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

**(1890-1939)**


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B. Bibliographies (1890-1939)


(1940-1989)


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II. Constitutional Structure

A. General


(1789-1889)

(1890-1939)


(1940-1989)


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

(1890-1939)


Also see: "Better United States Senators." *Century* 46 (May 1893):156.


(1940-1989)


(1990-)


C. Term (1789-1889)

(1940-1989)

D. Class System
(1890-1939)

(1940-1989)

III. Constitutional Powers
A. General
(1789-1889)

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.  


(1890-1939)


Moffett, S. E. “Is the Senate Unfairly Constituted?” *Political Science Quarterly* 10 (June 1895): 248-56.


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**B. Origin, Formation**

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(1789-1889)


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(1940-1989)


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


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C. Treaties
(1789-1889)


(1890-1939)


Find in: Library of Congress, Microfilm Room, Microfilm 05422 no. 548-566 AP


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


Ogden, R. “The Senate as Treaty-Maker.” *Nation* (1902): 84-.

Ogden, R. “The U.S. Senate: The Graveyard of Good Treaties.” *Nation* (1900): 199-.


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**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...

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

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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)


(1990-)


2. Judicial
a. General
(1890-1939)

(1940-1989)


(1890-1939)

b. Selected Case Studies


(1940-1989)


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

      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)*


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      b. Selected Case Studies
E. Impeachments

1. General

(1789-1889)


(1890-1939)


(1940-1989)


U.S. Congress. Senate. Procedure and Guidelines for Impeachment Trials in the United States


(1990-)


2. William Blount

(1789-1889)


(1890-1939)


(1940-1989)


(1990-)


3. John Pickering

(1940-1989)


4. Samuel Chase

(1789-1889)


(1890-1939)


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5. James Peck
(1789-1889)

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6. West H. Humphreys
(1940-1989)

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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).

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

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8. William W. Belknap

*(1789-1889)*


9. Charles Swayne


10. Robert W. Archbald


11. George English


12. Harold Louderback

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13. Halsted L. Ritter

(1890-1939)


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14. Harry E. Claiborne

(1940-1989)


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15. Alcee L. Hastings
(1940-1989)


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(1940-1989)


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17. William J. Clinton

(1990–)


18. G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.

(1990–)


U.S. Congress. Senate. *Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles Against Judge G. Thomas*


19. Donald J. Trump (1990-)


IV. Rules and Practice

A. General (1789-1889)


*(1890-1939)*


*(1940-1989)*


B. Origins (1890-1939)


C. Revisions (1789-1889)


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The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>


**D. Use (Legislative Process)**

1. General

   *(1789-1889)*


   *(1890-1939)*


   *(1940-1989)*


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2. Selected Case Studies
(1940-1989)


–National Health Service Act.

–Inland Waterways Act.


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E. Specific Rules

1. Debate, Filibuster, and Cloture

(1890-1939)


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


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Beeman, Richard R. “Unlimited Debate in the Senate: The First Phase.” *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (September 1968): 419-34.


Calmes, Jacqueline. “‘Trivialized’ Filibuster is Still a Potent Tool.” *Congressional Quarterly*


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


2. *Unanimous Consent (1940-1989)*

The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>


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


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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

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Brady, David, Richard Brody and David Epstein. “Heterogeneous Parties and Political


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**C. Majority and Minority Leaders (1940-1989)**


Patterson, Samuel C. “Party Leadership in the U.S. Senate.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (August 1989): 393-413.


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**D. President Pro Tempore**

(1789-1889)


(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 <wwwсенатgov> 54


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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)

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3. Appropriations
   (1940-1989)


   (1990-)


U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>


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-)

The United States Senate: An Institutional Bibliography, 1789-Present <www.senate.gov>

7. Commerce

(1940-1989)


8. Energy and Natural Resources

(1940-1989)


9. Environment and Public Works

(1940-1989)


10. Ethics

(1940-1989)


11. Finance

(1940-1989)


12. Foreign Relations

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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)  
(1940-1989)  


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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)**


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Columbia University Press, 1940.


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2. Selected Case Studies

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   –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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Moser, John, “'Gigantic Engines of Propaganda’: The 1941 Senate Investigation of Hollywood.”
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Historian 63(Summer 2001): 731-751.


F. Conference Committees (See External Relations: House)

G. Joint Committees (See External Relations: House)

VII. Administration
   A. General
      (1789-1889)

      (1890-1939)

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


      (1940-1989)

   Fenno, Richard F. “The Senate Through the Looking Glass: The Debate Over Television.”


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**B. Officers of the Senate**

(1940-1989)


**C. Senate Staffs**

(1890-1939)

(1940-1989)


(1990-)


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)


(1990-)


B. House of Representatives

1. General

(1789-1889)


(1890-1939)
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.

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### 2. Conference Committees
**(1890-1939)**


**(1940-1989)**


### 3. Joint Committees
**(1940-1989)**


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


**(1890-1939)**


Ogden, R. “The President, Senate, and House.” *Nation* 77 (1903): 439-.


“The Reply of the Senate to Washington’s First Inaugural Address.” *Journal of American History* 8 (April/June 1914): 221-.


Sullivan, M. “Coolidge vs. the Senate; Can the President Hire and Fire?” *World’s Work* 51


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Galloway, George. “Legislative-Executive Liaison.” In *Congress at the Crossroads.* Pp. 204-

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Hilsman, Roger. “Congressional-Executive Relations and the Foreign Policy Consensus.” American Political Science Review 52 (September 1958): 725-44.


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


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


**E. Media (1789-1889)**


**E. Media (1890-1939)**


(1940-1989)


Marbut, Frederick B. “The United States Senate and the Press, 1838-41.” *Journalism Quarterly* 28 (Summer 1951).


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**IX. Elections:**

**A. General**

*(1789-1889)*


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*(1940-1989)*

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


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B. By State Legislature
(1890-1939)


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C. Calls for Reform (1890-1939)


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-.


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-)**


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


**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-.


(1940-1989)


“Dennis W. Brezina, Legislative Assistant to Senator Gaylord Nelson,” Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. Online transcript:

“Dorothy 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:


“Elizabeth Letchworth: Page, Floor Assistant, Republican Party Secretary, 1975-2001.” Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript:
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“Floyd M. Riddick, Senate Parliamentarian.” Oral History Interviews, U.S. Senate Historical Office. Washington, DC. Online transcript:


“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.


**B. Opinion**

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


*(1940-1989)*


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**XI. Seniority and Influence**

*(1890-1939)*


*(1940-1989)*


**XII. Archiving the Senate (1940-1989)**


*(1990-)*


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.