. "Lobbying for Justice: Organized Interests, Supreme Court Nominations, and United States Senate." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (April 1998): 499-523.
- Collins, Paul M., and Lori A. Ringhand. "The Institutionalization of Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings." *Law & Social Inquiry 41:1 (Winter 2016)*: 126-151.
- Comiskey, Michael. "The Real and Imagined Consequences of Senatorial Consent to Silent Supreme Court Nominees." *Journal of Law and Politics* 11 (Winter 1995): 41-77.
- Comiskey, Michael. Seeking Justices: The Judging of Supreme Court Nominees. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- Crockett, David A. "The Contemporary President:' Should the Senate Take a Floor Vote on a Presidential Judicial Nominee?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37:2 (2007): 313-330.

- Denning, Brannon P. "The 'Blue Slip': Enforcing the Norms of the Judicial Confirmation Process." *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 10:1 (2001): 75-102.
- Epstein, Lee, and Jeffrey A. Segal. *Advice and Consent: The Politics of Judicial Appointments*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Epstein, Lee; René Lindstädt, Jeffrey A. Segal, and Chad Westerland. "The Changing Dynamics of Senate Voting On Supreme Court Nominees." Journal of Politics 68(2) (2006): 296-307.
- Goldman, S. "Assessing the Senate Judicial Confirmation Process: The Index of Obstruction and Delay." *Judicature* 86 (March-April 2003): 251-257.
- Goldman, Sheldon. *Picking Federal Judges; Lower Court Selection From Roosevelt Through Reagan*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Guliuzza, Frank, Daniel J. Reagan, and David M. Barrett. "The Senate Judiciary Committee and Supreme Court Nominees: Measuring the Dynamics of Confirmation Criteria." *Journal of Politics* 56 (August 1994): 773-87.
- Hartley, Roger E., and Lisa M. Holmes. "The Increasing Senate Scrutiny of Lower Federal Court Nominees." *Political Science Quarterly* 2002 117 (2): 259-278.
- Hogue, Henry B. "Recess Appointments to Article III Courts." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 2004 34(3): 656-673.
- Johnson, Timothy R., and Jason M. Roberts. "Presidential Capital and the Supreme Court Confirmation Process." *Journal of Politics* 2004 66(3): 663-683.
- Johnson, Timothy R., and Jason M. Roberts. "Pivotal Politics, Presidential Capital, and Supreme Court Nominations." *Congress & the Presidency* 2005 32(1): 31-48.
- Lemieux, Peter H., and Charles H. Stewart, III. "Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Nominations from Washington to Reagan." Working Papers in Political Science 9-90-3 (March-April 1990): 1-32.
- Martinek, W.L., M. Kemper, and S.R. Van Winkle. "To Advise and Consent: The Senate and Lower Federal Court Nominations, 1977-1998." *Journal of Politics* 64 (May 2002): 337-361.
- Melone, Albert P. "The Senate's Confirmation Role in Supreme Court Nominations and the Politics of Ideology versus Impartiality." *Judicature* 75 (August-September 1991): 68-79.

- Moritz, E. Stewart. "'Statistical Judo': The Rhetoric Of Senate Inaction In The Judicial Appointment Process." *Journal of Law & Politics* 22:4 (2006): 341-394.
- Ostrander, Ian. "The Contemporary Presidency: Powering Down the Presidency: The Rise and Fall of Recess Appointments." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45(3) (September 2015): 558-572.
- Ruckman, P.S., Jr. "The Supreme Court, Critical Nominations, and the Senate Confirmation Process." *Journal of Politics* 55 (August 1993): 793-805.
- Shipan, C.R., and M.L. Shannon. "Delaying Justice(s): A Duration Analysis of Supreme Court Confirmations." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (October 2003): 654-668.
- Silverstein, Mark. "The People, the Senate and the Court: The Democratization of the Judicial Confirmation System." *Constitutional Commentary* 9 (Winter 1992): 41-58.
- Sollenberger, Mitchel. "Blue Slip: A Theory of Unified and Divided Government, 1979-2009." Congress and the Presidency 37:2 (May-August 2010): 125-156.
- Strauss, David A., and Cass R. Sunstein. "The Senate, the Constitution, and the Confirmation Process." *Yale Law Journal* 101 (May 1992): 1491-524.
- Ward, Artemus. "The Nominations Presidents Make: Appointing Supreme Court Justices." Congress & the Presidency 28:1 (Spring 2001): 63-110.
- Watson, George. *Shaping America: The Politics of Supreme Court Appointments*. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1995.
- White, Adam J. "Toward the Framers' Understanding of 'Advice and Consent': A Historical and Textual Inquiry." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 29 (2005): 103-148.

(1890-1939)

b. Selected Case Studies

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. *Hearings on the Nomination of Louis D. Brandeis before the SubCommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.* Senate Document 409. 64th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1916.

(1940-1989)

- Bronner, Ethan. *Battle for Justice: How the Bork Nomination Shook America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1989.
- Fish, Peter Graham. "Red Jacket Revisited: The Case that Unraveled John J. Parker's Supreme Court Appointment." *Law and History Review* 5 (Spring 1987): 51-104.

- Fish, Peter Graham. "Spite Nominations to the United States Supreme Court: Herbert C. Hoover, Owen J. Roberts, and the Politics of Presidential Vengeance in Retrospect." *Kentucky Law Journal* 77 (Spring 1989): 545-76.
- Grossman, Joel B., and Stephen L. Wasby. "Haynsworth and Parker: History Does Live Again." South Carolina Law Review 23 (1971): 345-59.
- Maltese, John Anthony. "The Selling of Clement Haynsworth: Politics and the Confirmation of Supreme Court Justices." *Judicature* 72 (April-May 1989): 338-47.
- Massaro, John. "LBJ and the Fortas Nomination for Chief Justice." *Political Science Quarterly* 97 (Winter 1982-1983): 603-21.
- Murphy, Bruce Allen. *Fortas: The Rise and Ruin of a Supreme Court Justice*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1988.
- Phelps, Timothy M., and Helen Witernitz. *Capitol Games: Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill, and the Story of a Supreme Court Nomination*. New York: Hyperion, 1992.
- Shogan, Robert. A Question of Judgement: The Fortas Case and the Struggle for the Supreme Court. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1972.
- Swindler, William F. "John Tyler's Nominations: 'Robin Hood,' Congress and the Court." *Yearbook of the Supreme Court Historical Society* 2 (1977): 39-43.
- Todd, Alden L. Justice on Trial: The Case of Louis D. Brandeis. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

(1990)

- Frank, John P. *Clement Haynsworth, the Senate, and the Supreme Court.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.
- Gitenstein, Mark. Matters of Principle: An Insider's Account of America's Rejection of Robert Bork's Nomination to the Supreme Court. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.
- Goings, Kenneth W. *The NAACP Comes of Age: The Defeat of Judge John J. Parker*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Jacobstein, J. Myron, and Roy M. Mersky. *The Rejected: Sketches of the 26 Men Nominated for the Supreme Court but not Confirmed by the Senate*. Milpitas, CA: Toucan Valley Publications, 1993.
- Sanchez, Ernesto J. "John J. Parker and the Beginning of the Modern Confirmation Process." Journal of Supreme Court History 32:1 (2007): 22-45.

- Symposium. "Confirmation Controversy: The Selection of a Supreme Court Justice." Northwestern University Law Review 84 (Spring/Summer 1990): 832-1228.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. *The Complete Transcripts of the Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill Hearings, October 11, 12, 13, 1991.* Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1994.

3. Executive

a. General

(1789-1889)

- Hoar, George Frisbie. "The Appointing Power." North American Review 133 (November 1881): 464-76.
- Sumner, Charles. Protection Against the President. Speech of Honorable Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, on the Tenure of Certain Civil Offices; Delivered in the United States Senate States Senate, January 15, 16, 17, and 18, 1867. Washington, DC: Printed at the Congressional Globe Office, 1867.

(1940-1989)

- Curl, Donald Walter. "The Long Memory of the United States Senate." *Ohio History* 76 (Summer 1967): 103-13.
- James, Louis C. "Senatorial Rejections of Presidential Nominations to the Cabinet: A Study in Constitutional Custom." *Arizona Law Review* 3 (Winter 1961): 232-61.
- King, James D., and James W. Riddlesperger, Jr. "Senate Confirmation of Appointments to the Cabinet and Executive Office of the President." *Social Science Journal* 28 (1991): 189-202.
- Nigro, Felix A. "Senate Confirmation and Foreign Policy." *Journal of Politics* 14 (May 1952): 281-99.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Senate Role in Foreign Affairs Appointments*. 92nd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1971.

(1990-)

McCarty, Nolan, and Rose Razaghian. "Advice and Consent: Senate Responses to Executive Branch Nominations 1885-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (October 1999): 1122-43.

(1940-1989)

b. Selected Case Studies

Baker, Richard A. "A Slap at the 'Hidden-Hand Presidency': The Senate and the Lewis Strauss

Affair." Congress and the Presidency 14 (Spring 1987): 1-16.

- Harris, Joseph P. "The Senatorial Rejection of Leland Olds: A Case Study." *American Political Science Review* 45 (1950): 674-92.
- Nigro, Felix A. "The Lilienthal Case.' *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 40 (September 1959): 147-58.
- Nigro, Felix A. "The Pauley Case." Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 40 (March 1960): 341-49.
- Nigro, Felix A. "The Van Buren Confirmation before the Senate." *Western Political Quarterly* 14 (March 1961): 148-59.
- Nigro, Felix A. "The Warren Case." Western Political Quarterly 11 (December 1958): 835-56.

E. Impeachments 1. General (1780-1880)

- (1789-1889)
- Dwight, Theodore. "Trial By Impeachment." American Law Register (University of Pennsylvania Law Review) 6 (November 1866 to November 1867): 257-83.

"Impeachment of the President." Law Reporter 7 (August 1844): 161-69.

Lawrence, William. "The Law of Impeachment." American Law Register 6 (1867): 641-80.

- Pomeroy, John Norton. "Impeachment." In An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States. Chapter 5, section 8, pp. 480-94. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, and Company, 1879.
- Pomeroy, John Norton. "Impeachment." In An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States. Chapter 5, section 8, pp. 480-94. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, and Company, 1879.
- Tilden, Samuel J. "What are Impeachable Offences." In *The Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden.* Volume I, chapter 25, pp. 474-82. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1885.
- Van Nest, G. Willet. "Impeachable Offences Under the Constitution of the United States." *American Legal Review* 16 (1882): 798-817.

(1890-1939)

Carpenter, William S. "The Removal of Judges." In *Judicial Tenure in the United States, with Especial Reference to the Tenure of Federal Judges.* Chapter 3, pp. 101-54. New Haven, CT: Yale U. Press, 1918.

- Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark. Selected List of References on Impeachment. Washington, DC: GPO, 1905.
- Foster, Roger. "Impeachment." In *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, Historical and Juridical.* Chapter 13 and appendix, pp. 505-713. Boston: Boston Book Company, 1895.
- Haynes, George H. "The High Court of Impeachment." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume II, chapter 15. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. "The Senate as a Judicial Body." In *The Origin and Development* of the United States Senate. Chapter 5, pp. 159-72. Ithaca, NY: Andrus & Church, 1895.
- McCall, Samuel W. "The Impeachment." In *Thaddeus Stevens*. Chapter 18, pp. 323-48. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1899.
- Simpson, Alexander, Jr. *A Treatise on Federal Impeachments*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1973 (originally published in 1916).
- Sumner, Charles. "Expulsion of the President." In *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works*. Volume XVI, pp. 134-226. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1899.
- Taylor, Hannis. "The American Law of Impeachment." *North American Review* 180 (January-June 1905): 502-12.
- Thomas, David Y. "The Law of Impeachment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 2 (1908): 378-95.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Extracts from the Journal of the United States Senate in all Cases of Impeachment Presented by the House of Representatives: 1798-1904.* Senate Document 876. 62nd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1912.

(1940-1989)

- Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Committee on Federal Legislation. "Committee Report: The Law of Presidential Impeachment." *Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York* 29 (1974): 154-76.
- Berger, Raoul. *Impeachment, the Constitutional Problems*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Black, Charles L., Jr. Impeachment: A Handbook. New Haven, CT: Yale U. Press, 1974.

Brant, Irving. Impeachment: Trials and Errors. New York: Knopf, 1972.

- Ellis, Richard E. "Impeachments." In *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Feerick, John. "Impeaching Federal Judges: A Study of the Constitutional Provisions." Fordham Law Review 39 (1970-1971): 1-58.
- Fenton, Paul S. "The Scope of Impeachment Power." *Northwest University Law Review* 65 (1970): 719-47.
- Firmage, Edwin Brown and R. Collin Mangrum. "Removal of the President: Resignation and the Procedural Law of Impeachment." *Duke Law Journal* 2 (1974): 1023-116.
- Gerhardt, Michael J. "The Constitutional Limits to Impeachment and its Alternatives." *Texas Law Review* 68 (1989):1-104.
- Hoffer, Peter Charles and N.E.H. Hull. *Impeachment in America*, 1635-1805. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Kelley, Bethel B., and Daniel G. Wyllie. "The Congressional Impeachment Power as it Relates to the Federal Judiciary." *Notre Dame Lawyer* 46 (1971): 678-93.
- Kingsley, Thomas C. The Federal Impeachment Process: A Bibliographic Guide to English and American Precedence, Historical and Procedural Development, and Scholarly Commentary. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Law Library, Cornell Universities Libraries, 1974.
- Kurland, Philip B. "Watergate, Impeachment, and the Constitution." *Mississippi Law Journal* 45 (May 1974): 531-600.
- Labovitz, John R. Presidential Impeachment. New Haven, CT: Yale U. Press, 1978.
- Morgan, Charles. Jr., et al., "Impeachment: An Historical Overview." *Seton Hall Law Review* 5 (1974): 689-719.
- Swindler, William F. "High Court of Congress: Impeachment Trials, 1797-1936." American Bar Association Journal 60 (1974): 420-28.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "Impeachment." In *The Senate, 1789-1989.* By Robert C. Byrd. Volume II, chapter 4. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on the Judiciary. *Impeachment, Selected Materials.* House Committee Print 689. 93rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, October 1973.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Procedure and Guidelines for Impeachment Trials in the United States

Senate. By Floyd M. Riddick and Robert B. Dove. Senate Document 33. 99th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, August 15, 1986 (revision of 1974 Senate document by Floyd M. Riddick).

Williams, Napoleon B. "The Historical and Constitutional Bases for the Senate's Power to Use Masters or Committees to Receive Evidence in Impeachment Trials." New York University Law Review 50 (1975): 512-620.

(1990-)

- Auslander, Rose. "Impeaching the Senate's Use of Trial Committees." *New York University Law Review* 67 (April 1992): 68-107.
- Bushnell, Eleanor. Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Gerhardt, Michael J. "The Senate's Role in the Federal Impeachment Process." In *The Federal Impeachment Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis*. Chapter 4. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Grimes, Warren S. "Hundred-Ton-Gun Control: Preserving Impeachment as the Exclusive Removal Mechanism for Federal Judges." UCLA Law Review 38 (June 1991): 1209-55.
- Melton, Buckner F., Jr. "Federal Impeachment and Criminal Procedure: The Framers' Intent." Maryland Law Review 52 (1993): 437-57.
- Scherr, Arthur. "'The Confidence of His Country': James Monroe on Impeachment." *Midwest Quarterly* 2002 44 (1): 24-45.
- Turley, Jonathan. "Senate Trials and Factional Disputes: Impeachment as a Madisonian Device," *Duke Law Journal* 49 (October 1999): 1-146.
- Van Tassel, Emily Field and Paul Finkelman, Impeachable Offenses: A Documentary History from 1787 to the Present. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1999.
- Volcansek, Mary L. Judicial Impeachment: None Called for Justice. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

2. William Blount

(1789-1889)

- Wharton, Francis. "Impeachment of William Blount, a Senator of the United States. In State Trials of the United States during the Administrations of Washington and Adams. New York: B. Franklin, 1970 (originally published 1849).
- Wright, Marcus J. Some Account of the Life and Services of William Blount. Washington, DC: E. J. Gray, 1884.

(1890-1939)

- Goodpasture, Albert V. "William Blount and the Southwest Territory." *American Historical Magazine and Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly* 8 (January 1903): 1-13.
- Posey, Walter B. "The Blount Conspiracy." *Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin* 21 (December 1928): 11-21.
- Thompson, Isabel. "The Blount Conspiracy." *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* 2 (1930): 3-21.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, ed. "Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795-1797." *American Historical Review* 10 (April 1905): 574-606.

(1940-1989)

- Brant, Irving. "Plot and Counterplot." In *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. Chapter 2, pp. 24-45. New York: Knopf, 1972.
- Hoffer, Peter Charles and N.E.H. Hull. "The Politicization of Impeachment, 1795-1800."
 In *Impeachment in America*, 1635-1805. Chapter 8. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984.

Masterson, William H. William Blount. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954.

(1990-)

- Bushnell, Eleanor. "William Blount." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 2. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Eigelsbach, William B. "The Blount Conspiracy: Notes on Samuel Sitgreaves on the Questioning of Dr. Nicholas Romayne on July 13 and 14, 1797, Before the House Impeachment Committee." *Journal of East Tennessee History.* 66 (1994): 81-96.
- Melton, Buckner F., Jr. "Federal Impeachment and Criminal Procedure: The Framers' Intent." *Maryland Law Review* 52 (1993): 437-57.
- Melton, Buckner F., Jr. The First Impeachment: The Constitution's Framers and the Case of Senator William Blount. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Riddick's Senate Procedure: Precedents and Practices*. By Floyd M. Riddick and Alan S. Frumin. Senate Document 28. 101st Congress, 2nd session. Pp. 865-79. Washington, DC: GPO, 1992.

3. John Pickering

(1940-1989)

Berger, Raoul. "Insanity-Disability-Senility." In *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems*. The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 30 Chapter 5, pp. 181-92. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

- Brant, Irving. "Alcoholism in a Federal Judge." In *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. Chapter 3, pp. 46-57. New York: Knopf, 1972.
- Hoffer, Peter Charles and N.E.H. Hull. "Dress Rehearsals: Pickering and Shippen et al., 1803-1805." In *Impeachment in America*, 1635-1805. Chapter 11. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Turner, Lynn W. "The Impeachment of John Pickering." *American Historical Review* 54 (April 1949): 485-507.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "John Pickering." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 3. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

4. Samuel Chase

(1789-1889)

"The Impeachment of Judge Chase." Law Reporter 7 (August 1844): 169-77.

The Trial of Samuel Chase, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Impeached by the House of Representatives, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors Before the Senate of the United States. Short-hand transcripts by Samuel H. Smith and Thomas Lloyd. New York, Da Capo Press, 1970 (originally published 1805).

(1890-1939)

Beveridge, Albert J. "Impeachment." In *The Life of John Marshall*. Volume III, Chapter 4, pp. 157-222. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919).

(1940-1989)

- Berger, Raoul. "The Impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase." In *Impeachment, the Constitutional Problems*. Chapter 8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Brant, Irving. "The Trial of Samuel Chase." In *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. Chapter 4, pp. 58-83. New York: Knopf, 1972.
- Ellis, Richard. "The Impeachment of Samuel Chase." In *American Political Trials*. Edited by Michael R. Belknap. Pp. 57-78. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Ellis, Richard. "Impeachments," "Republican Divisions," and "Chase's Acquittal." In *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic.* Chapters 5-7, pp. 69-107. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Hoffer, Peter Charles and N.E.H. Hull. "Power and Precedent: The Impeachment and Trial of Samuel Chase, 1804-1805." In *Impeachment in America, 1635-1805*. Chapter 12. New The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 31

Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984.

Johnson, Herbert A. "Impeachment and Politics." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 63 (1964): 552-63. Labovitz, John R. "Grounds for Impeachment: The First Century." In *Presidential Impeachment*. Chapter 2. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978.

(1990-)

- Bushnell, Eleanor. "Samuel Chase." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 4. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Rehnquist, William H., Grand Inquests: The Historic Impeachments of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1992.

5. James Peck

(1789-1889)

Stansbury, Arthur. *Report of the Trial of James H. Peck.* New York: Da Capo Press, 1972 (originally published in 1833).

(1940-1989)

- Brant, Irving. "Peck and Humphries." In *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. Chapter 6, 122-32. New York: Knopf, 1972.
- Bushnell, Eleanor. "The Impeachment and Trial of James H. Peck." *Missouri Historical Review* 74 (1980): 137-65.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "James Peck." In Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. Chapter 5. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

6. West H. Humphreys

(1940-1989)

Brant, Irving. "Peck and Humphreys." In *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. Chapter 6, pp. 122-32. New York: Knopf, 1972.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "West H. Humphreys." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 6. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

7. Andrew Johnson

(1789-1889)

Godkin, E. L. "The Impeachment." Nation 6 (March 5-May 21, 1868): 184-404.

"Impeachment." American Law Review 2 (April 1868): 547-66; (July 1868): 747-77.

"Impeachment Trial." American Journal of Education 18 (1869): 225-33.

The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States; The Complete Record of the Impeachment in the House of Representatives, the Preliminary Proceedings in the Senate, the Articles of Impeachment, and the Full Proceedings in the Court of Impeachment of the Senate of the United States. New York: Dover Publications, 1974 (originally published in 1868).

Also in: *Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States: Before the Senate of the United States on Impeachment by the House of Representatives for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.* New York: Da Capo Press, 1970 (originally published as Senate document in 1868).

Sears, Edward I. "The Impeachment Trial and its Results." *National Quarterly Review* 17 (June 1868): 144-56.

(1890-1939)

- Dewitt, David Miller. *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1903.
- Dunning, William A. "The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson." *Papers of the American Historical Association* 4 (1890): 469-503.
- Hill, Frederick Trevor. "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson: A Historic Moot Case." In Decisive Battles of the Law: Narrative Studies of Eight Legal Contests Affecting the History of the United States Between the Years 1800 and 1886. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907.
- Ross, Edmund G. *History of the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson*. New York: B. Franklin, 1965 (originally published 1896).

(1940-1989)

- Benedict, Michael Les. *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1973.
- Berger, Raoul. "The Impeachment of President Andrew Johnson." In *Impeachment, the Constitutional Problems*. Chapter 9. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Brant, Irving. "The Johnson Trial: Attainder by Impeachment." In *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. Chapter 7, pp. 133-54. New York: Knopf, 1972.
- Hill, Frederick Trevor. "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson: A Historic Moot Case." In *Decisive Battles of the Law.* Chapter 5, pp. 135-74. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1907.

Labovitz, John R. "Grounds for Impeachment: The First Century." In Presidential Impeachment.

Chapter 2. New Haven, CT: Yale U. Press, 1978.

- Lomask, Milton. Andrew Johnson: President on Trial. New York: Farrar, Straus, 1960. McKitrick, Eric L. Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Parker, William Belmont. "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson." In *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill*. Pp. 208-20. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.
- Plummer, Mark A. "Profile in Courage? Edmund G. Ross and the Impeachment Trial." *Midwest Quarterly* 27 (1985): 30-48.
- Trefousse, Hans L. "Ben Wade and the Failure of the Impeachment of Johnson." *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio Bulletin* 18 (October 1960): 241-52.
- Trefousse, Hans L. Impeachment of a President: Andrew Johnson, the Blacks, and Reconstruction. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

(1990-)

- Beauregard, Erving E. "The Chief Prosecutor of President Andrew Johnson." *Midwest Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1990): 408-22.
- Bushnell, Eleanor. "Andrew Johnson." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 7. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Hearn, Chester G. *The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2000.
- Rehnquist, William H., Grand Inquests: The Historic Impeachments of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1992.
- Stathis, Stephen W. "Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson: A View From the Iowa Congressional Delegation." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24 (Winter 1994): 29-47.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on the Judiciary. "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson." In *Impeachment, Selected Materials*. House Print 906-0002. 105th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1998.

8. William W. Belknap

(1789-1889)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the Senate Sitting for the Trial of William W. Belknap: Late Secretary of War, on the Articles of Impeachment Exhibited by the House of Representatives. 44th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1876.

(1940-1989)

Joachim, Walter. "Hiester Clymer and the Belknap Case." *Historical Review of Berks County* 36 (1970): 13, 24-31.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "William W. Belknap." In Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. Chapter 8. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

9. Charles Swayne

(1890-1939)

- Littlefield, Charles E. "The Impeachment of Judge Swayne." *Green Bag* 17 (April 1905): 193-207.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings in the Senate of the United States in the Matter of the Impeachment of Charles Swayne, Judge of the District Court of the United States in and for the Northern District of Florida. Senate Document 194. 58th Congress, 3rd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1905.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "Charles Swayne." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 9. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

10. Robert W. Archbald

(1890-1939)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in the Trial of Impeachment of Robert W. Archbald: Additional Circuit Judge of the United States from the Third Judicial Circuit and Designated a Judge of the Commerce Court. Senate Document 1140. 62nd Congress, 3rd session. Washington, DC: 1912-13.

(1940-1989)

McGinnis, Patrick J. "A Case of Judicial Misconduct: The Impeachment and Trial of Robert W. Archbald." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 506-20.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "Robert W. Archbald." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 10. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

11. George English

(1890-1939)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Answer of George W. English, District Judge of the United States for the Eastern District of Illinois: To the Articles of Impeachment Against Him by the House of Representatives of the United States. Senate Document 104. 69th Congress, 61st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1926.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "George English." In Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. Chapter 11. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

12. Harold Louderback

(1890-1939)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Trial of Impeachment of Harold Louderback, United States District Judge for the Northern District of California. Senate Document 73. 73rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1933.

(1940-1989)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "One of Twelve: The Nevada Impeachment Connection." *Nevada Historical Society* 26 (1983): 2-12.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "Harold Louderback." In Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. Chapter 12. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

13. Halsted L. Ritter

(1890-1939)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States in the Trial of Impeachment of Halsted L. Ritter, United States District Judge for the Southern District of Florida. Senate Document 200. 74th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1936.

(1990-)

Bushnell, Eleanor. "Halsted L. Ritter." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 13. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

14. Harry E. Claiborne

(1940-1989)

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment Trial Committee. *Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee: Hearings Before the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee*. Senate Hearing 812. 99th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1986.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of Harry E. Claiborne, a Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Nevada. Senate Document 48. 99th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: 1987.

(1990-)

- Bushnell, Eleanor. "Harry E. Claiborne." In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials.* Chapter 14. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Luchsinger, Daniel. "Committee Impeachment Trials: The Best Solution?" *Georgetown Law Journal* 80 (1991): 163-90.
Volcansek, Mary L. *Judicial Impeachment: None Called for Justice*. Pp. 24-67. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

15. Alcee L. Hastings

(1940-1989)

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of Alcee L. Hastings, A Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida. Senate Document 18. 101st Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment Trial Committee. Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles Against Judge Alcee L. Hastings: Hearings Before the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee. Senate Hearing 194. 101st Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

(1990-)

- Bushnell, Eleanor. "Epilogue." In Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Luchsinger, Daniel. "Committee Impeachment Trials: The Best Solution?" *Georgetown Law Journal* 80 (1991): 163-90.
- Volcansek, Mary L. Judicial Impeachment: None Called for Justice. Pp. 68-119. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

16. Walter L. Nixon Jr.

(1940-1989)

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment of Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr.: Constitutional Provisions; Rules of Procedure and Practice in the Senate when sitting on impeachment trials; Articles of impeachment against Walter L. Nixon, Jr., as amended; Judge Nixon's answer to the amended articles; and replication of the House of Representatives. Senate Document 17. 101st Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment Trial Committee. Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles Against Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr. Senate Hearing 247, parts 1-3. 101st Congress, 1st session, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment Trial Committee. *Report of the Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles Against Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr.* Senate Report 164. 101st Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

 U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of Walter L. Nixon, Jr., a Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi. Senate Document 22. 101st Congress, 1st Session. Washington, DC: The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 37 1989.

(1990-)

- Luchsinger, Daniel. "Committee Impeachment Trials: The Best Solution?" *Georgetown Law Journal* 80 (1991): 163-90.
- U.S. Supreme Court. Walter L. Nixon, Jr., Petitioner v. United States of America, Et Al. Brief for the Respondents and Amicus Curiae United States Senate. Case Number 91-740. October Term, 1991.
- Volcansek, Mary L. *Judicial Impeachment: None Called for Justice*. Pp. 120-54. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

17. William J. Clinton

(1990-)

- Baker, Peter. *The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton*. New York: Scribner, 2000.
- Ornstein, Norman J. "Civility, Deliberation, and Impeachment." In *Esteemed Colleagues*. Edited by Burdett A. Loomis. Chapter 10, pp. 241-258. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Posner, Richard A. An Affair of State: The Investigation, Impeachment, and Trial of President Clinton. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Rae, Nicol C. and Colton C. Campbell. *Impeaching Clinton: Partisan Strife on Capitol Hill*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of President William Jefferson Clinton. Senate Document 4. 106th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2000.

18. G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.

(1990-)

- Erickson, Nancy. Impeachment of Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.: Constitutional Provisions, Rules of Procedure and Practice in the Senate When Sitting on Impeachment Trials, Articles of Impeachment Against Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr., Judge Porteous' Answer, and Amended Replication of the House of Representatives. Senate Document 13. 111th Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2010.
- Porteous, G. Thomas, Jr. In the Senate of the United States Sitting as a Court of Impeachment in re Impeachment of G. Thomas Porteous, Jr., United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana. Washington, DC: U.S. Senate, 2010.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles Against Judge G. Thomas The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 38

Porteous, Jr.: Hearings Before the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee, United States Senate, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, Second Session, On the Articles of Impeachment Against Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr., a Judge in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, November 16, 2010. Senate Hearing 691. 3 volumes issued in 10 parts. 111th Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2010.

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of G. Thomas Porteous, Jr., a Judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana.* Senate Document 20. 111th Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, DC: U.S. Senate, 2010.

19. Donald J. Trump

(1990-)

- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of President Donald John Trump.* Parts I-IV. Senate Document 12. 116th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2020.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Impeachment of President Donald John Trump: The Evidentiary Record, Pursuant to H. Res. 798. Eighteen volumes. Senate Document 13. 116th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2020.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of President Donald John Trump.* Four volumes: Preliminary and Floor Trial Proceedings. Senate Document 18. 116th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2020.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of President Donald John Trump.* Parts I-III. Senate Document 2. 117th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2021.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of President Donald John Trump.* Two volumes: Preliminary and Floor Trial Proceedings. Senate Document 3. 117th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2022.

IV. Rules and Practice

A. General

(1789-1889)

"The Senate and the Law of Quorum." Weekly Law Bulletin 15 (May 31, 1886): 367-70.

U.S. Congress. Senate. A Manual of Parliamentary Practice for the Use of the Senate of the United States by Thomas Jefferson. Senate Document 8. 103rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1993 (originally published 1801).

U.S. Congress. Senate. Rules of the Senate of the United States and the Joint Rules of the Two Houses. Washington, DC: GPO, 1867-.

(1890-1939)

- French, Willlard. "Senatorial Privileges and Expenses." *Independent* 70 (June 15, 1911): 1296-1305.
- Gilbert, Clinton W. "Our Senators and Their Rules." Review of Reviews 71 (June 1925): 618-22.
- Haynes, George H. "Senate Rules and Procedure." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume I, chapter 7. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Luce, Robert. *Legislative Procedure*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1972 (originally published in 1922).
- Maxey, Edwin. "Rules of the United States Senate." *American Law Review* 38 (January-February, 1904): 1-7.
- McCall, Samuel W. *The Business of Congress*. Columbia University Lectures. New York: Columbia University Press, 1911.
- McKee, Thomas Hudson. *A Manual of Congressional Practice*. Washington, DC: Thos. H. McKee & Co., Publishers, 1891.
- Peffer, W.A. "The United States Senate: Its Privileges, Powers, and Functions, its Rules and Methods of Doing Business." *North American Review* 167 (August 1898): 176-90.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Digest of Decisions and Precedents of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.* Compiled by Henry M. Smith. Senate Miscellaneous Document 278. 53rd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1894.
- Welliver, J.C. "Our Unbusinesslike Senate Whose Rules Make Legislative Efficiency Impossible." *Munsey* 49 (September 1913): 933-43.

(1940-1989)

- Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. "A Deliberative Body." *The Process of Government under Jefferson*. Chapter 11, pp. 253-72. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Froman, Lewis A. *The Congressional Process: Strategies, Rules, and Procedures*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967.
- Smith, Steven S. *Call to Order; Floor Politics in the House and Senate.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1989.

- Tiefer, Charles. Congressional Practice and Procedure: A Reference, Research, and Legislative Guide. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Republican Policy Committee. *Senate Rules and The Senate as a Continuing Body*. Senate Document 4. 83rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1953.
- White, William S. "The Senate and the Rules." In *The Citadel*. Chapter 5, pp. 55-66. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

- Oppenheimer, Bruce I., ed. U.S. Senate Exceptionalism. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Standing Rules of the Senate: Revised to September 14, 2007.* Senate Document 9. 110th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2007.

B. Origins (1890-1939)

- Foster, Roger. *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, Historical and Juridical.* Boston: Boston Book Company, 1895.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Privileges and Elections. Precedents Relating to the Privileges of the Senate of the United States. Compiled by George P. Furber. Senate Miscellaneous Document 52-68. 52nd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1893.

C. Revisions

(1789-1889)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules. Report of the Committee on Rules Relating to the Rules of the Senate, the Joint Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, and the Senate Manual. Senate Report 2. 48th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1883.

(1890-1939)

- Norris, George W. "The Reform of the Senate Rules." *Saturday Evening Post* 198 (February 13, 1926): 27; 169-73.
- Phelps, E. M. ed. "Revision of Rules of the United States Senate." *Congressional Digest* 5 (November 1926): 291-315.
- Swift, Elaine K. "Reconstitutive Change in the U.S. Congress: the Early Senate, 1789-1841." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (May 1989): 175-203.

(1990-)

- Davidson, Roger H. "The Advent of the Modern Congress: The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15 (August 1990): 357-373.
- Kravitz, Walter. "The Advent of the Modern Congress: The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15 (August 1990): 375-399.
- Schickler, E., E. McGhee, and J. Sides. "Remaking the House and the Senate: Personal Power, Ideology, and the 1970's Reforms." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 28 (August 2003): 297-331.
- Zelizer, Julian E. On Capitol Hill: The Struggle to Reform Congress and its Consequences, 1948-2000. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

D. Use (Legislative Process) 1. General (1789-1889)

Butler, M.C. "Secret Senate Sessions." Public Opinion 1 (April 24, 1886): 27-9.

Eaton, Dorman B. Secret Sessions of the Senate: Their Origin, Their Motive, Their Object, Their Effect. New York: H. Bessey,1886.

(1890-1939)

- Lancaster, Lane W. "The Initiative of the Senate in Legislation, 1789-1809." Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly 9 (June 1928): 67-75.
- Peffer, W.A. "The United States Senate: Its Privileges, Powers, and Functions, its Rules and Methods of Doing Business." *North American Review* 167 (August 1898): 176-90.
- Stealey, O. O. Twenty Years in the Press Gallery: A Concise History of Important Legislation From the Forty-Eighth to the Fifty-Eighth Congress. New York: Publishers Printing Company, 1906.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Enactment of a Law: Procedure on a Senate Bill*. By Edwin A. Halsey. Senate Document 155. 73rd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1934.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Precedents: Decisions on Points of Order with Phraseology in the United States Senate from the First to Sixty-Second Congress Inclusive, 1789-1913. Compiled by Henry H. Gilfry. Senate Document 1123. 62nd Congress, 3rd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1914.
 Supplement: U.S. Congress. Senate. Precedents: Decisions on Points of Order in the United States Senate 63d to 65th Congress, Inclusive, 1913-1919. Compiled by Henry H. Gilfry. Washington, DC: GPO, 1919.

(1940-1989)

Asbell, Bernard. The Senate Nobody Knows. Garden City: Doubleday, 1978.

- Bibby, John F., and Roger H. Davidson. On Capitol Hill: Studies in the Legislative Process. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1972.
- Campbell, James E. "Cosponsoring Legislation in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7 (August 1982): 415-422.
- Cooper, Joseph, and Cheryl Young. "Bill Introduction in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Institutional Change." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (February 1989): 67-1205.
- Pettit, Lawrence K., and Edward Keynes, eds. *The Legislative Process in the U.S. Senate*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969.
- Riddick, Floyd M. *The United States Congress; Organization and Procedure*. Manasas, VA: National Capitol Publishers, Inc., 1949.
- Sinclair, Barbara. "Senate Styles and Senate Decision Making, 1955-1980." *Journal of Politics* 48 (November 1986): 877-908.
- Smith, Steven S. *Call to Order: Floor Politics in the House and Senate.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1989.
- Yarwood, Dean. "Legislative Persistence: A Comparison of the U.S. Senate in 1850 and 1860." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 11 (May 1967).

- Arenberg, Richard A. Congressional Procedure: A Practical Guide to the Legislative Process in the U.S. Congress. Alexandria, Virginia: TheCapitol.Net, 2018.
- Gold, Martin B. *Senate Procedure and Practice*. Fourth edition. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.
- King, David C., and Richard J. Zeckhauser. "Congressional Vote Options." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 28 (August 2003): 387-411.
- Oleszek, Walter J., et al. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. Eleventh edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2020 (originally published in 1978).
- Straus, Jacob R., and Matthew Glassman, eds. *Party and Procedure in the United States Congress*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Riddick's Senate Procedure: Precedents and Practices*. By Floyd M. Riddick and Alan S. Frumin. Senate Document 28. 101st Congress, 2nd session. Pp. 865-79. Washington, DC: GPO, 1992. Earlier editions: 1958, 1964, 1974, 1981.

- Wallner, James I. "Parliamentary Rule: The U.S. Senate Parliamentarian and Institutional Constraints on Legislative Behaviour." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20:3 (2014): 380-405.
- Wallner, James I. On Parliamentary War: Partisan Conflict and Procedural Change in the U.S. Senate. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.
- Wilson, Rick K., and Cheryl D. Young. "Cosponsorship in the U.S. Congress." Legislative Studies Quarterly 22 (February 1997): 25-43.

2. Selected Case Studies (1940-1989)

- Bailey, Stephen Kemp. Congress Makes a Law: The Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.
- Eidenberg, Eugene and Roy D. Morey. An Act of Congress: The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1969. –Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
- McDonnell, Timothy L. *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957.
- Redman, Eric. *The Dance of Legislation*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973. –National Health Service Act.
- Reid, Thomas R. Congressional Odyssey: The Saga of a Senate Bill. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1980.
 –Inland Waterways Act.
- Shuman, Howard E. "Senate Rules and the Civil Rights Bill: A Case Study." American Political Science Review 51 (December 1957): 955-75.
- Whalen, Charles and Barbara. *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.* Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1985.

(1990-)

- Bakken, Gordon Morris. *The Mining Law of 1872: Past, Politics and Prospects*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Cohen, Richard E. *Washington at Work: Back Rooms and Clean Air*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995.
- Waldman, Steven. *The Bill: How Legislation Really Becomes Law: A Case Study of the National Service Bill.* New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1996.

E. Specific Rules 1. Debate, Filibuster, and Cloture (1890-1939)

Dingley, E.N. "Freedom of Debate in the Senate." *American Journal of Politics* 4 (JFanuary 1894): 49-56.

Donnelly, Thomas. "Freedom of Speech in the Senate." Social Science 7 (July 1932): 225-36.

- Dunn, A.W. "Filibuster Defended." Review of Reviews 72 (December 1925): 634-8.
- Haynes, George H. "Debate in the Senate." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume I, chapter 8. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. "Obstruction in the Senate." *North American Review* 162 (November 1893): 245-.
- Norris, George W. "The Reform of the Senate Rules." *Saturday Evening Post* 198 (February 13, 1926): 27; 169-73.
- Pepper, George Wharton. "Senate Cloture." University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register 74 (1925-1926): 131-38.
- Pepper, George Wharton. "The Senate Rumpus: A Fifty-One Per Cent Cloture." *Forum* (October 1925): 574-88.
- Potterf, Rex M. "Limitation of Debate in the United States Senate: A Phase of the Law-Making Process." *Indiana Law Journal* 1 (March 1926): 139-48.
- Rogers, Lindsay. "Closure: The Senate." In *The American Senate*. Chapter 5, pp. 161-90. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968 (originally published 1926).

"Senate Rules and Filibustering." Nation 86 (June 4, 1908): 504-5.

"Should Debate in the Senate be Further Limited?" *Congressional Digest* 5 (November 1926): 291-315.

(1940-1989)

- Beeman, Richard R. "Unlimited Debate in the Senate: The First Phase." *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (September 1968): 419-34.
- Burdette, Franklin L. *Filibustering in the Senate*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1940.

Calmes, Jacqueline. "Trivialized' Filibuster is Still a Potent Tool." Congressional Quarterly

(September 5, 1987): 2115-20.

Damon, Allan L. "Filibuster." American Heritage 27 (December 1975): 11-15, 97.

- Lehnen, Robert G. "Behavior on the Senate Floor: An Analysis of Debate in the U.S. Senate." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 11 (November 1967): 505-21.
- Myers, Francis J. "Limitation of debate in the United States Senate." *Temple Law Quarterly* (July 1949): 1-12.
- Shuman, Howard E. "Senate Rules and The Civil Rights Bill: A Case Study. In *Readings on Congress*. Edited by Raymond E. Wolfinger. Chapter 14, pp. 261-85. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.
- Tiefer, Charles. "Filibuster and Cloture." In *Congressional Practice and Procedure: A Reference, Research, and Legislative Guide.* Pp. 691-761. New York: Greenwood Press,1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *The Previous Question, its Standing as a Precedent for Cloture in the United States Senate: A Dissertation on the So-Called "Previous question Rule" as Employed by the Senate in its Early Days.* By Dr. Joseph Cooper. 87th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1962.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration. Senate Cloture Rule: Limitation of Debates in the Congress of the United States, and Legislative History of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the U.S. Senate. Washington, DC: GPO, 1975.
- Wheildon, L.B. "Majority Cloture for the Senate." *Educational Research Reports* 1 (March 1947): 119-218.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. "Filibusters: Majority Rule, Presidential Leadership and Senate Norms." In *Readings on Congress*. Edited by Raymond E. Wolfinger. Chapter 15, pp. 286-305. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Yankwich, Leon R. "The Immunity of Congressional Speech–Its Origins, Meaning and Scope." University of Pennsylvania Law Review 99 (1950-1951): 960-77.

(1990-)

- Alter, Alison B., and Leslie Moscow McGranahan. "Reexamining the Filibuster and Proposal Powers in the Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25 (May 2000): 259-284.
- Arenberg, Richard A., and Robert B. Dove. *Defending the Filibuster: The Soul of the Senate*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.

- Bell, Lauren C. Filibustering in the U.S. Senate. Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2011.
- Binder, Sarah A. "The Senate: Does it Deliberate? Can it Act?" In *Workways of Governance*. Edited by Roger D. Davidson. Brookings Institution Press, 2003.
- Binder, S.A., E.D. Lawrence, and S.S. Smith. "Tracking the Filibuster, 1917 to 1996." *American Politics Research* 30 (July 2002): 406-422.
- Binder, Sarah A., and Steven S. Smith. "Politics or Principle?": Filibustering in the United States Senate. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1997.
- Coenen, Dan T., "The Filibuster and the Framing: Why the Cloture Rule is Unconstitutional and What to Do About It." *Boston College Law Review* 55:1 (January 2014): 39-92.
- Dion, Douglas. Turning the Legislative Thumbscrew: Minority Rights and Procedural Change in Legislative Politics. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Fisk, Catherine, and Edwin Chemersky. "The Filibuster." *Stanford Law Review* 49 (January 1997): 181-254.
- Gold, Martin B., and Gupta Dimple. "The Constitutional Option to Change Senate Rules and Procedures: A Majoritarian Means to Overcome the Filibuster." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 28 (Fall 2004): 205-273.
- Koger, Gregory. "Cloture Reform and Party Government in the Senate, 1918-1925." *Journal of Politics* 68:3 (2006): 708-719.
- Koger, Gregory. "Filibusters and Majority Rule in the Modern Senate." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Eleventh Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2017.
- Koger, Gregory. *Filibustering: A Political History of Obstruction in the House and Senate.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Murphy, Troy A. "American Political Mythology and the Senate Filibuster." *Argumentation and Advocacy* 32 (Fall 1995): 90-107.
- Oppenheimer, Bruce I. "Changing Time Constraints on Congress: Historical Perspectives on the Use of Cloture." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Third Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Pp. 393-413. Washington: CQ Press, 1985.
- Overby, L. Marvin, and Lauren C. Bell. "Rational Behavior or the Norm of Cooperation? Filibustering Among Retiring Senators." *Journal of Politics* 2004 66(3): 906-924.

- Rawls, W. Lee. *In Praise of Deadlock: How Partisan Struggle Makes Better Laws*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009.
- Reynolds, Molly E. *Exceptions to the Rule: The Politics of Filibuster Limitations in the U.S. Senate.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2017.
- Roberts, John C. "Majority Voting Congress: Further Notes on the Constitutionality of the Senate Cloture Rule." *Journal of Law and Politics* 2004 20(4): 505-547.
- Seitz, Virginia, and Joseph Guerra. "A Constitutional Defense of 'Entrenched' Senate Rules Governing Debate." *Journal of Law and Politics* 19 (Winter 2004): 1-32.
- Shaheen, Jeanne. "Gridlock Rules: Why We Need Filibuster Reform in the U.S. Senate." *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 50:3 (December 2013): 1-19.
- Smith, Stephen. *The Senate Syndrome: The Evolution of Procedural Warfare in the Modern* U.S. Senate. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.
- Toobin, Jeffrey. "Blowing Up the Senate: Will Bush's Judicial Nominees Win With the 'Nuclear Option'?" *The New Yorker* (March 7, 2005): 42-46.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "Extended Debate." In *Addresses on the History of the United States Senate.* By Robert C. Byrd. Volume II, chapter 5, pp. 93-163. Washington, DC: GPO, 1991.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration. *Examining the Filibuster: Hearings Before the Committee on Rules and Aministration, United States Senate, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, Second Session, April 22, 2010, May 19, 2010, June 23, 2010, July 28, 2010, and September 22 and 29, 2010.* Washington, DC: GPO, 2010.
- Wawro, Gregory J., and Eric Schickler. *Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Wawro, Gregory J. "Peculiar Institutions: Slavery, Sectionalism, and Minority Obstruction in the Antebellum Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30 (May 2005): 163-191.
- Wirls, Daniel. "The 'Golden Age' Senate and Floor Debate in the Antebellum Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32 (May 2007): 193-222.
- Wirls, Daniel. "'The Only Mode Of Avoiding Everlasting Debate': The Overlooked Senate Gag Rule for Antislavery Petitions." *Journal of the Early Republic* 27:1 (2007): 115-138.

2. Unanimous Consent (1940-1989)

- Keith, Robert. "The Use of Unanimous Consent in the Senate." In Committees and Senate Procedures: A Compilation of Papers Prepared for the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Pp. 140-68. 94th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1977.
- Krehbiel, Keith. "Unanimous Consent Agreements: Going Along in the Senate." *Journal of Politics* 48 (August 1986): 541-64.

- Ainsworth, Scott and Marcus Flathman. "Unanimous Consent Agreements as Leadership Tools." Legislative Studies Quarterly 20 (May 1995): 177-195.
- Smith, Steven S., and Marcus Flathman. "Managing the Senate Floor: Complex Unanimous Consent Agreements Since the 1950s." In *The Changing World of the Senate*. Edited by John Hibbing. Chapter 7. (Berkeley, CA: IGS Press, 1990): 157-82. Also in: *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (1989): 349-73.

V. Leadership and Parties A. General (1890-1939)

- Brown, George Rothwell. *The Leadership of Congress*. New York: Arno Press, 1974 (originally published in1922).
- Hoar, George F. "Leaders of the Senate in 1877." In *Autobiography of Seventy Years*. Volume II, chapter VI, pp. 52-93. New York: Charles Scribner's Songs, 1903.
- Thompson, Charles Willis. *Party Leaders of the Time*. New York: G.W. Dillingham Company, Publishers, New York, 1906.

(1940-1989)

- Canon, David T. "The Institutionalization of Leadership in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (August 1989): 415-443.
- Hamilton, Holman. "Democratic Senate Leadership and the Compromise of 1850." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41 (December 1954): 403-18.
- Huitt, Ralph K. "The Internal Distribution of Influence: The Senate." In *The Congress and America's Future*. Edited by David B. Truman. Pp. 91-117. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.
- Jewell, Malcolm E. "Party Leaders." In *Senatorial Politics and Foreign Policy*. Chapter 4. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1974 (originally published 1962).
- Matthews, Donald R. "Party Leadership." In U.S. Senators and Their World. Chapter 6. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

- Munk, Margaret. "Origin and Development of the Party Floor Leadership in the United States Senate" PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1970.
- Munk, Margaret. "Origin and Development of the Party Floor Leadership in the United States Senate." *Capitol Studies* 2 (Winter 1974): 23-41.
- Peabody, Robert L. Leadership in Congress: Stability, Succession, and Change. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975.
- Peabody, Robert L. "Senate Party Leadership: From the 1950s to the 1980s." In Understanding Congressional Leadership. Edited by Frank H. Mackaman. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1981.
- Ripley, Randall B. Power in the Senate. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.
- Shade, William G., et al. "Partisanship in the United States Senate, 1869-1901." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (Autumn 1973): 185-205.
- Smith, Steven S. "Forces of Change in Senate Party Leadership and Organization." In Congress Reconsidered. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1993 (originally published in 1977).
- Tiefer, Charles. "Running the Senate." In Congressional Practice and Procedure: A Reference, Research, and Legislative Guide. Pp. 463-538. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on the Operation of the Senate. *Policymaking Role of Leadership in the Senate: A Compilation of Papers*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976.

- Baker, Richard A., and Roger H. Davidson, eds. *First Among Equals: Outstanding Senate Leaders of the Twentieth Century*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1991.
- Brady, David W., and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds. *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress, Volume 2: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Campbell, Andrea C., et al. "Agenda Power in the U.S. Senate, 1877-1986." In Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress. Edited by David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins. Pp.146-165. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Corning, Trevor, Reema Dodin, and Kyle W. Nevins. *Inside Congress: A Guide for Navigating the Politics of the House and the Senate*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press,

2017.

- Gamm, Gerald, and Steven S. Smith. "Policy Leadership and the Development of the Modern Senate." In Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress. Edited by David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins. p.287. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Lee, Frances E. "Agreeing to Disagree: Agenda Content and Senate Partisanship, 1981-2004." Legislative Studies Quarterly 33 (May 2008): 199-222.
- Loomis, Burdett A. *The U.S. Senate: From Deliberation to Dysfunction.* Washington: CQ Press, 2012.
- Monroe, Nathan W. *Why Not Parties?: Party Effects in the United States Senate*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Rose, Melody. "The Upper Chamber Takes the High Road: Social Regulatory Policy and the U.S. Senate, 1953-2000." *Congress & the Presidency* 2004 31(2): 161-179.
- Smith, Steven S. Party Influence in Congress. Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Smith, Steven S., and Gerald Gamm. "The Dynamics of Party Governance in Congress." In Congress Reconsidered. Eighth Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Pp. 181-206. Washington: CQ Press, 2004.
- Wallner, James I. *The Death of Deliberation: Partisanship and Polarization in the United States Senate.* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013.
- Yackee, S.W. "Punctuating the Congressional Agenda: Strategic Scheduling by House and Senate Leaders." *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (June 2003): 139-149.

B. Majority and Minority Parties (1890-1939)

Elseffer, L. "The Duty of the Minority." *American Magazine of Civics* 9 (January 1897): 527-30.

(1940-1989)

- Bogue, Allan G. *The Earnest Men: Republicans of the Civil War Senate*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Bone, Hugh A. "An Introduction to the Senate Policy Committees." *American Political Science Review* 50 (June 1956): 339-59.
- Brady, David, Richard Brody and David Epstein. "Heterogeneous Parties and Political

Organization: The U.S. Senate, 1880-1920." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (May 1989): 205-223.

- Davidson, Roger H., and Walter Oleszek. "Changing the Guard in the U.S. Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 9 (November 1984): 635-663.
- Huitt, Ralph K., and Robert L. Peabody. "Democratic Party Leadership in the Senate." In *Congress: Two Decades of Analysis.* Pp. 136-58. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.
- Hurley, Patricia A., and Rick K. Wilson. "Partisan Voting Patterns in the U.S. Senate, 1877-1986." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (May 1989): 225-250.
- Jewell, Malcolm. "The Senate Republican Policy Committee and Foreign Policy." Western Political Quarterly 13 (December 1959): 966-80.
- Jones, Charles O. The Minority Party in Congress. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970.
- Ripley, Randall B. Majority Party Leadership in Congress. Boston: Little Brown, 1969.
- Rosenthal, Alan. Toward Majority Rule in the U.S. Senate. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- Shade, William G., et al. "Partisanship in the United States Senate: 1869-1901." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (Autumn 1973): 185-205.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on the Operation of the Senate. "The Senate Minority and Policy Analysis." By Charles O. Jones. In *Policymaking Role of Leadership in the Senate: A Compilation of Papers*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976.

(1990-)

- Aldrich, John H., and Ruth W. Grant. "The Antifederalists, the First Congress, and the First Parties." *Journal of Politics* 55 (May 1993): 295-326.
- Baker, Ross K., Is Bipartisanship Dead?: A Report From the Senate. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2015.
- Binder, Sarah. Majority Rule, Minority Rights. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Crespin, M. H., Madonna, A., Sievert, J., and Ament-Stone, N. "The Establishment of Party Policy Committees in the U.S. Senate: Coordination, Not Coercion." *Social Science Quarterly* 96:1 (March 2015): 34-48.
- Kerr, Brinck, "Party Voting in the Senate, 1877-1990," Congress & the Presidency 27 (Fall 2000): 189-206.
- Lee, Frances E. Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U.S. Senate. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Theriault, Sean M. Party Polarization in Congress. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Democratic Policy Committee. A History of the United States Senate Democratic Policy Committee, 1947-2007. Prepared with the assistance of the U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC: GPO, 2007.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. A History of the United States Senate Republican Policy Committee, 1947-1997. By Donald A. Ritchie. Washington, DC: GPO, 1997.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference*. Edited by Donald A. Ritchie. Senate Document 20. 105th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1998.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Minutes of the Senate Republican Conference*. Edited by Wendy Wolff and Donald A. Ritchie. Senate Document 19. 105th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1999.

C. Majority and Minority Leaders (1940-1989)

- Barkley, Alben W. "The Majority Leader in the Legislative Process." In *The Process of Government*. By Simeon S. Willis, et. al. Lexington: Bureau of Government Research, University of Kentucky, 1949.
- Davis, Polly. "Court Reform and Alben W. Barkley's Election as Majority Leader." Southern Quarterly 15 (1976): 15-31.
- Grant, Philip A. "Editorial Reaction to the Harrison-Barkley Senate Leadership Contest, 1937." Journal of Mississippi History 36 (May 1974): 127-41.
- Hatcher, Andrea C. *Majority Leadership in the U.S. Senate: Balancing Constraints*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010.
- Mansfield, Michael J. "The Senate and its Leadership." In *The Senate Institution*. Edited by Nathaniel S. Preston. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1969.
- Patterson, Samuel C. "Party Leadership in the U.S. Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (August 1989): 393-413.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate: History and Development of the Offices of Floor Leaders*. By Floyd M. Riddick. Senate Document 29. 100th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1988.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "Party Floor Leaders." By Robert C. Byrd. In *The Senate*, 1789-1989. Volume II, chapter 7. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

Caro, Robert. Master of the Senate: The Years of Lyndon Johnson. New York: Knopf, 2002.

- Daschle, Tom, and Michael D'Orso. *Like No Other Time: The 107th Congress and the Two Years That Changed America Forever*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2003.
- Davidson, Roger H. "Senate Leaders: Janitors for an Untidy Chamber?" In Congress Reconsidered. Third Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Pp. 225-252. Washington: CQ Press, 1985.
- Davis, William Eric. "Party Leadership and Floor Management in the United States Senate" PhD dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1996.
- Doherty, Brendan J. "Meeting the Challenges of Senate Leadership" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40 (April 2007) 422-424.
- Evans, C. Lawrence, and Daniel Lipinski. "Obstruction and Leadership in the U.S. Senate." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Eighth Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Pp. 227-248. Washington: CQ Press, 2004.
- Frisch, Scott A. and Sean Q. Kelly. "Committee Assignment Politics in the U.S. Senate: Democratic Leaders and Democratic Committee Assignments, 1953-1994." Congress & the Presidency 33:1 (2006): 1-23.
- Morgan, Iwan W. "Hubert Humphrey's Last Hurrah: The 1977 Senate Leadership Election and the Decline of the New Deal Tradition." *Mid-America* 79 (1997): 287-317.
- Valeo, Francis R., *Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader: A Different Kind of Senate, 1961-1976.* Armonk: Sharpe, 1999.

D. President Pro Tempore (1789-1889)

- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Pro Tem: Presidents Pro Tempore of the United States Senate since* 1789. Prepared by the Senate Historical Office under the Direction of Nancy Erickson, Secretary of the Senate. Senate Publication 18. 110th Congress. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Tenure of Office of the President of the Senate Pro Tempore*. Senate Miscellaneous Document 101. 43rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: April 23, 1874.

(1889-1939)

Haynes, George H. "The Senate's President Pro Tempore." In *The Senate of the United States:* The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 54 its History and Practice. Pp. 249-59. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.

U.S. Congress. Senate. *President of the Senate Pro Tempore; Proceedings in the United States Senate From April 6, 1789, to December 5, 1911.* Edited by Henry H. Gilfry. Senate Document 104. 62nd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1911.

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. "The President Pro Tempore." In *The Senate, 1789-1989.* By Robert C. Byrd. Volume II, chapter 6, pp. 167-83. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

(1990-)

Gamm, Gerald and Steven S. Smith. "Last Among Equals: The Senate's Presiding Office." In *Esteemed Colleagues*. Chapter 6, pp. 105-134. Edited by Burdett A. Loomis. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.

E. Whips

(1940-1989)

- Oleszek, Walter J. "Party Whips in the United States Senate." *Journal of Politics* 33 (Nov. 1971): 955-79.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Majority and Minority Whips of the Senate: History and Development of the Party Whip System in the U.S. Senate. By Walter J. Oleszek. Washington, DC: GPO, 1979.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "Party Whips." In *The Senate, 1789-1989.* By Robert C. Byrd. Volume II, chapter 8, pp. 195-203. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

VI. Committees

A. General

(1789-1889)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Statement of the Rules and Practice of the Senate of the United States in the Appointment of its Committees, 1789-1863. Compiled by W. Hickey. Senate Miscellaneous Document 42. 37th Congress, special session. Washington, DC: March 14, 1863. (Reprinted by GPO as Senate Document 1122, 62nd Congress, 3rd session).

(1890-1939)

Avery, Brainard. "The Committees of the Senate." Yale Law Journal 10 (April 1901): 244-51.

- French, Burton L. "Sub-Committees of Congress." *American Political Science Review* 9 (February 1915): 68-92.
- Haynes, George H. "Senate Committees." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume I, chapter 6. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- "The Organization of House and Senate Committees." *Chautauquan* 22 (1895-1896): 622-. The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>

(1940-1989)

- Broden, Thomas F., Jr. "Congressional Committee Reports: Their Role and History." Notre Dame Lawyer 33 (March 1958): 209-38.
- Collie, Melissa P., and Brian E. Roberts. "Trading Places: Choice and Committee Chairs in the U.S. Senate, 1950-1986." *Journal of Politics* 54 (February 1992): 231-45.
- Davidson, Roger H. "Multiple Referral of Legislation in the U.S. Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (August 1989): 375-392.
- Evans, C. Lawrence. "Participation and Policy Making in Senate Committees." *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (Autumn 1991): 479-98.
- Gamm, Gerald and Kenneth Shepsle. "Emergence of Legislative Institutions: Standing Committees in the House and Senate, 1810-1825." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (1989): 39-66.
- Kammerer, Gladys M., Congressional Committee Staffing Since 1946. Lexington, KY: Bureau of Government Research, 1951.
- Kravitz, Walter. "Evolution of the Senate's Committee System." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 411 (1974): 27-38.
- Lees, John D. *The Committee System of the United States Congress*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Matthews, Donald R. U.S. Senators and Their World. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- Price, David E. *Who Makes the Laws? Creativity and Power in Senate Committees*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972.
- Ripley, Randall B. Power in the Senate. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.
- Rogers, Lindsay. "The Staffing of Congress." *Political Science Quarterly* 56 (March 1941): 1-22.
- Stewart, Charles, III, and Tim Groseclose. "The Value of Committee Seats in the United States Senate, 1947-91." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (July 1999): 963-73.
- Stubbs, Walter. Congressional Committees, 1789-1982: A Checklist. Wesport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

- U.S. Congress. Senate. "The Committee System." In *The Senate, 1789-1989.* By Robert C. Byrd. Volume II, chapter 9, pp. 207-65. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "The Committee System." In *The United States Senate, 1787-1801; A* Dissertation on the First Fourteen Years of the Upper Legislative Body. By Roy Swanstrom. Chapter 13. Washington, DC: GPO, 1988 (originally published as a Senate document in 1961).

- Canon, David T., Garrison Nelson, and Charles Stewart III. Committees in the U.S. Congress: 1789-1946. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2002.
- Nelson, Garrison. Committees in the U.S. Congress: 1947-1992. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1993.
- Nelson, Garrison. *Committees in the U.S. Congress: 1993-2010.* Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011.
- Smith, Steven S., and Christopher J. Deering. *Committees in Congress*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1990.
- Wilkins, David E. "The 'De-Selected' Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and its Legislative Record." *European Review of Native American Studies* 9 (1995): 27-34.

B. Organization (1890-1939)

- Jameson, J. Franklin, "The Origin of the Standing Committee System in American Legislative Bodies." *Political Science Quarterly* 10 (1894): 246-67.
- McConachie, Lauros G. Congressional Committees: A Study of the Origins and Development of Our National and Local Legislative Methods. New York: B. Franklin, 1974 (originally published in 1898).

(1940-1989)

- Bullock, Charles S. "U.S. Senate Committee Assignments: Preferences, Constituency, and Roll-Call Voting in the U.S. Senate." *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (November 1985): 189-808.
- Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. "The Anatomy of Congressional Committees." In *The Process of Government under Jefferson*. Chapter 10, pp. 214-52. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Goodwin, George. The Little Legislatures. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970.

- Huitt, Ralph K. "The Morse Committee Assignment Controversy: A Study in Senate Norms." *American Political Science Review* 51 (June 1957): 313-29.
- Kofmehl, Kenneth. Professional Staffs of Congress. West Lafayette, IN: Perdue University Press, 1977.
- Lambert, Richard D., ed. "Changing Congress: The Committee System." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 411 (January 1974): entire issue.

Morrow, William L. Congressional Committees. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.

Ray, Bruce A., and Steven S. Smith. "Committee Size in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 9 (November 1984): 679-695.

Sinclair, Barbara. "The Distribution of Committee Positions in the U.S. Senate: Explaining Institutional Change." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (1988): 276-301.

- Swanson, Wayne R. "Committee Assignments and the Non-Conformist Legislator: Democrats in the U.S. Senate." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13 (February 1969): 84-94.
- Tiefer, Charles. "Committee Organization and Jurisdiction." In *Congressional Practice and Procedure: A Reference, Research, and Legislative Guide.* Pp. 57-126. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

(1990-)

- Arnold, Laura W. "The Distribution of Senate Committee Positions: Change or More of the Same?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26 (May 2001): 227-248.
- Endersby, James W., and Karen M. McCurdy. "Committee Assignments in the U.S. Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21(May 1996): 219-233.

C. Reform

(1940-1989)

- Davidson, Roger H., "Two Roads of Change: House and Senate Committee Reorganization." *Congressional Studies* 7 (Winter 1980): 11-32.
- Galloway, George. "Reorganizations in the Past." In *Congress at the Crossroads*. Pp. 123-45. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946.
- Parris, Judith H. "The Senate Reorganizes its Committees, 1977." *Political Science Quarterly* 94 (Summer 1979): 319-37.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration. *Committee System Reorganization Amendments of 1977, Hearings*. Senate Hearing Volume 3108-04. 95th

Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO., 1977.

D. Standing Committees

1. Aeronautical and Space Sciences

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. *Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences*, 1958-1976. Senate Print 428-1. 94th Congress, 2d session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976.

2. Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry. A Brief History of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, United States Senate and Landmark Agricultural Legislation, 1825-1970. Senate Document 107. 91st Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1970.

(1990-)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry. *The United States Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry; 1825-1998.* Senate Document 24. 105th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1998.

3. Appropriations

(1940-1989)

- Fenno, Richard F., Jr. *The Power of the Purse: Appropriations Politics in Congress*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966.
- Horn, Stephen. Unused Power: The Work of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1970.
- Pressman, Jeffrey L. *House vs. Senate: Conflict in the Appropriations Process.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "History of the Senate Appropriations." By Gayle Condon. In Budgeting in the United States Senate: A Compilation of Papers Prepared for the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Senate Print 435-1. 94th Congress, 2nd session. Pp. 1-36. Washington, DC: GPO, 1977.

(1990-)

- Marshall, Bryan W., Brandon C. Prins, and David W. Rohde, "Fighting Fire with Water: Partisan Procedural Strategies and the Senate Appropriations Committee." *Congress & the Presidency* 26 (Fall 1999): 113-132.
- Schickler, Eric, and John Sides. "Intergenerational Warfare: The Senate Decentralizes Appropriations." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25 (November 2000): 551-575.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. Committee on Appropriations, United The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 59

States Senate: 1867-2008. Senate Document 110-14. 110th Congress, 2_{nd} session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2008.

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. *Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 126th Anniversary, 1867-1993.* Senate Document 17. 103rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1995.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. *Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 135th Anniversary, 1867-2002.* Senate Document 107-13. 107rd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2002.

4. Armed Services (Military Affairs and Naval Affairs Committees prior to 1947)

(1940-1989)

- Huzar, Elias. The Purse and the Sword: Control of the Army by Congress through Military Appropriations, 1933-1950. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1971.
- Javits, Jacob and Don Kellermann. *Who Makes War: The President Versus Congress*. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1973.
- Kolodziej, Edward A. The Uncommon Defense and Congress, 1945-1963. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966.
- Livermore, Seward W. Politics is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918. Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1966.
- Young, Roland A. Congressional Politics in the Second World War. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.

5. Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (Banking and Currency prior to 1971)

(1940-1989)

- Bibby, John and Roger Davidson. "The Congressional Committee: The Politics of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs." In *On Capitol Hill: Studies in the Legislative Process.* Chapter 5. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.
- Huitt, Ralph K. "The Congressional Committee: A Case Study." *American Political Science Review* 48 (June 1954): 340-65.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Banking and Currency. *Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, 50th Anniversary, 1913-1963.* Senate Document 15. 88th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1963.

6. Budget

(1990-)

Thurber, James A. "The Senate Budget Committee: Bastion of Comity?" In *Esteemed Colleagues*. Edited by Burdett A. Loomis. Chapter 11, pp. 241-258. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.

7. Commerce

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Commerce. *History, Membership and Jurisdiction of the*

Senate Committee on Commerce from 1816-1966. 89th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1966.

8. Energy and Natural Resources

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. *History of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, as of the 100th Congress, 1816-1988.* 100th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

9. Environment and Public Works

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Environment and Public Works. *History of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, United States Senate.* 100th Congress, 2nd sess. Washington, DC: GPO, 1988.

10. Ethics

(1940-1989)

- Baker, Richard A. "The History of Congressional Ethics." In *Representation and Responsibility*. Edited by Bruce Jennings and Daniel Callahan. New York: Plenum Press, 1985.
- Sasser, Jim. "Learning from the Past: The Senate Code of Conduct in Historical Perspective." *Cumberland Law Review* 8 (Fall 1977).

11. Finance

(1940-1989)

Manley, John F. The Politics of Finance. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Finance. *History of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate*. Senate Document 57. 91st Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1970.

12. Foreign Relations

(1890-1939)

- "American Senate and Foreign Affairs: A Foreign Relations Committee for England?" *Candid* 2 (August 19, 1914): 453-68.
- Dangerfield, Royden J. "The Committee on Foreign Relations." In *In Defense of the Senate; a Study in Treaty Making*. Volume III, pp. 63-86. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press,

Inc., 1966 (originally published in 1933).

- Hayden, Ralston. "The Origin of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations." American Journal of International Law" 11 (January 1917): 113-30.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. The Senate and the League of Nations. New York: Scribners, 1925.

(1940-1989)

- Dennison, Eleanor E. *The Foreign Relations Committee*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1942.
- Gallagher, Hugh G. Advise and Obstruct: The Role of the United States Senate in Foreign Policy Decisions. New York: Delacourt Press, 1969.
- Gould, James W. "The Origins of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations." Western Political Quarterly 12 (September 1959): 670-82.
- Humphrey, Hubert H. "The Senate in Foreign Policy." Foreign Affairs 37 (July 1959): 525-36.
- Jewell, Malcolm E. *Senatorial Politics and Foreign Policy*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962.
- Robinson, James A. Congress and Foreign Policy Making. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1962.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. "Congress and the Making of American Foreign Policy." Foreign

Affairs 51 (October 1972): 78-113.

- Sparkman, John J. "The Role of the Senate in Determining Foreign Policy." In *The Senate Institution*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1969.
- Stennis, John C. and J. William Fulbright. *The Role of Congress in Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1971.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Committee on Foreign Relations:* 170th Anniversary, 1816-1986. Senate Document 21. 99th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1986.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Senate Role in Foreign Affairs Appointments*. 92nd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: 1971.
- Vinson, John Chalmers. The Parchment Peace: The United States Senate and the Washington Conference, 1921-22. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1955.

Fry, Joseph A. Debating Vietnam: Fulbright, Stennis, and Their Senate Hearings. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

13. Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (Labor and Public Welfare prior to 1977)

(1940-1989)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare: 100th Anniversary 1869-1969. 90th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1970.

14. Interior and Insular Affairs

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Committee's History, Jurisdiction, and Summary of its Accomplishments During the* 87th, 88th, 89, 90th and 91st *Congresses*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1971.

15. Judiciary (Also see Constitutional Powers: Nominations–Supreme Court) (1940-1989)

- Bronner, Ethan. *Battle for Justice: How the Bork Nomination Shook America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1989.
- Farrelly, David G. "The Senate Judiciary Committee: Qualifications of Members." *American Political Science Review* (June 1943): 469-75.
- Mersky, Roy M., and J. Myron Jacobstein, eds. *The Supreme Court of the United States: Hearings and Reports on Successful and Unsuccessful Nominations of Supreme Court Justices by the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1916-1972.* Buffalo: W.S. Hein, 1975.
- Thorpe, James A. "The Appearance of Supreme Court Nominees Before the Senate Judiciary Committee." *Journal of Public Law* 18 (1969): 371-402.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. *History of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 1816-1981*. Senate Document 18. 97th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1982.

(1990-)

- Guliuzza, Frank, Daniel J. Reagan, and David M. Barrett. "The Senate Judiciary Committee and Supreme Court Nominees: Measuring the Dynamics of Confirmation Criteria." *Journal of Politics* 56 (August 1994): 773-87.
- Wermiel, Stephen J. "Confirming the Constitution: The Role of the Senate Judiciary Committee." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 56 (Autumn 1993): 121-44.

Williams, Margaret, and Lawrence Baum. "Questioning Judges About Their Decisions: Supreme

Court Nominees Before the Senate Judiciary Committee." *Judicature* 90 (September/October 2006): 73-80.

E. Investigative Committees 1. General (1890-1939)

- Black, Hugo L. "Inside a Senate Investigation." *Harper's Magazine* 172 (February 1936): 275-86.
- Dimock, Marshall E. Congressional Investigating Committees. New York: AMS Press, 1971 (originally published in 1929).
- Eberling, Ernest J. Congressional Investigation: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Power of Congress to Investigate and Punish for Contempt. New York: Octagon Books, 1973 (originally published in 1928).
- Haynes, George H. "Senate Investigations." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume I, Chapter 11. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Rogers, Lindsay. "Congressional Investigations." In *The American Senate*. Chapter 6, pp. 191-213. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1968 (originally published in 1926).

(1940-1989)

Barth, Alan. Government By Investigation. New York: Viking Press, 1955.

- Davidson, Roger H. "The Political Dimensions of Congressional Investigations." *Capitol Studies* 5 (1977): 41-63.
- Fulbright, J. William. "Congressional Investigations: Significance for the Legislative Process." University of Chicago Law Review 18 (1950-1951): 440-448.
- Grabow, John C. *Congressional Investigations: Law and Practice*. Clifton, NJ: Prentice Hall Law & Business, 1988.
- Hamilton, James. *The Power to Probe: A Study of Congressional Investigations*. New York: Random House, 1976.
- Harpine, C. Allen. "Congressional Investigating Power: Judicial Interpretations of the Scope of Inquiry." American University Intramural Law Review 5 (May 1956): 64-81.
- McGeary, Nelson. "Congressional Investigations: Historical Development." University of Chicago Law Review 18 (1951): 425-39.

McGeary, Nelson. The Developments of Congressional Investigative Power. New York:

Columbia University Press, 1940.

- Nunn, Sam. "The Impact of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on Federal Policy." *Georgia Law Review* 21 (1986): 17-56.
- Taylor, Telford. *Grand Inquest: The Story of Congressional Investigations*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955.

(1990-)

- Mayhew, David R. Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration. *Authority and Rules of Senate* Special Investigatory Committees and other Senate Entities, 1973-97. Senate Document 16. 105th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1998.

2. Selected Case Studies

(1890-1939)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Commerce. "Titanic" Disaster: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce. Senate Document 726. 62nd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1912. Also in: Kuntz, Tom, ed. The Titanic Disaster Hearings: The Official Transcripts of the 1912 Senate Investigation. Edited by Tom Kuntz. New York: Pocket Books, 1998.

(1940-1989)

- Cohen, William S., and George J. Mitchell. *Men of Zeal: A Candid Inside Story of the Iran-Contra Hearings*. New York: Viking, 1988.
- Coker, William L. "The United States Senate Investigation of the Mississippi Election of 1875." Journal of Mississippi History 37 (May 1975): 143-63.
- Cole, Timothy M. "Congressional Investigation of American Foreign Policy: Iran-Contra in Perspective." *Congress & The Presidency* 21 (Spring 1994): 29-48.
- Dash, Samuel. *Chief Counsel: Inside the Ervin Committee–The Untold Story of Watergate*. New York: Random House, 1976.
- Griffith, Robert. *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970.
- Johnson, Loch K. A Season of Inquiry: The Senate Intelligence Investigation. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985.
- Moore, William Howard. *The Kefauver Committee and the Politics of Crime: 1950-1952*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974.

- Riddle, Donald H. *The Truman Committee: A Study in Congressional Responsibility*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964. –Senate Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.
- Ritchie, Donald A. "The Legislative Impact of the Pecora Investigation." *Capitol Studies* 5 (Fall 1977): 87-101.
- Schlesinger, Arthur Meier and Roger Bruns, eds. Congress Investigates: A Documented History, 1792-1974. Five volumes. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1983 (originally published in 1975). –Cases include: St. Clair's Defeat, James Wilkinson, the burning of Washington, Andrew Jackson's Invasion of Florida (Volume I); he assault on Charles Sumner, the Harper's Ferry inquiry, the Covode Committee (Volume II); postbellum violence, the Clap Committee, the Pujo Committee (Volume III); Teapot Dome, the Pecora Wall Street Expose (Volume IV); Pearl Harbor, Kefauver Intelligence Committee, the MacArthur Inquiry, the McCarthy Era, the Watergate Inquiry (Volume V).

Sutherland, Keith A. "The Senate Investigates Harpers Ferry." Prologue 8 (1976): 193-207.

- Tap, Bruce. Over Lincoln's Shoulder: The Committee on the Conduct of the War. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998.
- Thompson, Fred D. *At that Point in Time: The Inside Story of the Senate Watergate Committee.* New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co., 1975.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. *Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*. Senate Report 755. 94th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. The Final Report of the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. Senate Report 981.
 93rd Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1974.
 -Watergate investigation. See index of hearings in: Garza, Hedda, ed.. The Watergate Investigation Index: Senate Select Committee Hearings and Reports on Presidential Campaign Activities. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1982.
- Wiltz, John E. In Search of Peace: The Senate Munitions Inquiry, 1934-1936. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963.

(1990-)

- Coulter, Matthew Ware. The Senate Munitions Inquiry of the 1930's: Beyond the Merchants of Death. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Moser, John, "'Gigantic Engines of Propaganda': The 1941 Senate Investigation of Hollywood." The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 66

Historian 63(Summer 2001): 731-751.

- Ritchie, Donald A., "Are You Now or Have You Ever Been? Opening the Records of the McCarthy Investigations." *Journal of Government Information* 2004 30(4): 463-469.
- Smist, Frank J. "Investigative and Institutional Oversight Combined: The Church Senate Committee, 1975-76." In Congress Oversees the United States Intelligence Community, 1947-1989. Chapter 2, pp. 25-81. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990.
- Smist, Frank J. "Institutional Oversight Triumphant: The Inouye, Bayh, and Goldwater Senate Select Committees, 1976-84." In Congress Oversees the United States Intelligence Community, 1947-1989. Chapter 3, pp. 82-133. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990.

F. Conference Committees (See External Relations: House)

G. Joint Committees (See External Relations: House)

VII. Administration

A. General

(1789-1889)

Agg, John. History of Congress; Exhibiting and Classification of the Proceedings of the Senate, and the House of Representatives, From March 4, 1789 to March 3, 1793; Embracing the First Term of the Administration of General Washington. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1848.

(1890-1939)

Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. *The Origin and Development of the United States* Senate. Ithaca, NY: Andrus & Church, 1895.

McCall, Samuel W. The Business of Congress (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911)

- McKee, Thomas Hudson. A Manual of Congressional Practice (The U.S. Red Book). Washington, DC: Thomas H. McKee & Co., 1891.
- Peffer, W.A. "The United States Senate: Its Origin, Personnel, and Organization." *North American Review* 167 (July 1898): 48-63.

Wellman, Walter. "Operating the United States Senate." Success 6 (October 1903): 559-61.

(1940-1989)

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. "A Deliberative Body." In *The Process of Government Under Jefferson*. Chapter 11, pp. 253-72. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Fenno, Richard F. "The Senate Through the Looking Glass: The Debate Over Television." The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> Legislative Studies Quarterly 14 (August 1989): 313-348.

- Frantzich, Stephen E. Computers in Congress: The Politics of Information. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982.
- Galloway, George. "Reorganizing Congressional Services." In *Congress at the Crossroads*. Pp. 323-33. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946.
- Garay, Ronald. *Congressional Television: A Legislative History*. Westport, CN, Greenwood Press, 1984.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Senate Administration: A Compilation of Papers*. Senate Print Volume 435-7. 94th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976.

(1990-)

- Scott, Pamela. "Moving to the Seat of Government: 'Temporary Inconveniences and Privations.'" In *Coming into the City: Essays on Early Washington, DC* (a special issue of *Washington History* 12, no. 1, Spring/Summer 2000).
- Zelizer, Julian E. "Bridging State and Society: The Origins of 1970s Congressional Reform." Social Science History 24 (Summer 2000): 379-93.

B. Officers of the Senate *(1940-1989)*

- Bowling, Kenneth R. "Good-by 'Charlie': The Lee-Adams Interest and the Political Demise of Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, 1774-1789." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* 100 (July 1976): 314-35.
- Nuermberger, Ruth Ketring. "Asbury Dickins (1780-1861): A Career in Government Service." North Carolina Historical Review 24 (July 1947): 281-314.

C. Senate Staffs (1890-1939)

Peffer, W.A. "The United States Senate: Its Origin, Personnel, and Organization." North American Review 167 (July 1898): 48-63.

(1940-1989)

Asbell, Bernard. The Senate Nobody Knows. Garden City: Doubleday, 1978.

- Condon, Gayle. "History of the Senate Appropriations." In *Budgeting in the United States* Senate: A Compilation of Papers Prepared for the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. 94th Congress., 2nd session, pp. 1-36. Washington, DC: GPO, 1977.
- Fox, Harrison, W., Jr., and Susan Webb Hammond. *Congressional Staffs: The Invisible Work Force in American Lawmaking.* New York: Free Press, 1977.

- Hammond, Susan Webb. "Legislative Staffs" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 9 (May 1984): 271-317.
- Kammerer, Gladys M. Congressional Committee Staffing Since 1946. Lexington, KY: Bureau of Government Research, 1951.
- Kofmehl, Kenneth. Professional Staffs of Congress. West Lafayette, IN: Perdue University Press, 1977.
- Malbin, Michael J. "Delegation, Deliberation, and the New Role of Congressional Staff. In *The New Congress*. Edited by Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein. Chapter 5, pp. 134-77. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Malbin, Michael J. Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government. New York: Basic Books, 1980.
- Manley, John F. "Congressional Staff and Public Policy-Making: The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation." *Journal of Politics* 30 (November 1968): 1046-67.
- Price, David E. "Professionals and 'Entrepreneurs': Staff Orientations and Policy Making on Three Senate Committees." *Journal of Politics* 33 (May 1971): 316-36.
- Redman, Eric. The Dance of Legislation. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Rogers, Lindsay. "The Staffing of Congress." *Political Science Quarterly* 56 (March 1941): 1-22.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Senate Committee Staffing*. Senate Document 16. 88th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1963.
- Wolman, Harold L., and Diane Miller Wolman, "The Role of the U.S. Senate Staff in the Opinion Linkage Process: Population Policy." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 2 (August 1977): 281-293

- Friedman, Sally, and Robert T. Nakamura. "The Representation of Women on U.S. Senate Committee Staffs." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16 (August 1991): 407-427.
- Shogan, Colleen J. "The Senate School of Public Policy." *PS: Political Science and Politics* (July 2006): 581-583.

VIII. External Relations A. General

(1890-1939)

- Low, Maurice A. "The Usurped Powers of the Senate." *American Political Science Review* 1 (November 1906): 1-16.
- West, Henry Litchfield. "The Place of the Senate in Our Government." *Forum* 4 (June, 1901): 423-31.

- Bowling, Kenneth R., and Donald R. Kennon, eds. *Neither Separate Nor Equal: Congress in the* 1790's. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000.
- Doerfer, Gordon, et al. "The Courts, the Legislature, and the Executive: Separate and Equal?" *Judicature* 87(March/April 2004): 207-259.
- Harriger, Katy J., ed. Separation of Powers: Documents and Commentary. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2003.

B. House of Representatives 1. General

(1789-1889)

- Hoar, George Frisbie. "The Conduct of Business in Congress." *North American Review* 128 (February 1879): 8, 114-34.
- Wilson, Woodrow. Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics. Introduction by Walter Lippmann; afterword by Robert L. Peabody. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981 (originally published 1885).

(1890-1939)

- Ogden, R. "The President, Senate, and House." Nation 77 (1903): 439-.
- Luce, Robert. *Legislative Procedure*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1972 (originally published in 1922).
- McCall, Samuel W. *The Business of Congress*. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1911.
- Pepper, George W. Family Quarrels: The President, the Senate, the House. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Company, 1931.

(1940-1989)

Baker, Ross. House and Senate. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.

Fenno, Richard F. *The United States Senate: A Bicameral Perspective*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1982.

- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. On the Hill: A History of the American Congress. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.
- Pressman, Jeffrey L. House vs. Senate: Conflict in the Appropriations Process. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

Binder, Sarah A. *Stalemate: Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

2. Conference Committees

(1890-1939)

- McCown, Ada C. *The Congressional Conference Committee*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967 (originally published 1927).
- Rogers, Lindsay. "Conference Committee Legislation." *North American Review* (March 1922): 300-7.

(1940-1989)

- Bach, Stanley. "Germaneness Rules and Bicameral Relations in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7 (August 1982): 341-357.
- Fenno, Richard F. *The Power of the Purse: Appropriations Politics in Congress*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1966.
- Froman, Lewis A. *The Congressional Process: Strategies, Rules, and Procedures*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967.
- Longley, Lawrence D., and Walter J. Oleszek. *Bicameral Politics: Conference Committees in Congress*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Oleszek, Walter J. "House-Senate Relationships: Comity and Conflict." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January 1974): 75-86.
- Steiner, Gilbert Yale. The Congressional Conference Committee: Seventeenth to Eightieth Congresses. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.
- Vogler, David J. *The Third House: Conference Committees in the U.S. Congress.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971.

3. Joint Committees

(1940-1989)

Green, Harold and Alan Rosenthal. *Government of the Atom: A Study in the Fusion of Governmental Power*. New York: Atherton, 1963.

- Manley, John F. "Congressional Staff and Public Policy-Making: The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation." *Journal of Politics* 30 (November 1968): 1046-67.
- Oleszek, Walter J. "House-Senate Relationships: Comity and Conflict." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (January 1974): 75-86.
- Tap, Bruce. Over Lincoln's Shoulder: The Committee on the Conduct of the War. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

C. Executive (Also see *Constitutional Powers: Nominations–Executive*) (1789-1889)

- Eaton, Dorman B. "The President and the Senate." *North American Review* 142 (June 1886): 572-86.
- Luce, Robert. Legislative Problems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1935.

(1890-1939)

- Bacon, Augustus. "The President and Congress." *The Independent* (March 8, 1906). Reprinted as Senate Document 531, 59th Congress, 1906.
- "Executive and the Senate." Outlook 85 (February 2, 1907): 246-9.
- Haynes, George H. "The President and the Senate: Accord and Discord." In *The Senate of the United States*. Volume II, chapter 19. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.
- Hill, J. "President's Attack on the Senate." North American Review 209 (June 1919): 737-54.
- Mason, Edward C. *The Veto Power*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967 (originally published in 1890).
- Ogden, R. "The President, Senate, and House." Nation 77 (1903): 439-.
- Pepper, George W. Family Quarrels: The President, the Senate, the House. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Company, 1931.
- "The Presidency and Senator William B. Allison." Atlantic Monthly 77 (April 1896): 544-551.
- "President and the Senate." Outlook 79 (February 25, 1905): 505-7.
- "The Reply of the Senate to Washington's First Inaugural Address." *Journal of American History* 8 (April/June 1914): 221-.
- Schouler, James. "Mr. Cleveland and the Senate." Forum 23 (March 1897): 65-74.
- Sullivan, M. "Coolidge vs. the Senate; Can the President Hire and Fire?" *World's Work* 51 The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>
(December 1925): 199-204.

Sullivan, M. "Mr. Harding and the Senate." World's Work 41 (April 1921): 614-618.

Wright, Quincy. "The Control of Foreign Relations." *American Political Science Review* 15 (February 1921): 1-26.

(1940-1989)

- Abourezk, James. "The Congressional Veto: A Contemporary Response to Executive Encroachment on Legislative Prerogatives." *Indiana Law Journal* 52 (1977): 323-43.
- Binkley, Wilfred E. The President and Congress. New York: Vintage Books, 1962 (1937).

Chamberlain, Lawrence H. *The President, Congress and Legislation*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946.

- Chamberlain, Lawrence H. *The President, Congress and Legislation*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946.
- Crabbe, Cecil V., and Pat M. Holt. *Invitation to Struggle: Congress, the President and Foreign Policy.* Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1984.
- Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. "Executive-Congressional Relations." In *The Process of Government* Under Jefferson. Chapter 9, pp. 188-213. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Fisher, Louis. Constitutional Conflicts Between Congress and the President. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Fisher, Louis. *The Politics of Shared Power*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1981.
- Fisher, Louis. President and Congress; Power and Policy. New York: Free Press, 1972.
- Fisher, Louis. "Relationship Between the Senate and the Executive Branch." In Committees and Senate Procedures: A Compilation of Papers Prepared for the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. 94th Congress, 2nd session. Pp. 115-30. Washington, DC: GPO, 1977.
- Franck, Thomas M., ed. *The Tethered Presidency: Congressional Restraints on Executive Power*. New York: New York University Press, 1981.
- Freeman, J. Leiper. *The Political Process: Executive Bureau-Legislative Committee Relations*. New York: Random House, 1956.

Galloway, George. "Legislative-Executive Liaison." In Congress at the Crossroads. Pp. 204-The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 73

29. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946.

- Harris, Joseph P. Congressional Control of Administration. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1964.
- Hart, James. "The President and the Senate." In *The American Presidency in Action*. Chapter 4, pp. 78-133. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948.
- Hilsman, Roger. "Congressional-Executive Relations and the Foreign Policy Consensus." *American Political Science Review* 52 (September 1958): 725-44.
- Horn, Stephan. The Cabinet and Congress. New York: Octagon Books, 1982.
- Javits, Jacob and Don Kellermann. *Who Makes War: The President Versus Congress*. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1973.
- Johannes, John R. "Casework as a Technique of U.S. Congressional Oversight of the Executive." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 4 (August 1979): 325-351.
- Miller, Arthur S., and George M. Knapp. "The Congressional Veto: Preserving the Constitutional Framework." *Indiana Law Journal* 52 (1977): 367-95.
- Mondale, Walter F. *The Accountability of Power: Toward a Responsible Presidency*. New York: David McKay, 1975.
- Ogul, Morris. *Congress Oversees the Bureaucracy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976.
- Pearson, James B. "Oversight: A Vital Yet Neglected Congressional Function." University of Kansas Law Review 23 (Winter 1975): 277-288.
- Polsby, Nelson. Congress and the Presidency. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Randolph, Robert C., and David C. Smith. "Executive Privilege and the Congressional Right of Inquiry." *Harvard Journal on Legislation* (June 1973): 621-71.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., and Alfred DeGrazia. *Congress and the Presidency: Their Role in Modern Times*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1967.
- Scicchitano, Michael J. "Congressional Oversight: The Case of the Clean Air Act." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11 (August 1986): 393-407.
- Sharp, James R. "Andrew Jackson and the Limits of Presidential Power." *Congressional Studies* 7 (Winter 1982): 63-80.

- Stathis, Stephen W. "Executive Cooperation: Presidential Recognition of the Investigative Authority of Congress and the Courts." *Journal of Law and Politics* 3(Fall 1986): 183-294.
- White, Leonard D. *The Jacksonians; A Study in Administrative History, 1829-1861.* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1954.
- White, Leonard D. *The Jeffersonians; A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829.* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1956.
- White, Leonard D. *The Republican Era: 1869-1901, A Study in Administrative History*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1958.
- Wolkinson, Herman. "Demands of Congressional Committees for Executive Papers." *Federal Bar Journal* 10(2) (1949): 103-150.

(1990-)

- Aberbach, Joel D. Keeping a Watchful Eye: The Politics of Congressional Oversight. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1990.
- Andres, Gary J. "The Contemporary Presidency: Parties, Process, and Presidential Power: Learning from Confirmation Politics in the U.S. Senate." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32 (March 2002):147-156.
- Andres, Gary. "The Contemporary Presidency: Polarization and White House/Legislative Relations: Causes and Consequences of Elite-level Conflict." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35(December 2005): 761-770.
- Barron, David J. Waging War: The Clash Between Presidents and Congress, 1776 to ISIS. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016.
- Black, Ryan C., Anthony J. Madonna, Ryan J. Owens and Michael S. Lynch. "Adding Recess Appointments to the President's 'Tool Chest' of Unilateral Powers." *Political Research Quarterly* 60 (Dec 2007): 645-654.
- Cooper, Joseph. "The Balance of Power between the Congress and the President: Issues and Dilemmas." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Eleventh Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2017 (originally published in 1977).
- Corley, Pamela C. "Avoiding Advice and Consent: Recess Appointments and Presidential Power." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36(4) (2006): 670-680.
- Davidson, Roger H. "The Senate and the Executive." In *Esteemed Colleagues*. Edited by Burdett A Loomis. Chapter 9, pp. 194-219. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>

Press, 2000.

- Derr, Jason A. "Raines, Raines go away: How Presidential Signing Statements and Senate Bill 3731 should lead to a New Doctrine of Legislative Standing." *Catholic University Law Review* 56(4) (2007): 1237-1271.
- Fisher, Louis. *The Politics of Shared Power: Congress and the Executive*. Fourth Edition. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998.
- Foley, Michael. Congress and the Presidency: Institutional Politics in a Separated System. New York: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Howell, William G. And Jon C. Pevehouse. "Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 2005 59(1): 209-232.
- Johnson, Robert David. Congress and the Cold War. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Kelley, Donald R., ed. *Divided Power: The Presidency, Congress and the Formation of American Foreign Policy*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2005.
- Kriner, Douglas L., and Eric Schickler. *Investigating the President: Congressional Checks on Presidential Power*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Krutz, Glen S. and Jeffrey S. Peake. "The Changing Nature of Presidential Policy Making on International Agreements." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36(3) (2006): 391-409.
- Oleszek, Walter J. "Legislative Oversight." In *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. Seventh edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007 (originally published 1978).
- Stevenson, Charles A. *Congress at War: The Politics of Conflict Since 1789.* Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2007.
- Thurber, James A., ed. *Rivals for Power: Presidential Congressional Relations*. Fifth Edition. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2013.
- VanDam, Jeff. "The Kill Switch: The New Battle Over Presidential Recess Appointments." Northwestern University Law Review 107.1 (2012): 361-397.

D. Judiciary (Also see *Constitutional Powers: Nominations–Judicial*) (1940-1989)

Amer, Vik D. "The Senate and the Constitution." Yale Law Journal 97 (May 1988): 1111-30.

Berger, Raoul. Congress versus the Supreme Court. Cambridge: Harvard University Press,

1969.

- Breckinridge, Adam Carlyle. *Congress Against the Court*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.
- Murphy, Walter F. Congress and the Courts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Prittchett, C. Herman. Congress Versus the Supreme Court, 1957-1960. New York: DaCapo Press, 1973.

(1990-)

- Baker, Ross K. Strangers on a Hill: Congress and the Court. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006.
- Barnes, Jeb. Overruled? Legislative Overrides, Pluralism, and Contemporary Court-Congress Relations. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Comiskey, Michael. "The Real and Imagined Consequences of Senatorial Consent to Silent Supreme Court Nominees." *Journal of Law and Politics* 11 (Winter 1995): 41-77.
- Devins, Neal and Keith E. Whittington, eds. *Congress and the Constitution*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Geyh, Charles Gardner. When Courts and Congress Collide: The Struggle for Control of America's Judicial System. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

E. Media

(1789-1889)

- Poore, Benjamin Perley. *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*. New York, AMS Press, 1971 (originally published in 1886).
- Towle, G. W. "Glances from the Senate Gallery." *Continental Monthly* 2 (July 1862): 10-14; (August 1862): 154-58.

(1890-1939)

Barry, David S. womwn Forty Years in Washington. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1924.

Briggs, Emily Edson. *The Olivia Letters: Being Some History of Washington City for Forty Years as Told by the Letters of a Newspaper Correspondent*. New York: The Neale publishing Company, 1906.

"Early Morning Visit to the Senate Press-Gallery." Literary Digest 57 (June 15, 1918): 68-73.

Essary, Jesse Frederick. *Covering Washington*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927. The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> Stealey, Orlando Oscar. Twenty Years in the Press Gallery: A Concise History of Important Legislation From the Forty-Eighth to the Fifty-Eighth Congress. New York: Publishers Printing Company, 1906.

(1940-1989)

- Garay, Ronald. Congressional Television: A legislative history. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Grotta, Gerald L. "Philip Freneau's Crusade for Open Sessions of the U.S. Senate." *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1971): 667-71.
- Hess, Stephen. *The Ultimate Insiders: U.S. Senators and the National Media.* Washington, DC: Brookings, 1986.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin, and Edie N. Goldenberg. "Women Candidates in the News: An Examination of Gender Differences in U.S. Senate Campaign Coverage." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55 (Summer 1991): 180-199.
- Marbut, Frederick B. "The United States Senate and the Press, 1838-41." *Journalism Quarterly* 28 (Summer 1951).
- Matthews, Donald R. "Senators and Reporters." In U.S. Senators and Their World. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- McPherson, Elizabeth G. "The Southern States and the Reporting of Senate Debates, 1789-1802." *Journal of Southern History* 12 (May 1946): 223-46.
- Reid, Thomas R. Congressional Odyssey: The Saga of a Senate Bill. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1980.
- Ritchie, Donald A. "The Loyalty of the Senate: Washington Correspondents in the Progressive Era." *Historian* 51 (August 1989): 574-91.

(1990-)

- Cook, Timothy E. "Senators and Reporters Revisited." In *Esteemed Colleagues*. Edited by Burdett A. Loomis. Chapter 8, pp. 164-193. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Johnson, Dennis W. Congress Online: Bridging the Gap Between Citizens and Their Representatives. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Mann, Thomas E., and Norman Ornstein. *Congress, the Press, and the Public*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute The Brookings Institution, 1994.

- Mixon, F.G., M.T. Gibson, and K.P. Upadhyaya. "Has Television Changed Legislative Behavior? C-SPAN2 and the Frequency of Senate Filibustering." *Public Choice* 115 (April 2003): 139-162.
- Mixon, F.G. "Legislative Television as an Institutional Entry Barrier: The Impact of C-SPAN2 on Turnover in the U.S. Senate, 1946-1998." *Public Choice* 112 (September 2002): 433-448.
- Ritchie, Donald A. "No Secrecy Possible: One Aspect of the Relationship between the United States Senate and the Press in the Nineteenth Century." *Government Publications Review* 18 (1991): 239-44.
- Ritchie, Donald A. *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

IX. Elections:

A. General

(1789-1889)

- Dickinson, John. *The Letters of Fabius (1788)*. Edited by Joseph S. McNamara. Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 1992 (originally published 1797).
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Compilation of Senate Election Cases from 1789 to 1885*. Compiled by George F. Taft. Senate Document 11. 58th Congress, special session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1885.

(1890-1939)

Jones, C.L. Senatorial Elections. New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

- Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. "The Election of Senators and Organization of the Senate." In *The Origin and Development of the United States Senate*. Chapter 2, pp. 15-37. Ithaca, NY: Andrus & Church, 1895.
- Selected Articles on the Election of United States Senators, compiled by C.E. Fanning. Minneapolis: H.W. Wilson Co., 1912 (originally published 1909).
- U. S. Congress. Senate. Brief on the Constitutionality of the Recall of United States Senators and Representatives in Congress. Prepared by Walter F. George. Senate Document 108. 74th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1935.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Compilation of Senate Election Cases from 1789 to 1903*. Compiled by George F. Taft, George P. Furber, and George M. Buck. Washington, DC: GPO, 1903.

(1940-1989)

Bernstein, Robert. "Divisive Primaries Do Hurt: U.S. Senate Races, 1956-1972." American

Political Science Review 71 (June 1977): 540-5.

- Galloway, George. "How Congress is Composed." In *Congress at the Crossroads*. Pp. 22-48. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946.
- Povlovich, Charles A. Senate Qualifications and Contested Elections. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1957.
- Singer, Donald L. "For Whites Only: The Seating of Hiram Revels in the United States Senate." Negro History Bulletin 35 (Fall 1975): 25-54.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Senate Election, Expulsion and Censure Cases from 1793 to 1972.* Compiled by Richard D. Hupman, Senate Library. Washington, DC: GPO, 1972.

(1990-)

- Abramowitz, Alan I., and Jeffrey A. Segal. *Senate Elections*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman. "Explaining Divided U.S. Senate Delegations, 1788-1996: A Realignment Approach." *American Political Science Review* 92 (June 1998): 391-400.
- Jenkins, Jeffery A. "Partisanship and Contested Election Cases in the Senate, 1789 2002." *Studies in American Political Development* 2005 19(1): 53-74.
- Salamanca, Paul E., and James E. Keller. "The Legislative Privilege to Judge the Qualifications, Elections, and Returns of Members." *Kentucky Law Journal* 95 (2) (2006-2007): 241-383.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. United States Senate Election, Expulsion and Censure Cases, 1793-1990. Edited by Anne M. Butler and Wendy Wolff. 103rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1995.
- Westlye, Mark C. Senate Elections and Campaign Intensity. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

B. By State Legislature (1890-1939)

Haynes, George H. The Election of Senators. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1906.

Haynes, George H. "Election of Senators by State Legislatures." In *The Senate of the United States.* Volume I, chapter 3. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.

(1990-)

Schiller, Wendy J., Charles Stewart III, and Benjamin Xiong. "U.S. Senate Elections before the 17th Amendment: Political Party Cohesion and Conflict 1871-1913." *The Journal of Politics* 75(3) (July 2013): 835.

C. Calls for Reform (1890-1939)

- Burgess, John W. "The Election of United States Senators by Popular Vote." *Popular Science Quarterly* 17 (December 1902): 650-63.
- Clark, E. P. "Election of the Senate by Popular Vote." Nation 74 (1902): 222-.
- Conway, Moncure D. "Ought the United States Senate to be Reformed." *Monist* (January 1895): 223-46.
- Edmunds, George F. "Should Senators be Elected by the People?" *Forum* 18 (November 1894): 270-78.

"Election of the Senate by Popular Vote." Outlook 79 (1905): 161-.

Fox, C. F. "Election of the Senate by Popular Vote." Arena (1902): 455-.

- Garrison, Wendell P. "The Reform of the Senate." Atlantic Monthly 68 (August 1891): 227-32.
- Haynes, John. *Popular Election of United States Senators*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1893.
- Hoar, George Frisbie. "Has the Senate Degenerated?" *Public Opinion* 22 (April 22, 1897): 485-86; *Forum* 23 (April 23, 1897): 129-44.
- "How Can We Secure Better United States Senators?" *Century* 46 (March 1893): 793-794. Also see: "Better United States Senators." *Century* 46 (May 1893): 156.
- Perkins, G. C. "Senate and the People." Independent 60 (April 12, 1906): 839-43.
- Perrin, John William. "Popular Election of United States Senators." *North American Review*. 192 (December 1910): 799-804.
- Philips, David Graham. *The Treason of the Senate*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964 (originally published by *Cosmopolitan Magazine* in 1906).
 Also see: "Need for the Treason of the Senate Articles; Symposium." *Cosmopolitan* 40 (March 1906): 598-602.
- Reeves, Robert N. "The Decline of the Senate." Arena 189 (August 1905): 161-67.
- U.S. Congress. Library of Congress. List of References on the Popular Election of Senators. The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>

Compiled by A.P.C. Griffin. Washington, DC: GPO, 1904.

- U.S. Congress. Library of Congress. Additional References Relating to Popular Election of Senators. Compiled under the direction of Hermann Henry Bernard Meyer. Washington, DC: GPO, 1911.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Election of Senators by Direct Vote of People*. Senate Report 530. 54th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, March 20, 1896.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Election of Senators by the People*. Senate Miscellaneous Document 406. 57th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, June 13, 1902.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Election of Senators by the People (April 6 and 7, 1893)*. By George Frisbie Hoar. Senate Document 232. 59th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, February 20, 1906.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Papers Relating to the Election of Senators by Direct Vote of the People*. Senate Document 512. 60th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, May 23, 1908.
- University of Wisconsin Extension Division. Department of Debating and Public Discussion. *Popular Election of United States Senators*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1912.

D. By Direct Election (Seventeenth Amendment) (1940-1989)

- Easterling, Larry J. "Senator Joseph L. Bristow and the Seventeenth Amendment." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1975): 488-511.
- McInerney, Virginia M. "Federalism and the Seventeenth Amendment." *Journal of Christian Jurisprudence* 7 (1988): 153-88.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. "The Direct Election of Senators." In *The Senate, 1789-1989: Addresses* on the History of the United States Senate. By Robert C. Byrd. Volume I, chapter 21. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

(1990-)

- Bernhard, William, and Brian R. Sala. "The Remaking of an American Senate: the 17th Amendment and Ideological Responsiveness." *Journal of Politics* 68:2 (May 2006): 345-357.
- Bybee, J.S. "Ulysses at the Mast: Democracy, Federalism, and the Sirens' Song of the Seventeenth Amendment." *Northwestern University Law Review* 91 (Winter 1997).

Clopton, Zachary D., and Steven E. Art. "The Meaning of the Seventeenth Amendment and a

Century of State Defiance." *Northwestern University Law Review* 107:3 (2013): 1181-1242.

- Crook ,Sara Brandes, John R. Hibbing. "A Not-So-Distant Mirror: The 17th Amendment and Congressional Change." *American Political Science Review* 91 (December 1997): 845-54.
- Highton, Benjamin. "Senate Elections in the United States, 1920-94." *British Journal of Political Science* 30(July 2003): 483-507.
- Hoebeke, Christopher Hyde. *The Road to Mass Democracy: Original Intent and the Seventeenth Amendment*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1995.
- Meinke, Scott R. "Institutional Change and the Electoral Connection in the Senate." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(3) (2008): 445-457.
- Rossum, Ralph. Federalism, the Supreme Court, and the Seventeenth Amendment: The Irony of Constitutional Democracy. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001.

E. By Appointment (1940-1989)

- Clem, Alan L. "Popular Representation and Senate Vacancies." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 10 (February 1966): 52-77.
- Morris, William D., and Roger H. Marz. "Treadmill to Oblivion: The Fate of Appointed Senators." *Publius* 11 (1981): 65-80.

X. Contemporary Accounts A. Observing the Senate

- (1789-1889)
- Benton, Thomas Hart. *Thirty Years View: A History of the Workings of the American Government for Thirty Years, From 1820-1850.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1968 (originally published in 1856).
- Blaine, James G. *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield*. Norwich, CN: The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1884-1886.

"Etchings of the Senate." New England Magazine 7 (November 1834): 372-78.

Maclay, William. Sketches of Debate in the First Senate of the United States, in 1789-90-91.
Edited by George W. Harris. Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, Printer, c1880.
Also in: Bickford, Charlene Bangs, Kenneth R. Bowling, and Helen E. Veit, eds. "The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates." In Birth of the Nation: The First Federal Congress 1789-1791. Volume IX. Washington, DC: George

Washington University, The First Federal Congress Project, 1989.

Taylor, B. B. "A Scene in the United States Senate." Overland Monthly 12 (June 1874): 542-6.

(1890-1939)

Alton, Edmund. Among the Law-Makers. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892.

- Barry, David S. Forty Years in Washington. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1924.
- Brown, Everett, ed. *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate,* 1803-1807. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969 (originally published in 1923).
- "Early Morning Visit to the Senate Press-Gallery." Literary Digest 57 (June 15, 1918): 68-73.
- Eckloff, Christian F. *Memoirs of a Senate Page, 1855-1859*. New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1909.
- Edwards, E. Jay. "Character Sketches in the United States Senate." *Chautauquan* 19 (September 1894): 706-12.
- Godkin, E. L. "The Dignity of the U.S. Senate." Nation 62 (1986): 230-.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. "The Senate." Scribner's Magazine 34 (November 1903): 541-50.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. The Senate of the United States. New York: Scribners, 1921.
- Mason, William E. "The United States Senate." Munsey's Magazine 19 (July 1898): 504-08.
- Myers, Henry L. *The United States Senate: What Kind of Body?* Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1939.
- O'Brien, Robert Lincoln. "New Men in the Senate." *Outlook* 81 (September 23, 1905): 161-71.
- Ogden, R. "The All-Powerful U.S. Senate." Nation 72 (1901): 4-.

Pepper, George Wharton. In the Senate. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930.

Pepper, George Wharton. "What is the Senate?" Forum 74 (December 1925): 863-71.

- "A Senator's Week." Independent 55 (April 16, 1903): 898-902.
- Sherman, John. *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1968 (originally published in 1895). The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>

Towle, G. W. "Glances from the Senate Gallery." *Continental Monthly* 2 (July 1862): 10-4; (August 1862): 154-58.

(1940-1989)

- Aiken, George D. Aiken: Senate Diary, January 1972-January 1975. Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Green Press, 1976.
- Asbell, Bernard. The Senate Nobody Knows. Garden City: Doubleday, 1978.
- Baker, Ross K. Friend and Foe in the United States Senate. New York: The Free Press, 1980.
- Bailey, Stephen K., and Howard D. Samuel. *A Day in the Life of a Senator: The Congressional Office, 1952. Commentary* (May 1952): 433-41.
- Barkley, Alben W. That Reminds Me. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1924.
- Buckley, James. *If Men Were Angels: A View From the Senate*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975.
- Cohen, William. *Roll Call: One Year in the United States Senate*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.
- Cotton, Norris. In the Senate: Amidst the Conflict and the Turmoil. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978.
- "Donald J. Detwiler, Senate Page, 1917-1918." Oral History Interview, August 8, 1985, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, DC. Online Transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Detwiler_Donald.htm.</u>
- Drew, Elizabeth. Senator. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.
- Drury, Allen. A Senate Journal, 1943-1945. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963.
- Foley, Michael. *The New Senate: Liberal Influence on a Conservative Institution 1959-1972*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- "Grover W. Ensley, Executive Director, Joint Economic Committee, United States Congress, 1949-1957." Oral History Interviews, 1985, U. S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/EnsleyGroverW.htm</u>.
- Madison, Frank. *A View From the Floor: Journal of a U. S. Senate Page Boy.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

- Matthews, Donald R. U.S. Senators and Their World. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- Miller, James A. Running in Place: Inside the Senate. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1986.
- Preston, Nathaniel Stone, ed. The Senate Institution. New York: Van Nostrand, Reinhold, 1969.
- Riedel, Richard L. Halls of the Mighty: My 47 Years at the Senate. Washington, DC: Luce, 1969.
- Rothman, David J. *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869-1901.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- White, William S. *The Citadel: The Story of the U. S. Senate.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

(1990-)

- Arnold, Laura W., and Barbara M. King. "Women, Committees, and Institutional Change in the Senate." In *Women Transforming Congress*. Edited by Cindy Simon Rosenthal. pp. 284-315. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- "Arthur J. Rynearson, Office of the Senate Legislative Counsel, 1976-2003," Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Ryn</u>earson_arthur.htm.
- Baker, Richard A. "Twentieth-Century Senate Reform: Three Views from the Outside." In *The Contentious Senate: Partisanship, Ideology, and the Myth of Cool Judgement*. Edited by Colton C. Campbell and Nicol C. Rae. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001.
- "Capitol Telecommunications: Oral History Interviews with Joan Sartori, Ellen Kramer, Martha Fletcher, Barbara Loughery, Kimball Winn, Rick Kaufman." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/CapitolTelecommunications.htm.
- "Carl M. Marcy, Chief of Staff, Foreign Relations Committee, 1955-1973." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Carl M Marcy.htm.</u>
- "Charles D. Ferris: Staff Director, Senate Democratic Policy Committee, 1963-1977." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/FerrisCharlesD.htm.</u>
- "Christine S. McCreary, Staff of Senator Stuart Symington, 1953-1977 and Senator John Glenn, The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov> 86

1977-1998." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Christine McCreary.htm.

- "Chuck Ludlam: Counsel to the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, Senate Judiciary Committee (1975-1979), Legal Counsel to the Joint Economic Committee (1982-1985), Chief Tax Counsel to the Senate Small Business Committee (1985-1993), Counsel to Senator Joseph Lieberman (2001-2005)," Oral History Interviews, December 2, 10, 2003 and October 18, 20, 2004, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Ludlam_chuck.htm.</u>
- Cohen, Richard E. *Washington at Work: Back Rooms and Clean Air*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995.
- "Dennis W. Brezina, Legislative Assistant to Senator Gaylord Nelson," Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Dennis_Brezina.htm.</u>
- "Dorothye G. Scott, Administrative Assistant to the Senate Democratic Secretary and to the Secretary of the Senate, 1945-1977." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Dorothye_Scott.htm</u>.
- "Elizabeth Letchworth: Page, Floor Assistant, Republican Party Secretary, 1975-2001." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/LetchworthElizabeth.htm</u>.
- "F. Nordy Hoffmann, Senate Sergeant at Arms, 1975-1981." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/F_Nordy_Hoffman.htm.</u>
- "First Female Senate Pages: Oral History Interviews with Ellen McConnell Blakeman, Paulette Desell-Lund, and Julie Price." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2014. Online transcript: <u>https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/First_Female_Pages.htm.</u>
- "Floyd M. Riddick, Senate Parliamentarian." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript:

http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Floyd M Riddick.htm.

- "Francis J. Attig, Official Reporter of Debates." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Francis J Attig.htm.
- "Francis O. Wilcox, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1947-1955." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Francis_O_Wilcox.htm.</u>
- "Francis R. Valeo, Secretary of the Senate, 1966-1977." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Frank_Valeo.htm.</u>
- "G. William Hoagland, Staff Director of the Senate Budget Committee and Advisor to the Senate Majority Leader." Oral History Interviews, 2006-2007, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Bill_Hoagland.htm.</u>
- "George A. Smathers, United States Senator, 1951-1969." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/George_A_Smathers.htm.</u>
- "George Tames, Washington Photographer for the New York Times." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/George_Tames.htm.</u>

Hildenbrand, William F. When the Senate Cared. New York: iUniverse, 2007.

"Howard E. Shuman, Legislative and Administrative Assistant to Senators Paul Douglas and William Proxmire, 1955-1982." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Howard_E_Shuman.htm.</u>

Huitt, Ralph K. Working Within the System. Berkeley: IGS Press, 1990.

- "Jade West, Executive Director of the Senate Steering Committee, 1982-1996 and Staff Director of the Republican Policy Committee, 1996-2002." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2011.
- "James Roe Ketchum: White House Curator, 1963-1970, Senate Curator, 1970-1995." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2017.
- "J. Franklin Little, Senate Page, 1910-1912." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical

Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/J_Franklin_Little.htm.

- "J. Keith Kennedy, Staff Director/Clerk of the Senate Appropriations Committee and Deputy Senate Sergeant at Arms." Oral History Interviews, 2003-2008, U. S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Keith Kennedy.htm.
- "J. Robert Vastine, Staff Director, Senate Republican Conference, 1985-1991," Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online Transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/J_Robert_Vastine.htm.</u>
- Jentleson, Adam. Kill Switch: The Rise of the Modern Senate and the Crippling of American Democracy. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2021.
- "Jerry Verkler, Staff Director of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, 1963-1974." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Jerry_T_Verkler.htm.</u>
- "Jesse R. Nichols, Government Documents Clerk and Librarian, Senate Finance Committee, 1937-1971." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Jesse R Nichols.htm.
- "John D. Lane: Administrative Assistant to Senator Brien McMahon." Oral History Interviews, U. S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online Transcript: <u>https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/John_Lane.htm.</u>
- "Joseph Stanley Kimmitt, Secretary for the Majority (1965-1976), Secretary of the Senate (1977-1981." Oral History Interviews, 2001-2002, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Kimmitt_Stan.htm.</u>
- "Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director, Senate Republican Policy Committee and Secretary of the Senate, 1992-1996." Oral History Interviews, 1996-1997, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/JohnstonKelly.htm.</u>

Kippley, Joe. A Page in History. Sioux Falls, SD: Pine Hill Press, 2006.

"Larry Bageant: Correspondence Manager for Senators John Heinz, John Breaux, Edward Kennedy, Paul Kirk, and Scott Brown." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2014.

- "Leonard H. Ballard, Inspector, United States Capitol Police, 1947-1984." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Leonard H Ballard.htm</u>.
- "Leonard Weiss, Staff Director of the Subcommittee on Energy, Nuclear Proliferation, and Federal Services; and Staff Director of the Committee on Governmental Affairs." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2017.
- "Linda Gustitus, Legislative Assistant, 1979-1980, Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management and of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, 1980-2001, Chief of Staff to Senator Carl Levin, 2001-2003." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Gustitus_Linda.htm</u>.
- Mara, Melina. *Changing the Face of Power: Women in the U.S. Senate.* Interviews by Helen Thomas. Austen: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- "Martin Gold, Counsel to the Senate Republican Leader, 1979-1982, 2003-2004," Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Gold_Martin.htm.</u>
- "Martin P. Paone: Senate Democratic Cloakroom Staff to Majority Secretary, 1979-2008," Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Paone_Martin.htm</u>.
- "Michael A. Johnson: Deputy Assistant Sergeant at Arms." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/JohnsonMichaelA.htm</u>.
- Ornstein, Norman J., ed. *Farewell Addresses from the Senate*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publications, 1997.
- Ornstein, Norman J., et al. "The U.S. Senate in an Era of Change." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Fifth Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Pp. 13-40. Washington: CQ Press, 1993.
- "Pat M. Holt, Chief of Staff, Foreign Relations Committee." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Pat_M_Holt.htm.</u>
- "Richard A. Arenberg, Staff to Senators Paul Tsongas, George Mitchell and Carl Levin." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/ArenbergRichardA.htm.</u>

- "Richard A. Baker, Senate Historian, 1975-2009." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/BakerRichard.htm.</u>
- "Richard W. Murphy, Legislative Assistant to Senator Hugh Scott, 1964-1969." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/MurphyRichardW.htm.
- Ritchie, Donald A. "Twentieth-Century Senate Reform: The View From the Inside." In *The Contentious Senate: Partisanship, Ideology, and the Myth of Cool Judgement.* Edited by Colton C. Campbell and Nicol C. Rae. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001.
- "Robert G. Baker: Senate Page and Chief Telephone Page, 1943-1953, Secretary for the Majority, 1953-1963." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. 2010.
- "Roland W. Burris: United States Senator from Illinois." Oral History Interviews, U. S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2011.
- "Roy L. Elson, Administrative Assistant to Senator Carl Hayden and Candidate for the United States Senate, 1955-1969." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online Transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Elson_Roy.htm.</u>
- "Rufus Edmisten: Staff to Senator Sam Ervin, N.C., Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, And Deputy Chief Counsel, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities (Watergate Committee), 1964-1974." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/EdmistenRufus.htm</u>.
- "Ruth Young Watt, Chief Clerk, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, 1948-1979." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Ruth_Young_Watt.htm.</u>
- Samuel, Terence. *The Upper House: A Journey Behind the Closed Doors of the U.S. Senate.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Sinclair, Barbara. "The New World of U.S. Senators." In *Congress Reconsidered*. Eleventh Edition. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2017 (originally published in 1977).
- "Stewart E. McClure: Chief Clerk, Senate Committee on Labor, Education, and Public Welfare, 1949-1973." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC.

Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral history/Oral History McClure.htm.

- Swers, Michele. *Women in the Club: Gender and Policy Making in the Senate*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- "Timothy S. Wineman: Senate Financial Clerk." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C., 2006.
- "Tom Korologos: Administrative Assistant to Senator Wallace Bennett, Senate Liaison in the Nixon and Ford Administrations, Consultant on the Confirmation of Nominations, and United States Ambassador to Belguim." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC, 2014.
- Trees, Andy. "The Diary of William Maclay and Political Manners in the First Congress." *Pennsylvania History* 69(Spring 2002): 210-229.
- "W. Lee Rawls: Staff Director to Senators Pete Domenici and Bill Frist." Oral History Interviews, U. S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, DC, 2010.
- "Warren Featherstone Reid, Assistant to Warren G. Magnuson," Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Featherstone_Reid.htm.</u>
- "William A. Ridgely, Senate Financial Clerk and Assistant Secretary of the Senate." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: <u>http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/William_Ridgely.htm.</u>
- "William F. Hildenbrand, Secretary of the Senate, 1981-1985." Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript: http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/William_F_Hildenbrand.htm.
- Yarwood, D.L. "Humorous Stories and the Identification of Social Norms The Senate Club." *Administration & Society* 35 (March 2003): 9-28.

B. Opinion

(1789-1889)

"Our 'House of Lords."" North American Review 142 (May 1886): 454-65.

(1890-1939)

- Barry, David S. "The American House of Lords." *Pearson's Magazine* 12 (December 12, 1904): 525-33.
- Crane, Condit. "In the Seats of the Mighty." Outlook 61 (January 7, 1899): 27-34.

Didier, Eugene L. "The United States Senate." Chautauquan (June 1890): 313-17.

- Everett, William. "The United States Senate." Atlantic Monthly 97 (February 1906): 157-66.
- Haynes, George H. "The Changing Senate." *North American Review* 200 (August, 1914): 222-34.
- Holst, H. Von. "Ought the United States Senate to be Abolished?" Monist 5 (1894): 1-21.
- Holst, H. Von. "Shall the Senate Rule the Republic?" Forum 16 (November 1893): 263-71.
- Hume, John F. "Our House of Lords." American Journal of Politics 4 (April 1894): 348-58.
- "Is the Senate Justly Criticized?" Century 54 (August 1897): 632-633.
- Johnson, A. "American Senate as a Second Chamber." *Contemporary Review* 93 (April 1908): 399-405.
- Low, A. Maurice. "The Oligarchy of the Senate." *North American Review* 174 (February 1902): 231-44.
- MacPherson, William C. *The Baronage and the Senate, or the House of Lords in the Past, the Present, and the Future.* London: John Murray, 1893.
- Miller, C. R. "Has the Senate Degenerated?" Forum 23 (May 1897): 271-81.
- Needham, Henry Beach. "The Senate–of 'Special Interests." *World's Work* 11 (January 1906): 7060-65; (February 1906): 7206-11.
- Nelson, Henry Loomis. "The Overshadowing Senate." Century 65 (February 1903): 499-515.
- "The Senate in Light of History." Forum 16 (November 1893): 272-81.
- Smith, Goldwin. "Has the U.S. Senate decayed?" Saturday Review 81 (1896): 467-.
- Trumbull, M. M. "The Decline of the Senate." Open Court 7 (December 7, 1893): 3895-8.
- Von Holst, H. "Ought the United States Senate to be Abolished?" Monist 5 (1894): 1-21.
- West, Henry Litchfield. "The Place of the Senate in Our Government." *Forum* 4 (June, 1901): 423-31.

Williams, A. "Truth About the Senate." World To-Day 10 (May 1906): 499-507.

(1940-1989) Clark, Joseph S. *Congress: The Sapless Branch*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Clark, Joseph S. *The Senate Establishment*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1984 (originally published in 1963).

(1990-)

Hamilton, Lee H. "The Case for Congress." Wilson Quarterly 2004 28(2): 12-17.

- Mann, Thomas E., and Norman J. Ornstein. *The Broken Branch: How Congress is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Shapiro, Ira. *The Last Great Senate: Courage and Statesmanship in Times of Crisis*. New York: Public Affairs, 2012.
- Shapiro, Ira. *Broken: Can the Senate Save Itself and the Country?* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

XI. Seniority and Influence (1890-1939)

Pollock, James K., Jr. "Seniority Rule in Congress." North American Review 222 (Winter 1925-1926): 235-45.

(1940-1989)

- Balch, Stephen H. "Getting that Extra Edge: Seniority and Early Appointments to the United States Senate." *Polity* 11 (Fall 1978): 138-46.
- Goodwin, George, Jr. "The Seniority System in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 52 (June 1959): 412-36.
- Hinckley, Barbara. *The Seniority System in Congress*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971.
- Huitt, Ralph K. "The Internal Distribution of Influence: The Senate." In *The Congress and America's Future*. Edited by David B. Truman. Pp. 91-117. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.
- Huitt, Ralph K. "The Morse Committee Assignment Controversy: A Study in Senate Norms." *American Political Science Review* 51 (June 1957): 313-29.
- Huitt, Ralph K. "The Outsider in the Senate: An Alternative Role." In Congress: Two Decades of Analysis. Edited by Ralph K. Huitt and Robert L. Peabody. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.
- Packwood, Robert W. "The Senate Seniority System." In *Congress in Change: Evolution and Reform*. Edited by Norman J. Ornstein. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Ripley, Randall B. "Power in the Post-World War II Senate." *Journal of Politics* 31 (May 1969): 465-92.

Ripley, Randall B. Power in the Senate. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.

Swanson, Wayne R. "Committee Assignments and the Non-Conformist Legislator: Democrats in the U.S. Senate." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13 (February 1969): 84-94.

XII. Archiving the Senate (1940-1989)

- Baker, Richard A. "Documenting the History of the United States Senate." *Government Publications Review* 10 (September-October, 1983): 415-26.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Guide to the Records of the United States Senate at the National Archives, 1789-1989: Bicentennial Edition.* Prepared by the National Archives' Center for Legislative Archives. Senate Document 42. 100th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

(1990-)

- Baker, Richard A. "Research Opportunities in the Records of the United States Senate." *Western Historical Quarterly* 24 (1993): 541-46.
- Deeben, John P. "Serving at the Pleasure of the President: The Nomination Papers of the United States Senate, 1789-1946." *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 2005 37(4): 50-61.
- Miller, Cynthia Pease. *Managing Congressional Collections*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2008.
- Paul, Karen Dawley, Glenn R. Gray, and Rebecca Johnson Melvin. *An American Political Archives Reader*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators,* 1789-1995. Senate Document 35. 103rd Congress, second session. Washington, DC: GPO, 1995.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Records Management Handbook for United States Senate Committees*. By Karen Paul. Senate Publication 11. 109th Congress, 1st session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2005.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories.* Senate Publication 19. 109th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, DC: GPO, 2006.

Wilhelm, Kristen. "Roots in the Rotunda: Finding Biographical Information about Former Members of Congress." *Prologue* 28 (1996): 162-67.

XIII. Finding the Sources

Most of the books listed on the bibliography are available at large academic and research libraries, while a number of the more recent, popular titles can be found in local public libraries. Consult a reference librarian for information regarding library holdings. If the library does not have the book you are seeking, you may be able to order it through an inter-library loan service.

The Library of Congress (LC) in Washington, DC has copies of every book on the bibliography. The LC catalog is accessible on-line (http://catalog.loc.gov/). You may browse the catalog by subject, author, title, or call number. Once a book title is brought to the screen, click on "full record" to get a complete bibliographic citation.

The bibliography's twentieth-century articles are generally located in scholarly journals held in academic libraries and the Library of Congress. Public library reference librarians can often obtain copies of journal articles for a small fee. Check your local library for details. Nineteenth-century articles may be found in a variety of sources, including scholarly journals and social commentary magazines. Ask a reference librarian to help you locate obscure titles.

Copies of government documents are held in federal depository libraries. Almost every U.S. congressional district or territory has at least one federal depository library located within its borders. A complete listing of federal depository libraries is available on-line (http://www.gpoaccess.gov/libraries.html). If possible, go to the federal depository library in person and provide the reference librarian with the document and Congress numbers included in the bibliography's citation. Copies of recent documents may be purchased, or available at no cost, from the Government Printing Office (GPO). Check the GPO Access catalog for holdings (http://www.gpoaccess.gov/index.html). Original congressional documents are located at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, DC (http://www.archives.gov).

Questions regarding the locations of sources may be addressed to: historian@sec.senate.gov.