The United States Senate:  
An Institutional Bibliography  
1789-present

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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
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B. Bibliographies

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II. Constitutional Structure

A. General

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


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Griffin, John D. “Senate Apportionment as a Source of Political Inequality.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31 (August 2006): 405-432.


C. Term

(1789-1889)


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D. Class System

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III. Constitutional Powers

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**B. Origin, Formation**

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### C. Treaties (1789-1889)


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Barrett, James T. “International Agreements without the Advice and Consent of the Senate.”


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**D. Nominations**

I. General

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2. Judicial
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   Nominations.” American Political Science Review 28 (October 1934): 875-94.

   (1940-1989)
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   Friedlander, Robert A. “Judicial Selection and the Constitution: What did the Framers Originally

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   Ginsburg, Ruth Bader. “Confirming Supreme Court Justices: Thoughts on the Second Opinion

   Kurland, Philip B. “The Appointment and Disappointment of Supreme Court Justices.” Arizona

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   Massaro, John. Supremely Political: The Role of Ideology and Presidential Management in
   Unsuccessful Supreme Court Nominations. Albany: State University of New York Press,
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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


**1890-1939**

b. Selected Case Studies


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3. Executive
   a. General
      *(1789-1889)*


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E. Impeachments
1. General
(1789-1889)
Dwight, Theodore. “Trial By Impeachment.” *American Law Register (University of


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Grimes, Warren S. “Hundred-Ton-Gun Control: Preserving Impeachment as the Exclusive


2. William Blount  
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3. John Pickering
(1940-1989)


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4. Samuel Chase
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5. James Peck
(1789-1889)

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6. *West H. Humphreys*

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7. *Andrew Johnson*

*(1789-1889)*


*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).


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8. William W. Belknap
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9. Charles Swayne
(1890-1939)

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10. Robert W. Archbald
(1890-1939)

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11. George English
(1890-1939)

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12. Harold Louderback
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13. Halsted L. Ritter  
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14. Harry E. Claiborne  
*(1940-1989)*  


*(1990-)*  


15. Alcee L. Hastings  
*(1940-1989)*  


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**17. William J. Clinton (1990-)**


Ornstein, Norman J. “Civility, Deliberation, and Impeachment.” In *Esteemed Colleagues.* The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>


18. G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.

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IV. Rules and Practice

A. General

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U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Manual of Parliamentary Practice for the Use of the Senate of the


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**B. Origins**

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**C. Revisions**

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D. Use (Legislative Process)

1. General

(1789-1889)


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2. Selected Case Studies

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–National Health Service Act.

–Inland Waterways Act.


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E. Specific Rules

1. Debate, Filibuster, and Cloture

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


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Bell, Lauren C. *Filibustering in the U.S. Senate*. Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2011.


2. Unanimous Consent (1940-1989)


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V. Leadership and Parties
   A. General
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C. Majority and Minority Leaders (1940-1989)


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**D. President Pro Tempore**

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**E. Whips**

*(1940-1989)*


VI. Committees
A. General
(1789-1889)

(1890-1939)


“The Organization of House and Senate Committees.” Chautauquan 22 (1895-1896): 622-.

(1940-1989)


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B. Organization
(1890-1939)


(1940-1989)


**C. Reform**

(1940-1989)


**D. Standing Committees**

1. **Aeronautical and Space Sciences**

(1940-1989)


2. **Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry**

(1940-1989)


(1990-)


3. **Appropriations**

(1940-1989)


(1990-)


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

(1940-1989)


5. **Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (Banking and Currency prior to 1971)** *(1940-1989)*


6. **Budget** *(1990-)*


7. **Commerce** *(1940-1989)*


8. **Energy and Natural Resources** *(1940-1989)*


10. **Ethics** *(1940-1989)*

11. Finance

(1940-1989)


12. Foreign Relations

(1890-1939)


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Humphrey, Hubert H. “The Senate in Foreign Policy.” *Foreign Affairs* 37 (July 1959): 525-36.


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14. Interior and Insular Affairs

15. Judiciary (Also see Constitutional Powers: Nominations–Supreme Court)
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E. Investigative Committees

1. General

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2. Selected Case Studies (1890-1939)


–Senate Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.


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).


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F. Conference Committees (See External Relations: House)

G. Joint Committees (See External Relations: House)

VII. Administration
   A. General
      (1789-1889)

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      Kerr, Clara Hannah Stidham. The Origin and Development of the United States Senate. Ithaca,
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**B. Officers of the Senate**

*(1940-1989)*


C. Senate Staffs (1890-1939)

(1940-1989)


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VIII. External Relations
A. General
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B. House of Representatives
1. General
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2. Conference Committees

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3. Joint Committees
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C. Executive (Also see Constitutional Powers: Nominations–Executive)
(1789-1889)


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E. Media
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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.


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**IX. Elections:**

**A. General (1789-1889)**


**(1890-1939)**


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**B. By State Legislature**


**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-.

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Hoar, George Frisbie. "Has the Senate Degenerated?" *Public Opinion* 22 (April 22, 1897): 485-86; *Forum* 23 (April 23, 1897): 129-44.


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


**(1990-)**


Bybee, J.S. “Ulysses at the Mast: Democracy, Federalism, and the Sirens’ Song of the


E. By Appointment (1940-1989)


X. Contemporary Accounts

A. Observing the Senate (1789-1889)


(1890-1939)


Ogden, R. “The All-Powerful U.S. Senate.” *Nation* 72 (1901): 4-.


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“William A. Ridgely, Senate Financial Clerk and Assistant Secretary of the Senate.” Oral
History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript:  

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**B. Opinion**

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Smith, Goldwin. “Has the U.S. Senate decayed?” *Saturday Review* 81 (1896): 467-.


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**XI. Seniority and Influence**

(1890-1939)  

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**XII. Archiving the Senate**

(1940-1989)  

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**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.