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Party Leaders in the United States Congress, 1789-2017

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Summary

This report briefly describes current responsibilities and selection mechanisms for 15 House and Senate party leadership posts and provides tables with historical data, including service dates, party affiliation, and other information for each. Tables have been updated as of the report's issuance date to reflect leadership changes.

Although party divisions appeared almost from the First Congress, the formally structured party leadership organizations now taken for granted are a relatively modern development. Constitutionally specified leaders, namely the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate, can be identified since the First Congress. Other leadership posts, however, were not formally recognized until about the middle of the 19th century, and some are 20th-century creations.

In the earliest Congresses, those House Members who took some role in leading their parties were often designated by the President as his spokesperson in the chamber. By the early 1800s, an informal system developed when the Speaker began naming his lieutenant to chair one of the most influential House committees. Eventually, other Members wielded significant influence via other committee posts (e.g., the post-1880 Committee on Rules). By the end of the 19th century, the formal position of floor leaders had been established in the House.

The Senate was slower than the House to develop formal party leadership positions, and there are similar problems in identifying individual early leaders. For instance, records of party conferences in the 19th century Senate are not available. Memoirs and other secondary sources reveal the identities of party conference or caucus chairs for some, but not all, Congresses after about 1850, but these posts carried very little authority. It was not uncommon for Senators to publicly declare that within the Senate parties, there was no single leader. Rather, through the turn of the 20th century, individuals who led the Senate achieved their positions through recognized personal attributes, including persuasion and oratorical skills, rather than election or appointment to formal leadership posts. The formal positions for Senate party floor leaders eventually arose from the position of conference chair.

Owing to the aforementioned problems in identifying informal party leaders in earlier Congresses, the tables in this report identify each leadership position beginning with the year in which each is generally regarded to have been formally established. The report excludes some leadership posts in order to render the amount of data manageable. A bibliography cites useful references, especially in regard to sources for historical data, and an appendix explains the abbreviations used to denote political parties.

This report will be updated as changes in House and Senate party leadership positions occur.

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Introduction and Methodological Notes

Although party divisions sprang up almost from the First Congress, the formally structured party leadership organizations now taken for granted are a relatively modern development. Constitutionally specified leaders, namely the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate, can be identified since the first Congress. Other leadership posts, however, were not officially recognized until about the middle of the 19th century, and some are 20th century creations. The following tables identify 15 different party leadership posts beginning with the year when each is generally regarded to have been formally established.

The tables herein present data on service dates, party affiliation, and other information for the following House and Senate party leadership posts:

House Positions

1. Speakers of the House of Representatives, 1789-2017
2. House Republican Floor Leaders, 1899-2017
3. House Democratic Floor Leaders, 1899-2017
4. House Democratic Whips, 1901-2017
5. House Republican Whips, 1897-2017
6. House Republican Conference Chairs, 1863-2017
7. House Democratic Caucus Chairs, 1849-2017

Senate Positions

8. Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1789-2017
9. Deputy Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1977-2017
10. Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1964-2017
11. Senate Republican Floor Leaders, 1919-2017
12. Senate Democratic Floor Leaders and Conference Chairs, 1893-2017
13. Senate Republican Conference Chairs, 1893-2017
14. Senate Democratic Whips, 1913-2017
15. Senate Republican Whips, 1915-2017

This information reflects the leadership elections and appointments at the start of the 115th Congress.

Included for each post are leaders' names, party and state affiliations, and dates and Congresses of service. For most Congresses, the report indicates years of service only, except in the tables for the House Speaker and the Senate President pro tempore, both of which include specific dates of service. When a Member died while holding a leadership office, however, the date of death is included as the end-of-service date (except in **Table 13**). In cases where a leadership change occurs during the course of a Congress, exact dates of service are indicated where possible. With respect to length of service, the report includes all instances in which a Member held a particular leadership post, regardless of whether the Member held the post for the entire Congress or only a portion of it.

Official congressional documents (*House Journal* and *Senate Journal*, *Congressional Record*, and predecessor publications) can be used to document the tenure of the constitutionally specified leaders (i.e., Speaker and President pro tempore). The actions of the party organizations in choosing other leaders, such as floor leaders or caucus or conference chairs, frequently went unacknowledged in these sources, however. In the frequent absence of party caucus records in the latter half of the 19th century, scholars have had to rely on secondary sources, such as memoirs and correspondence, for evidence of party leadership position-holding. The concluding portion of this report, “Source Notes and Bibliography,” provides more information about sources and the reliability of leadership lists.

Identifying House Leaders

The changing nature of congressional leadership provides additional challenges to identifying leaders not constitutionally specified (e.g., floor leader).¹ Even for party elected posts, determining who held other positions can be problematic in earlier Congresses. For example, identifying each party’s conference (or caucus) chair often requires reliance on incomplete historical records of conference meetings or inferences made from informal practices (e.g., noting which Member nominated his party’s candidate for Speaker, a motion that often fell to the conference chair).

In the House, for example, it was the common practice of President Thomas Jefferson and his immediate successors to designate a Member as their principal legislative spokesman. Often these spokesmen held no other formal leadership position in the House, and Presidents frequently designated new spokesmen, or even specialized spokesmen for individual measures, as their terms progressed. As these and other “leaders” were not chosen by a congressional party group or by a party leader such as the Speaker, these presidential designees have not been included here as “party leaders.”

Most historians who study the 19th-century House acknowledge that an informal “positional leadership” system emerged possibly as early as the “War Hawk” Congress (1811-1813) under Speaker Henry Clay. Under this system, the Speaker—who at the time designated the chairmen of the standing committees—would name his principal lieutenant to be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. After the Appropriations Committee was split from the Ways and Means Committee in 1865, the Speaker’s principal floor lieutenant received either of these chairs. Sometimes, the Speaker chose a rival for the speakership to chair one of these committees in an effort to resolve intra-party disputes.

It is somewhat inaccurate, however, to consider these early leaders to be majority leaders in the modern sense, and they have not been included here. The position of chair of the Appropriations or Ways and Means Committee inevitably made the incumbent a powerful congressional figure because of the important legislation reported from these committees. These chairs were not, however, chosen in a vote by the full party organization, as the majority or minority House leaders are now. Furthermore, other leading congressional figures, such as the Republican leader Thomas Brackett Reed, achieved their positions of influence within the House by service on other committees, such as—in Reed’s case—the post-1880 Rules Committee.

¹ See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and citation of the multiple sources used in identifying leaders in the House of Representatives.

Identifying Senate Leaders

The Senate developed an identifiable party leadership later than the House. The few existing records of party conferences in the 19th-century Senate are held in private collections. Memoirs and other secondary sources reveal the identities of party conference or caucus chairs for some, but not all, Congresses after about 1850; these posts, however, carried very little authority. It was not uncommon for Senators to declare publicly that within the Senate parties there was no single leader.² Instead, through the turn of the 20th century, individuals who led the Senate achieved their position through recognized personal attributes, including persuasion and oratory skills, rather than the current practice of election to most official leadership posts.

The development of Senate party floor leaders was one of slow evolution, like the House, but they arose for the most part from the post of conference chair. Not until 1945 did Senate Republicans specify that the conference chair and floor leader posts must be held by separate Senators. Among Senate Democrats, the floor leader is also chair of the conference. In many secondary sources, Senators are identified as “floor leaders” before existing party conference records so identify them. In this report, footnotes to the tables attempt to clarify when a leader was identified through official sources such as caucus minutes or through secondary sources.

Party Affiliation Designations

Another problem in identifying party leaders in early Congresses is the matter of party affiliation. Secondary sources reporting on party leaders often relied upon the information compiled in early editions of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. As the editors of the 1989 edition of the *Biographical Directory* noted:

The most serious source of error and confusion in previous editions [of the *Biographical Directory*] [was] the designations of party affiliation. Many of the party labels added to the editions of 1913 and 1928 were anachronistic, claiming for the two modern parties Senators and Representatives elected to Congress before the [modern] Democratic or Republican parties existed. Other entries ignored the frequent shifts in party affiliation during the nineteenth century or omitted reference to short-lived and regional political parties and thus failed to reflect the vigor and diversity of nineteenth-century politics.³

The 1989 and 1997 editions of the *Biographical Directory* resolved these differences, and their designations of party affiliations are principal sources for this report. The 1997 edition of the *Biographical Directory*, in particular, included more complete notations where Members changed their party affiliations while serving in Congress.⁴ The main source for early party affiliations of Senator leaders, principally Presidents pro tempore, is volume four of Senator Robert C. Byrd’s *The Senate, 1789-1989 (Historical Statistics, 1789-1992)*.⁵ An **Appendix** explains the abbreviations used to denote party affiliations in this report.

² Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1885), p. 223.

³ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-1989: the Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and The Congress of the United States, from the First through the One Hundredth Congresses, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1989, inclusive*, bicentennial edition, S.Doc. 100-34, 100th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1989), p. 3.

⁴ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1996* (Washington: CQ Staff Directories, Inc., 1997), p. xi. This commercially published edition of the *Biographical Directory* is a continuation of earlier editions that were published under public auspices. An online, updated, version is also available at <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>.

⁵ Robert C. Byrd, *The Senate, 1789-1989*, 4 vols., S. Doc. 100-20, 100th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1988- (continued...))

Leadership Posts Excluded

The tables in this report exclude some leadership posts in order to render manageable the amount of data provided. Specifically, the Senate and House party conference secretaries and the chairs of party committees (e.g., steering committees, policy committees, committees on committees, and campaign committees) are not presented here. Junior party whips are also not identified. At least since the 1930s in the House, both parties have selected (or allowed the principal whip to designate) subordinate whips. The lack of adequate records makes it almost impossible to identify all deputy whips, regional whips, and zone whips who have been appointed in the past 70 years.

House Positions: Descriptions and Historical Tables

Speaker of the House of Representatives

The position of Speaker is constitutionally specified in Article 1, Section 2. The Speaker is the only party leader who is chosen by a roll-call vote of the full House of Representatives, which occurs after each party has nominated a candidate for the position when a new Congress convenes. House rules give the Speaker various formal duties. These include, for example, administering the oath of office to new Members, signing House-passed bills and resolutions, presiding over the House (and making rulings on the presence of a quorum, points of order, etc.), referring measures to committees, and naming the party’s slate of members for certain committee positions. Each party conference cedes additional powers and responsibilities to a Speaker from its own party, including influence over the makeup of certain standing committees. For more information, consult CRS Report 97-780, *The Speaker of the House: House Officer, Party Leader, and Representative*, by Valerie Heitshusen, and CRS Report RL30857, *Speakers of the House: Elections, 1913-2017*, by Richard S. Beth and Valerie Heitshusen.

Table 1. Speakers of the House of Representatives, 1789-2017

| Speaker | Party | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------------------|--|
| Frederick A.C. Muhlenberg | N/A | PA | 1 st | Apr. 1, 1789- Mar. 3, 1791 |
| Jonathan Trumbull | N/A | CT | 2 nd | Oct. 24, 1791- Mar. 3, 1793 |
| Frederick A.C. Muhlenberg | N/A | PA | 3 rd | Dec. 2, 1793- Mar. 3, 1795 |
| Jonathan Dayton | N/A | NJ | 4 th -5 th | Dec. 7, 1795- Mar. 3, 1799 |
| Theodore Sedgwick | N/A | MA | 6 th | Dec. 2, 1799- Mar. 3, 1801 |
| Nathaniel Macon | N/A | NC | 7 th -9 th | Dec. 7, 1801-Mar. 3, 1807 |
| Joseph B. Varnum | N/A | MA | 10 th -11 th | Oct. 26, 1807- Mar. 3, 1811 |
| Henry Clay | R(DR) ^a | KY | 12 th -13 th | Nov. 4, 1811- Jan. 19, 1814 ^b |
| Langdon Cheeves | R(DR) ^a | SC | 13 th | Jan. 19, 1814- Mar. 3, 1815 |
| Henry Clay | R(DR) ^a | KY | 14 th -16 th | Dec. 4, 1815- Oct. 28, 1820 ^c |

(...continued)

1993), vol. 4, *Historical Statistics, 1789-1992*. Hereinafter cited as Byrd’s *Historical Statistics*. See also Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith, “Last Among Equals: The Senate’s Presiding Officer,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 3-6, 1998.

| Speaker | Party | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|--|
| John W. Taylor | R(DR) ^a | NY | 16 th | Nov. 15, 1820- Mar. 3, 1821 |
| Philip Barbour | R(DR) ^a | VA | 17 th | Dec. 4, 1821- Mar. 3, 1823 |
| Henry Clay | R(DR) ^a | KY | 18 th | Dec. 3, 1823- Mar. 6, 1825 ^d |
| John W. Taylor | R(DR) ^a | NY | 19 th | Dec. 5, 1825- Mar. 3, 1827 |
| Andrew Stevenson | N/A | VA | 20 th | Dec. 3, 1827- Mar. 3, 1829 |
| Andrew Stevenson | J | VA | 21 st -23 rd | Dec. 7, 1829- June 2, 1834 ^e |
| John Bell | N/A | TN | 23 rd | June 2, 1834- Mar. 3, 1835 |
| James K. Polk | J | TN | 24 th -25 th | Dec. 7, 1835- Mar. 3, 1839 |
| Robert M.T. Hunter | W | VA | 26 th | Dec. 16, 1839- Mar. 3, 1841 |
| John White | W | KY | 27 th | May 31, 1841- Mar. 3, 1843 |
| John W. Jones | D | VA | 28 th | Dec. 4, 1843- Mar. 3, 1845 |
| John W. Davis | D | IN | 29 th | Dec. 1, 1845- Mar. 3, 1847 |
| Robert C. Winthrop | W | MA | 30 th | Dec. 6, 1847- Mar. 3, 1849 |
| Howell Cobb | D | GA | 31 st | Dec. 22, 1849- Mar. 3, 1851 |
| Linn Boyd | D | KY | 32 nd -33 rd | Dec. 1, 1851- Mar. 3, 1855 |
| Nathaniel P. Banks | Am ^f | MA | 34 th | Feb. 2, 1856- Mar. 3, 1857 |
| James L. Orr | D | SC | 35 th | Dec. 7, 1857- Mar. 3, 1859 |
| William Pennington | R | NJ | 36 th | Feb. 1, 1860- Mar. 3, 1861 |
| Galusha A. Grow | R | PA | 37 th | July 4, 1861- Mar. 3, 1863 |
| Schuyler Colfax | R | IN | 38 th -40 th | Dec. 7, 1863- Mar. 3, 1869 ^g |
| Theodore Pomeroy | R | NY | 40 th | Mar. 3, 1869 ^h |
| James G. Blaine | R | ME | 41 st -43 rd | Mar. 4, 1869- Mar. 3, 1875 |
| Michael C. Kerr | D | IN | 44 th | Dec. 6, 1875- Aug. 19, 1876 ⁱ |
| Samuel J. Randall | D | PA | 44 th -46 th | Dec. 4, 1876- Mar. 3, 1881 |
| J. Warren Keifer | R | OH | 47 th | Dec. 5, 1881- Mar. 3, 1883 |
| John G. Carlisle | D | KY | 48 th -50 th | Dec. 3, 1883- Mar. 3, 1889 |
| Thomas B. Reed | R | ME | 51 st | Dec. 2, 1889- Mar. 3, 1891 |
| Charles F. Crisp | D | GA | 52 nd -53 rd | Dec. 7, 1891- Mar. 3, 1895 |
| Thomas B. Reed | R | ME | 54 th -55 th | Dec. 2, 1895- Mar. 3, 1899 |
| David B. Henderson | R | IA | 56 th -57 th | Dec. 4, 1899- Mar. 3, 1903 |
| Joseph G. Cannon | R | IL | 58 th -61 st | Nov. 9, 1903- Mar. 3, 1911 |
| James B. (Champ) Clark | D | MO | 62 nd -65 th | April 4, 1911- Mar. 3, 1919 |
| Frederick H. Gillett | R | MA | 66 th -68 th | May 19, 1919- Mar. 3, 1925 |
| Nicholas Longworth | R | OH | 69 th -71 st | Dec. 7, 1925- Mar. 3, 1931 |
| John N. Garner | D | TX | 72 nd | Dec. 7, 1931- Mar. 3, 1933 |
| Henry T. Rainey | D | IL | 73 rd | Mar. 9, 1933- Aug. 19, 1934 ^j |
| Joseph W. Byrns | D | TN | 74 th | Jan. 3, 1935- June 4, 1936 ^k |

| Speaker | Party | State | Congress | Dates |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------------------------------------|---|
| William B. Bankhead | D | AL | 74 th -76 th | June 4, 1936- Sept. 15, 1940 ^l |
| Sam T. Rayburn | D | TX | 76 th -79 th | Sept. 16, 1940- Jan. 3, 1947 ^m |
| Joseph W. Martin Jr. | R | MA | 80 th | Jan. 3, 1947- Jan. 3, 1949 |
| Sam T. Rayburn | D | TX | 81 st -82 nd | Jan. 3, 1949- Jan. 3, 1953 |
| Joseph W. Martin Jr. | R | MA | 83 rd | Jan. 3, 1953- Jan. 3, 1955 |
| Sam T. Rayburn | D | TX | 84 th -87 th | Jan. 5, 1955- Nov. 16, 1961 ^m |
| John W. McCormack | D | MA | 87 th -91 st | Jan. 10, 1962- Jan. 3, 1971 |
| Carl Albert | D | OK | 92 nd -94 th | Jan. 21, 1971- Jan. 3, 1977 |
| Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. | D | MA | 95 th -99 th | Jan. 4, 1977- Jan. 3, 1987 |
| James C. Wright Jr. | D | TX | 100 th -101 st | Jan. 6, 1987- June 6, 1989 ⁿ |
| Thomas S. Foley | D | WA | 101 st -103 rd | June 6, 1989- Jan. 3, 1995 |
| Newt Gingrich | R | GA | 104 th -105 th | Jan. 4, 1995- Jan. 3, 1999 |
| J. Dennis Hastert | R | IL | 106 th -109 th | Jan. 6, 1999- Jan. 3, 2007 |
| Nancy Pelosi | D | CA | 110 th -111 th | Jan. 4, 2007- Jan. 3, 2012 |
| John A. Boehner | R | OH | 112 th -114 th | Jan. 5, 2011-Oct. 29, 2015 ^o |
| Paul D. Ryan | R | WI | 114 th - | Oct. 29, 2015- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: A key to all party abbreviations can be found in the **Appendix** of this report.

- a. Although the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1996* identifies these Speakers as Republicans, the party designation “Democratic Republicans” is more widely used and familiar to readers. This designation, R(DR), should not be taken to refer to the contemporary Republican Party, which did not emerge until the 1850s.
- b. Resigned from the House of Representatives, January 19, 1814.
- c. Resigned the speakership on October 28, 1820.
- d. Resigned from the House, March 6, 1825.
- e. Resigned from the House, June 2, 1834.
- f. Speaker Nathaniel P. Banks served in the House three separate times under three different party designations. In the 34th Congress, he served as an American Party Member.
- g. Resigned from the House, March 3, 1869.
- h. Elected Speaker, March 3, 1869, and served one day.
- i. Died in office, August 19, 1876.
- j. Died in office, August 19, 1934.
- k. Died in office, June 4, 1936.
- l. Died in office, September 15, 1940.
- m. Died in office, November 16, 1961.
- n. Resigned the Speakership, June 6, 1989; resigned from the House, June 30, 1989.
- o. Resigned the Speakership, October 29, 2015, upon the election of his successor (and announced his intention to resign from the House at the end of the month).

Party Floor Leader

At an organizational meeting prior to the beginning of a new Congress, each party conference (or caucus) in the House selects its floor leader (also called majority leader or minority leader, as appropriate) in a secret-ballot vote. The majority party floor leader works closely with the Speaker and is largely responsible for the party’s daily legislative operations in consultation with other party leaders. Similarly, the minority party floor leader directs the party’s ongoing legislative strategies and operations and typically serves as the spokesperson for the party in the House. Each party assigns additional responsibilities to its respective floor leader. For more information on the majority party floor leader position, see CRS Report RL30665, *The Role of the House Majority Leader: An Overview*, by Walter J. Oleszek.

Table 2. House Republican Floor Leaders, 1899-2017

| Floor Leader | State | Congress | Dates |
|----------------------|-------|--|--|
| Sereno E. Payne | NY | 56th-61st | 1899-1911 |
| James R. Mann | IL | 62 nd -65 th | 1911-1919 |
| Franklin W. Mondell | WY | 66th-67th | 1919-1923 |
| Nicholas Longworth | OH | 68th | 1923-1925 |
| John Q. Tilson | CT | 69th-71st | 1925-1931 |
| Bertrand H. Snell | NY | 72 nd -75 th | 1931-1939 |
| Joseph W. Martin Jr. | MA | 76 th -79 th | 1939-1947 |
| Charles Halleck | IN | 80th | 1947-1949 |
| Joseph W. Martin Jr. | MA | 81 st -82 nd | 1949-1953 |
| Charles Halleck | IN | 83rd | 1953-1955 |
| Joseph W. Martin Jr. | MA | 84 th - 85 th | 1955-1959 |
| Charles Halleck | IN | 86 th -88 th | 1959-1965 |
| Gerald R. Ford | MI | 89 th -93 rd | 1965-Dec. 6, 1973 ^a |
| John J. Rhodes | AZ | 93 rd -96 th | Dec. 7, 1973-1981 |
| Robert H. Michel | IL | 97 th -103 rd | 1981-1995 |
| Richard K. Armey | TX | 104th-107th | 1995-2003 |
| Tom DeLay | TX | 108th-109th | 2003-Sept. 28, 2005 ^b |
| Roy Blunt | MO | 109th | Sept. 28, 2005-Feb. 2, 2006 ^c |
| John Boehner | OH | 109th, 110th-111th | Feb. 2, 2006-2011 |
| Eric Cantor | VA | 112th-113th | 2011-Jul. 31, 2014 ^d |
| Kevin McCarthy | CA | 113th- | Jul. 31, 2014 ^e - |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the floor leader was also majority leader.

- a. Resigned from the House on December 6, 1973, after having been confirmed by the Senate to become Vice President to fill the post vacated by the resignation of Spiro T. Agnew.
- b. Resigned from leader position on September 28, 2005.

- c. Appointed acting Republican floor leader on September 28, 2005, to replace Tom DeLay temporarily until the conference could hold new elections on February 2, 2006. He continued serving as Republican Whip during this period.
- d. Resigned from leader position, effective July 31, 2014.
- e. On June 19, 2014, elected to the leader position, effective July 31, 2014, due to Eric Cantor's resignation from the post.

Table 3. House Democratic Floor Leaders, 1899-2017

| Floor Leader | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------|-------|--|----------------------------------|
| James D. Richardson | TN | 56 th -57 th | 1899-1903 |
| John Sharp Williams | MS | 58 th -60 th | 1903-1908 |
| James B. (Champ) Clark | MO | 60 th -61 st | 1908-1911 |
| Oscar W. Underwood | AL | 62 nd -63 rd | 1911-1915 |
| Claude Kitchin | NC | 64th-65th | 1915-1919 |
| James B. (Champ) Clark | MO | 66 th | 1919-1921 |
| Claude Kitchin | NC | 67 th | 1921-1923 |
| Finis J. Garrett | IN | 68 th -70 th | 1923-1929 |
| John N. Garner | TX | 71 st | 1929-1931 |
| Henry T. Rainey | IL | 72nd | 1931-1933 |
| Joseph W. Byrns | TN | 73rd | 1933-1935 |
| William B. Bankhead | AL | 74th | 1935-June 4, 1936 ^a |
| Sam T. Rayburn | TX | 75th-76th | 1937-Sept. 16, 1940 ^b |
| John W. McCormack | MA | 76th-79th | Sept. 16, 1940-1947 ^c |
| Sam T. Rayburn | TX | 80 th | 1947-1949 |
| John W. McCormack | MA | 81st-82nd | 1949-1953 |
| Sam T. Rayburn | TX | 83 rd | 1953-1955 |
| John W. McCormack | MA | 84th-87th | 1955-Jan. 10, 1962 ^d |
| Carl Albert | OK | 87th-91st | Jan. 10, 1962-1971 ^e |
| Thomas Hale Boggs | LA | 92nd | 1971-1973 ^f |
| Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. | MA | 93rd-94th | 1973-1977 |
| James Wright | TX | 95th-99th | 1977-1987 |
| Thomas S. Foley | WA | 100th-101st | 1987-June 6, 1989 ^g |
| Richard A. Gephardt | MO | 101st-103rd 104 th -107 th | June 14, 1989 ^h -2003 |
| Nancy Pelosi | CA | 108 th -109 th | 2003-2007 |
| Steny H. Hoyer | MD | 110th-111th | 2007-2011 |
| Nancy Pelosi | CA | 112 th - | 2011- |

Sources: See the "Source Notes and Bibliography" section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the floor leader was also majority leader.

- a. Elected Speaker, filling the vacancy caused by the death of Speaker Joseph W. Byrns. Records indicate that Representative John J. O'Connor of New York, chair of the House Rules Committee, served as acting majority leader during the 14 remaining days of the 74th Congress. O'Connor does not, however, appear to have been formally elected majority leader at that time and therefore is not included in this list.
- b. Elected Speaker following the death of Speaker William B. Bankhead.
- c. Elected majority leader on September 16, 1940, to fill post made vacant by the election of Sam Rayburn as Speaker.
- d. Elected Speaker at the start of the 87th Congress, 2nd session, following the death of Sam Rayburn.
- e. Elected majority leader at commencement of the 87th Congress, 2nd session, when Majority Leader John McCormack was elected Speaker to succeed Speaker Rayburn.
- f. Disappeared on a flight from Anchorage to Juneau, Alaska, October 16, 1972. Presumed dead pursuant to House Resolution 1, 93rd Congress.
- g. Elected Speaker on June 6, 1989, following Speaker James C. Wright's resignation from that post on the same date.
- h. Elected majority leader on June 14, 1989, to fill the post made vacant by the election of Thomas S. Foley to be Speaker on June 6, 1989.

Party Whip

Each House party caucus currently elects its own party whip at organizational meetings as a new Congress begins. House Republicans (or a representative group of their conference) have always elected their party whips; Democrats in the House appointed a chief whip until 1986. Chief deputy whips are currently appointed by the party's chief whip; additional members to serve in the whip team are either similarly appointed or, instead, elected by subsets of the caucus. The whip organization is responsible for assessing the passage prospects for upcoming measures, mobilizing member support for leadership priorities, informing the party rank-and-file regarding legislative scheduling and initiatives, and informing the top party leadership regarding the sentiment of the rank-and-file. For more information, see archived CRS Report RS20499, *House Leadership: Whip Organization*, by Judy Schneider.

Table 4. House Democratic Whips, 1901-2017

| Whip | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------------------|-------|---|---------------------------------|
| Oscar W. Underwood ^a | AL | 56 th | 1901 |
| James T. Lloyd | MO | 57 th -60 th | 1901-1908 ^b |
| N/A ^c | | 61 st -62 nd | 1909-1913 |
| Thomas M. Bell | GA | 63 rd | 1913-1915 |
| N/A ^c | | 64 th -65 th , 66 th | 1915-1921 |
| William A. Oldfield | AR | 67 th -70 th | 1921-Nov. 19, 1928 ^d |
| John McDuffie | AL | 70 th -71 st , 72 nd | 1928-1933 |
| Arthur Greenwood | IN | 73 rd | 1933-1935 |
| Patrick J. Boland | PA | 74 th -77 th | 1935-May 18, 1942 ^e |
| Robert Ramspeck | GA | 77 th -79 th | 1942-Dec. 31, 1945 ^f |
| John J. Sparkman | AL | 79 th | 1946-1947 |
| John W. McCormack ^a | MA | 80 th | 1947-1949 |
| J. Percy Priest | TN | 81 st -82 nd | 1949-1953 |
| John W. McCormack ^a | MA | 83 rd | 1953-1955 |

| Whip | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------------------|-------|---|---|
| Carl Albert ^a | OK | 84th-87th | 1955-1962 |
| Thomas Hale Boggs ^a | LA | 87th-91st | 1962-1971 |
| Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. ^a | MA | 92nd | 1971-1973 |
| John J. McFall | CA | 93rd-94th | 1973-1977 |
| John W. Brademas | IN | 95th-96th | 1977-1981 |
| Thomas S. Foley ^a | WA | 97th-99th | 1981-1987 |
| Tony Coelho ^g | CA | 100th-101st | 1987-June 14, 1989 |
| William H. Gray III | PA | 101st-102nd | June 14, 1989-Sept. 11, 1991 ^h |
| David E. Bonior | MI | 102nd-103rd, 104th-107th | Sept. 11, 1991-Jan. 15, 2002 ⁱ |
| Nancy Pelosi ^a | CA | 107 th -108 th | Jan. 15, 2002-2003 ⁱ |
| Steny H. Hoyer ^a | MD | 108 th -109 th | 2003-2007 |
| James E. Clyburn | SC | 110th-111th | 2007-2011 |
| Steny H. Hoyer | MD | 112 th - | 2011- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Democratic whip was the majority whip.

- a. Ascended (or re-ascended) to party floor leader.
- b. Resigned from position as Democratic whip in 1908 at the conclusion of the 60th Congress.
- c. For these periods, there is no official record—in the minutes of the Democratic Caucus or elsewhere—of the name of the Democratic whip. Some scholars believe that Representative Thomas Bell may have been the whip from 1909 to 1919; others believe the whip for that period may have been Representative John Nance Garner. See Randall B. Ripley, “The Party Whip Organizations in the United States House of Representatives,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 58, September 1964, p. 504.
- d. Died in office, November 19, 1928.
- e. Died in office, May 18, 1942.
- f. Resigned from the House of Representatives, December 31, 1945.
- g. Representative Tony Coelho was the first elected Democratic whip.
- h. Resigned from the House of Representatives, September 11, 1991.
- i. Elected July 11, 1991, but did not assume the House Democratic whip post until his predecessor in the position, William H. Gray III, resigned from Congress on September 11, 1991.
- j. Elected on October 10, 2001, but did not assume the position of House Democratic whip until January 15, 2002, the date on which Bonior’s resignation as whip became effective.

Table 5. House Republican Whips, 1897-2017

| Whip | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------|-------|--|-----------|
| James A. Tawney | MN | 55th-58th | 1897-1905 |
| James E. Watson | IN | 59th-60th | 1905-1909 |
| John W. Dwight | NY | 61st 62 nd | 1909-1913 |
| Charles H. Burke | SD | 63 rd | 1913-1915 |
| Charles M. Hamilton | WY | 64 th -65 th | 1915-1919 |
| Harold Knutson | MN | 66th-67th | 1919-1923 |

| Whip | State | Congress | Dates |
|-------------------------------|-------|--|---------------------------------|
| Albert H. Vestal | IN | 68th-71st | 1923-1931 |
| Carl G. Bachmann | WV | 72 nd | 1931-1933 |
| Harry L. Englebright | CA | 73 rd -78 th | 1933-May 13, 1943 ^a |
| Leslie C. Arends | IL | 78 th -79 th 80th 81 st -82 nd 83rd 84 th -93 rd | 1943-1975 |
| Robert H. Michel ^b | IL | 94 th -96 th | 1975-1981 |
| Trent Lott | MS | 97 th -100 th | 1981-1989 |
| Dick Cheney | WY | 101 st | 1989-Mar. 17, 1989 ^c |
| Newt Gingrich | GA | 101 st -103 rd | Mar. 22, 1989-1995 ^c |
| Tom DeLay ^b | TX | 104th-107th | 1995-2003 |
| Roy D. Blunt ^b | MO | 108th-109th 110 th | 2003 ^d -2009 |
| Eric Cantor ^b | VA | 111 th | 2009-2011 |
| Kevin McCarthy | CA | 112th-113th | 2011-July 31, 2014 ^e |
| Steve Scalise | LA | 113th- | July 31, 2014 ^f - |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Republican whip was the majority whip.

- Died in office, May 13, 1943.
- Ascended to party floor leader.
- Elected House Republican whip on March 22, 1989, following Representative Dick Cheney’s resignation from the House on March 17, 1989, to become Secretary of Defense.
- Served concurrently as whip and acting Republican floor leader from September 28, 2005, to February 2, 2006.
- Resigned as Republican whip on July 31, 2014, upon becoming Republican floor leader.
- On June 19, 2014, elected to the leader position, effective July 31, 2014, due to Eric Cantor’s resignation from the post.

Conference or Caucus Chair

The Republican Conference and the Democratic Caucus are the organizations of the members of the respective parties in the House. Each conference has an elected chair, who presides over its meetings. Decisions made by the conference (and often publicly promulgated by the chair) are generally regarded as the collective sentiment of the respective House party contingent.

Table 6. House Republican Conference Chairs, 1863-2017

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------------------|-------|--|-----------|
| Justin S. Morrill ^a | VT | 38th-39th | 1863-1867 |
| N/A ^b | | 40th | 1867-1869 |
| Robert C. Schenck ^c | OH | 41st | 1869-1871 |
| Nathaniel P. Banks ^c | MA | | |

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|-----------------------|--------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Austin Blair | MI | 42nd | 1871-1873 |
| Horace Maynard | TN | 43rd | 1873-1875 |
| George W. McCrary | IA | 44th | 1875-1877 |
| Eugene Hale | ME | 45th | 1877-1879 |
| William P. Frye | ME | 46th | 1879-1881 |
| G.M. Robeson | NJ | 47th | 1881-1883 |
| Joseph G. Cannon | IL | 48th-50th | 1883-1889 |
| T.J. Henderson | IL | 51st 52nd-53rd | 1889-1895 |
| Charles H. Grosvenor | OH | 54th-55th | 1895-1899 |
| Joseph G. Cannon | IL | 56th-57th | 1899-1903 |
| William P. Hepburn | IA | 58th-60th | 1903-1909 |
| F.D. Currier | NH | 61st 62nd | 1909-1913 |
| William S. Greene | MA | 63rd-65th | 1913-1919 |
| Horace M. Towner | IA | 66th-67th | 1919-1923 |
| Sydney Anderson | MN | 68th | 1923-1925 |
| Willis C. Hawley | OR | 69th-71st 72nd | 1925-1933 |
| Robert Luce | MA | 73rd | 1933-1935 |
| Frederick R. Lehlbach | NJ | 74th | 1935-1937 |
| Roy Woodruff | MI | 75th-79th 80th 81st | 1937-1951 |
| Clifford Hope | KS | 82nd 83rd 84th | 1951-1957 |
| Charles Hoeven | IA | 85th-87th | 1957-1963 |
| Gerald R. Ford | MI | 88th | 1963-1965 |
| Melvin Laird | WI | 89th-90th | 1965-1969 |
| John B. Anderson | IL | 91st-95th | 1969-1979 |
| Samuel L. Devine | OH | 96th | 1979-1981 |
| Jack Kemp | NY | 97th-99th | 1981-June 4, 1987 ^d |
| Dick Cheney | WY | 100th | June 4, 1987-1989 ^d |
| Jerry Lewis | CA | 101st-102nd | 1989-1993 |
| Richard K. Armey | TX | 103rd | 1993-1995 |
| John A. Boehner | OH | 104th-105th | 1995-1999 |
| J.C. Watts | OK | 106th-107th | 1999-2003 |
| Deborah Pryce | OH | 108th-109th | 2003-2007 |

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------|-------|---------------------|-----------|
| Adam Putnam | FL | 110 th | 2007-2009 |
| Mike Pence | IN | 111 th | 2009-2011 |
| Jeb Hensarling | TX | 112 th | 2011-2013 |
| Cathy McMorris Rodgers | WA | 113 th - | 2013- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Republican Party was in the majority.

- a. Representative Justin S. Morrill is the first officially designated Republican caucus chair. There exists no clear evidence of formal chairs of Republican organizations in earlier Congresses.
- b. Caucus minutes show three Members (Representatives Nathaniel Banks, Luke Poland, and Samuel Hooper) chairing three separate meetings.
- c. Caucus minutes show Representative Robert C. Schenck elected chair but Representative Nathaniel P. Banks chairing two early meetings, possibly in Schenck’s absence.
- d. On June 4, 1987, Representative Dick Cheney was elected conference chair to succeed Representative Jack Kemp, who resigned from the post.

Table 7. House Democratic Caucus Chairs, 1849-2017

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------------------|-------|--|------------------------|
| James Thompson | PA | 31 st | 1849-1851 |
| N/A ^a | | 32 nd | 1851-1853 |
| Edson B. Olds | OH | 33 rd | 1853-1855 |
| George W. Jones | TN | 34 th | 1855-1857 |
| N/A ^b | | 35 th | 1857-1859 |
| George S. Houston | AL | 36 th | 1859-1861 |
| N/A ^c | | 37 th -40 th | 1861-1869 |
| William E. Niblack ^d | IN | 41 st | 1869-1871 |
| Samuel J. Randall ^d | PA | | |
| N/A ^e | | 42 nd | 1871-1873 |
| William E. Niblack | IN | 43 rd | 1873-1875 |
| Lucius Q.C. Lamar | MS | 44 th | 1875-1877 |
| Hiester Clymer | PA | 45 th | 1877-1879 |
| John F. House | TN | 46 th | 1879-1881 |
| N/A ^f | | 47 th | 1881-1883 |
| George W. Geddes | OH | 48 th | 1883-1885 |
| J. Randolph Tucker | VA | 49 th | 1885-1887 |
| Samuel S. Cox | NY | 50 th | 1887-1889 ^g |
| William S. Holman | IN | 51 st 52 nd -53 rd | 1889-1895 |
| David B. Culberson | TX | 54 th | 1895-1897 |
| James D. Richardson | TN | 55 th | 1897-1899 |

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| James Hay | VA | 56 th -58 th | 1899-1905 |
| Robert L. Henry | TX | 59 th | 1905-1907 |
| Henry D. Clayton | AL | 60 th -61 st | 1907-1911 ^h |
| Albert S. Burleson | TX | 62 nd | 1911-1913 ^h |
| A. Mitchell Palmer | PA | 63 rd | 1913-1915 |
| E.W. Saunders | VA | 64 th -65 th | 1915-1919 |
| Arthur G. Dewalt | PA | 66 th | 1919-1921 |
| Sam T. Rayburn | TX | 67 th | 1921-1923 |
| Henry T. Rainey | IL | 68 th | 1923-1925 |
| Charles D. Carter | OK | 69 th | 1925-1927 |
| Arthur Greenwood | IN | 70 th | 1927-1929 |
| David Kincheloe | KY | 71 st | 1929-1930 ⁱ |
| William W. Arnold | IL | 72 nd | 1931-1933 |
| Clarence F. Lea | CA | 73 rd | 1933-1935 |
| Edward T. Taylor | CO | 74 th | 1935-1937 |
| Robert L. Doughton | NC | 75 th | 1937-1939 |
| John W. McCormack | MA | 76 th | 1939-Sept. 16, 1940 ⁱ |
| Richard M. Duncan | MO | 77 th | 1941-1943 |
| Harry Sheppard | CA | 78 th | 1943-1945 |
| Jere Cooper | TN | 79 th | 1945-1947 |
| Aime Forand | RI | 80 th | 1947-1949 |
| Francis E. Walter | PA | 81 st | 1949-1951 |
| Jere Cooper | TN | 82 nd | 1951-1953 |
| Wilbur Mills | AR | 83 rd | 1953-1955 |
| John J. Rooney | NY | 84 th | 1955-1957 |
| Melvin Price | IL | 85 th -86 th | 1957-1961 |
| Francis E. Walter | PA | 87 th -88 th | 1961-May 31, 1963 ^k |
| Albert Thomas | TX | 88 th | 1964-1965 |
| Eugene Keogh | NY | 89 th | 1965-1967 |
| Dan Rostenkowski | IL | 90 th -91 st | 1967-1971 |
| Olin Teague | TX | 92 nd -93 rd | 1971-1975 |
| Philip Burton | CA | 94 th | 1975-1977 |
| Thomas S. Foley | WA | 95 th -96 th | 1977-1981 |
| Gillis W. Long | LA | 97 th -98 th | 1981-1985 |
| Richard Gephardt | MO | 99 th -100 th | 1985-1989 |
| William H. Gray III | PA | 101 st | Jan. 4-June 14, 1989 ^l |
| Steny H. Hoyer | MD | 101 st -103 rd | June 21, 1989-1995 ^m |

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------|-------|--|----------------------------------|
| Vic Fazio | CA | 104 th -105 th | 1995-1999 |
| Martin Frost | TX | 106 th -107 th | 1999-2003 |
| Robert Menendez | NJ | 108 th -109 th | 2003-Dec. 16, 2005 ⁿ |
| James E. Clyburn | SC | 109 th | Dec. 16, 2005 ⁿ -2007 |
| Rahm Emanuel | IL | 110th | 2007-2009 |
| John B. Larson | CT | 111th 112 th | 2009-2013 |
| Xavier Becerra | CA | 113 th -114 th | 2013-2017 |
| Joseph Crowley | NY | 115 th - | 2017- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Democratic Party was in the majority.

- a. No clear records remain for this Congress. In early practice, the caucus chair often offered the various organizational resolutions at the beginning of a Congress (e.g., the nomination of his party’s candidate for Speaker, or the motion to elect the Speaker); examination of these motions can often help in a determination of who was caucus chair. However, several different Democratic Members offered the organizing resolutions for the 31st Congress.
- b. No clear data for this period exist.
- c. No clear data for this period exist. Representative John Hickman nominated Representative F. P. Blair as Speaker in 1861, but no records show whether Hickman was caucus chair.
- d. Representative Samuel J. Randall nominated the party’s candidate for Speaker. Caucus records, however, show both Representatives William B. Niblack and Randall as having served as chair during the Congress. The caucus records specify no dates of service.
- e. Representative Fernando Wood nominated the Democratic leadership slate in the House, but there is no other evidence to show he was elected caucus chair.
- f. Available data show that Representative John F. House offered the Democrats’ nomination for Speaker in the 47th Congress. However, later data show Representative W. S. Rosecrans issuing the next call for a Democratic Caucus meeting; there is no evidence to suggest that Rosecrans was actually elected caucus chair.
- g. Former Parliamentarian Clarence Cannon’s notes state that Representative Samuel J. Cox “died during this Congress and [Representative James B.] McCreary evidently succeeded or acted for him.” Representative Cox died on September 10, 1889, six months after the sine die adjournment of the 50th Congress and the convening of the 51st Congress.
- h. Caucus records are contradictory for this period. They show the election of Representative James Hay as chair on January 19, 1911, but do not mention a resignation by incumbent chair Henry P. Clayton, nor do they specify that Hay was elected chair for the new Congress. Later, they show the election of Representative Albert S. Burlison on April 11, 1911.
- i. Resigned from the House, October 5, 1930; there is no record of an election to fill the vacancy as caucus chair.
- j. Resigned following election as majority floor leader, September 16, 1940; records do not indicate that a successor was chosen during the remainder of the Congress.
- k. Died in office, May 31, 1963. Caucus chair post vacant until January 21, 1964.
- l. Representative William H. Gray III vacated the caucus chair post when he was elected Democratic whip on June 14, 1989.
- m. Representative Steny H. Hoyer was elected caucus chair on June 21, 1989, following the June 14, 1989, election of Representative William H. Gray as Democratic whip.
- n. Representative Robert Menendez resigned from the House on January 16, 2006, after being appointed to the Senate seat for New Jersey vacated by Jon Corzine when he was elected governor. Representative

Menendez had previously resigned from the caucus chair position, to which Representative James E. Clyburn was elected on December 16, 2005.

Senate Positions: Descriptions and Historical Tables

President Pro Tempore of the Senate

Pursuant to Article 1, Section 3, of the U.S. Constitution, the President pro tempore of the Senate is the chamber's presiding officer in the absence of the President of the Senate (the Vice President of the United States). The President pro tempore is elected by the full Senate as the formal institutional leader and, in current practice, is the longest-serving member of the majority party.⁶ Until 1890, the Senate elected a President pro tempore whenever the Vice President was not in attendance, whether for a day or permanently, as in the case of the Vice President's death or resignation. When the Vice President returned, the President pro tempore lost his place. When the Vice President was again absent, the Senate again elected a President pro tempore—in many cases the same Senator who had been chosen before. By the standing order agreed to on March 12, 1890, the Senate declared that the President pro tempore shall hold the office during “the pleasure of the Senate and until another is elected, and shall execute the duties thereof during all future absences of the Vice President until the Senate does otherwise order.”⁷

The Senate's President pro tempore is, pursuant to statute, currently third in the line of presidential succession (behind the Vice President and the Speaker of the House). In the Succession Act of 1792, the position was initially designated to serve in line after the Vice President.⁸ An 1886 act altered the succession line by replacing congressional leaders with cabinet secretaries, but the President pro tempore post was reinstated in the line (in the current position) in 1947.⁹

As presiding officer, the President pro tempore has the power to decide points of order and enforce decorum on the floor. The President pro tempore has other formal powers (e.g., appointing conferees; appointing certain Senate officers; and serving on, or appointing others to, working groups, commissions, and advisory boards). However, because the direction of Senate business has fallen in modern times to the majority leader, almost all of these powers are actually exercised by the majority leader in practice.

As explained in the notes to **Table 9** and **Table 10** below, the Senate has also had past occasion to select a Deputy President pro tempore and a Permanent Acting President pro tempore. For more information on the President pro tempore (and the deputy and acting posts), consult CRS Report RL30960, *The President Pro Tempore of the Senate: History and Authority of the Office*, by Christopher M. Davis.

⁶ Electing the longest-serving majority party Senator has generally been the practice since 1890, with some exceptions. The only exception since 1945 has been the election of Senator Arthur Vandenberg in 1947.

⁷ U.S. Congress, Senate Journal, 50th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 165. See also “President Pro Tempore of the Senate,” *Congressional Record*, vol. 21 (March 12, 1890), pp. 2144-2150.

⁸ 1 Stat. 240.

⁹ 24 Stat 1; 61 Stat. 380.

Table 8. Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1789-2017

| Name | Party | State | Congress | Date Elected |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|--|
| John Langdon | Pro-Admin | NH | 1 st | Apr. 6, 1789 |
| Richard Henry Lee | Anti-Admin | VA | 2 nd | Apr. 18, 1792 |
| John Langdon | Pro-Admin | NH | 2 nd | Nov. 5, 1792 Mar. 1, 1793 |
| Ralph Izard | Pro-Admin | SC | 3 rd | May 31, 1794 |
| Henry Tazewell | Anti-Admin | VA | 3 rd | Feb. 20, 1795 |
| | R(DR) ^a | | 4 th | Dec. 7, 1795 |
| Samuel Livermore | F | NH | 4 th | May 6, 1796 |
| William Bingham | F | PA | 4 th | Feb. 16, 1797 |
| William Bradford | F | RI | 5 th | July 6, 1797 |
| Jacob Read | F | SC | 5 th | Nov. 22, 1797 |
| Theodore Sedgwick | F | MA | 5 th | June 27, 1798 |
| John Laurance | F | NY | 5 th | Dec. 6, 1798 |
| James Ross | F | PA | 5 th | Mar. 1, 1799 |
| Samuel Livermore | F | NH | 6 th | Dec. 22, 1799 |
| Uriah Tracy | F | CT | 6 th | May 14, 1800 |
| John E. Howard | F | MD | 6 th | Nov. 21, 1800 |
| James Hillhouse | F | CT | 6 th | Feb. 28, 1801 |
| Abraham Baldwin | R | GA | 7 th | Dec. 7, 1801 |
| Stephen R. Bradley | R(DR) ^a | VT | 7 th | Dec. 14, 1802 Feb. 25, 1803 Mar. 2, 1803 |
| John Brown | Anti-Admin | KY | 8 th | Oct. 17, 1803 Jan. 23, 1804 |
| Jesse Franklin | R(DR) ^a | NC | 8 th | Mar. 10, 1804 |
| Joseph Anderson | R(DR) ^a | TN | 8 th | Jan. 15, 1805 Feb. 28, 1805 Mar. 2, 1805 |
| Samuel Smith | R(DR) ^a | MD | 9 th 10 th | Dec. 2, 1805 Mar. 18, 1806 Mar. 2, 1807 Apr. 16, 1808 |
| Stephen R. Bradley | R(DR) ^a | VT | 10 th | Dec. 28, 1808 |
| John Milledge | R(DR) ^a | GA | 10 th | Jan. 30, 1809 |
| Andrew Gregg | R(DR) ^a | PA | 11 th | June 26, 1809 |
| John Gaillard | R(DR) ^a | SC | 11 th | Feb. 28, 1810 Apr. 17, 1810 |
| John Pope | R(DR) ^a | KY | 11 th | Feb. 23, 1811 |

| Name | Party | State | Congress | Date Elected |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| William H. Crawford | R(DR) ^a | GA | 12 th | Mar. 24, 1812 |
| Joseph B. Varnum | R(DR) ^a | MA | 13 th | Dec. 6, 1813 |
| John Gaillard | R(DR) ^a | SC | 13 th | Apr. 18, 1814 |
| | | | 14 th | Nov. 25, 1814 ^b |
| | | | 15 th | [no election] |
| | | | | Mar. 6, 1817 |
| | | | | Mar. 31, 1918 |
| James Barbour | R(DR) ^a | VA | 15 th | Feb. 15, 1819 |
| | | | 16 th | [no election] |
| John Gaillard | R(DR) ^a | SC | 16 th | Jan. 25, 1820 |
| | | | 17 th | Feb. 1, 1822 |
| | | | 18 th | Feb. 19, 1823 |
| | CRR | | 19 th | May 21, 1824 |
| | J | | | Mar. 9, 1825 |
| Nathaniel Macon | J | NC | 19 th | May 20, 1826 |
| | | | | Jan. 2, 1827 |
| | | | | Mar. 2, 1827 |
| Samuel Smith | J | MD | 20 th | May 15, 1828 |
| | | | 21 st | Mar. 13, 1829 |
| | | | | May 29, 1830 |
| | | | | Mar. 1, 1831 |
| Littleton Tazewell | J | VA | 22 nd | July 9, 1832 |
| Hugh L. White | J | TN | 22 nd | Dec. 3, 1832 |
| | | | 23 rd | [no election] |
| George Poindexter | AJ | MS | 23 rd | June 28, 1834 |
| John Tyler | AJ | VA | 23 rd | Mar. 3, 1835 |
| William R. King | J | AL | 24 th | July 1, 1836 |
| | D | | 25 th | Jan. 28, 1837 |
| | | | 26 th | Mar. 7, 1837 |
| | | | 27 th | Oct. 13, 1837 |
| | | | | July 2, 1838 |
| | | | | Feb. 25, 1839 |
| | | | | July 3, 1840 |
| | | | | Mar. 3, 1841 |
| | | | | Mar. 4, 1841 |
| Samuel Southard | W | NJ | 27 th | Mar. 11, 1841 |
| Willie P. Mangum | W | NC | 27 th | May 31, 1842 |
| | | | 28 th | [no election] |
| Ambrose H. Sevier | D | AR | 29 th | Dec. 27, 1845 ^c |
| David R. Atchison | D | MO | 29 th | Aug. 8, 1846 |
| | | | 30 th | Jan. 11, 1847 |
| | | | 31 st | Mar. 3, 1847 |

| Name | Party | State | Congress | Date Elected |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------|
| | | | | Feb. 2, 1848 |
| | | | | June 1, 1848 |
| | | | | June 26, 1848 |
| | | | | July 29, 1848 |
| | | | | Dec. 26, 1848 |
| | | | | Mar. 2, 1849 |
| | | | | Mar. 5, 1849 |
| | | | | Mar. 16, 1849 |
| William R. King | D | AL | 31 st | May 6, 1850 |
| | | | 32 nd | July 11, 1850 |
| | | | | [no election] |
| David R. Atchison | D | MO | 32 nd | Dec. 20, 1852 |
| | | | 33 rd | Mar. 4, 1853 |
| Lewis Cass | D | MI | 33 rd | Dec. 4, 1854 |
| Jesse D. Bright | D | IN | 33 rd | Dec. 5, 1854 |
| | | | 34 th | June 11, 1856 |
| Charles E. Stuart | D | MI | 34 th | June 9, 1856 |
| James M. Mason | D | VA | 34 th | Jan. 6, 1857 |
| | | | 35 th | Mar. 4, 1857 |
| Thomas J. Rusk | D | TX | 35 th | Mar. 14, 1857 |
| Benjamin Fitzpatrick | D | AL | 35 th | Dec. 7, 1857 |
| | | | 36 th | Mar. 29, 1858 |
| | | | | June 14, 1858 |
| | | | | Jan. 25, 1858 |
| | | | | Mar. 9, 1859 |
| | | | | Dec. 19, 1859 |
| | | | | Feb. 20, 1860 |
| Jesse D. Bright | D | IN | 36 th | June 12, 1860 |
| Benjamin Fitzpatrick | D | AL | 36 th | June 26, 1860 |
| Solomon Foot | R | VT | 36 th | Feb. 16, 1861 |
| | | | 37 th | Mar. 23, 1861 |
| | | | 38 th | July 18, 1861 |
| | | | | Jan. 15, 1862 |
| | | | | Mar. 31, 1862 |
| | | | | June 19, 1862 |
| | | | | Feb. 18, 1863 |
| | | | | Mar. 4, 1863 |
| | | | | Dec. 18, 1863 |
| | | | | Feb. 23, 1864 |
| | | | | Apr. 11, 1864 |
| Daniel Clark | R | NH | 38 th | Apr. 26, 1864 |
| | | | | Feb. 9, 1865 |

| Name | Party | State | Congress | Date Elected |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--|---|
| Lafayette S. Foster | R | CT | 39 th | Mar. 7, 1865 |
| Benjamin F. Wade | R | OH | 39 th 40 th | Mar. 2, 1867 [no election] |
| Henry B. Anthony | R | RI | 41 st 42 nd | Mar. 23, 1869 Apr. 9, 1869 May 28, 1870 July 1, 1870 July 14, 1870 Mar. 10, 1871 Apr. 17, 1871 May 23, 1871 Dec. 21, 1871 Feb. 23, 1872 June 8, 1872 Dec. 4, 1872 Dec. 13, 1872 Dec. 20, 1872 Jan. 24, 1873 |
| Matthew H. Carpenter | R | WI | 43 rd | Mar. 12, 1873 Mar. 26, 1873 Dec. 11, 1873 Dec. 23, 1874 |
| Henry B. Anthony | R | RI | 43 rd | Jan. 25, 1875 Feb. 15, 1875 |
| Thomas W. Ferry | R | MI | 44 th 45 th | Mar. 9, 1875 Mar. 19, 1875 Dec. 20, 1875 Mar. 5, 1877 Feb. 26, 1878 Apr. 17, 1878 Mar. 3, 1879 |
| Allen G. Thurman | D | OH | 46 th | Apr. 15, 1879 Apr. 7, 1880 May 6, 1880 |
| Thomas F. Bayard Sr. | D | DE | 47 th | Oct. 10, 1881 |
| David Davis | I | IL | 47 th | Oct. 13, 1881 |
| George F. Edmonds | R | VT | 47 th 48 th | Mar. 3, 1883 Jan. 14, 1884 |
| John Sherman | R | OH | 49 th | Dec. 7, 1885 |
| John J. Ingalls | R | KS | 49 th 50 th 51 st | Feb. 25, 1887 [no election] Mar. 7, 1889 Apr. 2, 1889 |

| Name | Party | State | Congress | Date Elected |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | | | Feb. 28, 1890 |
| | | | | Apr. 3, 1890 ^d |
| Charles F. Manderson | R | NE | 51 st -53 rd | Mar. 2, 1891 |
| Isham G. Harris | D | TN | 53 rd | Mar. 22, 1893 |
| Matt W. Ransom | D | NC | 53 rd | Jan. 7, 1895 |
| Isham G. Harris | D | TN | 53 rd | Jan. 10, 1895 |
| William P. Frye | R | ME | 54 th -56 th | Feb. 7, 1896 |
| | | | 57 th -59 th | Mar. 7, 1901 |
| | | | 60 th -62 nd | Dec. 5, 1907 |
| Charles Curtis | R | KS | 62 nd | Dec. 4, 1911 |
| Augustus O. Bacon | D | GA | 62 nd | Jan. 15, 1912 |
| Jacob H. Gallinger | R | NH | 62 nd | Feb. 12, 1912 |
| Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. | R | MA | 62 nd | Mar. 25, 1912 |
| Frank B. Brandegee | R | CT | 62 nd | May 25, 1912 |
| James P. Clarke | D | AR | 63 rd | Mar. 13, 1913 |
| | | | 64 th | Dec. 6, 1915 |
| Willard Saulsbury Jr. | D | DE | 64 th -65 th | Dec. 14, 1916 |
| Albert B. Cummins | R | IA | 66 th | May 19, 1919 |
| | | | 67 th -69 th | Mar. 7, 1921 |
| George H. Moses | R | NH | 69 th | Mar. 6, 1925 |
| | | | 70 th -72 nd | Dec. 15, 1927 |
| Key Pittman | D | NV | 73 rd | Mar. 9, 1933 |
| | | | 74 th -76 th | Jan. 7, 1935 |
| William H. King | D | UT | 76 th | Nov. 19, 1940 |
| Pat Harrison | D | MS | 77 th | Jan. 6, 1941 |
| Carter Glass | D | VA | 77 th | July 10, 1941 |
| | | | 78 th | Jan. 5, 1943 |
| Kenneth D. McKellar | D | TN | 79 th | Jan. 6, 1945 |
| Arthur Vandenberg | R | MI | 80 th | Jan. 4, 1947 |
| Kenneth D. McKellar | D | TN | 81 st -82 nd | Jan. 3, 1949 |
| Styles Bridges | R | NH | 83 rd | Jan. 3, 1953 |
| Walter F. George | D | GA | 84 th | Jan. 5, 1955 |
| Carl T. Hayden | D | AZ | 85 th -90 th | Jan. 3, 1957 |
| Richard B. Russell Jr. | D | GA | 91 st -92 nd | Jan. 3, 1969 |
| Allen J. Ellender | D | LA | 92 nd | Jan. 22, 1971 |
| James O. Eastland | D | MS | 92 nd -95 th | July 28, 1972 |
| Warren G. Magnuson | D | WA | 96 th | Jan. 15, 1979 |
| Milton R. Young | R | ND | 96 th | Dec. 4, 1980 |
| Strom Thurmond | R | SC | 97 th -99 th | Jan. 5, 1981 |

| Name | Party | State | Congress | Date Elected |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| John C. Stennis | D | MS | 100 th | Jan. 6, 1987 |
| Robert C. Byrd | D | WV | 101 st -103 rd | Jan. 3, 1989 |
| Strom Thurmond | R | SC | 104 th -106 th | Jan. 4, 1995 |
| Robert C. Byrd | D | WV | 107 th | Jan. 3, 2001 ^e |
| Strom Thurmond | R | SC | 107 th | Jan. 3, 2001 ^e |
| Robert C. Byrd ^f | D | WV | 107 th | June 6, 2001 |
| Ted Stevens | R | AK | 108 th -109 th | Jan. 7, 2003 |
| Robert C. Byrd | D | WV | 110 th -111 th | Jan. 4, 2007 ^g |
| Daniel K. Inouye | D | HI | 111 th -112 th | June 28, 2010 ^h |
| Patrick J. Leahy | D | VT | 112 th -113 th | Dec. 17, 2012 |
| Orrin G. Hatch | R | UT | 114 th - | Jan. 6, 2015 |

Sources: The principal source for this table is Byrd's *Historical Statistics*, pp. 647-653. See the "Source Notes and Bibliography" section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: A key to party abbreviations can be found in the **Appendix** of this report. Note that several Senators holding the President pro tempore position were members of (or identified with) different political parties during their congressional careers. This table lists the party with which each individual was affiliated at the time of his service as President pro tempore. In cases in which the historical sources indicate a party "switch" in the midst of a calendar year (without a specific date), it is presumed that the party switch coincided with the beginning of a new Congress.

- Although the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1996* identifies these Presidents pro tempore as Republicans, the party designation "Democratic Republicans" is more widely used and familiar to readers. This designation, R(DR), should not be taken to refer to the contemporary Republican Party, which did not emerge until the 1850s.
- Senator John Gaillard was elected after the death of Vice President Elbridge Gerry on November 23, 1814, and continued to serve throughout the 14th Congress, as there was no Vice President.
- There was no actual election. Senator Ambrose H. Sevier was "permitted to occupy the chair for the day." In their table of Presidents pro tempore, Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith do not include Sevier's service. See Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith, "Last Among Equals," Table 1: Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, p.13.
- As noted above, in March 1890, the Senate adopted a resolution stating that Presidents pro tempore would hold office continuously until the election of another President pro tempore rather than being elected only for the period in which the Vice President was absent. That system has continued to the present.
- When the 107th Congress convened on January 3, 2001, Republican George W. Bush had been elected President. Richard B. Cheney, Vice President-elect, would not be sworn in until January 20, 2001. As a consequence, the Senate was evenly divided, 50 Democrats and 50 Republicans. When Congress convened on January 3, 2001, Vice President Al Gore, a Democrat, remained as President of the Senate, providing Senate Democrats with an effective majority of one. On January 3, 2001, the Senate adopted S.Res. 3, which provided for the election of Democratic Senator Robert C. Byrd to serve as President pro tempore from January 3 until the inauguration of President Bush and Vice President Cheney at noon on January 20, at which time Republican Senator Strom Thurmond would assume the office of President pro tempore. See "Election of the Honorable Robert C. Byrd as President Pro Tempore and Election of the Honorable Strom Thurmond as President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, vol. 147 (January 3, 2001), p. 7.
- Party control in the Senate shifted with the decision in May, 2001 of Senator Jim Jeffords to leave the Republican Party and to become an Independent, caucusing with Senate Democrats. On June 6, the Senate agreed to S.Res. 100, electing Senator Byrd President pro tempore once again.
- Senator Robert C. Byrd died on June 28, 2010. That day, the Senate adopted S.Res. 567, electing Senator Daniel K. Inouye President pro tempore.
- Senator Daniel K. Inouye died on December 17, 2012. That day, the Senate adopted S.Res. 619, electing Senator Patrick J. Leahy President pro tempore.

The Senate has, on occasion, created special offices connected to the position of President pro tempore. These two positions—detailed below—were created for specific individuals under narrow circumstances and are not currently in use.

Deputy Presidents Pro Tempore

Pursuant to S.Res. 17 (95th Congress), agreed to January 10, 1977, the Senate established (effective January 5, 1977) the post of Deputy President pro tempore of the Senate to be held by “any Member of the Senate who has held the Office of President of the United States or Vice President of the United States.” Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was Deputy President pro tempore until his death on January 13, 1978. In the 100th Congress, due to concerns over the health of the President pro tempore, Senator John S. Stennis, the Senate agreed on January 28, 1987, to S.Res. 90, authorizing the Senate to designate a Senator to serve as Deputy President pro tempore during that Congress in addition to Senators who hold such office under the authority of S.Res. 17 (95th Congress). Accordingly, on the same date, the Senate agreed to S.Res. 91 (100th Congress), designating Senator George H. Mitchell Deputy President pro tempore.

Table 9. Deputy Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1977-2017

| Deputy President Pro Tempore | Party | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|--|
| Hubert H. Humphrey | D | MN | 95 th | Jan. 5, 1977-Jan. 13, 1978 |
| George J. Mitchell | D | ME | 100 th | Jan. 28, 1987-Nov. 29, 1988 ^a |

a. Senator Mitchell served as Deputy President pro tempore until he was elected majority leader for the 101st Congress on November 29, 1988.

Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore

This post was initially established in 1963 after Senate Majority Leader Michael J. Mansfield became concerned that the stamina of then-President pro tempore Senator Carl T. Hayden would be overly taxed by presiding over the prolonged debate on civil rights legislation. In response, the Senate adopted S.Res. 232 and S.Res. 238 (88th Congress), making Senator Lee Metcalf Acting President pro tempore from December 9, 1963, until the meeting of the second session of the 88th Congress. Continuing concerns over the presiding officer’s responsibilities led the Senate, on February 7, 1964, to authorize Senator Metcalf “to perform the duties of the Chair as Acting President pro tempore until otherwise ordered by the Senate” via S.Res. 296 (88th Congress). Senator Metcalf held the post throughout his remaining 14 years in the Senate.

Table 10. Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1964-2017

| Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore | Party | State | Congress | Dates |
|--|-------|-------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Lee Metcalf | D | MT | 88 th -95 th | Feb. 7, 1964-Jan. 12, 1978 |

Party Floor Leader

Each Senate party conference selects its floor leader (also called majority leader or minority leader, as appropriate) in a secret-ballot vote at its organizational meeting prior to the beginning of a new Congress. While these positions developed later than (and arose from) the post of conference chair, they now represent the top post in each party. The majority leader is the lead

spokesperson for the party in the chamber and is also responsible for scheduling the legislative activity of the Senate. By precedent established in 1937, the majority leader is afforded priority recognition on the floor. The minority leader leads and speaks for the minority party and is consulted by the majority leader in scheduling Senate floor activity; he also has preferential floor recognition, after the majority leader. The rules of each party conference assign additional responsibilities to each floor leader, as well. In current practice, the floor leader for Senate Democrats also serves as the party's conference chair. (See next section for description of conference chair positions.)

Table 11. Senate Republican Floor Leaders, 1919-2017

| Floor Leader | State | Congress | Dates |
|--|-------|---|--|
| Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. ^{a,b,c} | MA | 66th-68th | 1919-Nov. 9, 1924 ^d |
| Charles Curtis ^{a,e} | KS | 68th-70th | Nov. 28, 1924-1929 |
| James E. Watson ^a | IN | 71st-72nd | 1929-1933 |
| Charles L. McNary ^a | OR | 73 rd -78 th | 1933-Feb. 25, 1944 ^f |
| Wallace H. White Jr. | ME | 79 th 80th | 1945-1949 |
| Kenneth S. Wherry | NE | 81 st -82 nd | 1949-Nov. 29, 1951 ^g |
| Styles Bridges | NH | 82 nd | 1952-1953 |
| Robert A. Taft | OH | 83rd | 1953-July 31, 1953 ^h |
| William F. Knowland | CA | 83rd 84 th -85 th | Aug. 4, 1953-1959 |
| Everett Dirksen | IL | 86 th -91 st | 1959-Sept. 7, 1969 ⁱ |
| Hugh Scott | PA | 91 st -94 th | Sept. 24, 1969-1977 |
| Howard H. Baker | TN | 95 th -96 th 97th-98th | 1977-1985 |
| Robert H. Dole | KS | 99th 100 th -103 rd 104th | 1985-June 11, 1996 ⁱ |
| Trent Lott | MS | 104th-106th 107 th | June 12, 1996 - Dec. 20, 2002 ^k |
| William H. Frist | TN | 108th-109th | Dec. 23, 2001-2007 |
| Mitch McConnell | KY | 110 th -113 th 114th- | 2007- |

Sources: The principal source for this table is Byrd's *Historical Statistics*, p. 505, with some details provided by Riddick, *Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate*, pp. 1-11. See the "Source Notes and Bibliography" section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the floor leader was also majority leader for at least half of the Congress. For example, while the Republicans began the 107th Congress with a controlling majority, party control switched to the Democrats in June of the first session; the 107th Congress is therefore treated as being under Democratic party control in these tables, where applicable.

- Indicates a leader who was also conference chair. Prior to 1945, the Republican conference chair and floor leader positions were held by the same individual.
- While Byrd's volume provisionally lists Republican Conference Chair Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. as the first Republican floor leader in practice, some sources treat two previous conference chairs as floor leaders in

- practice. For example, Riddick includes (in Table III, Seniority of Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate, p.11) conference chairs Senator Shelby M. Cullom as majority leader from 1911 to 1913 and Senator Jacob H. Gallinger as minority leader from 1913 until his death on August 17, 1918.
- c. Elected conference chair in the 65th Congress on August 24, 1918, to replace Senator Gallinger. Senator Lodge was not officially a floor leader; he was simply reelected to the conference chair post in 1919, and the party had not yet employed the designation floor leader. Scholarly opinion is that his role in the 66th to 68th Congresses, for all intents and purposes, was that of the floor leader, however. Byrd's volume provisionally lists him as the first majority leader (Table 4-6, p. 506); Riddick includes him in Table III, p.11. Also see Widenor, "Henry Cabot Lodge: The Astute Parliamentarian," for additional supporting details.
 - d. Died in office, November 9, 1924.
 - e. Senator Charles Curtis was elected conference chair on November 28, 1924, to replace Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Sr., who died on November 9. On March 5, 1925, the Republican conference also designated him as floor leader, the first Senator to hold the title.
 - f. Senator Charles L. McNary died on February 25, 1944. There is no reference in congressional sources to the formal selection of a new Republican floor leader during the 78th Congress. In his article summarizing "The Second Session of the Seventy-Eighth Congress (January 10-December 18, 1944)," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 39 (April 1945), pp. 317-336, Floyd Riddick makes no mention of McNary's death or the selection of a successor.
 - g. Died in office, November 29, 1951.
 - h. Died in office, July 31, 1953.
 - i. Died in office, September 7, 1969.
 - j. Resigned from Senate, June 11, 1996.
 - k. Elected June 12, 1996, to replace Senator Robert H. Dole and resigned from majority leader post, December 20, 2002.
 - l. Elected December 23, 2002, to replace Senator Trent Lott.

Table 12. Senate Democratic Floor Leaders and Conference Chairs, 1893-2017

| Floor Leader | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------------------|-------|--|---------------------------------|
| Arthur P. Gorman ^{a,b} | MD | 53 rd 54 th -55 th | 1893-1898 |
| N/A ^c | | 55 th -56 th | 1898-1901 |
| John T. Morgan ^b | AL | 57 th | 1901-1902 |
| James K. Jones ^b | AR | 57 th | 1902-1903 |
| Arthur P. Gorman ^d | MD | 58 th -59 th | 1903-June 4, 1906 ^e |
| Joseph C.S. Blackburn ^f | KY | 59 th | June 9, 1906-1907 ^g |
| Charles A. Culberson | TX | 60 th | 1907-1909 |
| Hernando D. Money | MS | 61 st | 1909-1911 |
| Thomas S. Martin ^f | VA | 62 nd | 1911-1913 |
| John Worth Kern ^f | IN | 63 rd -64 th | 1913-1917 |
| Thomas S. Martin | VA | 65 th 66 th | 1917-Nov. 12, 1919 ^h |
| Oscar W. Underwood ^f | AL | 66 th -67 th | Apr. 27, 1920-1923 ⁱ |
| Joseph T. Robinson | AR | 68 th -75 th 73 rd -75 th | 1923-July 14, 1937 ⁱ |
| Alben W. Barkley | KY | 75 th -79 th 80 th | July 22, 1937-1949 ^k |
| Scott W. Lucas | IL | 81 st | 1949-1951 |

| Floor Leader | State | Congress | Dates |
|--------------------------|-------|---|-----------|
| Ernest W. McFarland | AZ | 82nd | 1951-1953 |
| Lyndon B. Johnson | TX | 83 rd 84th-86th | 1953-1961 |
| Mike Mansfield | MT | 87th-94th | 1961-1977 |
| Robert C. Byrd | WV | 95th-96th 97 th -99 th 100th | 1977-1989 |
| George J. Mitchell | ME | 101st-103rd | 1989-1995 |
| Tom Daschle ^a | SD | 104 th -106 th 107th 108 th | 1995-2005 |
| Harry Reid | NV | 109 th 110th-113th 114 th | 2005-2017 |
| Charles E. Schumer | NY | 115 th - | 2017- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources. The principal source for this table is Byrd’s *Historical Statistics*, p. 503. Some additional details are from Riddick’s *Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate*, pp. 1-11. The Senate Democratic Caucus officially changed its name to the Democratic Conference in 1925.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the floor leader was also majority leader for at least half of the Congress. For example, while the Republicans began the 107th Congress with a controlling majority, party control switched to the Democrats in June of the first session; the 107th Congress is therefore treated as being under Democratic Party control in these tables, where applicable.

- a. Byrd’s identification of the first Democratic Conference chair begins with Senator Gorman in the 58th Congress. Other sources, however, rely on unofficial records to give Gorman that title in the 53rd Congress, with Senators Morgan and Jones identified as such in later Congresses (after a period in which reliable sources do not exist); see, for example, Riddick, *Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate*, Table I, p. 7.
- b. Riddick identifies Senator Gorman as the first Democratic Conference chair in 1893, though Byrd does not designate him as such until the 58th Congress. This is also the case with the designations of Senators Morgan in 1901 and Jones in 1902.
- c. No reliable records from the caucus exist for this period.
- d. Senator Gorman’s designation as conference chair in the 58th Congress is the first that can be confirmed from official caucus minutes.
- e. Died June 4, 1906.
- f. Secondary sources generally identify Senator Kern as the first Democratic floor leader in the modern sense of the term. See, for example, Oleszek, “John Worth Kern,” p. 10. Others have made a case for designating Senator Blackburn as the first, since he was referred to as the Democrats’ “chosen official leader” in a congratulatory resolution. See Riddick, p. 3. Still others consider Senator Martin an early floor leader; see Oleszek, “John Worth Kern,” note 13. Senator Underwood is the first person to be officially called floor leader in minutes of the party conference, so some sources (e.g., Byrd) treat him as the first Democratic floor leader.
- g. Elected June 9, 1906.
- h. Died November 12, 1919. An initial caucus vote to replace Senator Martin resulted in a tie between Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock and Senator Underwood. Hitchcock was briefly acting leader until Underwood was elected in April of 1920. See Riddick, p. 9, note 2.
- i. Elected April 27, 1920.
- j. Died July 14, 1937.
- k. Elected July 22, 1937.

- I. In the 107th Congress, Senator Daschle became majority leader on June 6, 2001, following a change in party control of the Senate from Republican to Democratic.

Conference Chair

Each party has a conference organization consisting of all the elected Senators from that party; it is the main body through which the party contingent at large decides and communicates its legislative priorities. While each party’s conference chair posts were the first formal party leadership positions in the Senate, eventually floor leader positions were established as uppermost in each party’s leadership hierarchy. Since 1945, Republicans have elected their conference chairs separately from other leadership posts, but the elected Democratic floor leader also serves as chair of the Democratic Conference. (See **Table 12** for the list of Democratic floor leaders/conference chairs.)

Table 13. Senate Republican Conference Chairs, 1893-2017

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|------------------------------------|-------|--|------------------------|
| John Sherman ^a | OH | 53 rd 54 th | 1893-1897 |
| William B. Allison | IA | 55 th -56 th | 1897-1901 ^b |
| Eugene Hale | ME | 57 th | 1901-1902 |
| Orville Platt | CT | 57 th | 1902-1903 ^c |
| Eugene Hale | ME | 58 th | 1903-1904 |
| William B. Allison | IA | 58 th -59 th | 1904-1906 |
| Eugene Hale | ME | 59 th | 1906-1907 |
| William B. Allison ^d | IA | 59 th | 1907-1908 |
| Nelson W. Aldrich | RI | 60 th | 1908-1909 |
| Eugene Hale | ME | 60 th -61 st | 1909-1910 |
| Shelby M. Cullom | IL | 61 st -62 nd | 1910-1913 |
| Jacob H. Gallinger | NH | 63 rd -65 th | 1913-1918 |
| Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. ^e | MA | 65 th 66 th -68 th | 1918-1924 |
| Charles Curtis ^e | KS | 68 th -70 th | 1924-1929 |
| James E. Watson ^e | IN | 71 st -72 nd | 1929-1932 |
| Charles L. McNary ^e | OR | 73 rd -78 th | 1933-1944 |
| Arthur H. Vandenberg | MI | 79 th | 1945-1946 |
| Eugene D. Millikin | CO | 80 th 81 st -82 nd 83 rd 84 th | 1947-1956 |
| Leverett Saltonstall | MA | 85 th -89 th | 1957-1966 |
| Margaret Chase Smith | ME | 90 th -92 nd | 1967-1972 |
| Norris Cotton | NH | 93 rd | 1973-1974 |
| Carl T. Curtis | NE | 94 th -95 th | 1975-1978 |

| Chair | State | Congress | Dates |
|---------------------|-------|---|---|
| Robert Packwood | OR | 96 th | 1979-1980 |
| James A. McClure | ID | 97th-98th | 1981-1984 |
| John Chafee | RI | 99th 101 st | 1985-1990 |
| Thad Cochran | MS | 102 nd -103 rd 104th | 1991-1996 |
| Connie Mack | FL | 105th-106th | 1997-2000 |
| Richard J. Santorum | PA | 107 th 108th-109th | 2001-2006 |
| Jon L. Kyl | AZ | 110 th | 2007-Dec. 6, 2007 ^f |
| Lamar Alexander | TN | 110 th -112 th | Dec. 6, 2007 ^f -Jan. 26, 2012 ^g |
| John Thune | SD | 112 th -113 th 114th | Jan. 26, 2012- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources. The principal source for this table is Byrd’s *Historical Statistics*, p. 502. Additional detail is from Riddick, *Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate*, pp. 7-9. Records of the Republican Conference are extant only from 1911. Secondary sources (see Riddick, pp. 7-9) provide information for years prior to 1893. Rothman, in his work, claims that Senator Henry B. Anthony served as Republican caucus chair for an undetermined number of years beginning in 1869 and that Senator George Franklin Edmunds served as chair from 1885 to 1891. See David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869-1901*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 6, 28-30.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Republican Party was in the majority for at least half of the Congress. For example, while the Republicans began the 107th Congress with a controlling majority, party control switched to the Democrats in June of the first session; the 107th Congress is therefore treated as being under Democratic Party control in these tables, where applicable. Except for those individuals who also served as floor leader (as designated in next note), sources do not provide specific dates of conference chair service (e.g., when there was a death or resignation and, as a result, a mid-session election was held). Therefore, this table provides only years of service for each conference chair and gives no specific dates for transitions that occurred within a session.

- a. Riddick indicates that secondary sources confirm Sherman as the first Republican conference chair (Table I, p. 7); Byrd starts his list (Table 4-1, p. 502) with Allison’s tenure in the 55th Congress but notes Sherman’s previous tenure in a footnote.
- b. Byrd lists Senator Allison’s tenure in the position as 1897-1901, but Riddick maintains that reliable records do not exist for 1898 to 1901.
- c. Using unofficial sources, Riddick (Table I, p. 7) indicates that Senator George H. Hoar was briefly conference chair in 1903. Byrd does not include him.
- d. Using unofficial sources, Riddick (Table I, p. 7) indicates that Senator Allison was chair; Byrd does not include him.
- e. Indicates individuals who were simultaneously identified as the floor leader. See **Table II** of this report.
- f. Senator Jon L. Kyl was elected party whip on December 6, 2007; Senator Lamar Alexander was elected on that day to serve as conference chair.
- g. In September, 2011, Senator Lamar Alexander announced his intention to resign from the post, effective January, 2012. Senator John Thune was elected to the position on December 13, 2011, effective January 26, 2012.

Party Whip

Senate Democrats first selected a party whip in 1913; Republicans followed in 1915. Some accounts of these early selections imply that the individuals were initially appointed, but other

contemporary accounts refer to conference elections for the posts. (Republicans first formally codified their conference procedures in 1944, making it clear that the whip post was elected by the conference.) Today, each party conference elects a party whip (sometimes called the assistant majority leader or assistant minority leader, depending on the party). Typically, deputy whips are also appointed to assist the whip operation. The whips communicate leadership priorities to the party rank-and-file (and vice versa), provide leaders an assessment of member support for (or opposition to) pending legislative matters, and mobilize support for leadership-supported measures under consideration. For more information, see archived CRS Report RS20887, *Senate Leadership: Whip Organization*, by Judy Schneider.

Table 14. Senate Democratic Whips, 1913-2017

| Whip | State | Congress | Dates |
|-----------------------------------|-------|--|-----------|
| James Hamilton Lewis ^a | IL | 63rd-65th | 1913-1919 |
| Peter G. Gerry | RI | 66th-70th | 1919-1929 |
| Morris Sheppard | TX | 71st-72nd | 1929-1933 |
| James Hamilton Lewis | IL | 73rd-75th | 1933-1939 |
| Sherman Minton | IN | 76th | 1939-1941 |
| J. Lister Hill | AL | 77th-79th | 1941-1947 |
| Scott W. Lucas ^b | IL | 80th | 1947-1949 |
| Francis J. Myers | PA | 81st | 1949-1951 |
| Lyndon B. Johnson ^b | TX | 82nd | 1951-1953 |
| Earle C. Clements | KY | 83rd 84th | 1953-1957 |
| Mike Mansfield ^b | MT | 85th-86th | 1957-1961 |
| Hubert H. Humphrey | MN | 87th-88th | 1961-1965 |
| Russell B. Long | LA | 89th-90th | 1965-1969 |
| Edward M. Kennedy | MA | 91st | 1969-1971 |
| Robert C. Byrd ^b | WV | 92nd-94th | 1971-1977 |
| Alan Cranston | CA | 95th-96th 97th-99th 100th-101st | 1977-1991 |
| Wendell H. Ford | KY | 102nd-103rd 104th-105th | 1991-1999 |
| Harry Reid ^b | NV | 106th 107th 108th | 1999-2005 |
| Richard J. Durbin | IL | 109th 110th-113th 114th | 2005- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources. The principal source for this table is Byrd’s *Historical Statistics*, p. 509, with additional detail drawn from Oleszek, *Majority and Minority Whips of the Senate*.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Democratic whip was also the majority whip for at least half of the Congress. For example, while the Republicans began the 107th Congress with a controlling majority,

party control switched to the Democrats in June of the first session; the 107th Congress is therefore treated as being under Democratic Party control in these tables, where applicable.

- a. Senator James Hamilton Lewis became the first Democratic Party whip in 1913. In the *Congressional Record*, Lewis himself referred to his “appointment,” but a press account the next year said he was elected. See Oleszek, *Majority and Minority Whips of the Senate*, p. 4.
- b. Indicates individuals who later advanced to floor leader.

Table 15. Senate Republican Whips, 1915-2017

| Whip | State | Congress | Dates |
|-------------------------------------|-------|--|---------------------------------|
| James W. Wadsworth Jr. ^a | NY | 64 th | 1915 |
| Charles Curtis ^b | KS | 64 th -65 th 66th-68th | 1915-1924 |
| Wesley L. Jones | WA | 68th-70th | 1924-1929 |
| Simeon D. Fess | OH | 71st-72nd | 1929-1933 |
| Felix Hebert | RI | 73 rd | 1933-1935 |
| N/A ^c | | 74 th -77 th | 1936-1943 |
| Kenneth S. Wherry ^b | NE | 78 th -79 th 80th | 1944-1949 |
| Leverett Saltonstall | MA | 81 st -82 nd 83rd 84th | 1949-1957 |
| Everett M. Dirksen ^b | IL | 85 th | 1957-1959 |
| Thomas H. Kuchel | CA | 86 th -90 th | 1959-1969 |
| Hugh D. Scott ^b | PA | 91 st | 1969 |
| Robert P. Griffin | MI | 91 st -94 th | 1969-1977 |
| Ted Stevens | AK | 95 th -96 th 97th-98th | 1977-1985 |
| Alan K. Simpson | WY | 99th 100 th -103 rd | 1985-1995 |
| Trent Lott ^b | MS | 104 th | 1995-June 12, 1996 ^d |
| Don Nickles | OK | 104th-106th 107 th | June 12, 1996-2003 ^e |
| Mitch McConnell ^b | KY | 108th-109th | 2003-2007 |
| Trent Lott | MS | 110 th | 2007-Dec. 6, 2007 ^f |
| Jon L. Kyl | AZ | 110 th -112 th | Dec. 6, 2007 ^g -2013 |
| John Cornyn | TX | 113 th 114th- | 2013- |

Sources: See the “Source Notes and Bibliography” section at the end of this report for a description and full citation of all sources. The principal source for this table is Byrd’s *Historical Statistics*, p. 509, with additional details provided by Oleszek, *Majority and Minority Whips of the Senate*.

Notes: Bolded entries indicate Congresses in which the Republican whip was also majority whip for at least half of the Congress. For example, while the Republicans began the 107th Congress with a controlling majority, party control switched to the Democrats in June of the first session; the 107th Congress is treated as being under Democratic Party control in these tables, where applicable.

- a. Wadsworth was the first Republican whip but served only one week before Senator Curtis was named his successor. Some sources describe the selections as appointments, but clearly the party eventually elected

- individuals to the post. The conference rules for such selection were formally codified only in 1944, but the election practice seems to have been occurring prior to this. See Oleszek, *Majority and Minority Whips of the Senate*, p. 5.
- b. Indicates individuals who later advanced to floor leader.
 - c. Between 1936 and 1943, the Republican whip post was filled by informal, irregular appointment by the Republican leader.
 - d. Elected majority leader, June 12, 1996.
 - e. Elected to replace Senator Trent Lott as whip, June 12, 1996.
 - f. Senator Jon L. Kyl was elected to the position on December 6, 2007, replacing Senator Trent Lott, who resigned from the Senate soon thereafter (on December 18, 2007).

Source Notes and Bibliography

This report relies heavily on primary congressional sources and authoritative documents such as the privately printed *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774 to 1996*, and a similar online adaptation, the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774 to the Present*. In addition, over the years, individual Members of Congress, legislative aides, and scholars have gained limited access to party conference journals. Reliable leadership lists have been compiled from these sources. Where these have been published, they have been used as a source in this report. This report also relies on secondary sources developed by scholars. The Congressional Research Service made no attempt to gain access to caucus or conference minutes in collecting data for this report.

Inevitably, conflicting interpretations occur in these data, even among sources generally accepted as reliable. For example, there are disparities on the dates of elections and tenure of Senate Presidents pro tempore among Byrd's history, the 1911 Senate document, and Gamm and Smith's research. The report attempts to footnote these divergences where they occur.

Unless otherwise noted, the following sources were used to compile the tables in this report:

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Appendix. Political Party Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Adams | Adams |
| Adams-Clay F | Adams-Clay Federalist |
| Adams-Clay R | Adams-Clay Republican |
| AJ | Anti-Jackson |
| Am | American (Know-Nothing) |
| Anti-Admin | Anti-Administration |
| C | Conservative |
| CRR | Crawford Republican |
| D | Democrat |
| F | Federalist |
| FL | Farmer-Labor |
| FS | Free Soil |
| I | Independent |
| ID | Independent Democrat |
| IR | Independent Republican |
| J | Jacksonian |
| JR | Jacksonian Republican |
| L | Liberty |
| LR | Liberal Republican |
| N | Nullifier |
| N/A | Party Unknown or No Party Affiliation |
| NR | National Republican |
| OP | Opposition |
| PO | Populist |
| PR | Progressive |
| Pro-Admin | Pro-Administration |
| R | Republican |
| R(DR) ^a | Jeffersonian, Jeffersonian Republican, or Democratic Republican |
| RA | Readjuster |
| S | Silver |
| SR | Silver Republican |
| U | Unionist |
| UU | Unconditional Unionist |
| W | Whig |

Source: This table is derived from Byrd, *Historical Statistics*, p. xvi.

- a. While the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1996* identifies the party affiliation of certain Representatives in early Congresses as Republicans, the designation “Democratic Republican” is more

familiar to readers. This designation, R(DR), should not be taken to refer to the contemporary Republican Party, which did not emerge until the 1850s.

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