

Political Science 9175
The Evolution of American Legislatures, 1619 to the Present

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This course is an advanced graduate seminar designed to acquaint students with the scholarly literature on the evolution of American legislatures. In addition, students will be given the opportunity to pursue their own original research project. The research project may be on the evolution of any legislative body or any aspect of legislative organization or behavior. Most of the semester will be devoted to discussion of the relevant literature. During the final seminar meeting students will present their research project. Students are expected to attend the weekly seminar prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Grades will be based on the quality of the research paper and participation in the seminar. I will assign plus and minus grades.

Academic Integrity: Breaches of academic integrity rules are regarded as serious matters.

Provisions for Students with Disabilities: If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please establish an accommodation plan with the Disability Center (<http://disabilitycenter.missouri.edu>), S5 Memorial Union, 573- 882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations.

Intellectual Pluralism: The University welcomes intellectual diversity. Students who have questions concerning the quality of instruction in this class may address concerns to either the Department Chair or Division leader or Director of the [Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities](http://osrr.missouri.edu) (<http://osrr.missouri.edu>). All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor at the end of the course.

Assigned Text:

Squire. *The Evolution of American Legislatures: Colonies, Territories and States, 1619-2009*.

Discussion Topics and Assigned Readings:

January 22: The Establishment of American Legislatures from a Comparative Perspective
Squire, *Evolution*, chapter 1

Squire, *The Rise of the Representative: Lawmakers and Constituents in Colonial America*, chapter 1

Huntington. 1968. "Political Modernization: America vs. Europe." *World Politics* 18:378-414.

Lucas. 1971. "A Note on the Comparative Study of the Structure of Politics in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain and Its American Colonies." *William and Mary Quarterly* 28:301-309.

Suggested Additional Readings

Higham. 1921. "The General Assembly of the Leeward Islands." *English Historical Review* 41:190-209.

Kammen. 1969. *Deputies & Libertyes* (pages 3-68).

Loewenberg. 1995. "Legislatures and Parliaments." In *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*, ed. Lipset.

Patterson. 1978. "The Emerging Morphology of the World's Legislatures." *World Politics* 30:468-481.

Polsby. 1975. "Legislatures." In *The Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Greenstein and Polsby.

January 29: An Overview of the Evolution of Colonial Legislatures

Squire, *Rise of the Representative*, chapter 2

Greene. 1961. "The Role of the Lower Houses of Assembly in Eighteenth-Century Politics." *Journal of Southern History* 27:451-474.

Greene. 1981. "Legislative Turnover in British America, 1696 to 1775: A Quantitative Analysis." *WMQ* 38:442-463.

Kukla. 1985. "Order and Chaos in Early America: Political and Social Stability in Pre-Restoration Virginia." *AHR* 90:275-298.

Lokken. 1959. "The Concept of Democracy in Colonial Political Thought." *WMQ* 16: 568-580.
Olson. 1992. "Eighteenth-Century Colonial Legislatures and Their Constituents." *JAH* 79:543-567.

Suggested Additional Readings

Billings. 1974. "The Growth of Political Institutions in Virginia, 1634-1676." *WMQ* 31:225-242.
Brennan. 1931. "The Massachusetts Council of the Magistrates." *The New England Quarterly* 4:54-93.
Greene. 1959. "Foundations of Political Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1720-1776." *WMQ* 16:485-506.
Greene. 1994. "Colonial Assemblies." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
Hoffer and Hull. 1978. "The First American Impeachments." *WMQ* 35:653-667.
Hoffer and Hull. 1979. "Power and Precedent in the Creation of an American Impeachment Tradition: The Eighteenth-Century Colonial Record." *WMQ* 36:51-77.
Sirmans. 1961. "The South Carolina Royal Council, 1720-1763." *WMQ* 18:373-392.
Tully. 1976. "Constituent-Representative Relationships in Early America: The Case of Pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania." *Canadian Journal of History* 11:139-154.
Walett. 1949. "The Massachusetts Council, 1766-1774: The Transformation of a Conservative Institution." *WMQ* 6:605-627.

February 4: Organization and Parliamentary Procedures in American Colonial Assemblies

Squire, *Evolution*, chapter 2
Cook. 1931. "Procedure in the North Carolina Colonial Assembly, 1731-1770." *North Carolina Historical Review* 8:258-283.
Corey. 1929. "Procedure in the Commons House of Assembly in Georgia." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 13:110-127.
Leonard. 1948. "The Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly 1682-1776 I." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 72:215-239.
Leonard. 1948. "The Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly 1682-1776 II." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 72:376-412.
Pargellis. 1927. "The Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses I." *William and College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 7:73-86.
Pargellis. 1927. "The Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses II." *William and College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 7:143-157.

Suggested Additional Readings

Longmore. 1996. "'All Matters and Things Relating to Religion and Morality': The Virginia House of Burgesses' Committee for Religion, 1769 to 1775." *Journal of Church and State* 38:775-797.
Miller. 1913. "The Virginia Committee of Correspondence of 1773-1775." *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 22:99-113.
Ryerson. 1986. "Portrait of a Colonial Oligarchy: The Quaker Elite in the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1729-1776." In *Power and Status*, ed. Daniels.
Surrency. 1965. "Revision of Colonial Laws." *American Journal of Legal History* 9:189-202.
Wendel. 1986. "At the Pinnacle of Elective Success: The Speaker of the House in Colonial America." In *Power and Status*, ed. Daniels.
Young. 1968. "The Evolution of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1748." *Pennsylvania History* 35:147-168.
Zemsky. 1969. "Power, Influence, and Status: Leadership Patterns in the Massachusetts Assembly, 1740-1755." *WMQ* 26:502-520.

February 11: Instructions and Representation in Colonial Assemblies

Squire, *Rise of the Representative*, chapters 7 and 8
Beer, 1957. "The Representation of Interests in British Government: Historical Background." *American Political Science Review* 51:613-650.
Boyer. 1964. "Borrowed Rhetoric: The Massachusetts Excise Controversy of 1754." *William and Mary Quarterly* 21:328-351.
Rainbolt. 1970. "The Alteration in the Relationship between Leadership and Constituents in Virginia, 1660 to 1720." *William and Mary Quarterly* 27:411-434.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Tully. 1976. "Constituent–Representative Relationships in Early America: The Case of Pre–Revolutionary Pennsylvania." *Canadian Journal of History* 11:139–154.
- Young. 1968. "The Evolution of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682–1748." *Pennsylvania History* 35:147–168.

February 18: The First State Legislatures and the Congress under the Articles of Confederation

Squire, *Evolution*, chapter 3

- Onuf. 1994. "The Origins and Early Development of State Legislatures." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
- Rakove. 1994. "The Origins of Congress." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
- Jillson. 1988. "Political Culture and the Pattern of Congressional Politics under the Articles of Confederation." *Publius* 18:1-26.
- Jillson and Wilson. 1987. "A Social Choice Model of Politics: Insights into the Demise of the U. S. Continental Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 12:5-32.
- Main. 1966. "Government by the People: The American Revolution and the Democratization of the Legislatures." *WMQ* 23:391-407.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Bernstein. 1999. "Parliamentary Principles, American Realities: The Continental Congress and Confederation Congresses, 1774-89." In *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress*, ed. Bowling and Kennon.
- Burnett. 1929. "Perquisites of the President of the Continental Congress." *AHR* 35:69-76.
- Lutz. 1999. "The Colonial and Early State Legislative Process." In *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress*, ed. Bowling and Kennon.
- McCormick. 1997. "Ambiguous Authority: The Ordinances of the Confederation Congress, 1781-1789." *American Journal of Legal History* 41:411-439.
- Morey. 1893-1894. "The First State Constitutions." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 4:201-32.
- Webster. 1897. "Comparative Study of the State Constitutions of the American Revolution." *Annals* 9:380-420.
- Wilson and Jillson. 1989. "Leadership Patterns in the Continental Congress: 1774-1789." *LSQ* 14:5-37.

February 25: The Rise of Political Parties in Congress and State Legislatures

- Aldrich and Grant. 1993. "The Antifederalists, the First Congress, and the First Parties." *JOP* 55:295-326.
- Formisano. 1974. "Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture, 1789-1840." *APSR* 68:473-487.
- Hoadley. 1980. "The Emergence of Political Parties in Congress: 1789-1803." *APSR* 74:757-779.
- Risjord and DenBoer. 1974. "The Evolution of Political Parties in Virginia, 1782-1800." *JAH* 60:961-984.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Bell. 1979. "Mr. Madison's War and Long-Term Congressional Voting Behavior." *WMQ* 36:373-395.
- Bogue and Marlaire. 1975. "Of Mess and Men: The Boardinghouse and Congressional Voting, 1821-1842." *American Journal of Political Science* 19:207-230.
- Hatzenbuehler. 1972. "Party Unity and the Decision for War in the House of Representatives, 1812." *WMQ* 29:367-390.
- Henderson. 1973. "Quantitative Approaches to Party Formation in the United States Congress: A Comment." *WPQ* 30:307-323 (and Ryan reply).
- McWilliams. 1989. "The Anti-Federalists, Representation, and Party." *Northwestern University Law Review* 84:12-38.
- Ryan. 1971. "Party Formation in the United States Congress, 1789 to 1796: A Quantitative Analysis." *WMQ* 28:523-542.
- Wirls. 2015. "Staggered Terms for the US Senate: Origins and Irony." *LSQ* 40:471-497.

March 4: The Early Congress and Organizational Change

- Bogue. 1994. "The U.S. Congress: The Era of Party Patronage and Sectional Stress, 1829-1881." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
- Risjord. 1994. "Congress in the Federalist-Republican Era, 1789-1828." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
- Binder. 1995. "Partisanship and Procedural Choice: Institutional Change in the Early Congress, 1789-1823." *Journal of Politics* 57:1093-1118.
- Cooper and Young. 1989. "Bill Introduction in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Institutional Change." *LSQ* 14:67-105.
- Gamm and Shepsle. 1989. "Emergence of Legislative Institutions: Standing Committees in the House and Senate, 1810-1825." *LSQ* 14:39-66.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Baker. 2002. "The United States Senate in Philadelphia: An Institutional History of the 1790s." In *The House & Senate in the 1790s*, ed. Bowling and Kennon.
- Bickford. 1999. "'Public Attention Is Very Much Fixed on the Proceedings of the New Congress': The First Federal Congress Organizes Itself." In *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress*, ed. Bowling and Kennon.
- Fink. 2000. "Representation by Deliberation: Changes in the Rules of Deliberation in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789-1844." *JOP* 62:1109-1125.
- Galloway. 1958. "Precedents Established in the First Congress." *Western Political Quarterly* (now *PRQ*) 11:454-468.
- Galloway. 1959. "Development of the Committee System in the House of Representatives." *AHR* 65:17-30.
- Hinds. 1909. "The Speaker of the House of Representatives." *APSR* 3:155-166.
- Jameson. 1894. "The Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies." *Political Science Quarterly* 9:246-267.
- Jenkins. 1998. "Property Rights and the Emergence of Standing Committee Dominance in the Nineteenth-Century House." *LSQ* 23:493-519.
- Meinke. 2007. "Slavery, Partisanship, and Procedure in the U.S. House: The Gag Rule, 1836-1845." *LSQ* 32:33-58
- Risjord. "Partisanship and Power: House Committees and the Powers of the Speaker, 1789-1801." *WMQ* 49:628-651.
- Silbey. 1983. "'Delegates fresh from the people': American congressional and legislative behavior." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13:603-627.
- Skladony. 1985. "The House Goes to Work: Select and Standing Committees in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789-1828." *C&P* 12:165-187.
- Swift. 1987-1988. "The Electoral Connection Meets the Past: Lessons from Congressional History, 1789-1899." *PSQ* 102:625-645.
- Swift. 1989. "Reconstitutive Change in the U.S. Congress: The Early Senate, 1789-1841." *LSQ* 14:175-203.
- Van Der Slik. 1989. "The Early Institutionalization of Congress." *C&P* 16:1-10.
- Wawro. 2005. "Peculiar Institutions: Slavery, Sectionalism, and Minority Obstruction in the Antebellum Senate." *LSQ* 30:163-191.
- Wilson. 1999. "Transitional Governance in the United States: Lessons from the First Federal Congress." *LSQ* 24:543-568.
- Wirls. 2007. "The 'Golden Age' Senate and Floor Debate in the Antebellum Congress." *LSQ* 32:193-222.

March 11: State Legislative Change in the 18th and 19th centuries

- Squire, *Evolution*, chapters 4 and 5
- Bowers. 1983. "From Logrolling to Corruption: The Development of Lobbying in Pennsylvania, 1815-1861." *Journal of the Early Republic* 3:439-474.
- Davis. 1988. "'The People in Miniature': The Illinois General Assembly, 1818-1848." *Illinois Historical Journal* 81:95-108.
- DeBats. 1990. "An Uncertain Arena: The Georgia House of Representatives, 1808-1861." *JSH* 56:423-456.
- Gunn. 1980. "The New York State Legislature: A Developmental Perspective: 1777-1846." *Social Science History* 4:267-294.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Allard, Burns, and Gamm. 1998. "Representing Urban Interests: The Local Politics of State Legislatures." *Studies in American Political Development* 12:267-302.
- Broussard. 1977. "Party and Partisanship in American Legislatures: The South Atlantic States, 1800-1812." *JSH* 43:39-58.
- Ershkowitz and Shade. 1971. "Consensus or Conflict? Political Behavior in the State Legislatures during the Jacksonian Era." *JAH* 58:591-621.
- Harrison. 1979. "The Hornet's Nest at Harrisburg: A Study of the Pennsylvania Legislature in the Late 1870s." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103:334-355.
- Kersh, Mettler, Reeher, and Stonecash. 1998. "'More a Distinction of Words than Things': The Evolution of Separated Powers in the American States." *Roger Williams University Law Review* 4:5-49.
- Levine. 1975. "State Legislative Parties in the Jacksonian Era: New Jersey, 1829-1844." *JAH* 62:591-608.
- Pate. 1930. "Constitutional Revision in Virginia Affecting the General Assembly." *WMQ* 10:105-122.
- Shade. 1994. "State Legislatures in the Nineteenth Century." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
- Thompson and Silbey. 1984. "Research on 19th Century Legislatures: Present Contours and Future Directions." *LSQ* 9:319-350.

March 18: Legislative Institutionalization and Explanations of Organizational Change in Legislatures

Squire, *Evolution*, chapter 6

- Hibbing. 1988. "Legislative Institutionalization with Illustrations from the British House of Commons." *AJPS* 32:681-712.
- Jenkins and Stewart. 2018. "The Deinstitutionalization (?) of the House of Representatives: Reflections on Nelson Polsby's 'The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives' at Fifty." *Studies in American Political Development* 32: 166-187.
- Polsby. 1968. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." *APSR* 62:144-68.
- Squire. 1992. "The Theory of Legislative Institutionalization and the California Assembly." *JOP* 54:1026-1054.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Argersinger. 1992. "No Rights on This Floor: Third Parties and the Institutionalization of Congress." *JIH* 22:655-690.
- Bensel. 2000. "Of Rules and Speakers: Toward a Theory of Institutional Change for the U.S. House of Representatives." *SSH* 24:349-366.
- Cavanagh. 1982-1983. "The Dispersion of Authority in the House of Representatives." *PSQ* 97:623-37.
- Cooper, and Brady. 1981. "Toward a Diachronic Analysis of Congress." *APSR* 75:988-1006.
- Hibbing. 1999. "Legislative Careers: Why and How We Should Study Them." *LSQ* 24:149-171.
- Judge 2003. "Legislative Institutionalization: A Bent Analytical Arrow?" *Government and Opposition* 38:497-516.
- Nelson. 1994. "The Modernizing Congress, 1870-1930." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.

March 25: Professionalization and Change in the 20th Century Congress

- Price. 1971. "The Congressional Career Then and Now." In *Congressional Behavior*, ed. Polsby.
- Price. 1975. "Congress and the Evolution of Legislative 'Professionalism'." In *Congress in Change* ed. Ornstein.
- Brady, Buckley, Rivers. 1999. "The Roots of Careerism in the U.S. House of Representatives." *LSQ* 24:489-510
- Katz, and Sala. 1996. "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection." *APSR* 90:21-33
- Wittrock, Nemeth, Sanborn, DiSarro, and Squire. 2008. "The Impact of the Australian Ballot on Member Behavior in the U.S. House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly* 61:434-444.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Abram and Cooper. 1968. "The Rise of Seniority in the House of Representatives." *Polity* 1:52-85.

- Brady and Epstein. 1997. "Intraparty Preferences, Heterogeneity, and the Origins of the Modern Congress: Progressive Reformers in the House and Senate, 1890-1920." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 13:26-49.
- Budgor, Capell, Flanders, Polsby, Westlye, and Zaller. 1981. "The 1896 Election and Congressional Modernization." *SSH* 5:53-90.
- Canon and Stewart. 2001. "The Evolution of the Committee System in Congress." In *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th ed., ed. Dodd and Oppenheimer.
- Goodwin. 1959. "The Seniority System in Congress." *APSR* 53:412-436.
- Nelson. 1977. "Partisan Patterns of House Leadership Change, 1789-1977." *APSR* 71:918-39.
- Polsby, Gallaher, and Rundquist. 1969. "The Growth of the Seniority System in the U.S. House of Representatives." *APSR* 63:787-807.
- Rohde. 1994. "The Contemporary Congress, 1930-1992." *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*.
- Stewart. 1992. The Growth of the Committee System, from Randall to Gillett." In *The Atomistic Congress*, eds. Hertzke and Peters.
- Swenson. 1982. "The Influence of Recruitment on the Structure of Power in the U. S. House, 1870-1940." *LSQ* 7:7-36.

April 8: Alternative Perspectives on Institutional Change in the 20th Century Congress

- Squire. 2013. "Quorum Exploitation in the American Legislative Experience." *SAPD* 27:142-164.
- Cooper and Brady. 1981. "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn." *APSR* 75:411-425.
- Crook and Hibbing. 1997. "A Not-so-distant Mirror: The 17th Amendment and Congressional Change." *APSR* 91:845-853.
- Schickler. 2000. "Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867-1998. A Test of Partisan and Ideological Power Balance Models." *APSR* 94:269-288.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Atkinson and Beard. 1911. "The Syndication of the Speakership." *PSQ* 26: 381-414.
- Baker. 1973. "The Character of the Congressional Revolution of 1910." *JAH* 60:679-691.
- Binder. 1996. "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990." *APSR* 90:8-20.
- Brady. 1972. "Congressional Leadership and Party Voting in the McKinley Era: A Comparison to the Modern House." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (now *AJPS*) 16:439-449.
- Davidson and Oleszek. "Adaptation and Consolidation: Structural Innovation in the U.S. House of Representatives." *LSQ* 1: 37-65.
- Jones. 1968. "Joseph G. Cannon and Howard W. Smith: An Essay on the Limits of Leadership in the House of Representatives." *JOP* 30:617-646.
- Krehbiel and Wiseman. 2001. "Joseph G. Cannon: Majoritarian from Illinois." *LSQ* 26:357-389.
- Krehbiel and Wiseman. 2005. "Joe Cannon and the Minority Party: Tyranny or Bipartisanship?" *LSQ* 30:479-505.
- Lawrence; Maltzman, and Wahlbeck. 2001. "The Politics of Speaker Cannon's Committee Assignments." *AJPS* 45:551-562.
- Miller and Squire. 2013. "Who Rebelled? An Analysis of the Motivations of the Republicans Who Voted Against Speaker Cannon." *American Politics Research* 41:387-416.
- Polsby and Schickler. 2002. "Landmarks in the Study of Congress Since 1945." *ARPS* 5:333-367.
- Roberts. 2010. The Development of Special Orders and Special Rules in the U.S. House, 1881-1937 *LSQ* 35: 307-336
- Shepsle. 1989. "The Changing Textbook Congress." In *Can the Government Govern?* ed., Chubb and Peterson.

April 15: Professionalization and Change in 20th Century State Legislatures

- Squire, *Evolution*, chapters 7 and 8
- Burns, Evans, Gamm and McConaughy. 2008. "Pockets of Expertise: Institutional Capacity in Twentieth-Century State Legislatures." *SAPD* 22: 229-248.

- Fiorina. 1994. "Divided Government in the American States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" *APSR* 88: 304-316.
- Malhotra. 2006. "Government Growth and Professionalism in U.S. State Legislatures." *LSQ* 31: 563-584.
- Rosenthal. 1996. "State Legislative Development: Observations from Three Perspectives." *LSQ* 21:169-198.
- Squire, Hamm, Hedlund, and Moncrief. 2005. "Electoral Reforms, Membership Stability, and the Existence of Committee Property Rights in American State Legislatures." *BJPS* 35: 169-181.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Brace, and Ward. 1999. "The Institutionalized Legislature and the Rise of the Antipolitics Era." In *American State and Local Politics*, ed. Weber and Brace.
- Chaffey. 1970. "The Institutionalization of State Legislatures: A Comparative Study." *WPQ* 23:180-196.
- Fiorina. 1997. "Professionalism, Realignment, and Representation." *APSR* 91:156-162.
- Gamm and Kousser. 2010. "Broad Bills or Particularistic Policy? Historical Patterns in American State Legislatures." *APSR* 104:151-170.
- King. 2000. "Changes in Professionalism in U.S. State Legislatures." *LSQ* 25: 327-343.
- Mooney. 1995. "Citizens, Structures, and Sister States: Influences on State Legislative Professionalism." *LSQ* 20: 47-67.
- Malhotra. 2008. "Disentangling the Relationship between Legislative Professionalism and Government Spending." *LSQ* 33: 387-414
- Moncrief. 1988. "Dimensions of the Concept of Professionalism in State Legislatures: A Research Note." *State and Local Government Review* 20: 128-132.
- Moncrief and Jewell. 1980. "Legislators' Perceptions of Reform in Three States." *American Politics Quarterly* 8: 106-127.
- Squire. 1997. "Another Look at Legislative Professionalization and Divided Government in the States." *LSQ* 22: 417-432.
- Squire. 2007. "Measuring Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7: 211-227.
- Squire. 2017. "A Squire Index Update." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 17: 361-371.
- Stonecash. 1993. "The Pursuit & Retention of Legislative Office in New York: 1870-1990: Reconsidering Sources of Change." *Polity* 26: 301-315.
- Stonecash, and Agathangelou. 1997. "Trends in the Partisan Composition of State Legislatures: A Response to Fiorina." *APSR* 91: 148-155.

April 22: Membership Turnover Over Time and Legislative Careers

- Squire. 2014. "Electoral Career Movements and the Flow of Political Power in the American Federal System." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 14: 72-89.
- Fiorina, Rohde, and Wissel. 1975. "Historical Change in House Turnover." In *Congress in Change*, ed. Ornstein.
- Moncrief, Niemi, and Powell. 2004. "Time, Term Limits, and Turnover: Membership Stability in U.S. State Legislatures." *LSQ* 29: 357-381.
- Ray. 1974. "Membership Stability in Three State Legislatures: 1893-1969." *APSR* 68: 106-112.

Suggested Additional Readings

- Bogue, Clubb, McKibben and Traugott. 1976. "Members of the House of Representatives and the Process of Modernization, 1789-1960." *JAH* 63: 275-302.
- Bullock. 1972. "House Careerists: Changing Patterns of Longevity and Attrition." *APSR* 66: 1295-1300.
- Gilmour, and Rothstein. 1996. "A Dynamic Model of Loss, Retirement, and Tenure." *JOP* 58: 54-68.
- Hyneman. 1938. "Turnover and Tenure of Legislative Personnel." *Annals* 195: 21-31.
- Ray. 1976. "Voluntary Retirement and Electoral Defeat in Eight State Legislatures." *JOP* 38: 426-433.
- Squire. 1988. "Career Opportunities and Membership Stability in Legislatures." *LSQ* 13: 65-82.
- Swain, Borrelli, Reed, and Evans. 2000. "A New Look at Turnover in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789-1998." *APQ* 28: 435-457.
- Witmer. 1964. "The Aging of the House." *PSQ* 79: 526-541.

April 29: Presentation of Research

May 6: Research Paper Due