
Contents

List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	ix
Preface	xi
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 The Centrality of Obstruction to Senate Lawmaking	6
1.2 Obstruction Fundamentals	13
1.3 Layout of the Book	17
Chapter 2. Obstruction in Theoretical Context	25
2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 Costs and Obstruction	30
2.3 Endogenous Rules	32
2.4 Filibusters as Wars of Attrition	34
2.5 Relational Legislating and Senate Obstruction	38
2.6 Predictions about Lawmaking	54
2.7 Discussion	57
Chapter 3. The Mutability of Senate Rules	61
3.1 Rulings from the Chair and Procedural Innovation in the House	62
3.2 Rulings from the Chair and Procedural Innovation in the Senate	65
3.3 The Bank Bill of 1841	72
3.4 The Federal Elections Bill of 1891 Revisited	76
3.5 Discussion	87
Chapter 4. Where's the Pivot?	89
4.1 Introduction	89
4.2 Competing Theories about Coalition Sizes	90
4.3 Coalition Sizes on the Passage of Significant Legislation	96
4.4 Coalition Sizes and Presidential Regime Shifts	99
4.5 Coalition Sizes on Appropriations Bills	104
4.6 Coalition Sizes and Silent Majorities	106
4.7 Conclusion	107

vi	CONTENTS
Chapter 5. Dilatory Motions and the Success of Obstruction	109
5.1 Introduction	109
5.2 Uncovering Obstruction	111
5.3 Modeling the Success or Failure of Obstruction	118
5.4 Discussion	125
Chapter 6. Obstruction and the Tariff	127
6.1 Introduction	127
6.2 Antebellum Tariff Making	131
6.3 The Tariff from 1865 to 1889	140
6.4 The Tariff from 1890 to 1930	144
6.5 Conclusion	155
Chapter 7. Slavery and Obstruction in the Antebellum Senate	159
7.1 Introduction	159
7.2 Predictions for Empirical Testing	160
7.3 Empirical Analysis of the Use of Dilatory Tactics	164
7.4 Support for Obstructive Efforts	171
7.5 Conclusion	175
Chapter 8. Obstruction and Institutional Change	181
8.1 Introduction	181
8.2 Changes in the Political and Institutional Environment	182
8.3 Direct Election	195
8.4 Conclusion	208
Chapter 9. Cloture Reform Reconsidered	211
9.1 Introduction	211
9.2 A Simple Model of Cloture	214
9.3 Alternative Explanations for Increases in Coalition Sizes	223
9.4 Conclusion	233
Chapter 10. The Impact of Cloture on the Appropriations Process	237
10.1 Introduction	237
10.2 Institutional Change Relevant to the Appropriations Process	240
10.3 Cloture and Appropriations Deadlines	249
10.4 Conclusion	256
Chapter 11. Conclusion	259
11.1 The Battle for Majority Cloture in Today's Senate	264
11.2 Confrontation, Compromise, and the Gang of Fourteen	269
11.3 Desirability of Reform	276
11.4 Prospects for Change	281
Bibliography	285
Index	303