

Index

- absenteeism, in Senate, 232, 235
- “A” committees, Republican formation of, 373
- Adams, John Quincy, 36, 39, 53
- ad hoc committees, 58, 79, 89
- Affordable Care Act, 3, 384–86
- agendas. *See also* order of business, committees
 - on; steering committees
 - floor management setting of, 288–90
 - partisan polarization and, 373
- Aldrich, Nelson W., 96
 - cartoon image of, 108
 - caucuses and, 57–58, 105, 157n.5
 - coalition building by, 263, 265–66
 - Federal Elections Bill and, 156–57
 - illustration of, 108
 - leadership of, 1–2, 4, 7, 19, 21, 97–98, 204–5, 213, 224
 - McKinley Tariff Bill and, 176
 - personality of, 102
 - power consolidation by, 106–10, 158
 - presidential liaisons with, 218
 - retirement of, 104, 141, 151, 228–29
 - steering committee leadership by, 102–5, 133, 137–39, 143, 146–48, 208
- Allen, William, 29, 46
- Allison, William B.
 - as caucus chair, 57–58, 202, 204
 - death of, 151, 228
 - leadership of, 19, 224
 - personality of, 102–5
 - photos of, 96, 138
 - power consolidation by, 27, 98, 106–10, 142–43, 158
 - presidential liaisons with, 218
 - steering committees and, 119–22, 133, 137, 139–41, 146–48, 208–9
- American Farm Bureau Federation, 231
- Anthony, Henry B.
 - Anthony rule and, 43–44
 - as caucus chair, 57, 80–81, 93, 118, 161, 164, 224–25
 - as president pro tempore, 26–27, 42–44
 - unanimous consent agreements and, 47
- Anthony rule, 43–45
- anti-Jacksonians, party formation and, 53–55
- appeals to Senate, procedure for, 42n.23
- Appropriations Committee, 27, 106, 228, 278
- Arthur, Chester, 101
- Atchison, David R., 29
- Austin, Warren, 285, 295
- Bacon, Augustus, 191–92, 196, 200, 258
- Bacon, Donald, 289
- Badger, George, 29
- Bailey, Joseph, 24, 195–96, 198, 213–14
- Baker, Bobby, 315, 327–28
- Baker, Howard
 - campaign committees and, 370
 - as floor leader, 313–14, 326, 330n.39, 331, 380–81
 - news coverage and, 346
 - party polarization and, 359, 363, 366–69
 - photo, 376
 - public relations and, 386
 - staff management under, 324–25, 369

- Baker, Howard (cont.)
 task forces created by, 316
 whips under, 383–84
 Baker, Richard A., 7, 104, 107
 balloting
 collective action problem and role of, 34–38
 committee assignments and, 73–76
 Barbour, James, 32, 34
 Barfield, Claude E., 158
 Barkley, Alben
 campaign committees and, 287
 coalition building by, 298
 committee assignments under, 281
 filibuster reform and, 342
 floor leadership by, 160, 289–90
 leadership consolidation and, 271
 party management and, 275–76, 280
 party reorganization and, 314
 photo, 291
 as presidential intermediary, 294–95, 335–36
 press conferences by, 343
 right of first recognition and, 290–92
 Senate innovation and, 20
 staffing for, 321
 Barrett, Amy Coney, 354–55, 381, 390
 Barton, David, 39, 41
 baseball, 155n.3, 171
 Bassett, Isaac, 54, 93
 Baucus, Max, 384–85
 Bayard, Thomas F., 157n.5
 Beard, Charles A., 97–98, 325
 Beck, James
 as caucus chair, 161–63, 166–68, 173, 207–8, 225
 floor leadership and, 137, 152, 210–11
 Benedict, Michael L., 88
 Bennett, Ira E., 103–4, 145
 Benton, Thomas Hart
 caucus disciplining of, 77–80
 on Democratic strategy, 70
 Senate leadership of, 5, 17
 on vice president's powers, 38, 41–42
 Berrien, John, 73
 Beveridge, Albert J., 104, 141
 Bibolet, Roland, 327
 Biden, Joe, 389
 Biffle, Leslie, 287, 321, 322n.25
 “The Big Five” (Senate leadership) (also “Big Four” and “Big Three”), 102–5, 107
 Binder, Sarah, 181
 Bingham, Kinsley S., 82
 Blackburn, Joseph, 159–60, 195–96, 207, 214, 217, 219, 222
 Blaine, James G., 117–18
 Bogue, Allan G., 113n.14, 161
 Bone, Hugh A., 87–88
 Borah, William, 262, 284
 Brady, David, 7, 107, 146–47
 Brands, H. W., 70
 Brewster, Owen, 333–34
 Brice, Calvin, 128
 Bridges, Styles, 312–13
 Bright, Jesse D., 29–30, 42
 Bright, Richard J., 203
 Brody, Richard, 107, 146–47
 Brooks, Preston, 42
 Bryan, William Jennings, 198, 200–1, 204, 233
 Bryce, James, 97–98, 181
 Buchanan, James, 71
 Burnham, James, 157
 Burnside, Ambrose, 47–48
 Burr, Aaron, nomination as vice president, 60–61
 Bush, George H. W., 375
 Bush, George W., 372, 379, 389
 Butler, Andrew, 42
 Butler, William, 293
 Byrd, Robert C.
 campaign committees and, 333, 370
 challenges to, 355–56
 cloture under, 374
 floor management and, 319, 326, 329–30, 360, 364–65, 374–78
 leadership of, 21
 as majority leader, 381
 party reorganization and, 316–18
 photo, 365
 as presidential intermediary, 337
 press coverage and, 345–46, 386–87
 on Senate history, 108–9, 159
 staff expansion under, 324–25, 369
 task forces under, 366
 whips under, 384
 calendar committee, Democrats' formation of, 315–16
 Calhoun, John C.
 political entrepreneurship and, 54–55
 portrait of, 40
 Senate leadership of, 17
 as vice president, 32, 36–37, 39
 campaign committees
 Democratic party, 247–49, 332–33

Index

463

- leadership management of, 246–51, 285–87
- partisan polarization and, 370–72
- party organization and, 83–88
- postwar changes to, 331–34
- Republican party, 249–51, 333–34
- campaign finance reform, 332–33, 357–58, 372
- candidate recruitment, floor leaders and, 371–72
- caning of Sumner, 42
- Cannon, Clarence, 87n.84, 102
- Cannon, Joseph, 97, 197, 228, 239, 397
- Capitol
 - earliest photograph of, 15
 - Senate Chamber in, 22
- careerism, Senate party development and, 6–7
- Carlisle, John, 128
- Caro, Robert, 105
- Carpenter, Matthew, 110
- cartels, parties as, 14, 59–60, 73–76, 94–95, 397–98
- Carter, Jimmy, 316, 337
- caucus chairs
 - caucus management by, 207–10
 - coalition building by, 263–66
 - Democratic party, 123, 164–69, 187–202
 - establishment of, 30–31, 80–81, 91–93
 - floor leadership and, 30, 157–60, 224–25
 - lists of, 165, 169, 405–8
 - modernization of, 90–92
 - as party spokespersons, 219, 221–23
 - power of, 106–7
 - pre-1890 history of, 160–69
 - Republican party, 80–81, 160–61, 164–69, 202–4
- caucuses
 - activity through 1840, 63–65
 - binding rules for, 57, 217, 264–65, 296–98
 - campaign committees and, 83–88, 249
 - collective action problems and, 31–34, 37–38
 - committee assignments and, 71–76
 - Democratic party use of, 17–20, 57–59, 77–80, 152
 - disciplinary actions by, 57–59
 - drafting committees and committees on the order of business, 92–93
 - emergence of, 17–19, 25, 52, 394
 - floor leadership origins and, 157–58
 - formalization in Senate, 80–89, 396
 - historical legacy of, 94–95
 - independence of steering committees from, 135–36
 - innovations in, 52–56, 394–96
 - leadership and activities (1860s), 88–89
 - legislative business caucus (1841), 65–71
 - management of, 207–10
 - modernization of (1871–79), 89–93
 - number of meetings, 263
 - order of business in House and, 117
 - order of business in Senate and, 110–15
 - organization of, 76–80
 - origins of, 56–59
 - party competition and, 52–56
 - presidential nominations (1796–1800), 60–62
 - as punishment tool, 77–80
 - Republican steering committee and, 152
 - Senate party caucuses (1841–45), 62–80
 - standing committees and, 117–24
 - steering committees and, 134, 136–41
- caucus organizing. *See* party management
- caucus room, 90–92
- centralization, coalition building and, 384–86
- central party leadership, influence in Congress of, 8–9
- Chandler, William, 129
- Chandler, Zachariah, 89
- Chilton, Horace, 208, 216, 221
- Citizens United* decision, 372
- Civil Rights Act of 1866, 171
- civil rights legislation, floor leadership and, 155, 308–15, 342–43
- Civil War
 - caucus formation and, 56–57
 - Senate battle for control and, 99–102
 - voting rights legislation and, 154–57
- Clapp, Moses, 103
- Clark, Champ, 197
- Clay, Henry
 - caucus formation and, 53–54, 76–77
 - collective action and, 36, 39
 - engraving of, 50
 - political entrepreneurship of, 55–56, 94–95
 - Senate leadership of, 5, 17, 21
 - Whig caucus and, 65–71, 394
- Cleveland, Grover, 125, 142, 155, 172–74, 183–85, 213, 218–19, 221
- Clinton, William J., 375, 389
- cloture, 157, 178–82, 254, 271, 342–43, 374–80, 375, 402–4
- coalition building
 - centralization and, 384–86, 400–2
 - conservative coalition, 308–9
 - floor leadership and, 205–7, 215–18, 262–66, 338–41

- coalition building (cont.)
 - function of leadership, 16, 395
 - majority coalitions, 296–99
 - partisan polarization and, 382–86
 - steering committees and, 142
- Cochran, Thad, 309
- Cockrell, Francis, 123, 191
- Cohen, William, 359
- Collamer, Jacob, 113
- collective action problems
 - committee assignments and, 31–38
 - leadership issues and, 31–43, 49
 - maintaining order and, 38–43
 - party caucuses and, 25
 - party goals and, 10–11
 - Republican party reorganization and, 311–14
- collective goals, Senate party organization and, 9–10
- committee assignments. *See also* committee on committees; standing committees; steering committees
 - caucuses and, 71–76, 81–83
 - collective action problems and, 31–38
 - committee elimination and consolidation, 245n.44
 - floor leaders' management of, 243–46, 281–85
 - intraparty politics and, 245–46
 - joint committees and, 117–24
 - methods for (1815–64), 33–34
 - partisan polarization and, 372–73
 - party organization and, 317–19
 - Senate agenda and, 110–15
- committee chairmanships
 - era of, 305
 - power of, 106
- committee on committees. *See also* committee assignments; standing committees; steering committees
 - caucus chairs and, 123, 161, 166–67, 207, 225
 - caucuses and, 89–91, 94, 106, 197
 - Curtis on, 238–39, 282–83
 - Democratic party, 52, 76, 79, 123, 130–31
 - Lodge as chair of, 243–45, 278
 - McNary on, 278, 284
 - Reed as chair of, 285
 - Republican party, 52, 57–58, 80–83, 90–92, 98, 142, 148, 225, 241, 372
 - Taft as member of, 317
 - Watson as chair of, 276, 282
- Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (HELP), 384–86
- Committee on Interstate Commerce, 246
- Committee on Private Land Claims, 90
- committees on the order of business. *See* order of business, committees on
- competing precedents, 354–56
- conditional party government, 9, 21, 309
- factionalism and, 349–50
- conference rule, 332n.41
- conference terminology, caucuses and, 240n.37
- conferences. *See* caucuses
- Congress
 - Democratic majority in, 230–32
 - Federal Elections Bill and transformation of, 156–57
 - institutional inventions by, 20
 - joint committees and, 117–24
 - news coverage of, 266–68, 344n.51, 347–48
 - party organization in, 20–21
- Congressional Budget Office, 309
- congressional elections, 52, 116–17, 143–44, 274
- Congressional Globe*, 30, 46
- Congressional Government* (Wilson), 1
- Congressional Record*, 46
- Congressional Research Service, 309
- “Congress on the Air” broadcasts, 344n.51
- Conkling, Roscoe, 83, 88
- conservative coalition, 274, 307–8, 342
- Constitutional Convention
 - congressional organization and, 23–24
 - Senate leadership and, 3–4, 23
- Coolidge, Calvin, 246, 272–73, 288, 293–94
- coordination costs, Senate party organization and, 11
- Cornyn, John, 352, 371, 384
- Couzens, James, 246
- Cowan, Edgar, 82–83
- Cox, Gary W., 59–60
- Cox, James, 248–49
- Crane, Winthrop Murray, 103
- Cranston, Alan, 324, 331, 384
- Crisp, Charles F., 99
- Crittenden, John J., 29
- Culberson, Charles, 139–40, 159–60, 196–98, 209, 214, 218–19, 222
- Cullom, Shelby, 103, 139, 141, 202–4
- Cummins, Albert, 246
- Cunningham, Noble E., Jr., 64
- Curtis, Charles
 - campaign committees and, 250, 285

Index

465

- as caucus chair, 203
- coalition building by, 296–97
- committee assignments and, 281–83
- leadership in Senate by, 1–2, 5, 20, 24, 238–40, 252, 270, 276–79, 394
- as majority leader, 30
- party management by, 280
- as party spokesperson, 299
- photo, 270, 277
- as presidential intermediary, 293–94
- as vice president, 277
- vice-presidential bid, 279–80
- Dallas, George M., 28, 29, 37–38, 73
- Daniel, John W., 191, 196
- Daschle, Tom, 360–67, 361n.15, 371, 376, 377, 380–84, 387, 387, 400
- Davidson, Roger H., 7, 355
- Davis, Garrett, 90
- Davis, James, 285
- Davis, John, 75
- decentralization, partisan polarization and, 361n.15
- decision rules, 164–66
- DeMint, Jim, 359, 361
- Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), 247. *See also* campaign committees
- Democratic National Committee (DNC), 247, 332
- Democratic party. *See also* Jeffersonian Republicans
 - assistant doorkeepers for, 93
 - campaign committees in, 83, 87–88, 247–49, 285–87, 332–33
 - cartels used by, 73–76, 397
 - caucus chairs in, 123, 164–69, 187–202, 207–10, 406–8
 - caucuses in, 17–20, 57–59, 77–80, 152, 240n.37
 - civil rights legislation and, 342–43
 - coalition building in, 263–65, 296–98
 - committee assignments and, 71–76, 81–83, 111–12, 243–44, 281–85, 317–19, 372–73
 - committee on committees and, 90–92
 - committee tenure in, 136–37
 - conference terminology and, 240n.37
 - consolidation of leadership in, 271–74
 - creation of, 53–54
 - drafting committees and committees on the order of business, 92–93, 424–35
 - electoral gains by, 116–17, 274
 - factionalism in, 362–63
 - filibuster and, 2, 69–70
 - floor leadership and, 152–53, 157–60, 187–202, 210–15, 224–25, 228–30, 253–55
 - inherited practices and intraparty politics in, 241, 243
 - intraparty politics in, 274–76
 - leadership elements in, 205–23, 233–37, 362–63
 - majority control by, 230–32
 - modernization (1871–79) of caucuses, 89–93
 - during New Deal era, 20
 - obstructionism by, 376–78
 - party secretaries and, 287–88
 - polarization in, 358–60
 - political entrepreneurship and, 55–56
 - postwar reorganization of, 314–17
 - postwar Senate majority for, 306–7
 - presidential election of 1892 and, 124–30
 - quorum rules and, 235n.19
 - Senate control by, 17–20, 100–2, 116–24
 - Senate elections and, 52
 - Senate party organization and, 8–9
 - Senate staff expansion by, 321–25
 - slavery and, 56–57
 - southern conservatives in, 274–76, 317, 340, 362
 - steering committees and, 122–30, 133–41, 151–52
 - venues for, 364–67
 - voting rights legislation and, 155–57
 - wartime and postwar organization of, 310
- Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), 332–33, 370. *See also* campaign committees
- Depew, Chauncey, 103
- Dickens, Asbury, 62
- direct election of senators, 230, 246–47
- Dirksen, Everett
 - campaign committees and, 334
 - floor leadership and, 326
 - as party leader, 308, 312–13, 338, 340–41
 - party organization under, 319
 - photo, 339
 - as presidential intermediary, 336, 340
 - press coverage and, 344–45
- Dixon, James, 82–83
- Dixon, Nathan F., 67
- Dodd, Christopher, 360
- Dole, Robert, 359, 365, 367, 369–70, 374–75, 377, 383–84, 386, 389

- Dolliver, Jonathan, 103
 Donnelly, Thomas Claude, 297
 Doolittle, James, 82–83
 Doremus, Frank, 247
 Dorgan, Byron, 361n.15, 388
 Douglas, Stephen, 57, 77, 171
 Dove, Robert, 380–81
 drafting committees, 92–93
 Duane, William, 63
 Dubois, Fred, 209
 dugout sessions (press conferences), 343–44
 Durbin, Dick, 361, 384
- Edmunds, George F., 42–44, 114, 121, 137, 164
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 308, 313, 327, 335–38, 340
 elections. *See also* campaign committees
 congressional, 52, 116–17, 143–44, 274
 legislative priorities and, 383n.44
 postwar party competition and, 307–8
 presidential, 124–30, 155–56
 state, 124–30, 140–41
 steering committee monitoring of, 124–30, 140–41, 247
 vice presidents in, 33–34
 electoral commission (1876), creation of, 91–92
 Elkins, Stephen B., 103
 entrepreneurship, in Senate, 5, 13–14
 Epstein, David, 7, 107, 146–47
 Everett, Burgess, 390
- factionalism
 in Democratic party, 317
 individualism and, 310
 inherited practices and intraparty politics, 241, 243
 leadership challenges and, 272–80
 partisan polarization and, 356–63
 party competition and, 230–32, 306–9
 in Senate, 5, 13–14, 94–95, 349–50, 404
 Fairbanks, Charles, 48
 Farm Bloc, 231, 256, 262, 265–66, 272, 277–78
 Farmer-Labor party, 231, 273
 Faulkner, Charles J., 212
 federal court nominations, 379–80
 Federal Election Commission, 333, 372
 Federal Elections Bill (1890–91). *See also* voting rights legislation
 committee formation and, 123–24
 Democratic caucus and, 19–20
 floor leadership evolution and, 2, 4, 152–57, 170–87, 211–12, 223–25, 396
 Gorman's fight against, 174–76, 178–87, 211, 221
 Federalists
 caucuses used by, 62–64
 demise of, 61
 failure of, 14
 presidential nominating caucuses and, 60–62
 Senate elections and, 52–53
 Ferris, Charles, 328
 Ferry, Thomas, 47–48
 Fess, Simeon, 276–79, 284, 286n.34
 Fessenden, William P., 113
 filibuster
 emergence of, 69–70
 Federal Elections Bill and, 156–57, 178–81, 186
 Gorman's use of, 178–85
 legislative process and, 59–60, 384–86
 nuclear option and, 378–80
 power of, 2, 19–20
 reform of, 342–43
 “Senate syndrome” and, 374–78
 trivialization of, 310
 twenty-first-century intensification of, 402–4
 Fillmore, Millard, 41–42
 Finance Committee, 1, 74, 106, 161, 166–67, 228–29, 265, 385
 Finney, John W., 313n.9
 first recognition, right of. *See* right of first recognition
 Flint, Frank Putnam, 199
 floor leadership. *See* leadership
 floor management. *See also* leadership; specific floor leaders
 agenda setting by, 288–90
 campaign committees and, 246–51, 370–72
 candidate recruitment and, 371–72
 caucus chair as ancestor of, 30, 106–7, 224–25
 caucus management by, 142
 coalition building and, 262–66, 296–99, 382–86
 committee assignments and, 243–46, 281–85, 372–73
 Democratic party and, 152–53, 157–60, 187–202, 205–7, 210–15, 253–55
 deteriorating personal relations and, 380–82
 elements of, 207–23
 evolution of, 6–9, 14, 16, 20–21, 49, 151–53, 228–30, 251–52, 396

Index

467

- factionalism and ambition and, 360–63
- Federal Elections Bill and evolution of, 153–57
- filibuster reform and, 342–43
- function of leadership, 16, 395
- importance of, 223–25
- individualism as challenge to, 310
- innovations in, 394–96
- intraparty conflicts and, 240–51
- Johnson and, 327–29
- minority parties and, 398–400
- nuclear option and, 378–80
- origins of, 157–60
- partisan polarization and, 373–80
- party management and, 252, 252–57, 280–88, 363–73
- party venue proliferation and, 364–67
- policy coalition building by, 142, 215–18, 338, 340–41, 341
- postwar changes in, 319–31
- power of, 147–48
- as presidential intermediaries, 259–62, 293–96, 334–38
- press coverage and, 345–46
- public relations and outreach, 386–88
- Republican party and, 144–45, 157–60, 224–25, 228–30, 255–57, 406
- right of first recognition and, 45, 290–92
- “Senate syndrome” and, 374–78
- staffing changes and, 321–25
- steering committees and, 143–46
- Taft’s management of, 325–26
- unanimous consent agreements and, 257–59
- Foot, Solomon, 26, 80, 82
- Foote, Henry, 41–42
- Foraker, Joseph, 103
- Ford, Gerald, 317, 345
- Ford, Wendell, 371, 384
- Fortas, Abe, 340
- Foster, Lafayette, 26
- Foster, Murphy, 196
- Four-Power Pact, 293
- France, Joseph, 256
- Frazier, Lynn, 282–83
- Free Soilers, 17
- Frelinghuysen, Joseph, 251
- Frist, William, 360, 366, 371–73, 379, 381, 384, 400
- Frumin, Alan, 381
- Frye, Smith D., 137
- Frye, William, 48, 103
- Fulton, Charles W., 103
- Gaillard, John, 39, 41
- Gallinger, Jacob
 - campaign committee and, 249–50
 - as caucus chair, 202, 229
 - coalition building by, 265–68
 - committee assignments and, 244
 - as floor leader, 147, 205, 233, 237–38, 252–53, 255–56, 268–69, 394
 - illness and death of, 243n.40
 - intraparty politics management, 240–41, 243
 - leadership qualities in, 104
 - party management by, 280
 - photo of, 242
 - unanimous consent agreements and, 258
- “Gang of 14,” 379–80
- Garfield, James, 101
- Garland, Merrick, 354, 381
- Garner, John Nance, 290–92
 - photo, 291
- George, Walter, 290
- Gerry, Peter, 248
- Gingrich, Newt, 359–60, 361, 397
- Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 3, 354, 390
- Gladstone, William, 51
- Glass, Carter, 236, 290
- goals
 - individual and collective goals in Senate, 9–10
 - obstacles to achievement of, 10–11
- gold standard, 184
- Goldwater, Barry, 312
- Gore, Thomas, 198
- Gorman, Arthur Pue
 - cartoons featuring, 150, 177
 - as caucus chair, 93, 162–66, 168–69, 173–87, 193–95, 205, 208
 - Cleveland and, 172–74, 183–85, 218–19
 - coalition building by, 263–64, 296
 - death of, 195
 - Democratic party and, 172–73
 - early life and career, 170–72
 - Federal Elections Bill and, 155–57, 174–87, 396
 - as floor leader, 152–53, 158–60, 170, 185–87, 210–18, 223–25, 227n.1, 362, 394
 - leadership strengths of, 4, 6, 19–20, 126, 128, 137, 183–87, 193, 205
 - news coverage of, 183–91, 188, 193–94, 205–6, 208–13, 221–22
 - as party spokesperson, 219, 221–23
 - party unity and, 215–18

- Gorman, Arthur Pue (cont.)
 photo of, 220
 power consolidation by, 208–9
 presidential liaisons with, 218–20
 racism of, 155n.3
 resignation of, 187–90
 steering committees and, 123–24, 139, 208–10
 tariff legislation and, 176–77, 183–87
 voting rights legislation and, 155
- Gould, Lewis L., 104
- Granger revolt, 100
- Grant, Ulysses S., 83, 100
- Great Senate Deadlock of 1881, 101
- Griffin, Robert, 326, 330–31, 346
- Grundy, Felix, 34–35
- Hale, Eugene, 19
 leadership roles of, 97–98, 103, 202, 204–5, 225, 228
 personality of, 102
 presidential liaisons with, 218
 retirement of, 141, 151, 228–29
 steering committee leadership and, 102–5, 132–33, 137, 139, 143–44, 146–48, 208–9
- Hale, Frederick, 276
- Hale, John P., 76–77, 80–82, 164
- Halleck, Charles, 345
- Halsey, Edwin, 287
- Hamilton, Alexander, 53
- Hanna, Mark, 139–40
- Harding, Warren G., 231, 251, 256–57, 259–62
- Harmon, Judson, 222
- Harris, Fred, 319
- Harris, Isham G., 123, 157n.5, 173–74
- Harris, William, 190–91
- Harrison, Benjamin, 125, 153, 155
- Harrison, William Henry, 67
- Haskin, Frederic, 180
- Hastings, Daniel, 286
- Hatch, Orrin, 309
- Hatfield, Mark, 362
- Hayes, Rutherford B., 155–56
- Haynes, George H., 36
- Hebert, Felix, 279
- Hechler, Kenneth W., 105
- Helms, Jesse, 309, 361
- Hildenbrand, William, 326
- Hill, Benjamin, 90
- Hitchcock, Gilbert, 236, 254–55, 260
- Hoar, George Frisbie, 123, 129, 155–56, 157n.5, 179, 205
- Hoffman, Frank (Nurdy), 333
- holds, “Senate syndrome” and, 373–78
- Holt, Daniel, 54
- Holt, James, 13
- Holt, Michael, 69
- Hoover, Herbert, 273, 277–78, 280, 293–94
- House of Representatives
 absenteeism in, 232n.16
 cartels in, 59–60, 94–95, 397
 committee structure in, 98–99
 congressional campaign committees and, 87–88
 Democratic reorganization in, 314n.10
 Federal Elections Bill and, 155–57
 insurgency in, 228
 intraparty politics and, 309
 leadership in, 102–3
 order of business in, 117
 partisan polarization in, 359–60, 361
 party organization and, 396–97
 Republican campaign committee and, 334
 Rules Committee in, 98–99
 speaker selection in, 9, 14, 23–24
 study of, 5
- House Rules Committee, 98–99, 397
- independence of steering committees, 135–36
- individual goals, Senate party organization and, 9–10
- individualism
 floor management and, 373–80
 party management and, 363–73
 party polarization and, 361–63
 postwar emergence of, 309–10
- Inflation Reduction Act, 3
- Ingalls, John J., 27, 44, 47–48
- inherited practices, intraparty politics and, 241, 243
- innovation, by Senate parties, 12–14, 393–96
- Inouye, Daniel, 362
- insurgents. *See* progressives
- intermediary with president
 Barkley, 294–95, 335–36
 Byrd, 337
 Curtis, 293–94
 Democratic party and, 205–7, 218–19
 Dirksen, 338
 floor leaders as, 259–62, 293–96, 334–38
 function of leadership, 16, 395
 Johnson, 337–38

Index

469

- Kern, 152, 218, 233, 235–37, 253–54,
 259–60, 268–69, 294
 Lodge, 259–60
 Lucas, 337
 Mansfield, 336
 McFarland, 337
 McNary, 277–80, 293–96
 partisan polarization and, 389–90
 Robinson, 293–94
 steering committees and, 143–44
 Taft, 336–37
 Watson, 293–94
 International Conference on the Limitation of
 Armaments, 261
 intraparty politics
 committee assignments and, 245–46, 281–85
 in Democratic party, 274–76
 factionalism and, 308–9
 floor leadership management of, 240–51
 inherited practices and, 241, 243
 leadership and, 274–80
 in Republican party, 276–79
 Jackson, Andrew, 36–37, 53–54
 Jarnagin, Spencer, 73
 Jefferson, Thomas, 39, 53
 presidential nominating caucuses and, 60
 Jeffersonian Republicans
 caucus meetings, 58, 62–65
 presidential nominating caucuses and, 60–62
 Senate elections and, 52–53
 Jenifer, Daniel, 66
 Jenkins, Jeffery A., 14, 58–59
 Jenkins, Walter, 327
 Johnson, Andrew, 87, 170–71, 354
 Johnson, Lyndon B.
 filibuster reform and, 342
 floor leadership and, 319, 327–29
 leadership in Senate by, 5, 21, 309
 party organization and, 20, 308, 315–16,
 318
 photo, 336
 policy leadership under, 338, 340–41
 as president, 338, 340
 as presidential intermediary, 337–38
 press coverage of, 344–45
 staff expansion under, 322, 396
 Johnson, Richard M., 32, 37
 Johnson rule, 318
 Johnston, Felton, 321, 327
 Jones, Charles O., 5, 305–6
 Jones, James K.
 as caucus chair, 159, 190–93, 205–6, 209, 213
 as party spokesperson, 221–22
 party unity and, 216
 presidential liaisons with, 219
 steering committees and, 137
 Jones, Wesley, 240, 276–78
 Kane, Paul, 385
 Kassebaum, Nancy, 359
 Kean, John, 103
 Kennedy, Anthony, 354
 Kennedy, Edward, 329, 331
 Kern, John W.
 agenda setting by, 289
 campaign committees and, 247
 as caucus chair, 6, 147, 157–60, 201–2, 205,
 394
 coalition building by, 263–65, 267, 296
 committee assignments and, 243–44
 as floor leader, 20, 157–60, 215, 252–57,
 268–69, 287
 as majority leader, 152–53, 157, 227–28,
 233, 235–37
 party management by, 240
 as party spokesperson, 223
 photo of, 226
 as presidential intermediary, 152, 218, 233,
 235–37, 253–54, 259–60, 268–69, 294
 Kerr, Clara Hannah, 56
 Kimmit, Stanley, 328–29
 King, Preston, 84–85
 King, William R., 34–35
 Klobuchar, Amy, 392
 Knowland, William, 312–13, 326, 335–36, 344
 photo, 336
 Know-Nothings, 17
 Knox, Philander C., 103
 Kolodny, Robin, 251
 Kravitz, Walter, 6, 23, 56, 65, 157–60
 Krock, Arthur, 299–300, 337
 Kuchel, Thomas, 326
 Kyl, Jon, 384
 Ladd, Edwin, 281
 La Follette, Robert, 231, 246, 256, 272, 281–82
 La Follette, Robert, Jr., 282, 284, 292
 Landon, Alf, 279
 Laxalt, Paul, 309
 leadership. *See also* coalition building; floor
 management; intermediary with president;
 majority leaders; minority leaders; party
 management; party spokespersonship

leadership (cont.)

- caucuses and role of, 19–20, 88–89, 94–95
- centralization of, 106–10, 397, 400–2
- coalition building and, 262–66
- committee chairmanships and, 106–10
- consolidation (1923–44), 271–72
- contemporary views of, 354–56
- Democratic party elements of, 205–23, 233–37
- factionalism and, 274–80
- functions in Senate of, 16, 395
- historical views of, 97–98
- individualism as challenge to, 20–21
- intraparty politics and, 274–80
- minority parties and, 398–400
- neutrality of, 43–48
- party goals and role of, 12
- party management role of, 240–51, 280–88, 363–73
- personalities linked to, 102–5
- press criticism of, 51–52
- reorganization of, 233–40
- Republican party elements of, 141–46, 237–40
- steering committee as tool of, 98–99
- of steering committees, 124–30, 137
- timing and, 105–10
- vice presidents and, 279–80
- weaknesses in Senate of, 48–49, 51–52
- leadership PACs, 371
- legislative business caucus (1841), 65–71
- legislative review committees, 316
- LeVine, Marianne, 390
- Lewis, J. Hamilton, 234, 235, 276
- Liberal Republicans, 100
- Lincoln, Abraham, 89, 113, 171
- line of succession
 - president pro tempore in, 24–26, 30–31, 32
 - speaker in, 24–25
- Lodge, Henry Cabot
 - campaign committees and, 250–51
 - coalition building by, 266, 268
 - committee assignments and, 244–46, 278
 - as floor leader, 103, 147, 202, 229, 231, 237–40, 252, 254, 255n.79, 256–57
 - party management by, 243, 280
 - photo, 262
 - as presidential intermediary, 259–60
 - presidential relations with, 218, 261–62, 294
 - unanimous consent agreements and, 47, 258–59
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr., 317–18

- Loeffler, Carl, 287–88, 321
- Logan, John, 89
- Lott, Trent, 359–63, 367, 376, 377, 379, 380–81, 383–84, 389, 400
- Lucas, Scott, 308, 314–15, 337, 342, 344
- Lugar, Richard, 370
- MacDonough, Elizabeth, 381
- MacNeil, Neil, 104, 107
- Madden, James William, 214
- Madison, James, 53, 83n.75
 - presidential nominating caucuses and, 60–62
- Madonna, Anthony J., 181
- Mahone, William, 101
- maintaining order, collective action problems and, 38–43
- majority leaders. *See also* leadership; minority leaders
 - evolution of, 6–9, 20, 227–28, 237–40
 - floor tactic innovations by, 377–78, 393–96
 - power of, 2–3
 - right of first recognition and, 45, 290–92
 - unanimous consent agreements, 45
- Manchin, Joe, 3
- Manderson, Charles F., 27
- Mangum, Willie, 38
- Mansfield, Mike
 - campaign committees and, 333
 - cloture under, 374
 - filibuster reform and, 343
 - as party leader, 305–6
 - party organization under, 316–19, 348
 - party secretary and, 328–29
 - photo, 339
 - policy leadership under, 338, 340, 348
 - as presidential intermediary, 336
 - press coverage and, 345, 386
 - staff organization by, 322, 324
- Martin, Thomas S., 140
 - as caucus chair, 159–60, 196, 198, 200–1, 204–5, 209–10, 214–15, 218–19
 - coalition building by, 265, 267
 - committee assignments and, 243–44
 - death of, 236
 - as floor leader, 252–55, 260–61, 289
 - leadership elections, 197–202, 233, 235–36
 - as party spokesperson, 222–23
 - photo, 199
 - Wilson and, 294
- Mason, George, 23
- McBride, George, 139
- McCarthy, Joseph, 317–18

Index

471

- McClure, James, 309, 324, 361
 McConachie, Lauros, 7, 31, 98–99, 136, 207–8
 McConnell, Mitch
 as campaign committee chair, 371
 centralization of policy proposals under, 385–86
 committee assignments under, 373
 as majority leader, 2–3, 5, 21, 353–56
 obstructionism by, 376–78, 389–90
 partisan polarization and, 360, 381
 photo, 352, 392
 public relations and outreach by, 388
 Schumer and, 381–82
 staff expansion under, 369
 task forces under, 366
 as whip, 384
 whips under, 383–84
 McCormick, Richard P., 60–61
 McCubbins, Mathew D., 59–60
 McCumber, Porter, 256
 McFarland, Ernest, 308, 314–15, 318, 327, 337, 340, 342, 344, 366
 McKellar, Kenneth, 30
 McKinley, William, 107, 142, 144, 203, 219
 McKinley Tariff Bill, 175–76, 178, 221
 McMillan, James, 129
 McNary, Charles
 agenda setting by, 288–89
 coalition building by, 298–99
 committee assignments under, 284–86
 death of, 325
 intraparty conflict and, 272, 310–11
 as party spokesperson, 300–1
 photo, 295
 as presidential intermediary, 277–80, 293–95
 right of first recognition and, 291
 staffing for, 321
 McNary-Haugen farm relief legislation, 272–73
 membership, on steering committees, 139–40
 Merrill, Horace Samuel, 105, 107
 Merrill, Marion Galbraith, 105, 107
 Mikulski, Barbara, 387, 392
 Millikin, Eugene, 311–12
 minority caucus room, 91–93
 minority leaders. *See also* leadership; majority leaders
 historical evolution of, 6–9
 obstructionism by, 373–74
 Minton, Sherman, 276
 Mitchell, George, 360, 361n.15, 362, 364, 365n.20, 366, 369–72, 379–80, 384, 387
 Mitchell, John, 129
 Mondell, Frank, 256
 Money, Hernando, 159, 197, 209–10, 214, 217, 219, 222
 Monroe, James, presidential nominating caucuses and, 60–61
 Mooney, Booth, 327
 Morehead, James T., 46, 69
 Morgan, Edwin D., 86
 Morgan, John T., 157n.5, 191
 Morrill, Justin, 202
 Morton, Oliver, 110, 222
 Moses, George, 240, 283–84
 Munk, Margaret, 6, 8, 157n.5, 159–60
 Murray, Patty, 362–63, 371
 Muskie, Edmund, 333
 Myers, Francis, 337
 National Association of Base Ball Players, 171
 national bank proposal, 67–68
 National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), 334, 370
 Nelson, Knute, 103
 New, Harry S., 235
 New Deal legislation, 273–76, 279, 286, 289, 293–95, 298–301, 325
 New Democrats, 362
 New Freedom agenda (Wilson), 259–60
 Newlands, Francis, 198
 news coverage
 of “The Big Five” (Senate leadership), 102–5
 caucus activity discussed in, 62–67, 78–80, 163
 of caucus chairs, 167–69, 190–96, 202–7, 221–23
 committee assignments coverage in, 81–82, 84–88, 90–93
 of Congress, 266–68
 of Gorman, 183–91, 188, 193–94, 205–6, 208–13, 221–22
 party spokespersonship and, 299–301, 343–48
 public relations and outreach, 386–88
 of Senate, 266–68
 Senate leadership criticism in, 51–52, 205–6, 213–15
 of steering committees, 119–21, 120, 134–35
 Nickles, Donald, 371
 Nixon, Richard, 316
 nomenclature
 of floor leadership, 160
 of steering committees, 133–35

- Norris, George, 245, 283
 nuclear option, 378–80, 401
- Obama, Barack, 353, 377, 381, 384–86, 389–90
 judicial nominees by, 2–3
- obstructionism
 floor strategy and, 374–78
 presidential intermediaries and, 389–90
- Old Senate Chamber, engraving of, 22
- O'Mahoney, Joseph, 315
- Oppenheimer, Bruce L., 11
- opposition parties, caucuses and, 17–18
- order of business, committees on. *See also*
 steering committees
 ad hoc committees, 17, 58
 caucuses and, 52, 77, 88
 Democratic committees, 79, 116–19, 122–24, 271
 establishment (1856–79), 92–93, 110–15
 leadership of, 137
 references to, 133–34
 Republican committees, 89, 92–93, 109, 115–24, 131–32
 steering committees and, 134–37, 140, 271
 table of, 424–35
- organizational cartels, 59–60
- outreach, partisan polarization and, 386–88
- Overman, Lee, 196
- Owen, Robert, 254
- Packwood, Robert, 324, 334, 359, 371
- Page, William Tyler, 290
- pairing, 233n.17, 235n.19
- Panic of 1837, 55
- parity in party representation, historic periods of, 17–19, 38
- partisan polarization
 campaign committees and, 370–72
 coalition building and, 382–86
 contemporary increase in, 356–63, 359
 deteriorating personal relations and, 380–82
 floor leadership and, 373–80
 policymaking and, 397–98
 parliamentary rules and, 363
 presidential intermediaries and, 389–90
 public relations and outreach, 386–88
 Senate leadership and, 9
- party competition
 caucuses and, 94–95
 entrepreneurs, factions, and, 52–56, 356–63
 factionalism and, 230–32, 307–9
- history of, 106, 230–32
 individualism and, 309–10
 innovation and, 12–14, 393–96
 mid-century emergence of, 306–10, 348
 in Senate, 5–9, 12–14
 Senate rules and, 363
 size in Senate, 17–19, 18–19, 99–100, 100, 230–31, 231, 307, 357
 steering committees and, 124–30
 twenty-first-century intensification of, 402–4
- party luncheons, 365
- party management. *See also* party organization
 Democratic party and, 205–10
 function of leadership, 16, 395
 leadership role in, 240–51, 280–88, 310–19
 partisan polarization and, 363–73
 shared leadership approach to, 313–14
 steering committees and, 142
 studies of, 305–6
- party organization. *See also* party management
 cartel structure and, 59–60, 397
 caucus organization and, 76–80
 caucuses and committee assignments and, 72–76
 centralization of, 20–21, 106–10, 397, 400–2
 collective action problems and, 31–43
 committee assignments and, 317–19
 congressional campaign committees and, 83–88
 emergence of, 53–56
 failure of, 14
 history in Senate of, 4–9, 13–14, 53, 58–59
 management of, 16
 neutrality of chair and, 43–48
 new theories on, 396–402
 in postwar era, 310–19, 348–50
- party retreats, 364–65
- party secretaries, evolution of, 287–88, 321–25, 328–29
- party spokespersonship
 coalition building and, 267–68
 Democratic party and, 205–7, 219, 221–23
 floor leadership and, 266–68
 function of leadership, 16, 395
 postwar changes for, 343–48
 press coverage and, 299–301
 public relations and, 386–88
 steering committees and, 143–44
- party venues, proliferation of, 364–67
- Peabody, Robert L., 205
- Pendleton, George, 137, 164, 166, 207–8
- Penrose, Boies, 245

Index

473

- personality, leadership power and, 102–5
 personal relations, deterioration of, 380–82
 Phillips, David Graham, 103, 145
 Platt, Orville, 19, 96, 103, 157n.5, 225, 228
 Platt, Thomas C., 103
 Plumer, William, 64
 Poe suffrage amendment, 155n.3
 Poindexter, George, 37
 Poindexter, Miles, 251
 policy committees. *See also* steering committees
 Byrd's leadership of, 366–67
 caucus management and, 208
 centralization and, 385–86, 397, 400–2
 Democratic floor leaders and, 142, 215–18, 314–17, 328–29
 Democratic party reorganization and, 271–72, 275, 280, 297–98, 314–17, 322–24, 328, 344–45
 factionalism and, 349–50, 364–65, 397–98
 party competition and, 303
 postwar changes in, 338, 340–41
 Republican party and, 148, 311–13, 321–27, 369–70
 Taft as Republican chair of, 317–18, 324, 326, 334, 337, 344
 term limits for leaders of, 360–62
 weekly meetings for, 365
 politics and power. *See* coalition building
Politics and Power (Rothman), 6, 105, 158
 Poole, Keith T., 114
 presidential elections, 124–30, 155–56
 presidential liaison. *See* intermediary with president
 presidential nominating caucuses (1796–1800), 60–62, 394
 presidential power, Senate party organization and, 7–9
 presidents. *See also* intermediary with president; specific presidents
 Senate leadership relations with, 219–20
 steering committee relations with, 144
 presidents pro tempore. *See also* vice presidents
 appointments by, 29–30
 collective action problems and powers of, 31–43
 competitors to, 43
 failure of leadership by, 16–17, 24–25, 38–43
 length of service of, 35, 35
 in line of succession, 24–26, 30–31
 list of, 26–27, 409–23
 maintaining order, role in, 38–43
 neutrality of, 43–48
 selection of, 23, 25–30
 standing committees and, 37–38
 table of, 409–23
 press coverage
 party polarization and, 357–58
 party spokespersonship and, 299–301, 343–48, 347, 350
 Senate leaders and, 299n.66
 principal-agent problem, Senate party leadership and, 12
 procedural cartels, 59–60
 progressives
 challenge to Republicans from, 228–32, 272–73
 committee assignments and role of, 281–85
 Democratic leadership contests and, 198, 200–1
 intraparty politics and, 197, 246
 Republican floor leadership and, 256
 public relations. *See also* party spokespersonship
 expansion of, 396
 partisan polarization and, 386–88
 Radicals, 89
 Randolph, John, 39
 Rasin, Isaac Freeman, 172
 Reagan, Ronald, 354, 364, 365, 389
 recognition, rules for, 44–45, 290–92. *See also* right of first recognition
 Reconstruction era
 caucus formation and, 56–57
 congressional campaign committees and, 87–88
 party competition and, 100–2
 Senate battle for control and, 99–102, 116–24
 voting rights legislation and, 19–20
 Reed, David, 240, 283–85
 Reed, Thomas B.
 House reform efforts of, 2, 156–57, 170
 leadership by, 59, 99, 175, 178
 Reed rules, 95, 99, 156–57, 170, 223, 397
 Reedy, George, 327–28
Register of Debates, 39
 Reid, Harry, 352, 362–63, 379–80, 381, 384–86, 387, 388, 400
 as majority leader, 2–3, 21
 religious right, Republican politics and, 309
 Remini, Robert V., 67
 Republican conference reorganization (1944), 301–3

- Republican Executive Congressional Committee letter, 85
- Republican National Committee, 251
- Republican party. *See also* Jeffersonian Republicans
 - ascendancy and collapse of, 6
 - assistant doorkeepers for, 93
 - campaign committees and, 83–88, 249–51, 285–87, 333–34
 - cartel behavior by, 59–60, 397
 - caucus chairs in, 80–81, 160–61, 164–69, 202–4, 228–29
 - caucuses in, 17–18, 52, 57–59, 62, 65, 88–89, 111, 240n.37
 - civil rights legislation and, 343
 - coalition building in, 265–66
 - committee assignments and, 81–83, 112–15, 244–46, 281–85, 317–19, 372–73
 - committee tenure in, 136–37
 - competition within, 53–56
 - conference terminology in, 240n.37
 - conservative resurgence in, 308–9
 - drafting committees and committees on the order of business, 92–93, 424–30
 - electoral losses by, 278–79
 - factionalism in, 360–62
 - filibuster reform and, 343
 - floor leadership and, 157–60, 224–25, 228–30, 255–57
 - infrastructure (1945–80), 305, 311–14
 - inherited practices and intraparty politics in, 241, 243
 - intraparty conflict in, 272–74, 276–79
 - leadership elements in, 141–46, 237–40
 - loss of hegemony by, 116–17
 - modernization (1871–79) of caucuses, 89–93
 - during New Deal era, 20
 - obstructionism by, 374–78
 - party competition and factionalism in, 230–32
 - party secretaries and, 287–88
 - photo of senators in, 96
 - polarization in, 358–60
 - political entrepreneurship and, 55–56
 - postwar reorganization of, 310–14
 - presidential election of 1892 and, 126–30
 - presidential nominating caucuses and, 60–62
 - Senate control by, 17–20, 100–2
 - Senate leadership and, 1, 4, 106–10
 - Senate staff expansion by, 321–25
 - steering committees and, 98–99, 119–30, 133–41, 139n.102, 146–48, 396
 - tariff legislation and, 175–76
 - venues for, 364–67
 - voting rights legislation and, 155–57
- Rich, Spencer, 324
- Riddick, Floyd M., 6, 157n.5, 159
- right of first recognition, 45, 290–92, 396
- Ripley, Randall B., 6, 107, 335
- Ritchie, Donald A., 143
- Robinson, Joseph T.
 - agenda setting by, 289
 - campaign committees and, 285–87
 - coalition building by, 297–98
 - committee assignments under, 281
 - floor leadership by, 5, 20, 236–37, 255, 271–72, 289, 309, 394
 - intraparty politics and, 274–76, 281
 - party management by, 280–81, 287
 - as party spokesperson, 299–300
 - photo of, *xviii*, 270, 300
 - as presidential intermediary, 293–94
 - staffing for, 321
 - vice-presidential bid, 279–80
- Rockefeller, Jay, 387
- roll-call votes
 - decline in, 377–78, 378
 - partisan polarization and, 358–60
 - senators' voting percentages on, 232
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 273–75, 279, 293–96, 307, 327, 342, 344
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 97, 142, 219, 261, 280
- Rothman, David J., 6, 51, 56–58, 81, 83, 105–11, 158–59
- Rule XII. *See* unanimous consent agreements (UCAs)
- Rule XXII. *See* cloture
- Rules Committee (House), 98–99
- Russell, Richard, 308, 327
 - photo, 336
- Rybicki, Elizabeth, 113n.14
- Sackett, Frederic, 276
- Saffold, Abby, 363–64
- Saltonstall, Leverett, 312
- Sanders, Newell, 258
- Santorum, Rick, 359
- Saulsbury, Willard, 247–48, 250
- Scalia, Antonin, 2, 353
- scheduling problems, rules for, 43–45, 47–48
- Schickler, Eric, 107, 109, 181–82
- Schumer, Charles E., 388, 392
 - as campaign committee chair, 371
 - as majority leader, 3, 5, 21, 361, 381–82

Index

475

- power consolidation by, 356
- whips under, 384
- Scott, Hugh, 313–14, 326, 331, 346, 386
- Second Bank of the United States, 54, 67–68
- Senate
 - absenteeism in, 232–34
 - battle for control of (1877–95), 99–102, 116–30
 - cartoon image of, 177
 - caucus evolution in, 17–19, 63–80, 95
 - cloture in, 157
 - committee assignment process in, 75–76, 81–83, 112–15, 244–46, 281–85
 - contemporary views of, 354–56
 - Democratic leadership table, 406–7
 - deteriorating personal relations in, 380–82
 - direct election of members to, 230, 246–47
 - engraving of chamber, 78
 - floor leadership origins in, 157–60
 - history of leadership in, 2–5
 - individual and collective goals in, 9–10
 - individualism in, 20–21
 - lack of scholarship on, 5–9
 - leadership reorganization in, 233–40
 - minority parties in, 398–400
 - new chamber (1859), 78
 - new membership and institutional change in, 8
 - obstacles to goal achievement in, 10–11
 - order of business in, 110–15
 - organizational innovation in, 12–14, 58–59, 393–96
 - partisan conflict in, 20–21
 - party organization in, 4–9, 13–14, 53, 55–56, 59–60, 310–19
 - party size in, 7–8, 18–19, 99–100, 100, 230–31, 231, 273, 307, 357, 399–400
 - presidential elections and role of, 125–30
 - press coverage of, 266–68, 343–48
 - renovation of Senate chamber, 320
 - Republican leadership table, 405–6
 - seniority system in, 30
 - staff appropriations for, 322
 - steering committee leadership in, 98–99
 - vice president as leader of, 3, 23–30
 - workload growth in, 7–8
- Senate Historical Office, 4, 56n.9
- Senate New Democratic Coalition (SNDC), 362
- Senate Office Building, construction of, 151
- Senate pages, 170–71, 287, 321
 - introduction of, 54–55
- “Senate syndrome,” 374–78, 399–402
- senators, limited power of, 1–2
- Sessions, Jeff, 361
- Seventeenth Amendment, 230, 247
- Sevier, Ambrose, 29, 73–74
- Seward, William H., 80, 89, 113, 161
- Sewell, William, 139
- Sherman, James S., 24, 48
- Sherman, John
 - as caucus chair, 93, 106, 137, 161, 164, 202
 - maintenance of Senate order by, 43
 - order of business committees and, 110
 - steering committees and, 114, 122, 203
 - on unanimous consent agreements, 47
- Sherman, Roger, 23
- Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 184
- Shipstead, Henrik, 273, 282
- Shively, Benjamin, 198
- Siegel, George, 327
- Silver Republicans, 156, 179–80, 182, 212
- Simmons, Furnifold, 196, 237, 244
- Simpson, Alan, 359–61, 383
- Sinclair, Barbara, 397
- “60-vote Senate,” 374
- size of parties (Senate), 7–8, 18–19, 99–100, 100, 230–31, 231, 273, 307, 357, 399–400
- Smith, Alfred E., 280
- Smith, Ellison, 246
- Smith, George H. E., 325–26
- Smith, Hoke, 236
- Smith, Margaret Chase, 392
- Smith, Oliver Hampton, 67
- Smith, Steven S., 181
- Smoot, Reed, 250, 258–59, 262, 281
- social issues, partisan polarization and, 358–60
- Southard, Samuel, 29
- speaker of the House
 - duties of, 9, 14
 - in line of succession, 24–26
 - power of, 27, 397
 - selection of, 9, 14, 23–24
 - study of, 5
- special orders, 45
- Spooner, John, 19, 96, 103, 107, 139, 204, 225, 228
- staffing operations
 - campaign committees, 370–72
 - expansion of, 321–25, 322, 323, 327–28, 396
 - partisan polarization and, 367–70, 367–68
 - stakeout sessions, 387

- standing committees. *See also* committee assignments; committee on committees; steering committees
 caucuses and, 17, 43, 58, 62, 69, 75–80
 creation of, 31–38, 71–75
 as gatekeepers, 59
 in House, 99
 leadership influence on, 102–5
 partisan conflict and, 20–21
 president pro tempore appointments to, 16–17, 24, 31, 38
 steering committees and, 19, 121–24, 136–37
 state elections, steering committees and, 124–30, 140–41
 state legislatures, senator selection by, 19, 230, 246
 steering committees. *See also* committee assignments; committee on committees; order of business, committees on; policy committees
 caucuses and, 136–42, 394
 committee assignments and, 244
 consolidation of, 130–33
 decline of, 151–52
 election monitoring and intervention by, 247
 electoral role of, 124–30, 140–41
 floor leadership and, 141–48, 288–90
 heyday of (1893–1913), 133–41
 history of (1856–1913), 97–148
 independence of, 135–36
 innovations in, 394–96
 leadership and, 98–99, 137
 membership, 139–40
 nomenclature of, 133–35
 origins of, 109–10
 partisan polarization and, 361
 party competition and, 106, 116–24
 presidential relations with, 142
 Republican creation of, 18–20, 105–6, 115–24, 146–48, 396
 standing committees and, 19, 121–24, 136–37
 tenure, 136–37
 Stephenson, Nathaniel W., 106n.12
 Sterling, Thomas, 250
 Stevens, Ted, 331, 383
 Stevenson, John W., 90–91, 164, 166, 207–8
 Stewart, Charles, III, 14, 58–59
 Stewart, John G., 114, 338, 340
 Stewart, William M., 178–79, 212
 Stone, William, 196, 198, 232, 235
 Stuart, Charles E., 29–30
 Sumner, Charles, 42, 57, 83, 88, 111
 super PACs, 372
 Supreme Court, Senate nominations to, 2–3, 353–56, 379–80
 Taft, Robert
 campaign committees and, 334
 committee assignments and, 317–18
 death of, 312
 floor leadership and, 319, 325–26
 intraparty conflict and, 308
 party organization under, 20, 272, 301, 310–14, 340, 351
 photo of, 295
 as presidential intermediary, 336–37
 press coverage and, 344
 staff expansion under, 322, 396
 Taft, William Howard, 142, 197, 219
 Taliaferro, James, 209
 tariff legislation, 176–77, 183–87, 214–15
 task forces, 313–14, 366
 Tea Party, 385
 Teapot Dome scandal, 293
 television coverage, party spokespersons and, 345–48
 Teller, Henry, 122, 129, 209
 tenure on steering committees, 136–37
 term-limit rule, partisan polarization and, 362–63
 “textbook Congress,” 305
 Thompson, Charles Willis, 97, 102–4, 145, 195, 205
 Thune, John, 371, 384
 Thurman, Allen G., 118, 157n.5
 Tilden, Samuel, 115–16, 155
 timing, leadership and, 105–10
 Tower, John, 313n.9, 324
 Townsend, John, 286, 333–34
 transaction costs, Senate party organization and, 11
 Trice, Mark, 322, 326
 Truman, David, 305–6, 385
 Truman, Harry, 280, 307–8, 335, 337, 342, 344
 Trumbull, Lyman, 110, 112, 114
 Trump, Donald, 389
 judicial nominations by, 3, 379–80
 Turpie, David, 189–90
 Tyler, John, 37, 67–68, 70
 unanimous consent agreements (UCAs)
 floor leadership and, 253, 257–59, 328–30

Index

477

- history of, 20, 45–49, 396
- parliamentary status of, 47
- partisan polarization and, 374–75
- Underwood, Joseph, 76
- Underwood, Oscar, 236–37, 244, 249, 254–55, 260–61, 264–65, 267, 289, 293–94
- Underwood Tariff Act, 236
- Union Congressional Committee, 86

- Valelly, Richard M., 156
- Valeo, Francis, 322, 328
- Vallandigham, Clement, 87–88
- Van Buren, Martin, 36–37, 53–55
- Vandenberg, Arthur, 279, 289, 295, 308, 325
- Vest, George, 191
- vice presidents. *See also* presidents pro tempore
 - election of 1837 and, 33–34
 - failure of leadership by, 16, 23–24, 49
 - power in Senate of, 38–43
 - Senate leadership and, 3, 23–30, 35–38
 - Senate party leaders as, 279–80
- Voorhees, Daniel, 122
- voting period expansion, 330n.38
- voting rights legislation. *See also* Federal Elections Bill (1890–91)
 - Federal Elections Bill, 2, 4, 153–57
 - “First Vote” illustration, 154
 - party competition and, 19–20, 100–2

- Wade, Benjamin, 26, 80, 88
- Wadsworth, James, 238–40, 250, 276
- Walker, Bob, 361
- Wallace, William A., 162, 207–8
- Wallop, Malcolm, 309
- Walsh, David, 249
- Walsh, Thomas J., 235n.20, 248–49
- Warren, Francis, 239–40, 245
- Watson, James
 - coalition building by, 297
 - committee assignments by, 283–84
 - as floor leader, 239–40
 - party management by, 276–78, 280, 286n.34, 288
 - as party spokesperson, 299
 - as presidential intermediary, 293–94
- Wawro, Gregory J., 181–82
- Webster, Daniel, 36n.16
 - party organization and, 46, 53–54
 - political entrepreneurship and, 55–56
 - Senate leadership of, 17
 - Tyler and, 68–69
- Weeks, John, 250
- Weller, John B., 111–12
- Westcott, James, 74
- Wherry, Kenneth S., 344
- Whig party
 - caucuses used by, 17, 62, 65–71, 94–95, 394
 - committee assignments and, 71–76, 82
 - failure of, 14
 - filibuster and, 69–70
 - legislative business caucus (1841), 65–71
 - political entrepreneurship and, 53–55
 - Senate elections and, 52
- whips
 - Byrd as, 329–30
 - coalition building and, 383–84
 - creation of, 20, 152, 233–40, 268
 - floor leaders and, 276–79, 313–14, 324, 326–31
- White, Hugh L., 36
- White, Stephen, 46–47
- White, Wallace, 321, 325–26
- Whyte, William Pinckney, 172
- Williams, John Sharp, 198
- Willkie, Wendell, 280
- Wilson, William L., 186
- Wilson, Woodrow, 58
 - campaign committees and, 247–48
 - on caucuses, 31
 - Congress and, 1–2, 261–62
 - Kern and, 152, 218, 233, 235–37, 253–54, 259–60, 268–69, 294
 - Lodge and, 256, 261–62
 - as president, 201, 215, 230
 - Senate floor leadership and, 8, 98, 215, 222–23
 - Senate relations with, 20
 - on vice presidency, 23
- Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill, 185–87, 221
- Wolcott, Edward O., 139, 180
- Wood, Fernando, 117
- workload, Senate party organization and, 7–8

- Young, James Sterling, 64
- Young Guard, 278, 284
- Young Turks, 286

- Zweben, Murray, 380